

# NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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50¢

## Ideas that can keep us struggling



by B. Ann Lastelle

"How do you think we can overcome complacency?" asked Ida Leachman, vice-president of Local 282, Furniture Workers Division-IUE, at a Memphis meeting of workers and activists in late November. "That, I find, has discouraged more people, because those that are out there struggling, trying to make things better, with all of the complacency around them, say what the heck. How are we going to wake people up?"

That question led me to re-examine an incident that had occurred in my workplace a year earlier. Workers in our manufacturing unit had been told in late November that we would be working six-day weeks through January and February, but management began taking our Saturdays in December.

Second shift workers proposed a plan allowing us to work most of the mandatory overtime during the week rather than coming in on Saturday, but the plan was rejected. Ten people (out of 19) stated that they would not come in that Saturday. The following day, however, six of those people agreed to come in after all, and the company was able to run the lines as scheduled.

We had gathered in the cafeteria before the kickoff meeting at the beginning of the shift. At one end of the room the company stool pigeon loudly asserted that the first and third shifts thought that second shift had told management to stick it, but it wasn't like that; only "a few people" weren't coming in on Saturday. At the other end a young worker urged, "We just have to stick together."

In the middle of the room one woman was telling an-

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## Black World

### Lumumba, Fanon, Che and the Congo



by Lou Turner

When the crisis in Central Africa riveted world attention to the humanitarian disaster in Rwanda and Zaire at the end of 1996, what also came into focus was the resurgence of remnants of an African liberation movement that hadn't been heard from since the mid-1960s. (See the lead in the December 1996 News & Letters.) Led by Laurent Kabila, the multiethnic rebel army, the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo/Zaire, has mounted the most serious challenge to the corrupt authoritarian rule of Mobutu Sese Seko since the mid-'60s when as General Joseph Mobutu he usurped power from two other imperialist puppets, Zaire's (then called the Congo) President Joseph Kasavubu and the arch-counter-revolutionary Prime Minister Moise Tshombe.

Mobutu's November 25, 1965 coup brought to a head five years of uninterrupted crisis in the heart of Africa. In the summer of 1960, after having led his party (Mouvement National Congolais) to an electoral victory in May and become the first Prime Minister of independent Congo, the revolutionary nationalist leader Patrice Lumumba declared in his inaugural speech that the main concern of his government would be "social justice" and that the Congo "would join neither of the two blocs [the U.S. and Russia] now dividing the world."

From that point Lumumba's fate was sealed. He was arrested by Mobutu's forces in December 1960 and handed over to the Katanga military led by Tshombe who, with the consent of the CIA, murdered him in January 1961. UN peacekeeping forces, which included African and other Third World forces, stood as mute witnesses to the beheading of Africa's most significant quest for self-determination. The crisis of today's Africa was born with the death of Lumumba. So was a new stage of world politics whose effects continue to this day.

For Frantz Fanon, Lumumba's death was a haunting presence, for himself, and for Africa's revolutionary leadership who shared the same illusions Lumumba had that

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## ON THE INSIDE

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## Will Serbia protests confront legacy of ethnic cleansing?

by Peter Wermuth

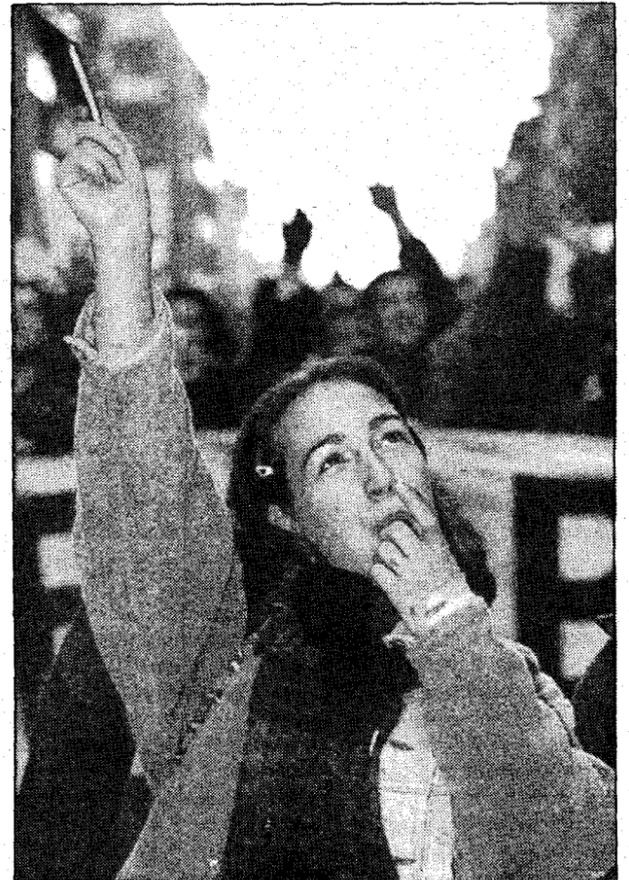
The massive protests which have swept Serbia for the past two months have brought forth an array of contradictions. On the one hand, they have helped lift an incubus from the minds of many Serbs, who have suffered under one of the most repressive and genocidal regimes in the history of modern Europe. At the same time, the reluctance of the protests to address a host of issues related to Serbia's recent past raises many questions as to where this new movement is actually going. Confronting this contradictory reality is needed not only for Serbia's sake, but for our own, since the kind of dualities found there are by no means unique to the Balkans.

### MILOSEVIC MISCONSTRUES

The present crisis erupted after Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic canceled the results of the Nov. 17 local elections, in which the opposition Zajedno (Together) Coalition won the vote in 14 of Serbia's 19 largest cities. The unexpectedly high voter turnout for Zajedno resulted from several factors. Many were disgusted with a regime that has presided over the most severe economic collapse of any country in Europe. Others opposed Milosevic for dragging Serbia into the four-year war against Bosnia and Croatia. Still others were angry at him for cutting the war short by signing onto the U.S.-imposed Dayton Accords, which divides Bosnia along ethnic lines.

Milosevic, who has never shown any willingness to share power since he took office a decade ago, was hardly willing to hand over power to his political rivals in Zajedno. He failed to anticipate, however, that his heavy handed tactic of annulling the election results would instantly be met with massive street protests.

These protests, which started in the southern city of Nis and soon spread to the capital, Belgrade, have continued for two full months. When Milosevic tried to intimidate the marchers by lining the streets with thousands of well-armed riot police, the protests gained further strength. When he then banned street rallies and had the police cordon off major sections of the city, the protesters responded by driving their cars into the city center in a "drive-in" protest.



Belgrade demonstrator whistles her opposition to Milosevic regime.

When he then threatened to arrest anyone opposing him, the opposition called on the citizenry to bring their pets along to demonstrations, on the grounds that "the

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## Black parents combat Christian Coalition

Fayette County, Tenn.—I want people to be aware of the Christian Coalition. These are some educated, intelligent people who want to control everything and everybody.

They are targeting the South and they are even using the whites to get what they want, and then dropping them by the wayside along with the Black children.

The state requires our children to take a T-CAP (Tennessee Comprehensive Assessment Program) test each year and bases its decision about whether the school should continue to get federal funds on that test. One of the goals of the Christian Coalition here is to prove that their white children are learning more than our Black children. The T-CAP test is a good way to do this.

School Commissioner Jane Walters is out of Bartlett, a mostly rich white Memphis suburb, and she is very supportive of the Christian Coalition. Many of the newly hired teachers are also in the Christian Coalition or support it.

We have one school, Oakland School, that reached the goals the state expected. It's 90% white. The Christian Coalition wants to get another middle school in Oakland and a high school. Then they will try to go with a "break the mold" law, in which a policy will be allowed to pass

the local school board and then go to the Commissioner of Education. Then their schools can become private schools and continue to receive federal funds.

Once a school is a "break the mold" school, they keep the Black children out. If the children don't meet the qualifications, they will be denied the right to go to that school.

### BOSS AND BLACK SCHOOLING

The Christian Coalition already controls the public schools with the grading system and by creating problems with the children and the parents. They do a lot of write-ups of the children and the parents get letters. The parents try to resolve the problems and are made to feel uneducated, that they can't tell the teacher anything, that they don't belong there. That's the means for getting rid of the parents.

They use a log of old time punishments on the children, like taping a child's mouth shut. One teacher brought a big old furniture box to school, and when children acted bad, they had to lay in the box all day and it was taped shut. One teacher told a fourth grade girl, "This is just like the old days. I'm the boss and you're

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## TO OUR READERS: two changes in N&L

We draw your attention to two changes in this first News & Letters of 1997. They are related, in quite different ways, to new developments in Marxist-Humanism, in capitalism, and in the movements reaching for a new, human society.

One is the way our statement on "Who We Are and What We Stand For," which appears in every issue of News & Letters on page 12, has been expanded this month to reflect those new developments. We welcome your response to it.

The other change is the increase in the price of our paper, from 25¢ to 50¢ a copy, the first increase since 1980. Although the costs of postage and printing have increased enormously in 17 years, we continue to keep our subscription price as low as we can because our princi-

ple ever since our founding in 1955 has been to make the idea of Marxist-Humanism accessible to all those struggling for a new world.

We know that some in this the "richest country in the world" will not be able to subscribe at our subscription price of \$5 a year, low as that remains. That is why we have a long established Donor Fund to which our readers have always contributed generously. In this issue, you can hear the voices of some of the many prisoners and others who have been enabled to read and write for N&L thanks to this fund.

We thank all our readers who have helped N&L develop through the 42 years of the existence of News and Letters Committees and count on your continued support and ideas.

# Frontline Feminisms, war and revolution

by Laurie Cashdan

I had the great fortune to attend the conference on "Frontline Feminisms: Women, War & Resistance," held at the University of California-Riverside, Jan. 16-18. The organizers worked hard to create an international dialogue among scholars and activists, drawing speakers from the Balkans and the Middle East, Africa and Latin America, South and East Asia, Europe and the U.S., including Chicana activists from southern California.

This internationalism quickly transformed into a discussion of urgent problems. For instance, Ngwarsungu Chiwengo, from Zaire's Shaba province, and Fatima Ibrahim from the Sudan, discussed "ignored war [s]" of monumental proportions and implications ongoing in Central and East Africa. Chiwengo argued that U.S. interests in Zaire's diamond and mineral wealth and its strategic political position, bordering Rwanda and Burundi, have influenced U.S. media coverage. She described ethnic cleansing in Zaire and U.S. strategies to intervene in choosing a successor for Mobutu Sese Seko.

Speakers raised challenging questions about feminism, nationalism and liberation, three terms which have too often met in drastic collision in the last decade. Vesna Kesic, from Zagreb, Croatia, put the problem powerfully in a roundtable called, "Feminism and Nationalism: Can They Be Coupled?" "Freedom is not an abstract term," she insisted. "Which kind of freedom will always mat-

## Woman as Reason

ter." Kesic sharply critiqued the reactionary nationalism or patriotism which continues to drive Croatia even after the war is officially over. She distinguished this patriotic nationalism from struggles for national freedom, of which she approves, but argued that women's liberation needs to be within—not external to—these freedom movements.

If Kesic's complex historic questions about the Balkan, seemed to frame the conference, Angela Davis's keynote talk posed little new direction. She asked why the "cascading conservatism" circling the globe has been met by so much despair in the U.S.—and even nostalgia for the distant sixties. Unfortunately, Davis's solution was limited to an analysis of how global capitalism underlies such phenomena as the booming prison industrial complex. One could hardly argue with her views on skyrocketing incarceration rates. However, it was discouraging to hear Davis herself romanticize earlier revolutionary movements from Cuba to Vietnam as models for a revived revolutionary transnationalism.

Angela Davis's uncritical attitude concerning socialism contrasted with talks by less prominent speakers. Sondra Hale, speaking about women in the 30-year-long Eritrean liberation movement against Ethiopia, described herself as an independent Marxist and made it clear that socialist feminists cannot afford to paper over serious issues about Marxism. Hale described the support Ethiopia received from Russia before 1989. The Eritrean liberation movement—also Marxist but independent from Russia and Cuba—remained isolated, including from the international women's movement, despite complex issues Eritrean women have raised about gender in a post-revolutionary society.

Elahe Amani, an Iranian who spoke in the feminism and nationalism roundtable, also showed the danger of avoiding rethinking about Marxism by radical feminists. Amani lambasted not only the Islamic fundamentalists but the Iranian Marxist parties for their negative reactions after the revolution to International Women's Day demonstrations in 1979. Had the Left recognized the significance of women's protests against Khomeini's edict

## Queer politics workshop

Riverside, Cal.—A spontaneous workshop entitled "Lesbianism, Queer Politics, and Revolution" sprouted up in the middle of the Frontline Feminisms Conference, Jan. 18, in response to our bulletin, "Queer Notions: Thoughts on the Relationship of Sexuality to Revolution." The workshop idea came from a historian from Zagreb, Croatia, who shared stories of the militant resistance to oppression among young gays and lesbians in Croatia who struggle just to maintain some voice. She said, "You are very lucky to discuss these issues so openly."

Gila Svirsky, of Women in Black in Israel, described how religious oppression adds to violence against homosexuals. One lesbian fell victim to a terrorist bombing and her body went unclaimed for a week because she had been disowned by her family. The lesbian community responded with a vigil after recognizing this woman's picture in the newspaper.

The 23 present told of fighting queer oppression. A lively debate arose over assimilationist vs. revolutionary politics, the political nature of "coming-out," and the relationship of right-wing trends to growing heterosexism.

Georgiana Williams, founder of the LA4+ Committee after the L.A. Rebellion said, "I'm a stone supporter of gay and lesbian rights. Those people were there for me when I was going through my sorrow with my son Damien Williams who was facing three life sentences, and no gay or lesbian person is gonna take any shit in my end of town!" Georgiana's comments spurred a conversation on opposition to police brutality and queer history's roots in cop-stopping which began in 1969 with the Stonewall Rebellion in New York.

This discussion on queer politics was the only one of its kind at the conference. We hope to continue this much-needed dialogue.

—Sharon Cannery



Vesna Kesic, Croatia, speaking at Frontline Feminisms workshop on Feminism and Nationalism. At left are Elahe Amani, Iran, and Sherna Gluck, U.S., and at right is Fatima Ibrahim, Sudan.

mandating *hijab*, she argued, they might have saved the revolutionary struggle so many died for instead of giving the upper hand to fundamentalism.

Kesic's question of "what kind of freedom," as Hale and Amani posed it, linked the liberation of women to the problematic of "what happens after the revolution"—a theme throughout the conference. At one session, "From the Mississippi Delta to South Central Los Angeles," panelists addressed important issues faced by Black women activists in the post-Civil Rights era. Ida Leachman from Memphis' "Local 282 Furniture Workers union described how the incompleteness of the Civil Rights Movement has left workers facing restructured and revived anti-union attacks by employers and municipalities in Mississippi and West Tennessee.

Georgiana Williams, founder of the L.A. 4+ Committee after her son Damien's arrest at Florence and Normandy during the L.A. rebellion, described her exodus from Mississippi and her assumption—until the 1992 uprising and her subsequent fight with the penal system—that freedom had already been won. Other panelists connected this discussion to Marxist-Humanist philosopher Raya Dunayevskaya's concept of "revolution-in-permanence"—an idea she elaborated from Marx's works.

This concept re-emerged implicitly at a workshop on Mexico and Central America. The intercommunication between Central American women about their different experiences has led Zapatista women to insist that the post-revolutionary society they are striving for must include women's liberation. This was not on the agenda for either Cuba's or El Salvador's guerrilla movements, panelist Julia Shayne argued. She briefly described the feminist movement blossoming in El Salvador since the peace accords, led by women frustrated by years of having women's issues ignored. At one of the final sessions, titled "What Happens to Feminist Agendas After the Revolution?", Norma Chinchilla, speaking on Nicaragua, brought these questions about Central America back to Marxism itself.

That these questions about national liberation, women's liberation and Marxist thought kept surfacing shows that feminists searching for a radical international perspective cannot avoid confronting them. If the international dialogue at the Frontline Feminisms conference marked a beginning of such a discussion, I look forward to its further development.

## Disney sweatshop protests

Oakland, Cal.—Workers, mostly Latina and Asian women, at Rubber Stampede, a small company making rubber toys and stamps for corporations like Disney, walked out Nov. 13 after owner Sam Katzen reneged on a promise to meet over sweatshop conditions. Katzen had made illegal promises to persuade workers to vote down union recognition. After 170 out of 250 workers signed union cards, it was voted down by 13 votes.

Katzen's promises for more pay turned out to be a restructuring where workers were to be paid by piece work rather than \$5 an hour. One woman said, "When I told him that you can't do this because this is not how you hired us, he only said, 'I can do what I like. If you don't like it, there's the street out there for you.'"

Another woman said, "At less than 3 cents a piece, I would have to make at least 2,000 pieces a day just to make close to what I make a day now. I would have to work the fastest I ever did to make that many."

A Latina woman said someone called her house with a death threat. This same woman testified at the industrial relations committee at the California State Senate. She said Sam Katzen convinced her to help him by promising better pay and benefits. "I told my coworkers," she went on, "to give Sam a second chance. I won 70 to 80 votes for Sam this way, but none of the promised changes and agreements were kept. The abuse, even sexual abuse, and discrimination continue. We want justice, not just money."

ILWU Local 6 is supporting the strikers, but the strike came from the workers' self-organizing, self-discipline, and determination to call their very own strike.

One Latina posed her determination this way: "I am not afraid. This needs to be done. I can go find any other \$5 an hour job. But all my friends who only speak Spanish, for them it's not as easy. Even if we all get fired, others like us will come and fill these jobs. We still have to organize for them, for our people."

As there are no strike benefits, workers need support for their effort. Please send contributions to ILWU Local 6, 255 Ninth Street, San Francisco, CA 94103.

## Sisterhood in Hebron

Hebron—We were 40 Israeli women in the home of two of the Palestinian victims and their families, who described their victimization: Israeli police entered their home, forcing the women to undress completely, doing body searches for weapons. Policewomen conducted the searches, although in two homes, policemen entered the room. No weapons were found, and no men were told to undress.

We expressed our anger and shame, and they were quite amazed that we had come out there just to say these things to them. In the next room, there must have been 15 children, the little ones terrified of all the Israelis in their house, so I spent my time finding ways to get close to them, being playful in my broken Arabic. In the big room, I heard one of our women take a scarf off her neck and place it on the woman telling her story and embrace her. Another removed a dove of peace pin and placed it on the other Palestinian woman.

The ice broke, and soon the women were exchanging all sorts of talk, and the baby (who had also been strip searched for weapons!) was being passed from lap to lap, and we ate tangerines and sipped sweet dark coffee, and tried to dissipate some of the bad feelings. It was good we made the visit. And as we were leaving, the children came over to me shyly, one by one, and shook my hand.

This was, I should add, in addition to all the good work done by the B'Tselem human rights organization to document and publicize the incidents, and the work by Bat Shalom to meet with the Minister of "Internal Security" (which includes the Police)—who denied that this was a police policy (17 cases in 3 months is not policy?)—and the women Knesset members from the left, who lodged formal complaints.

—Gila Svirsky

## Prison medical neglect

Oakland, Cal.—Recently several activists from the California Coalition for Women Prisoners visited the women's state prison in Chowchilla, Cal. We spoke with prisoners in the lawsuit *Shumate vs. Wilson, et al.*, which charges the state of California with depriving women prisoners of their right to basic health care.

We heard horror stories of women dying from lack of medical attention, who asked repeatedly for medical attention and were ignored or dismissed. For example, the Medically Trained Assistants (MTAs), who are really just guards with little more than CPR training, were giving one woman Maalox for months, "treating" her for an ulcer. When they finally bothered to test her, they found out she had stomach cancer. She died soon after.

Even basic needs, for patients who can't feed themselves, or bathe by themselves, are ignored. It's the prisoners themselves who care for each other. One woman, who volunteered to be an HIV peer counselor, described taking her lunch time to check on women in the infirmary. She is the one who takes the time to feed and bathe the others. She said: "You have to love people to be a peer counselor. It can't be about skin color or the kind of hair you have. As long as you wear this blue (pointing to her own shirt; the guards wear khaki uniforms), I will give you a shower or whatever you need."

The medical neglect is part of general abusiveness. Another prisoner said "We get tired of having to struggle all the time for everything. But what choice do we have? We get harassed in every sphere of our life." The solidarity women have with each other and their sense of humanity impressed me the most.

—Ursula Wislanka

New York—On Dec. 14 about 55 adults and children picketed a Disney store on Fifth Ave., a protest organized by the National Labor Committee and the Disney Haiti Justice Campaign as part of an international week of action.

Workers in Haiti (including children) labor under sweatshop conditions and get paid as little as 28 cents an hour producing Mickey Mouse and Pocahontas pajamas for subcontractors. The workers make half their minimum needs. Prevalent are traditional repressive practices in factories such as firings for union organizing and indiscriminate layoffs.

The ubiquitous cops ordered us off of Fifth Ave. into a limited area police blockade on the side street. Subsequent to defending our constitutional rights to picket and distribute literature, I reiterated them to the police Captain, who expostulated about his education in the Constitution, finally admitting that no matter what, his order would stand. He heard that "this Piggy will not go into the PEN"; and my Fifth Ave. walking and leafleting continued.

—Sheila Garden



NEW EXPANDED EDITION

## Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution

by Raya Dunayevskaya

To order, see page 7.

## Openings to solidarity in Detroit strike

**Detroit**—New, more aggressive newspaper strike plans, under the slogan "Shut Down Motown '97," are underway to take the 18-month-long Detroit News/Free Press walkout to a new direct action level. Strikers hope that will culminate in a Solidarity III—a nationwide mass mobilization of labor in Detroit this spring or summer to halt the newspaper operations and end the strike.

Armond Nevers, a 40-year Typographical Union member, recalled his own self-development and radicalized consciousness from his experiences of the strike involving 2,400 workers, of which some 1,900 are still out, their jobs filled by replacement workers.

Noting that there are six separate unions involved (Typographical, Pressmen, Teamsters, Mailers, Engravers and Newspaper Guild), Nevers pointed to weaknesses apparent on both the local and national levels. "We would be much stronger if we were all in one union," Nevers said. "As it is, the varied union leadership and rank and file often seem to be working at cross purposes. The union leadership has relied on advertising and circulation boycotts and NLRB rulings, whereas the rank and file favor more direct action.

"From my own experiences," Nevers added, "I know there have been a lot of ups and downs, and you can feel discouraged at times. But at the same time, the Saturday night direct actions we took brought out large numbers of people really pumped up for action." As an indication of things to come, Nevers described the large turnout at the newspapers' downtown Detroit printing plant during the first week of January, when 32 strikers and supporters were arrested for stopping delivery trucks from entering or leaving the plant.

A critical aspect of the strike has been management's efforts to use the issue of Black employment to divide the workers and community support for the strikers. Pointing to the fact that some skilled trades had been all white before the strike, management claims it has "opened the doors of opportunity" for Blacks replaced as replacement workers.

But as striking Black workers have sharply noted, it is not unions that hire workers, and the only time management has ever given lip service to "equal opportunity" has been when it suited their anti-union strategies. This experience is teaching both Black and white workers the importance of class unity and solidarity that is so vital for the success of all labor struggles.

Some concern has been expressed at the talk of the Communications Workers leadership's possible strategy

of unconditional return to work since at that point management would be liable for financial obligations that include payment of wages and other benefits. However, as Nevers pointed out, "This also means no grievance procedure, no dues check-off—no union, period. In my own opinion, this would be a total defeat for us, and any retention of replacement workers without the return to work of all employees is unacceptable.

"One of the things management could do is to say it would take back the 200 of us who have a 'lifetime contract' with the newspapers, but not the others, and in this way to split the strikers. But this is the problem we face—especially in the smaller unions groups that can be picked off one by one due to the technology now available in printing.

"I feel that the union leadership is to blame for many of our problems, and we have to overcome that. What labor needs in this country is to turn things around. We need a big victory to get us on the right track for the future, and this newspaper strike has the potential to do just that. It would be worth all of the money and effort it takes to win this newspaper strike." —Andy Phillips

## Flint sitdown 60th anniversary



Children of strikers picket during the Flint Sitdown Strike in 1937. Feb. 11 marks the 60th anniversary of the victory at Flint, Mich. that won GM recognition of the UAW and inspired mass unionization by sit-downs and rank-and-file direct action.

## Kaiser targets union unity

**Oakland, Cal.**—Officially we still have a "Unity Pact" in which all Kaiser unions are to work together to fight restructuring. Concretely the ideology of restructuring, propagated by Kaiser management, prevails while we rank-and-file workers become spectators to more and more internecine fighting between locals as well as different officials within the same local.

Local 250 (SEIU), representing service workers, broke ranks back in June 1996 by accepting a rotten agreement which 96% of the membership had rejected seven months earlier. The agreement did, however, hold the promise of expanding their dues-paying base through creating new de-skilled nursing positions. Other unions which refused to capitulate to Kaiser's takeaways get hit over the head with the Local 250 agreement. Kaiser management repeatedly broadcasts the same weekly message: "250 accepted it. Why not you?"

The registered nurses' contract expires on Jan. 30. While service workers took a wage freeze, Kaiser now demands that RNs take a 15% pay cut as well as deep benefit cuts. 200 nurses marched on Kaiser headquarters. On Jan. 17, one said that nurses couldn't strike because that would only help Kaiser save money while their premiums keep coming in.

This view assumes our power is limited to affecting Kaiser's cash flow and does not challenge the concrete disunity between Kaiser unions, a separation partially driven by the concept of professionalism. The point of a strike is a declaration of taking back your own labor which is not reducible to just wages and benefits. It demands the firmest solidarity with all workers. How about also appealing to the community Kaiser serves, the way Safeway strikers successfully did last year?

Ironically, some nurses view Local 29 (OPEIU), the clerical union, as having a model way to fight. Local 29, which has been without a contract since October '95, didn't sink to the level of capitulation. They have been fighting in the courts and won not only a huge cash punitive damage settlement but even a ruling that Kaiser has been losing in bad faith and may have to restore some lost jobs. None of this has yet any concrete effect on the working life of the rank-and-file or, worse, the non-working life of those restructured out of a job. However, the money has now become the focus of a squabble among the local union officials. This no doubt has encouraged Kaiser management's efforts to foster more disunity.

Now the executive board is fighting the senior representative, Georgia Dobbin-Callahan, over using this money singlehandedly to hire another union representative to fight in her own narrow framework. The executive board unanimously voted against this use of the money and "put Ms. Callahan on notice that our union is not an autocratic union, run solely by one person, it is a democratic union run by all of us."

Democracy, however, has to begin and end not with the union's bank account or even with representation limited to wages and benefits, but rather with taking control of our everyday working lives.

—Kaiser rank-and-file

## S. Korea strikes defy laws

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

The government of President Kim Young Sam of South Korea has gotten itself in trouble by passing labor laws which maintain limits on labor activities. The laws make it easier for capitalists to down-size their businesses by massive layoffs and to hire temporary part-time workers to avoid paying overtime and benefits. This is what Ronald Reagan did in this country by firing PATCO workers.

Kim, like Reagan, said the law was needed to boost South Korea's sagging international competitiveness as the economy falls off with a mounting trade deficit and declining growth. Isn't it always these mouthpieces who are looking after the interests of the capitalists and who are against the working people of their country?

Over the last three weeks there have been strikes of 200,000 workers against 176 firms. On Jan. 14, another 700,000 workers joined the workers on strike from the Federation of Korean Trade Unions.

It was reported that 75% of salaried workers were in support of the general strike. That is a hell of a lot different than the white collar bootlickers of this country with their noses up the capitalists' you know where. The mental labor of this country thinks that the welfare of this country rests on their backs. They are so mentally blinded by their capitalist bosses that they can't see that the laborer is the producer of all goods.

I see great contradictions in the Korean workers' strike being controlled by the union leadership. But if this strike continues, maybe they can find freedom if they themselves take control.

## Dobbs workers: Dump Hayes

*Editor's note: A copy of the following letter was sent to us from workers in Memphis, Tenn. It shows the continuing battle workers at Dobbs International, a company that caters food for airlines, are having with the company and the Teamsters Union. This letter was sent to Don Newton, the President of the Highway and Local Motor Freight Employees, Local Union 667, on Jan. 23, with a copy to International President Ron Carey.*

We, the following union dues paying employees of Dobbs International, are asking that Napoleon Hayes be removed at once as our union representative.

Mr. Hayes has been our so-called union representative for more than one year, yet to date we have not had one union meeting nor, sir, have you called a meeting to meet the people who help pay your salary.

- We would like to enlighten you on the situation:
- Seniority does not mean anything to management nor to Mr. Hayes, who always agrees with management.
  - Mr. Hayes has allowed management to combine transportation with the interior kitchen, thereby allowing senior employees to be used any way the company desires.
  - We would like to think that at least the union would abide by our contract, but Mr. Hayes, after one year, does not know the contract, and from where we stand, does not try to learn it.

We are tired of being treated as though we do not exist. Conditions here have gone far enough. We refuse to be belittled by management and Local 667.

This letter, sir, is only to notify you that Mr. Hayes has put Local 667 in a very bad predicament and we have decided that unless action is taken immediately, we will be seeking legal counsel. Thank you.

—Dobbs Disgruntled Teamsters

## Workshop Talks

(Continued from page 1)

other about the extra money she needed to buy her daughter a special gift for Christmas. Another worker said he might work that weekend because he couldn't work the next weekend and couldn't take two occurrences on his record. Decisions were being made on an individual, personal basis, not on the basis of the idea which had motivated the initial angry outburst, that we workers must have control over our hours of work.

Ideas animate people and struggles, as is evident within Local 282 itself, a Black-led union organizing in the right-to-work South. A Local 282 member described his concept of a union and of a different society:

"If you work on a job and want human dignity, no boss can give it to you, you've got to earn it. You better have a union. If Uncle Sam operated like a union, this country would be in a better condition than it is now. They play politics, but in a union each member has a voice. It's not like when you have a senator or representative and they make all the decisions. We are part of the process of making decisions in our union."

Hood Furniture workers in Jackson, Miss., won a seven-year fight to be represented by Local 282 only to have the plant close because "They just don't want to deal with Black folk." (See "Leaving Hood with fighting legacy," December 1996 N&L.) An unrepentant union member declared, "If there is any ground for me to fight, I will fight them 'til I die, because I care a whole lot for myself, and I thank God for the race he put me in, and I believe that everybody was born equal. I believe that. And I will stand my ground."

Many things prevent people from standing up. The only way I know to "wake people up" is to bring out, make explicit, the ideas behind their dissatisfaction and protest. Those ideas point to concepts of work, of the labor movement and of society different from what exists today. Because they can animate people and struggles, ideas have the power to transform reality.

## Mediacopy's own INS raid

**San Leandro, Cal.**—On Jan. 17 about 100 Latino workers and activists picketed Mediacopy over an Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) raid that took place ten days before. The company had called 99 workers, which INS singled out, together for a "meeting." The "meeting" turned out to be a raid. The 99 employees, mostly Mexican, were detained. Some were deported.

Other workers came out during their break and told us that the detainees were workers who had been there for several years. They were senior, higher paid workers. The pay range is \$5 to \$15 an hour. They said this raid took place shortly after some of the employees were organizing to join ILWU Local 6.

The INS claims this was the result of a long-term investigation. The INS representative also made it a point that, after the raid, hundreds of legal residents applied for vacant jobs. The result is a cheaper labor force until the next raid. The marchers chanted in Spanish, "Don't use us and then deport us!"

—News and Letters Committee supporter

## Jobs activist framed

**Los Angeles**—Deacon Alexander, president of the L.A. Unemployed Council and a longtime Black activist in Los Angeles, was convicted on Dec. 11 in Superior Court on charges of extortion and battery; there was a hung jury (7-5) on the charge of making a terrorist threat. These charges, brought by the District Attorney's office in cooperation with the L.A.P.D. were the culmination of years of their tracking him and his activities of fighting for construction jobs for Blacks in South-Central L.A. (they have a file on him five inches thick).

In a victory for the living movement, Judge Sherman Smith sentenced Deacon Alexander to time served (89 days) and three-and-a-half years of formal probation in a packed courtroom of Deacon Alexander supporters (of mixed races) and four sheriffs positioned to incarcerate him on the spot. Prior to sentencing, there had been an organized letter writing campaign to the judge asking for probation.

After the verdict, there was a spontaneous rally outside, where the defendant, his wife Ruth, his attorney and other supporters spoke in a jubilant mood. One person declared, "This is just a step in our struggle."

The L.A.P.D. had tape recorded meetings between him and a contractor, and the prosecutor twisted his cussing (in Ebonics, as his defense attorney stated) into a conviction. The tongue-lashing that he gave was the result of frustration after many unfruitful demonstrations, pickets, and negotiations. What provoked his cussing was not heard in court by the jury. The irony is that the livable wage construction jobs he was fighting for were supposed to, in part, remedy the underlying cause of the L.A. Uprising of 1992 as well as the historic Watts Revolt of 1965 (massive unemployment, poverty, and hopelessness in the Black community). —K.

From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya  
**MARXIST-HUMANIST  
ARCHIVES**

### Editor's Note

For this African-American History Month—whose theme is "African Americans and Civil Rights: A Re-appraisal"—we publish excerpts from a speech by Raya Dunayevskaya given Oct. 25, 1957 as Black children and their parents were fighting to enroll in the segregated Little Rock, Ark., public schools. Her presentation projected many of the themes discussed five years later in the statement *American Civilization on Trial*, which remain alive 40 years later. Footnotes have been added to the transcript of Dunayevskaya's speech, which was not checked by her and does not appear in *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*.

I want to begin by saying that yesterday I went to a symphony concert. That may sound as if it had nothing to do with the talk on Little Rock today, and in fact I didn't think it had anything to do with it when I went to the concert by an Italian symphony orchestra. Even though they advertised the premiere of an American work, I took for granted that that would be the least important work and that it would be some sort of addition made for an American tour. It turned out to be the highlight of the symphony and showed how well-known we are for our infamous "democracy."

The bulk of the tunes that ran through the American symphony were Negro spirituals such as "Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen" and "Go Down Moses." The only time a white man entered, outside of "Yankee Doodle" just at the start, was John Brown who died trying to gain the Negro's freedom.

This is a faraway field from the current scene. It's become almost a cliché to say that President Eisenhower had to act as if he is for integration only because [he is aware that] the majority of the peoples of the world are colored. But here is an Italian who glorifies the freest, the Negroes, and condemns the whites who have suppressed them. The one white man who stands out is John Brown, whose body lies a mouldering in the grave.

As I sat there listening, I thought back to the years when I was in Washington, D.C., and felt that as much as I hated the South I should at least visit Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, where John Brown had the raid. I never spent such a miserable day in my life as when I came into that horrible city which is dedicated even today to portray John Brown as a fanatic, an insane man and a betrayer. The monument that's hung up is not to John Brown, but to the man who put down that rebellion, Robert E. Lee, who later became a general and leader of the counter-revolution against America in the Civil War. All I could say is no wonder it took so long for the Civil War to come to any conclusion.

Karl Marx lived in the period of the Civil War. Because it continued for such a long period of time and the South seemed to be winning, not the North, even Marx's closest collaborator, Frederick Engels, worried that it looked like the South [would] win. Marx said not to worry, the North will win even though they were conducting it in a miserable way. He said a single Negro regiment would have a remarkable effect on Southern nerves. A war of this kind must be conducted on revolutionary lines, while the Yankees thus far have been trying to conduct it constitutionally.

**LINCOLN'S PREOCCUPATION** was not in freeing the slaves. He was compelled to free the slaves or he wouldn't have won the war. He was catering to the border states, exactly the same kind of politics that go on right now with Eisenhower. That is why the Abolitionists of that period—Wendell Phillips in particular—are a lot more contemporary than the people writing today, the [William] Faulkners and the [Arkansas Governor] Faubuses who are so ready to sow Negro blood in order to preserve what they call the "Southern way of life." Here is what Phillips had to say about the Southern way of life:

*And by the South I mean likewise a principle, and not a locality, an element of civil life, in fourteen rebellious states. I mean an element which, like the days of Queen Mary and the Inquisition, cannot tolerate free speech, and punishes it with the stake. I mean the aristocracy of the skin, which considers the Declaration of Independence a sham and democracy a snare—which believes that one-third of the race is born booted and spurred, and the other two-thirds ready saddled for that third to ride. I mean a civilization which prohibits the Bible by statute to every sixth man of its community, and puts a matron in a felon's cell for teaching a black sister to read. I mean the intellectual, social aristocratic South—the thing that manifests itself by barbarism and the Bowie-knife, by bullying and lynch-law, by ignorance and idleness, by the claim of one man to own his brother, by statutes making it penal for the State of Massachusetts to bring an action in her courts, by statutes, standing on the books of Georgia today, offering five thousand dollars for the head of William Lloyd Garrison. That South is to be annihilated. (Loud applause.) The totality of my common sense—or whatever you call it—is this, all summed up in one word: This country will never know peace nor union until the South (using the word in the sense I have described) is annihilated, and the North is spread over it.... Our struggle therefore is between barbarism and civilization.*

I quoted this in *Marxism and Freedom*, and I continued with the following paragraph which brings us

# Little Rock and our infamous 'democracy'

back to our symphony even though I knew nothing about it then. "The struggle for the minds of men today cannot be won by hollow slogans for democracy. The Europeans have seen too much of life since 1914. They aren't buying the Voice of America culture, and for good reason. They know the Negro—not only his great contributions to American culture, from jazz to historical writing. They know what he is doing presently. There is the forceful voice of the Alabama Negroes [in the Montgomery Bus Boycott] who have taken the matter of their freedom into their own hands and have never let go in all these months." [pp.280-281]

The Little Rock situation<sup>1</sup> has to be considered within this framework. Consider the little girl who walked through those bayonets [to enter the school in Little Rock]. She was actually in the tradition of those runaway slaves who had nothing to follow but the North Star to freedom. That one action of trying to go into school, that picture of dignity and courage was flown throughout the world. (The Communists were very fast in picking it up. They have good cause; at least they can get themselves whitewashed that way.) This was followed by the savage attack on the Negro adults the first day the children tried to go to school again. The forces of law and order, the National Guard and the Little Rock police, stood by and did nothing while these four Negroes were attacked.



A mob of jeering white students and parents taunt Elizabeth Eckford, one of 9 Black students who courageously integrated Little Rock's Central High School in 1957.

That one picture was enough to compel Eisenhower to do something; and if anybody didn't want to do anything it was Eisenhower. He kept saying "over my dead body, over my dead body." It was over his dead head.

Eisenhower also has a little politicking to do for Negro votes. But the important thing is not the politicking for votes but what Governor Faubus represents in these events. He stands not just for Arkansas but for the whole Deep South that is trying to keep the barbaric way of life down there—the Southern white way of life.

**THAT BRINGS US TO** some of the more fundamental problems, both historically and in the present, to see what is happening. Arkansas you know is an agricultural state; to this day it is 67% agricultural. In spite of a little industrialization, it's still mostly cotton and corn.

What is it that makes them always return to agriculture when it comes to the South, even though they get industrialized a bit?

[We must go back to] the end of Reconstruction and the famous [Hayes-Tilden] Compromise of 1877. We know that when you have something as serious as a civil war you have a fundamental change, a new kind of labor, a new kind of society. Therefore, the whole economy has to be uprooted and changed. In the case of the South it meant that production of the North was going to be dominant, and they were supposed to do away with other things. Unfortunately, the capitalist class is much more class conscious than the working class. By the time of the Civil War (1861), they saw that when they gave the peasant his plot of land, there was a new force they were meeting.<sup>2</sup>

The bourgeoisie had seen by 1861 the trouble they had had with the working class in the North. And they said that if on top of that we're going to [have to fight] the Negro in the South, it's going to be the end of us. It's not only going to be the supremacy of Northern industry as against Southern agriculture, it's going to be the supremacy of the working class against both the Southern plantation owner and the Northern capitalist.

The North [was forced] to make a decision much more serious than the one about the Civil War. To overcome the plantation economy it was not sufficient to have industry in the North, but both the peasantry and what he was promised [after the war]: 40 acres and a mule. The freed slave was not going to get that, not when they saw

1. The fight to enter the Little Rock, schools had led to a federal court order to integrate them. When President Eisenhower dispatched federal troops to Little Rock in Fall 1957 to enforce the court order, the crisis reached national proportions. Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus was considered a Southern moderate, but his defiance of the federal court order in the name of states' rights made him a hero to white supremacists.

2. See "Peasant Revolts, New and Old," in *American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard* (Detroit: News & Letters, 1983), p. 13, for Dunayevskaya's development of this question in the broader historical context of that work, written in 1963.

how rebellious he was and how rebellious the workers were in the North. The first national union started right after the Civil War. With the so-called "gentlemen's agreement" the North said to the South: We will withdraw the troops from the South and let you run it. Since the Blacks won't be slaves, let them be sharecroppers. We'll run the North and you run the South.

In 1877 there was a very close election in this country. It looked like for the first time since the Civil War the Democrats would get back into power. The Republicans wanted very much to remain in power. The American system isn't as democratic as it sounds. After you vote, it doesn't necessarily mean that your vote counts. You only vote for electors and they vote as they see fit. So the Republicans said to the Southern plantation owners: If you cast your vote in the electoral college for Hayes who didn't win the popular vote, we will withdraw the troops and leave you on your own.

The contention that this deal between the Republicans and the Southern plantation owners immediately established the solid South is an even bigger distortion of the truth than not to have noticed it at all. This kind of horse trade is not what established the solid South.

**THE TRUTH IS ALWAYS** how you earn a living and what you are going to do to gain your little bit of freedom and better conditions of work. The North was confronted with all sorts of labor demonstrations. Do you think today is the first time they sent troops into a state? Every time you had a labor demonstration they did. The most famous was the Haymarket riots in Chicago [in 1886]. Before that there was Hayes who sent troops everywhere every time workers tried to establish a national union. Hayes said: To help me see that these Northern white workers never get together with Southern freed men you better vote for me. I'll put them down and then I'll give you the right to run your country.

That was the horse trade; and it worked. Except that conditions were so bad that the next stage of the problem was the great Populist movement in the 1880s and '90s. The southern plantation owners were able to do whatever they wanted, and they disenfranchised the Negro and began to have sharecroppers instead of slaves. (There wasn't much difference because the sharecropper still had to depend on the plantation owner not only for his food and rent but personally. He controlled everything.) The Populist movement was the greatest movement this country has ever seen for a third party. It was strong enough to elect people from the various states and not far from electing a president.

In that same prejudice-ridden South you had the greatest movement among the Negroes, the National Colored Farmers Alliance, one and one-quarter million strong. Even in John R. Common's history of the U.S. you find one little sentence—three lines—for one and a quarter million people; an independent movement of newly freed slaves who aren't even supposed to exist. I felt there must have been a movement there, and went searching and found it.

Tom Watson was a white man who had his life threatened because he hid sharecroppers who had organized this Colored Farmers Alliance. He was elected by Negro votes as a senator and sent to Washington, D.C. The North was finally able through the growth of monopoly to break the agrarian revolt completely in the West and in the South. Watson turned completely around and became as rabid as Faubus. By 1890 they were able to completely disenfranchise the Negro. But before that they had a real force to contend with. It didn't stop in 1877.

The South and the Midwest and the proletariat of the North did join hands in the Populist movement in the period of the 1880s and particularly the 1890s. So there is no use in saying that because there was a horse trade in 1877 that decided everything. That is always only a symbol of what is being cooked up by the capitalists under pressure from much stronger forces than they are.

I went back to both Reconstruction and the end of Reconstruction in order to show that the Civil War never completed itself, even from a strictly capitalist point of view of having to have industrialization as against agriculture. They have always permitted sharecropping. When industrialization did come it was purely white—textiles. When they got to steel and coal, the dirtiest jobs were always given to the Negroes; they couldn't avoid hiring the Negroes. The industrialization of the South had always proceeded on the economic remains of slavery. Otherwise, those few Southern senators could never exercise the power that they do in the Congress.

In the fact that the Negro never had his 40 acres and a mule, in the fact that when industry came South it was over the remains of the old, are the roots for understanding what is happening today...

## NEWS & LETTERS

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**Essay Article**

**Uncovering Marx's yet unpublished writings**

by Kevin Anderson

Author of *Lenin, Hegel, and Western Marxism*

When Lawrence Krader published his historic transcription of Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* 25 years ago, a new window was opened into Marx's thought. What in published form had become 250 pages of notes by Marx on Lewis Henry Morgan and other anthropologists compiled in his last years, 1880-81, showed us as never before a Marx concerned as much with gender relations and non-Western societies such as India, pre-Columbian Mexico, and the Australian aborigines, as well as ancient Ireland, as he was with the emancipation of the industrial proletariat.

To this day there are a significant number of writings by Marx on these and other issues which have never been published in any language. Why this is still the case in 1997, 114 years after Marx's death, is the subject of this essay, in which I will also take up plans now in progress in Europe to publish many of these writings for the first time.

The problem really begins with Engels and continues today. While Engels labored long and hard to edit and publish what he considered to be a definitive edition of Vol. I of *Capital* in 1890, and brought out Vols. II and III of that work in 1885 and 1894 by carefully editing and arranging Marx's draft manuscripts, Engels did not plan or even propose the publication of the whole of Marx's writings. Under the post-Engels Second International, little more was done.

**THE FIRST MEGA: NEW VISTAS AFTER 1917**

It took the Russian Revolution of 1917 to break the impasse. With the encouragement of Lenin, the great Marx scholar, David Riazanov, and his colleagues began the first Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe (Complete Works, hereafter MEGA1) in the Soviet Union in the early 1920s.

Since the anti-Bolshevik Second International still owned the manuscripts and letters of Marx and Engels, the newly established Frankfurt School's director, Carl Gruenberg, who had relations with both Communists and Socialists, became the go-between.

Riazanov established a far-reaching plan for MEGA1, part of which was actually published during the years 1928-35. He divided MEGA1 into three series, each of which was to contain writings in the original language in which Marx or Engels had written them, usually German, English, or French<sup>1</sup> as well as a rigorous scholarly apparatus of footnotes, and prefaces:

**Series I. Philosophical, Economic, Historical, and Political Works.** MEGA1 eventually published eight volumes of this series covering the years up to 1850, including most notably the 1844 *Humanist Essays* and the *German Ideology*, neither of which had been published by Engels or the Second International. Riazanov had first published a Russian translation of the *Humanist Essays* in 1927.

**Series II. Capital and other economic manuscripts.** This series was to include all editions of Vol. I of *Capital* as Marx wrote them or Engels edited them, from the first German edition of 1867, to the last which Marx prepared for the printer, the 1872-75 French edition, to Engels' "definitive" fourth German edition of 1890. It was also to include Vols. II and III as edited by Engels, the original manuscripts for those volumes, plus other texts such as the *Grundrisse* and *Theories of Surplus Value*. None of this series of MEGA1 was published, although the *Grundrisse* eventually appeared as a separate volume in 1939-41.

**Series III. Letters from and to Marx and Engels.** Only four volumes were actually published, covering all known letters of Marx and Engels to each other from 1844 to 1883, but not letters to or from third parties.

**MARX'S EXCERPT NOTEBOOKS LEFT OUT**

For all his commitment to publishing the whole of Marx, even Riazanov rejected the idea of publishing one type of writing by Marx, his excerpt notebooks, such as the *Ethnological Notebooks* in which Marx had copied extracts from, summarized, and commented on many of the various texts he had studied throughout his life.

In a 1923 report on his plans for MEGA1 to Moscow's Socialist Academy, a report which was also published in Germany the following year by Frankfurt School director Gruenberg, Riazanov referred to a fourth or "final group" of Marx's writings, "the notebooks," which he indicated would be of use mainly to Marx biographers. He mentioned in particular "three thick notebooks on the economic crisis of 1857... a chronological survey of world history up to the middle of the seventeenth century" as well as "some mathematical notebooks." He made an exception for the latter, which was apparently slated for publication.

But, in a surprising outburst of condescension, this usually rigorous Marx editor added: "If in 1881-82 he lost his ability for intensive, independent intellectual creation, he nevertheless never lost the ability for research. Sometimes, in reconsidering these Notebooks, the question arises: Why did he waste so much time on this systematic, fundamental summary, or expend so much labor as he spent as late as the year 1881, on one basic book on geology, summarizing it chapter by chapter. In the 63rd year of his life—that is inexcusable pedantry. Here is another example: he received in 1878, a copy of Morgan's work. On 98 pages of his very miniscule hand-

writing (you should know that a single page of his is the equivalent of a minimum of 2.2 pages of print) he makes a detailed summary of Morgan. In such manner does the old Marx work." This attitude helps explain why Marx's notebooks were not slated to appear in MEGA1.<sup>2</sup>

By the late 1920s, Riazanov, this century's greatest Marx archivist and editor, began to feel the heavy hand of Stalin's regime. In 1931, Stalin had him arrested and deported to a forced labor camp, where he was executed in 1938. MEGA1 ceased to appear in 1935, it too having become a victim of Stalinism. Publication of Marx's mathematical manuscripts, already edited by the young German mathematician Julius Gumbel (who had been recommended by Einstein) and even set in proofs by 1927, did not appear until 1968.<sup>3</sup>

**THE MARX-ENGELS COLLECTED WORKS**

Riazanov also developed a plan for a somewhat more popularized *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels, which was eventually published in Russian during the years 1928-46. This edition became the basis for the German Marx-Engels Werke (1956-68) as well as other single-



language editions such as the English language Marx-Engels *Collected Works* (hereafter MECW), which has been appearing since 1975. Taking the MECW as our example, we find that this edition also has three parts.

I. Vols. 1-27 include Marx's and Engels' published and unpublished books, articles, and manuscripts. These have all appeared.

II. Vols. 28-35 are Marx's major economic writings, all of which except Vols. II and III of *Capital* have appeared.

III. Vols. 38-49 are the letters of Marx and Engels. All but Vols. 48 and 49, letters of Engels after 1885, have appeared.

Like all Stalinist editions, MECW has serious omissions as well as other problems. The prefaces and explanatory notes are often dogmatic and sometimes misleading. Divergences between Marx and Engels are covered over. Their sharp attacks on the Russian Empire's territorial ambitions, and their strong support for anti-Russian freedom fighters such as the Poles and the Chechens are sometimes concealed, or even ascribed to errors by Marx or Engels.

But the biggest problem with MECW and similar editions is that they are not a MEGA. For example, we do not get to see the whole of Marx's *Capital*, Vol. I, especially the 60 pages left out by Engels (see below), or the process by which Marx changed and developed it through its various editions.

**RUBEL'S MARX OEUVRES**

During the long years from the 1930s to 1989 when Stalinist Russia and East Germany exercised a near monopoly over publishing Marx's collected writings, in no small part because of the stinginess of academia and the labor bureaucracy in the West, French Marxologist Maximilien Rubel's independent editions, chronologies, and biographies of Marx offered a libertarian alternative, albeit on a smaller scale.

In 1952, Rubel co-authored an attack on the Marx-

Engels-Lenin Institute in Moscow for its "silence regarding the fate of Riazanov and his enterprise," adding that Stalin "could not tolerate the publication in its entirety of an oeuvre that stigmatized his despotism via the merciless struggle waged by Marx and Engels against police states: those of Louis Napoleon, of Prussia, of tsarism."<sup>4</sup>

A decade later, Rubel began to issue his *Marx Oeuvres*. From 1963 to 1994, four volumes, each containing about 1,500 pages of Marx and 500 pages of Rubel's scholarly prefaces and footnotes have appeared. Unlike in Stalinist editions, differences between Marx and Engels are noted, especially with regard to *Capital*.

However, Rubel's commentary is often marred by a virulent anti-Hegelianism. In addition, as a Marx editor, Rubel too was opposed to publishing the excerpt notebooks. Just before his death in 1995 he gave a revealing response to an interviewer's question on whether we could expect to see any important new material from Marx in the coming years: "Frankly, I do not believe so. Riazanov only wanted to publish forty volumes quite simply because he thought it useless to publish the whole of the excerpt notebooks (more than two hundred!). These Notebooks are no more than simple copies, often without personal observations, of what he was reading. For Marx was an obsessive reader."<sup>5</sup>

**THE SECOND MEGA**

In 1975, a second MEGA (hereafter MEGA2) was begun from Moscow and East Berlin. In pure Stalinist style, the editors made no reference to the pioneering work of Riazanov, their illustrious martyred predecessor. As with MECW and other similar editions, the prefaces and notes had a dogmatic character, although the actual editing of Marx's texts was quite meticulous.

After the collapse of Communism in 1989-91, MEGA2's funding disappeared, but today, after a struggle, it is receiving new funding from German and Dutch foundations. While the funding is much more limited than before 1989, and the edition has been slightly scaled back, editorial control has now passed to a varied group of mainly Western Marx scholars.

MEGA2 includes four series, the fourth one being Marx's and Engels' excerpt notebooks.<sup>6</sup>

**Series I. Works, Articles, and Drafts.** Of 32 volumes now planned, 15 have appeared. Especially notable in this series is Vol. I/2, which includes Marx's 1844 *Humanist Essays*. Here for the first time, two versions of these manuscripts are published, the one as established by MEGA1 with which we are familiar, and a new version, rougher in form but closer to the original. Interestingly, in the first 10 pages of the new version, Marx on the same pages is writing three essays at once, in separate vertical columns. Later on, we can see that what we know today as the "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic" was composed in at least two parts, with the part on Feuerbach separated from the text in which Marx extols "the dialectic of negativity as the moving and creating principle" of Hegel's *Phenomenology* (p. 292).

**Series II. Marx's Major Economic Writings.** Of 15 volumes now planned, 10 have been published. What has already been published includes all the editions of Vol. I of *Capital* which either Marx or Engels prepared for publication. Especially important here is Vol. II/10, a reprint of Engels' 1890 fourth German edition, but with an important addition, an appendix which gathers together 60 pages of text, much of it very significant, from Marx's 1872-75 French edition of Vol. I. This material was not included by Engels in Vol. I, and has yet to appear in standard German or English editions of Vol. I.<sup>7</sup>

**Series III. Correspondence.** Of 35 volumes now planned, eight volumes covering years through 1857 have been published. Since MEGA2 includes letters to Marx, there are some interesting items, one of which bears on the epigraph from Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* with which Marx began his 1841 doctoral dissertation on Epicurus and Democritus: "Better to be a servant of this rock than to be a faithful boy of father Zeus" (MECW 1, p. 31). Having apparently read the dissertation, Marx's friend, the Left Hegelian, Bauer, who was already a university lecturer, wrote advising him:

"You must under no circumstances include those lines from Aeschylus in your dissertation, and above all nothing which goes beyond the bounds of philosophical development" (letter of April 12, 1841). Bauer was evidently worried that Marx would never get a university position if he included those now famous lines on Prometheus. Unfortunately Marx's response has not been preserved, but those lines, were, as we know, kept in the thesis.

**Series IV. Excerpt Notebooks.** Of 32 volumes now planned, seven have been published. Here what is most exciting are the notebooks which have never appeared in print. Although Marx's *Notes on Bakunin's Statehood and Anarchy* and the *Notes on Adolph Wagner* are in MECW, and the *Ethnological Notebooks*, the *Notes on Indian History*, 664-1858, and parts of the *Mathematical* (Continued on page 8)

2. Most of these citations from Riazanov's report can be found in Raya Dunayevskaya, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (Humanities Press, 1982), pp. 177-78. For the full report in German, see Riazanov's "Neueste Mitteilungen ueber den literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels," *Archiv fuer die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, Vol. II (1924), pp. 385-400. Raya was to my knowledge the first person to publicize and critique Riazanov's attitude toward the excerpt notebooks. As she pointed out, in his edition of the *Ethnological Notebooks*, even Krader had held back from mentioning Riazanov's dismissive attitude to the excerpt notebooks.

3. In Stalinist style, that 1968 edition did not even mention Gumbel. See Annette Vogt, "Emil Julius Gumbel (1891-1966): der erste Herausgeber der mathematischen Manuskripte von Karl Marx," *MEGA-Studien* No. 2 (1995), pp. 26-41. See also R. Brokmeyer, F. Dmitriyev, and R. Dunayevskaya, *The Fetish of High Tech and Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts* (Chicago: News and Letters, 1985).

4. Rubel and Bracke-Desrousseaux, "L'Ocident doit a Marx et a Engels une edition monumentale de leurs oeuvres," *La Revue socialiste*, No. 59, July 1952, pp. 13-114.

5. See *Le Monde des Livres*, Sept. 29, 1995, p. viii.

6. For a good summary of the present state of MEGA2, see Jacques Grandjonc and Juergen Rojahn, "Aus der MEGA-Arbeit. Der Revidierte Plan der Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe," *MEGA-Studien* No. 2 (1995), pp. 62-89. *MEGA-Studien* (c/o IISG, Cruquiusweg 31, 1019 AT Amsterdam), established in 1994, is an international multi-lingual journal of discussion and debate on the history and future of MEGA. Another forum for debate and information of MEGA is the yearly *Beitrag fuer Marx-Engels-Forschung* (c/o Rolf Hecker, Ribbecker Str. 3, 10315 Berlin).

7. For a discussion of Vol.II/10, see my "On the Relevance of Marx's Capital: Why Is the Full Text as He Wrote It Unavailable?," *News & Letters*, October 1992.

1. Some background in English on this is provided by Hal Draper in an appendix to his *Marx-Engels Register* (Schocken, 1985), and a much fuller account is given by Maximilien Rubel in the "Avertissement" (Preface) to his edition of Marx's *Oeuvres. Politique. I* (Paris: Gallimard, 1994).

## THE STATE OF THE WORLD AS WE BEGIN 1997

Your Bosnia-Herzegovina collection feels even more important as news of the massive anti-fascist demonstrations comes through. The mainstream media seem not to know what to do with this, as opposed to Tiananmen Square or the Berlin Wall. The analyses in N&L's collection certainly show us why—but are also full of poignant testimony, not just to atrocities but to a way of life we could all learn from, which has been violently shattered.

Adrienne Rich  
California

\* \* \*

At the initiative of the Committee for Israeli-Palestinian Dialogue, the Materna Factory of Kibbutz Ma'abarot donated 30 tons of powdered milk—worth an estimated \$50,000—for the children of Gaza. We consider it but a modest gesture to help alleviate the plight of the Gaza children, who suffer from the results of the general closure, imposed for many months by the government of Israel on inhabitants of the Palestinian Territories.

Latif Dori,  
Cmtee. for Israeli-Palestinian Dialogue  
P.O. 20373  
Tel Aviv 61204

\* \* \*

I read that when Newt Gingrich was confronted with the charges against him he confessed that he "brought down on the people's house a controversy which could weaken the faith people have in their government." Who does he think he's fooling? The people know this government belongs to the capitalists and the government is full of people like Newt Gingrich to do their bidding. Stealing and lying is the name of their game. The people also know there's no difference between a Democrat and a Republican. It's why over half the people in the country didn't even bother to vote.

Retired auto worker  
California

\* \* \*

Unchecked, capitalism will lead to environmental catastrophe, spelled out in starvation, disease and crime. The nations of the world will be forced to do more planning of the economy. As socialists we want to bring this about as democratically as possible. It is no longer only a question of a more just society, but a question of survival. I see N&L as a vital source of information about humanity's worldwide struggle for social justice.

Disabled worker  
Louisiana

\* \* \*

I'm shoveling dirt in Riverside Park as the community service the New York court required me to do besides spending two days in jail and paying a \$45 fine. They took away the ten umbrellas I was trying to sell, because I don't have a vendor's license. I cannot beg for money or steal and there are no jobs, even dishwashing or sweeping, which would be fine if I could get them. What do I do now?

John from Senegal  
New York

\* \* \*

We can't win the Detroit newspaper strike playing by the companies' rules because they (Gannett and Knight-Ridder) have too much money. I think they would publish a paper without any advertising income at all if they thought it would break the unions. They have money, but we have something more important...the people. Stopping production is the key to winning this strike.

Striker  
Detroit

\* \* \*

If we had legislation in this country outlawing the hiring of replacement workers in a strike situation, our strike would have been over long ago, or more probably wouldn't even have started in the first place. I think a Labor Party would be important to get this kind of legislation.

Newspaper striker  
Detroit

\* \* \*

In view of the fact that the ominous political developments accelerate more and more, even a daily paper is hard-pressed to keep up with them. A monthly paper is almost doomed to be an "archive" of a past event, not a commentary on what is happening at the mo-

ment. What I find amazing about N&L is that by dealing with events through the vision of both Marxist-Humanism and the workers, prisoners, and others "on the ground," it manages to be up-to-date and relevant, despite any time lapse.

Radical intellectual  
Canada



### WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE WALLS

Your paper has helped me and many other prisoners understand how we became victims of a system that no longer cares about justice or human rights. We are its present and future slaves under new laws created to lock people up even for the most non-violent crimes. The prisons are full of non-violent prisoners whose parole privileges have been taken away even if we do good inside. I see people outside now refusing to fall into the trap we did. This might be one of the reasons they want to take our parole away. My advice to all outside and inside of prison is to stand up for equal justice, human rights and a better world for all.

Prisoner  
Texas

\* \* \*

Prison is not very far removed from the employed and unemployed laborers who feel imprisoned in their workplace or their communities. At the same time, today's imprisonment "deep in the Pen" has created an image of "factories with fences." In coming years we may see factories, textile plants, foundries, and even high tech industries spring up in and around prisons. Already the prison system contracts out prison labor to the state, military and private industries at near slave wages. (Federal prisoner wages begin at 22 cents per hour.) These meager wages help buy toothpaste, cigarettes, and books. They also help pay the fines which have been instituted to control prison behavior.

Black worker  
Los Angeles

\* \* \*

The article on "Factories with fences" in the December section on "Voices from within the Prison Walls" said a lot about capitalism's attitude to all workers. Workers are treated like slaves most clearly today when they are in prison and when they are on workfare. What the prisoner-author from Menard was stressing, however, was that the "new law of hate, crime and punishment" is radicalizing prisoners and driving them towards revolt. It was significant that the prisoner-writer ended his story with a quote from *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*, which showed that the dialectic of revolution revealed in this book about *Women's Liberation* speaks to everyone struggling for freedom.

Franklin Dmitryev  
Tennessee

\* \* \*

There is a direct link between slavery and prison labor. As soon as slavery was abolished, a plantation in Angola, Louisiana, was turned into a prison and the prisoners picked cotton in the same way slaves had. Today's Abolitionism very properly starts with the desire to abolish prisons.

Ex-prisoner  
San Francisco, Cal.

### ZAIRE IN HISTORY

Helping children to be fed, whether here or in Rwanda and Zaire, just doesn't seem to be a concern for the President. As with the genocide in Bosnia, Clinton felt justified in standing on the sideline by chalking up the conflict in Rwanda-Zaire to those mythical ancient ethnic rivalries. Does he think calling the conflicts "tribal" excuses his actions?

Disgusted  
Chicago

\* \* \*

Lou Turner lays out all the concrete players in the collapse of Zaire. It is cru-

# Readers' Views

cial to remember the whole history of revolution and counter-revolution beginning with the CIA's overthrow of Lumumba's multiethnic movement for national independence. It was truly a dramatic turnaround when Kabila's forces of mostly native Zairian Tutsis stopped the Hutu militias and opened up the corridor for the Hutu population to return to Rwanda. It is important that Kabila is a Marxist connected to the tendency that goes back to Lumumba.

R.B.  
Oakland, Cal.

\* \* \*

Lou Turner's Lead in the December issue is the first thing I've seen on Zaire that shows history in the present.

Sonia Bergonzi  
Chicago

### MARIO SAVIO

Reading the In Memoriam to Mario Savio reminded me that Free Speech is not an abstraction but must be practiced. Transforming the world demands a new way of acting and thinking. But we must also be prepared for times of retrogression. Practice alone is not sufficient. We also need the self-development of the Idea, the free release of the idea of freedom.

Steven  
L.A.

\* \* \*

Mario Savio was an inspiration to revolution and thought. I was fortunate to have worked with him, first meeting him in January of 1995, at a meeting of public university faculty, staff, and students gathered to continue the struggle in the aftermath of the racist, anti-immigrant Proposition 187. Savio was concerned with what would come to be Proposition 209, against affirmative action.

He understood and lived the unity of all struggles—I could count on seeing him at feminist rallies, labor marches, and anywhere that a voice for justice and freedom was needed. While his generous spirit and encouraging corporeal presence will be sadly missed, the struggle continues.

Jennifer Pen  
San Jose, Cal.

\* \* \*

As soon as I heard that Mario Savio had died, I got out my copy of *Philosophy and Revolution* to reread what he said about how the authoritarianism of the rulers in this society brings workers and students together in understanding. I always thought that was a great insight. He said that the way factories are run is a "parallel to the university." It's on p. 268 if you want to look it up.

Felix Martin  
Whittier, Cal.

\* \* \*

Neither of the articles on Mario Savio and Meridel LeSueur in the December issue was an obituary or an "In Memoriam." Instead they were celebrations and discussions of their lives and contributions to revolution in practice and in ideas.

Ex-journalist  
Detroit

### IMMIGRANT STRUGGLES

Your article on Latin American immigrants in the U.S. (August-September 1996 N&L) was very important—in particular, the point that "Latino immigrant labor is very complex, with its cultural and racial differences and histories." While the differences among Latin Americans are not discussed in most of the literature, Suzanne Oboler's *Ethnic Labels, Latino Lives: Identity and the Politics of (Re)Presentation in the U.S.* helped me understand a basic problem we Latinos have in the U.S.—the homogenization of all Hispanics. It was important to see that, in your analysis of the Latino labor movement, the differences among us were taken into account.

Grad student  
Indiana

\* \* \*

We had heard about *News & Letters* from the German translation of Charles Denby's autobiography, and just got a

copy of the August-September issue with the article on "New immigrants enliven U.S. struggles and its contradictions." We have translated it into German because we found it very helpful to show the importance of the struggles of immigrant workers all over the world. Here we, too, try to support the struggles of such workers, at the moment especially in the construction sectors, against the attacks of the police. We publish a small journal concerned with working class struggles all over the world and with theory and look forward to corresponding with you.

Wildcat  
Cologne, Germany



### THE BLACK DIMENSION

I have been writing books about the Black struggle, including one on the history of "Culture and Segregation." I do not think, however, that culture is the answer to resolving the contradictions of the Black revolt and the birth of a new society. I grew up in a generation that thought "Black is beautiful" would alter consciousness. But there is so much about Black history that is unknown that I feel honored to be one of the scholars filling in the gaps in our knowledge.

Black historian  
Pennsylvania

\* \* \*

The Chicago Sinfonietta, under the direction of the highly respected Black conductor Paul Freeman, honored the legacy of Martin Luther King, Jr. on Jan. 20 in an especially powerful way—first by featuring a gospel choir to its orchestral accompaniment, and second by including a salute to the Jewish contribution to the civil rights movement with a performance of Thomas Beveridge's "Yizkor Requiem." To make sure the point was not missed, the performance was dedicated to James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner, the "African-American Christian and two European-American Jews," as the program put it, who died during the struggle in Mississippi in 1964. I agree with all those who felt that King would have been more than merely pleased with the tribute.

Early CRM activist  
Chicago

\* \* \*

We need a united front of Blacks, whites, men and women based upon class consciousness and workers' solidarity. However good the intent of affirmative action, it has no potential to end the struggle for jobs in a market dependent economy.

D.T.  
Lafayette, La.

\* \* \*

The overwhelming approval of Proposition 209 last November sent a message loud and clear that the white racist male mentality is a majority. In many ways this mentality still hid behind a white sheet by calling 209 a "civil rights" initiative. This white majority may not be the Confederate-flag-waving, goose-stepping, red-neck David Duke types. It can be the suit-wearing executive of a major corporation like Texaco, where racism bubbled over into national news.

Black worker  
Los Angeles

\* \* \*

Reagan's retrogression on Black rights worldwide started with his notion, "We will overturn." What got turned back were the freedoms everyone enjoyed. We had better never forget that the Black struggle for the legal right to read and write is what led to universal public education in this country.

Mark Jones  
Chicago

**'UNCHAINING THE POWER OF NEGATIVITY'**

Reading Raya Dunayevskaya's article on "Unchaining the Power of Negativity" in the December issue reminded me that being aware of history really helps. As one who grew up as a Baptist and became a Marxist, I think the secret of Marxist-Humanism is its richness of history. We are all brought up to suppress our outrage. We lose our dignity when we suppress the natural outrage towards this capitalist, sexist society.

I can also see why we do not know which force of revolution will be the key in the concrete; because revolution is not a mechanical conclusion but a milieu of potentials. When Dunayevskaya points to Logic being replaced by Hegel, it means we were left an open system, not one closed and controlled. We weren't told to stay within these certain boundaries of "truth," but challenged to develop our own minds as revolutionaries.

Dan  
Los Angeles

I see a need for today's freedom movements not to lose continuity with the "organization of thought," in order not to be stifled. That is what I thought Raya Dunayevskaya was saying in her letter to Meridel LeSueur, on retrospective becoming perspective and on leaps in dialectical history that must know the continuity of history to avoid retrogression. I felt that was also the point in her 1985 lecture that was printed in her Archives column in the December issue, where she took up "embryo and process" and the movement to second negation as what creates the humus for future development.

Revolutionary feminist  
Chicago

The quote from Meridel LeSueur in the article on her life was a beautiful way of talking about revolution in permanence. When Raya Dunayevskaya wrote back to her about dialectical history, you could see that is what LeSueur was really writing.

Terry Moon  
Memphis

I don't think your slogan "Woman as Reason" is helpful to women in the working class. What does the slogan mean? I think you mean the liberatory positive side of women's emancipation—heroines like Rosa Luxemburg, Kollontai, Raya Dunayevskaya, and millions of other women toilers. But this "Woman as Reason" stuff gets you outflanked politically by bourgeois feminism every time. Does it mean women generals? CIA agents? Corporate overseers? The Madeleine Albright? Ayn Rands? Hillary Clintons? Maxine Waters? If I am nitpicking, it is because you are not clear on this in N&L

Long-time radical  
Los Angeles

The articles on Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution last issue were all excellent in showing that Reason is within the subject, the women fighting for freedom. What I felt Raya Dunayevskaya's column on the unchaining of the dialectic showed was that the challenge to the revolutionary theoretician is to meet that Reason and help it develop to full liberation.

Women's Liberationist  
Tennessee

In re-reading Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution, I feel more than ever that this edition really talks to ALL peoples. And it is so very readable. That's one of its most outstanding characteristics. For a book of such intellectual depth to be so perspicuous is absolutely amazing.

Gloria I. Joseph  
Virgin Islands

**EXPLORING CHOICE**

I was glad to see Julia Jones' review of *Bisexual Politics* in the November issue of N&L. The concept of "choice" and "idea politics" is exactly what revolutionaries need to be exploring. Choice, whether it has to do with choosing your

sexuality, or reproductive choice, or what kind of labor you do, is a radical concept. Just as choosing to be a lesbian is not a rejection of men but an embracing of women, choosing bisexuality is not so much a betrayal of lesbians as an openness to what I think Marx might call "freely associated human relations."

Sharon Cannery  
Berkeley, Cal.



MEXICO:  
EL CRISIS

I recently returned from Mexico where I found, in the rapidly deteriorating economic and political scene, a few "growth" industries: bank robberies, kidnappings, corruption, new armed groups. It is apparently official (and common knowledge) that ex-president Carlos Salinas left the country with 16 billion U.S. dollars, which helped to destabilize the Mexican economy. Everything else, including the bank robberies, are microscopic, compared to this amount.

The unemployment rate is extremely high, with practically no unemployment insurance. Those working are doing well if they earn \$4 a day. When I asked somebody when they expect the next revolution, the answer was "soon." In the newspapers the present economic and political disarray is simply called "el crisis."

Traveler  
British Columbia

We have accomplished quite a bit this year in coordination with Tijuana workers to improve their living and working conditions. We have documented health and safety violations, garnered the release of imprisoned community leaders, testified on the negative effects of NAFTA, forged ties with Asian-based women's and workers' organizations, arranged speaking tours to university forums and made links with unionists, activists and others at the border areas. But the most important gains were those made by workers themselves in Tijuana who were able to win company-

provided transportation, health and safety protections such as gloves, ear plugs, ventilation and masks, while building a base to demand change in the industry as a whole.

We are looking forward in 1997 to building a Workers' Center in Tijuana for education in labor rights and health and safety organizing, as well as a Women's Center that will house a child care center for maquiladora workers and a space for women workers to meet and talk. To send contributions or get further information, write to:

Support Cmtee. for  
Maquiladora Workers  
3909 Center St., #210  
San Diego, Cal. 92104

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Your paper is an excellent way to learn about international movements for freedom. We use it here in our work with Indian peasants and students.

Youth Forum for Peace and Solidarity  
New Delhi

N&L is one of the few places where theory and practice really come together. I appreciate, and need, the global updates. In my view, all academics really need N&L

Professor  
Evanston, IL

I have been reading N&L for a year and have greatly appreciated whoever made it possible through a donor-subscription for me. I hope my sub can be renewed not only for myself but the numerous men who share each issue. I regularly share it with about a dozen others, and I know that each of them shares it with still more. Thanks from all of us.

Prisoner  
Florida

Here is \$25 to renew my subscription. I'm sure it comes closer to the actual costs.

Steady reader  
Washington, D.C.

Editor's Note: For the importance of our Donor Fund and the increase in our subscription price for the first time since 1980, see "To Our Readers" on page one.

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**BY RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA**

- Marxism and Freedom: From 1776 until today** 1988 edition. New author's introduction ..... \$17.50
- Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao** 1989 edition. New author's introduction ..... \$14.95
- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution** 1991 edition. New author's introduction. Foreword by Adrienne Rich ..... \$12.95
- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future** (1996 edition) \$15.95
- The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism: Selected Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya** ..... \$8.50
- The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two Historic-Philosophic Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya** Contains "Presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy of June 1, 1987," and 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes." ..... \$3 paperback, \$10 hardcover

**BY CHARLES DENBY**

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## Black/Red View

By John Alan

The noise generated by the debate over "Ebonics" (Black English) when the Oakland California, School Board declared "Ebonics" the "genetic language" of African-American students, has drowned out the serious academic, budgetary and social problems plaguing that poor school district.

Racially, the district's student body is overwhelmingly Black and Latino with a considerable number of Chinese and South Asian students, speaking various dialects. Some years ago, Latino parents got a previously elected school board to open a Spanish-speaking school for small children who were deficient in the English language. This special school didn't cause a ripple of opposition in Oakland.

However, last year, the issue of race did emerge during the teachers' strike. At that time a bitter battle started when the largely white teachers union went out on strike for a pay raise and a reduction in class size.

### PEDAGOGICAL PHILOSOPHY ABSENT

During this bitter encounter the union charged the school board with spending too much money on the salaries of consultants and administrators. The board countered this charge by saying the white teachers were deserting their responsibility to teach Black children.

Such a charge has the bitter sting of "racism," a "racism" which assumes objectivity in a situation where the academic rating of Black students has plummeted under the tutelage of white middle-class teachers.

Such a charge only has "objectivity" in the United States where it is easy to assume that all Black and white relationships are tainted with racism. The union's demand for the reduction of class size and spending more money on the direct evaluation of students was aimed at raising the academic level of the students. But the bitterness between the school board and union made it impossible for both sides to join together in a battle against the overarching political and social forces that

## Black parents

(Continued from page 1)

the slave." These punishments hinder the children and make them not want to come to school and learn.

Some of the children are told to sit down only twice before the teacher says, "I want that child to go to the alternative school." At the alternative school all the children do is lay their heads down and sleep. They have two teachers who don't teach, who just watch the children until their time is up. Some students are there for an entire school year. When they take the T-CAP test, they are unprepared.

### STRUGGLE FOR THE FUTURE

These children are being pushed into a fight that they don't know anything about. The teachers are attacking them and they don't understand why. Instead of being prepared for the real world or moving on to higher education, they won't be ready for the future.

The Christian Coalition teachers and principals start in kindergarten putting anything a child does on his record. By the time he gets to the sixth grade, his record is so messed up that when the principal or teacher say I want that child to go to alternative school, his record speaks for itself.

A lot of Christian Coalition people are moving from the surrounding areas of Tunica County, Miss. and Memphis and coming up Highway 64 to Fayette County. They already know what they want.

The parents and children are working against this planned effort. Now people are coming out who never got involved before. They want to know what is going on.

—Candace

## Actually Existing Marxisms conference

Chicago—It has become increasingly evident that new attempts are emerging to combat the idea that "Marxism is dead," by both longtime left theorists as well as a new generation of thinker/activists anxious to dispel the notion that existing society defines our future. One sign of this was the "Rethinking Marxism" Conference in December in Amherst, Mass., at which over 600 papers were given on various aspects of Marxist theory. Though on a much smaller scale, another sign was the conference on "Actually Existing Marxisms" held at the University of Chicago on Jan. 25-26.

The main lecture was given by Frederic Jameson on "Culture and Finance Capital." Unfortunately, instead of analyzing the present nature of capitalism in such a way as to discern forms of negativity arising to oppose it, Jameson focused on the alleged ability of capitalism to overcome its barriers to self-expansion. He spent much of his talk focusing on the idea that "long waves" of equilibrium characterize contemporary capitalism—to the disappointment of those looking for a critique of the inherent limits of high-tech capital.

A different approach was taken by Moishe Postone, author of *Time, Labor and Social Domination*, who argued that today's capitalism is fraught with internal instability and contradictions. Though Postone developed an interesting critique of Jacques Derrida's *Spectres of Marx*, his argument was seriously weakened by a failure to single out any existing or emerging social forces which could transform capitalism.

## Is Ebonics the issue in Oakland schools?

were blocking the education of African-American students.

As a Black striking teacher put it: There was no "pedagogical philosophy" to bring the sides together. This teacher is correct, in the sense that education is not a real human relationship between teachers, students and the community; instead, it is a relationship where the student is a mere object that is "educated" for some predetermined purpose.

In California, as in all the states, the quality of public education is dependent upon money, tax money, and the political power of the politicians controlling the money. Pete Wilson, the governor of California, has set aside in the state's budget a large amount of money for education, but this money isn't allocated to school districts according to need, but according to the district's ability to find matching funds.

This formula for the allocating of funds automatically discriminates against poor urban school districts like Oakland. Oakland's schools are falling apart; they're not places where students can concentrate on their studies, but places from which the student wants to escape.

### LANGUAGE OF ESTRANGEMENT

Faced with a school system in physical decay, social estrangement and a 50% academic failure among Black students, the Oakland School Board accepted the absurd conclusion of its special task force that "Ebonics" was the "genetic language" of African-American students.

Apparently the Board members thought by taking the stigma of "bad English" off speech patterns of poor and working-class Black children, it would open the doors to academic achievement in standard English and other subjects. Instead their naive absurdity created a fire storm of debate led by the Black middle-class.

## Essay Article

(Continued from page 5)

Manuscripts have been published separately, many new discoveries await us here.

While the actual contents of the new material in Series IV can today be studied in the archives only by those who can overcome the obstacle of Marx's very difficult handwriting, a look at the topics of the excerpt notebooks, most of which will hopefully be published in the coming years, reveals the following: (1) notes in 1853 and 1880-81 on Java, (2) 1852 notes on the history of women and gender relations, (3) many notes from the 1870s and 1880s on agriculture in Russia plus some on prairie farming in the U.S., (4) notes on Ireland from the 1860s, (5) notes on agriculture in Roman and Carolingian times, (6) a massive chronology of world history. Once these materials are published in the original language (Marx's later notebooks are often a combination of English and German), they can be translated into English and other languages in more accessible editions.

Vol. IV/6 containing Marx's 900-page 1846-47 notebooks on the worldwide history of agriculture and trade from the earliest times to the present has already been published, and we will reportedly also soon see in print Vol. IV/3 with his notebooks from 1844.

For the first time since the 1920s, a major edition of Marx's work is being published under auspices other than those of Stalinism. Raya Dunayevskaya once referred to the "incredible time, energy, and vigilance" which the Russian state-capitalist regime expended to "imprison Marx within the bounds" of its ideology.<sup>8</sup> That period is now over, although as Marx wrote in the *Eighteenth Brumaire*, "the tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living" (MECW 11, p. 103).

8. Dunayevskaya, *Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 until Today* (Bookman, 1958), p. 63.

As several participants pointed out, Postone's effort to uncouple class struggle from Marxism—on the grounds that class struggle only concerns fights over distribution of income and never challenges the inner core of capitalism—shows that he is unable to anticipate and theorize workers' struggles which challenge the very mode of labor in capitalism.

Such weaknesses stood in contrast to the paper given by Michael Hardt on "Immaterial Labor." Hardt sought to analyze the new forms of labor being fashioned by the restructuring of the work process while arguing that new forms of subjectivity and resistance are arising against them. Though it is not possible to briefly summarize his paper, unlike most commentators he emphasized the co-existence of sweated labor with the newest forms of high-tech production.

However, the distinction Hardt made between "immaterial labor" (labor centered on advanced processes of computerization) and "affective labor" (labor centered on the material production of goods and services) introduced a much deeper separation between high-tech and industrial production than seems warranted. It is therefore not at all clear that his effort to pose the inner link between sweated labor and high tech fits well with his own theoretic categories.

While no one came away feeling this conference answered the question of whether today's radicals will live up to the legacy of Marx's thought, it did show that important discussion and debates are occurring.

—Peter Hudis

In this debate no side seems to understand that it's not Ebonics versus standard English, but Black students versus the school system and the American society. Whatever the language that is spoken, it arises from social need, the necessity of intercourse with others.

In an estranged society, sharply divided by class and race, an "estranged" language will emerge to express that estrangement. African-American poor have always created a language which runs parallel to and in opposition to standard English. And often this Black English has been absorbed into this country's culture.

## General strike in Haiti

Millions of Haitians answered a strike call by the anti-International Monetary Fund Committee with a near total shutdown of the economy, schools and public institutions on Jan. 16. The Committee, composed of over 160 grassroots organizations, had called the strike to protest austerity moves forced upon the country by the U.S. and international bankers. The strike was only the latest and largest of a series of protests against the country's dire economic conditions, and of plans by President Rene Preval for economic "shock therapy."

The strike seemed to have the tacit support of former President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the immensely popular theology of liberation advocate who was forced to step down after only a few months in power. This was the price he paid for Clinton's 1994 intervention which restored Aristide briefly after years of a brutal and illegal military dictatorship.

In the past few months Aristide's Lavalas movement has split into two camps. On the one side, Lavalas Family, strong among the grassroots organizations and apparently backed by Aristide, advocates resistance to neo-liberalism. On the other side, the Lavalas Political Organization has the support of President Preval and most members of parliament. So far, however, Aristide has refused to criticize openly, let alone break with, the government or the Clinton administration.

## Ecology and Democracy

Serious contradictions within the environmental movement can be seen in the current debate about democracy. A good example is the Dec. 12, 1996 *Rachel's Environment and Health Weekly* (REHW), a newsletter usually devoted to fierce and intelligible exposes on environmental problems.

In this "1996 in Review" issue, editor Peter Montague excoriates the Sierra Club and Natural Resources Defense Council for claiming "victory" just because "25 years of ineffective U.S. environmental laws have been retained" against the Gingrich-led onslaught. Montague writes, "The national environmental organizations are...working to pass laws and regulations, one at a time, to apply a zillion bandages to a zillion small wounds, each of which is oozing blood. This is a strategy doomed to fail."

Like many in the radical wing of the movement, Montague calls for going beyond symptoms. An earlier analysis of the distortion of science concluded that "the root cause of the problems is a corporate form run amok" (REHW, Nov. 29, 1996). Yet Hegel long ago pointed to an inherent defect in the search of a "root cause": Since every cause is the effect of a prior cause, one gets caught in an infinite regression, and the only recourse is to halt at an arbitrary point.

Just so in the current debate, of which Montague is only one representative. In "1996 in Review," where he at first sounded as if he were going to call for revolution, he instead calls for "diminishing the excessive power of the corporate class...Getting corporate money out of the institutions of our democracy is the first requirement."

Montague declares that "people are beginning to see some hope of changing their lives through collective action" (REHW, Aug. 15, 1996). How peculiar then to follow that by conceding the "right" of corporations to "big profits" if they "play by the rules"! The contradiction lies between the real desire for radical change in the system and a self-limitation that stops short of articulating total change.

Montague's self-limitation is connected to his attitude to the masses: "Can popular anger at corporations be channeled for environmental protection? Can it be harnessed...?" What is missing in the determinism that seeks a root cause is the principle of self-determination.

The intellectual activist is always tempted to view the masses as backward and to look for ways to "harness the storm." Could that explain why one advocates reforms so radical that the existing power structure would never allow them, yet fails to envision the overthrow of that power structure?

At the same time, this contradiction cannot be separated from the spirit of the times, when all movements are restrained by an oppressive awareness of the failures and retrogressions of revolutions. The view that capitalism is a permanent, "natural" condition of humanity affects even those who oppose its depredations.

Kept within those bounds, the quest for freedom lapses into a self-limiting search for root cause. What is needed to avoid falling into determinism is to root the transformation of reality in a philosophy of liberation based on Marx's discovery that Mind is free and, when tightly related to the creativity of masses in motion, shows itself to be self-determined and ready for fusion in freedom. Nothing less will allow us to transcend the underlying causes of environmental destruction.

—Franklin Dmitryev

**Editorial**

**Crises rule Clinton's America in second term**

It would be hard to think of an inaugural address more full of empty homilies and lack of vision than the one President Clinton delivered Jan. 20, which he is said to have hoped would go down in history as one of the "great" ones. On how far he missed that goal the pundits and the American people can easily agree.

What is impossible to understand is how the pundits could suggest that what will keep Clinton's presidency from achieving the mantle of "greatness" in history he is looking for is what they call the lack of a crisis he is being challenged to meet. For never has the crisis of American society been greater, felt more deeply and by more sectors of the population than today.

**STATE'S POWER TO IMPOVERISH**

A "feel-good" speech cannot hide the intractable economic crisis that has spawned the kind of social gripping this nation that have become so deep and structural that there is no longer even any pretense that the power of the state can resolve them. That is why Republicans and Democrats have so emphatically agreed that "the era of big government is over."

On that there is full "bipartisanship." There is no longer any "great debate over the role of government" as Clinton put it in his address, because the total destruction of any "safety net" for the poor and unemployed that has euphemistically been called "welfare reform" has now been set in stone. As the lethal effects of the slashing of food stamps and welfare benefits begin to unfold now that the changes have actually kicked in, the next targets are being drawn into gun-sight: Social Security and Medicare are high on the list.

While Medicare has been insidious to serious attack for 62 years, its destruction is no longer unthinkable. The debate over "repairing" it kicked into higher gear at the beginning of January when a government advisory council unveiled three competing plans for "privatizing" it. What remains the same, no matter what the plan, is that the "repairs" will be disastrous for millions of older Americans.

For those with incomes below \$12,000 — the bottom 40% of today's elderly households — Social Security rep-



resents 80% of their entire income. Without it, 70% of elderly Black households and over 50% of Latino ones would be living in the most dire poverty.

It is not difficult to spot the single line of Clinton's address that rang true in his statement that "The divide of race has been America's constant curse," although he made sure neither to identify it as the curse of capitalism, nor to make it concrete. The "State of Black America" issued by the Urban League every year did spell it out, in the following stark realities of 1997:

The unemployment rate among Black workers is double that of white workers and has remained at or above 10% since the mid-1970s. One out of every three Black Americans lives in poverty. Black male life expectancy is eight years less than white male's; since the 1980s life expectancy has increased for white Americans while it has decreased for Black Americans. African Americans have the highest infant mortality rate of all ethnic groups, and nearly three times that of white infants.

**NO SOLUTIONS? BLAME BLACKS**

It is not that white America does not also suffer from the major crises of capitalist production — what has now become permanent unemployment and underemployment, inadequate housing, schools, health facilities and constant acts of police brutality.

It is that every crisis has been "racialized," as one young Black student told N&L, so everything from welfare to prison is seen as a "Black problem." Indeed, the crisis in the Black community today is unprecedented.

Nowhere is it seen in a more brutal form than in the exploding population in the prisons, where more and more of the unemployed youth are being warehoused. And nothing more exposes the dehumanization and degeneracy of what is passing as American "civilization" today than the triple execution carried out in President Clinton's home state of Arkansas, 12 days before his second inauguration — three executions arranged on the same night in order to "minimize overtime costs and reduce stress on the prison employees."

No "great crisis"? Whether it be the new bombings at abortion clinics with which we begin a new year, or the deliberate choice of Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday for the initiators of California's Proposition 209 to formally open a national campaign against race- and gender-based affirmative action, the battle lines ahead in 1997 at home are becoming clear for all to see.

While organized labor has not yet spoken out — and while there is nowhere in sight yet in the U.S. the kind of massive labor upsurge against capitalism's attacks seen everywhere from France to Germany and from South Korea to Haiti — there is steady of worker self-organizing right here, reflected steadily in workers' own reports in the pages of News & Letters.

**BATTLE LINES AT HOME**

Clinton will be making critical decisions regarding U.S. foreign policy in the year ahead and he is already planning meetings with Russian and European leaders on expanding NATO, a summit with Chinese President Jiang Zemin, and for the first time travel to Mexico and South America, with the global nature of the economy very much in his mind. But the most crucial questions he has to confront lie right here at home.

Whatever Clinton will focus on in his State of the Union address Feb. 4, and whether or not the pundits recognize the profundity of the crisis facing us, there never was a deeper one for us to find the way out of.

**Black World**

(Continued from page 1)

African independence and unity could be sponsored by imperialist-controlled world bodies like the UN, or by the so-called "socialist bloc." "Lumumba had asked for UN aid because he thought he could use both Russia and the United States to maintain independence. But before he could make use, he was used," wrote Raya Dunayevskaya at the time. Africa lost its revolutionary innocence with the realization that "white imperialism could speak through a Black puppet", as Dunayevskaya described the role of Tshombe as a willing instrument of European and American imperialism.

Fanon gave this self-critical summing-up of the Congo crisis and Lumumba's death for Africa in a piece for *El Moudjahid*, the political organ of the Algerian FLN (*Front de Liberation Nationale*): "The great success of the enemies of Africa is to have compromised the Africans themselves.... Our mistake, the mistake we Africans made, was to have forgotten that the enemy never withdraws sincerely. He never understands. He capitulates, but he does not become converted."

In the ensuing years following Lumumba's murder, which lent momentum to the centrifugal forces pulling

**Lumumba, Fanon, Che and the Congo**

apart the Congo, another Third World revolutionary internationalist experienced the wrenching effects of the violent world contradictions in the heart of Africa. The famous Argentinian revolutionary and theorist of guerrilla warfare Che Guevara plunged into the Congo cauldron for six months, April through October, 1965.

By then the Sino-Soviet conflict between China and Russia over which would be the leader of an emerging Third World had become a dominant divisive force within national liberation movements. The failure of Che's intervention in the Congo with some 100 trained Black Cuban guerrillas, backed by Castro, was a precursor to Che's tragic failure and death in Bolivia, in October 1967. Just as the Congo was for Africa, Che was Bolivia as the linchpin of the Latin American revolution.

Also like Fanon, the problem of the African revolution for Che was not a military one but an ideological one. Both discovered this theoretical void while engaged in the most practical tasks. On a reconnaissance mission in Mali for the FLN in 1960, a Fanon wrote critically in his notebooks: "For my part, the deeper I enter into the cultures and the political circles the surer I am that the great danger that threatens Africa is the absence of ideology."

Guevara too complained about the lack of revolutionary ideology among the Lumumbist Left, particularly in

the political leadership circles around Pierre Mulele, Gaston Soumaliot, and Laurent Kabila. The three were backed by the Congolese National Liberation Council, and headed up insurrections in different areas of the country: Mulele in Kwilu province east of Kinshasa; Soumaliot and Kabila in Kivu province bordering Burundi and Lake Tanganyika; while another figure from the old Lumumba government, Christophe Gbenye, took control of Kisangani in the north, in 1964, before being driven out by Belgian paratroopers. All were backed by Russia and China when Che entered the Congo, and all espoused some form or other of African socialism as part of a legacy inherited from Lumumba. Che saw these various "liberated zones" as the "guerrilla foco" for expanding the national insurrection.

By the end of 1965 all had been defeated by indigenous tribesmen supported by the Congolese army, or driven into the mountains by white mercenaries hired by the Tshombe regime. Despite his guerrilla criticism of the leadership and the Congolese guerrilla army, many of whom had come from Tshombe's army, Che had nothing but praise for the local African peasantry. His hope that they might one day constitute a new military force capable of really challenging the Congo's imperialist-backed regime may have come to fruition in the Alliance of Democratic Forces drawn from the country's ethnically diverse peasantry.

Che's disillusionment over the Congo was not due only to the Sino-Soviet conflict in the power vacuum effect on him, and on African revolutionaries who thought they could take advantage of the conflict or remain neutral. No new banner of revolutionary Marxism was unfurled that decisively broke with Russian and Chinese state-capitalism calling themselves "Communist," despite the underlying philosophy inherent in the African masses' revolutionary self-activity. Russia and China demanded that its clients tow a hard political line, which often led to political and military disasters on the ground in Africa and Latin America.

Absent that contradiction today, the question remains whether the resurgent movement led by Laurent Kabila, which has gained the regional pan-African support of Uganda, Rwanda, and Tanzania, can overcome the internal contradictions and pitfalls that led to their original defeat in 1965, and that had so disillusioned Che Guevara.

There is another contradiction internal to Africa's revolutionary movement, however, one Che himself did not overcome. Although he complained about the lack of political ideology, that is not the same as revolutionary theory there is no revolutionary movement, that "even if theory is not known, the revolution can succeed if historical reality is interpreted correctly and if the forces involved in it are utilized correctly."

Not only does the retrogression of the times call for nothing less than a full-fledged philosophy of revolution to fill the theoretical void in today's liberation movements. The historic depth of the African revolution reaching for completion also creates the need for philosophy.

**Fanon (1960)**

*"To put Africa in motion...behind revolutionary principles...this was really the work I had chosen"*

I  
A picture from Rome 1959  
eyes intently scrutinizing a report  
Your face  
close to the table.  
Still the intensity of youth  
But for a few weeks there  
you lost your sight

I have no time for coffee-room  
revolutionaries  
or those who stockpile their mental  
resources  
you said to Sartre,  
red eyed, at the end of the small hours<sup>1</sup>  
while assassins wait at your hospital bed  
Lumumba should have known better  
The enemy is without sincerity, you wrote  
but they came from within as well;  
For Ramdane<sup>2</sup>  
you chose to mourn  
and keep those dark secrets  
to yourself.

II  
Were you not also gambling on your life  
on a trip through Mali?<sup>3</sup>  
But then you had no time  
for those who hoard life  
A jeep ride to the Southern front

The drama unfolds rat-a-tat style  
Accra, Monrovia, Bamako-Timbuktu  
dodging secret service agents coming after  
you

the French combing the skies  
force you down onto endless unpassable  
roads;  
"the infinite details of deserts"  
and little sleep;  
Little sleep.

You have no patience for sleep.  
You  
who still denies the illness  
that thief in your blood  
draining the revolution

I see you reading complicated histories  
of ancient Africa and old empires  
eyes close to the page  
Things are not so simple  
and so little time in that "Africa Year"  
to put vision into motion

Shelley  
August 1996

1. A phrase *Aime Cesaire* repeats in his *Note of a Return to the Native Land*.  
2. A comrade of Fanon's. Though his death appeared as the work of the French, many suspected the order came from within the highest echelons of the nationalist movement itself.  
3. This section is based on Fanon's fascinating Mali log-book in *Toward the African Revolution*.

# Will Serbia protests confront legacy of ethnic cleansing?

(Continued from page 1)

police can't stop you from walking your dog." The more Milosevic barked, the larger and more creative became the protests.

Moreover, these protests have helped inspire mass demonstrations in neighboring Bulgaria, ruled by remnants of the old Stalinist regime. On Jan. 15 tens of thousands, including university and high school students, miners, chemical workers and others took to the streets of Sofia in support of the opposition's demand for new parliamentary elections.

Meanwhile, tens of thousands have taken to the streets and burned down government buildings throughout Albania to protest the collapse of a speculative pyramid scheme which has wiped out the savings of hundreds of thousands of workers.

## TWO TYPES OF OPPOSITION

Although the protests in Serbia reflect deepening mass discontent throughout the Balkans, they contain severe limitations. This is especially evident from the leadership of Zajedno. One of its main leaders is Vuk Draskovic of the Serbian Renewal Movement, a longtime political opponent of Milosevic who has often tried to outdo him in promoting Serbian nationalism. Its other main leader is Zoran Djindjic of the Democratic Party who has close ties with the Bosnian Serb "Republic" created through the slaughter of thousands of Bosnian Muslims.

The one anti-nationalist in the five-party Zajedno coalition is Vesna Pestic of the Civil Alliance of Serbia. However, she does not openly challenge Draskovic's and Djindjic's narrow nationalism, acting as if such matters can wait until after the establishment of "democracy."

Though the Zajedno leaders are a major factor in the protests, the engine of the anti-Milosevic movement is the students of Belgrade University. They organize daily demonstrations, sit-ins and protests, involving up to 300,000 at a time. The students claim to be independent of Zajedno and define themselves as a "non-party movement." As one activist explained, "The struggle for the right to live, which is the basic aim of the students' protest, lies much higher than the struggle for power which is the basic concept of the Zajedno coalition."

At the same time, many students oppose Milosevic from a narrow nationalist standpoint, accusing him of "selling out" the interests of Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia. This can be seen from BOOM, the daily strike paper issued by the students at Belgrade University. Though it discusses a range of subjects, from the student movement in the U.S. of the 1960s to critiques of bureaucratic administrators at Belgrade University, it contains virtually no discussion of Bosnia. Yet it does discuss the blessings it receives from the Serb Orthodox Church.

This contradictory situation is sharply revealed when it comes to women's liberation. After some student leaders called on women marchers to wear traditional Serbian dress, some feminists said they would not participate in the marches so long as they were dominated by male chauvinist narrow nationalists. Others, such as the Women in Black group, which stood virtually alone for the past four years in actively opposing the war in Bos-

nia, are participating in the protests, albeit critically.

They recently declared, "From the very beginning of the protests, we have taken an active role in this civilian rebellion against the regime and for human dignity and civil rights. We protest every day, carrying our signs and banners and distributing leaflets...our leaflets are warmly received, and we have seen their influence on people's behavior." They add, "People today in Serbia are liberating themselves from fear. We as an anti-militarist and anti-nationalist group continue to keep our autonomy from all the parties and our freedom to criticize them all, including Zajedno."

Borka Pavicevic of the Center for Cultural Decontamination, a group that has strongly opposed Serbian ethnic cleansing likewise noted, "Of course, things are mixed, but the majority of the demonstrators, especially the students, are not from the nationalist viewpoint...there is now an opening, because there is some energy for change. When that energy starts to move it arouses new energy."

"The majority has risen out of its depression, the feeling that whatever we are doing Milosevic will do what he wants with us. Now there is a feeling of each person that you can change something, that it is not forever that he will stay. That is what is actually positive, the imagining of change and the possibility of building something new" (from an interview with Susie Weissman on KPFF radio, Los Angeles, Dec. 6, 1996).

## WHERE IS BOSNIA?

It is important to recognize the reason for such feelings. After enduring a decade of war, economic hardship and seemingly endless political dictatorship, the sight of tens of thousands coming into the streets on a daily basis is lifting an incubus from the minds of the Serbian masses. Yet while these events have provided many Serbs with a sense of elation and self-esteem not felt in years, numerous contradictions remain, not all of them definable by a division between leaders and ranks.

Unlike in Bulgaria and Albania, the Belgrade protests have yet to attract support from workers or national minorities. Though a small group of workers organized by an independent trade union has marched with the students, and some strikes have broken out, for the most

part workers have kept their distance from the protests.

Moreover, little is being done to hold Milosevic accountable for his war against Bosnia. Though Paul Williams and Norman Cigar, who helped document the war against Bosnia, recently called on the Hague Tribunal on War Crimes to indict Milosevic for genocide, such demands are not being pressed by the protests. They instead limit themselves to a narrow set of demands centered on forcing Milosevic to recognize the Nov. 17 elections. The question of Bosnia and its struggle to defend a multiethnic society is simply not being addressed.

As Belgrade activist Sonia Biserko put it, "The protests have restored some of our self-respect. They have been a kind of collective therapy, a way of relieving accumulated tension. On the other hand, however, nobody ever mentions the war. It is as though we have just jumped over the last 10 years and the question of how we got into this mess in the first place" (quoted in Michael Dobbs, "Serbs Face Long Road to Respect," Washington Post, Jan. 15, 1997).

This has allowed a number of reactionary forces, who are angry at Milosevic for not going far enough in the war against Bosnia, to support the protests, such as the Orthodox Church and the Army. Indeed, the situation is so murky that Jean-Marie Le Pen, the arch-racist who heads France's National Front, visited Belgrade to express his support for Serb ultranationalists demonstrating against Milosevic.

This is all the more deadly in light of the ethnic cleansing of Muslims that continues in Bosnia. Most recently, Bosnian Muslims have been forced out of their homes in Mostar and Dobojo, where Serbs have formed a paramilitary force to eliminate any opposition.

Yet despite four years of ethnic cleansing and a "peace" accord that divides Bosnia along ethnic lines, the struggle to preserve and extend the concept of multiethnicity has not come to an end. As Elvir Bucalo, director of Sarajevo radio station, recently put it: "In its heart, Sarajevo is still a multiethnic city, but no thanks to the government. Now it's because of the people who are resisting the government."

## POLITICAL MACHINATIONS

Milosevic is now trying to defuse the protests by indicating he may recognize some, if not all, of the opposition electoral victories. The leaders of Zajedno clearly want to keep the movement contained in narrow parliamentary channels, as does Milosevic, who plans on running for president of Yugoslavia later this year.

Many in Zajedno want the street protests to keep the heat on Milosevic until they can "legally" oust him from power in those elections. This would certainly suit the U.S. At the start of the crisis it supported Milosevic because of his help in securing the Dayton Accords. When it became clear the protests were no flash in the pan, it backed away from him. This has less to do with any love of "democracy" than the fact that Draskovic and Djindjic have made it clear they will loyally enforce the Dayton Accords. In light of this, a rotten compromise between leaders of Zajedno and Milosevic, even brokered by the U.S., is possible.

Yet there is another possibility, that the army will step in and move Milosevic aside. This would not only help "restore order" by removing the main object of the protests from the scene, but would make it easier for the generals to avoid being brought before The Hague Tribunal for their crimes of genocide in Bosnia.

That such an eventuality is not out of the question was indicated by a meeting on Jan. 6 between five of the main student leaders and the Chief of Staff of the Yugoslav army; Gen. Momcilo Perisic, who has increasingly distanced himself from Milosevic. (Perisic supervised Serbian forces in the destruction of the Bosnian city of Mostar as well as Srebrenica, where thousands of Bosnians were massacred.)

## THE ROAD AHEAD

The outcome of the machinations between the rulers is less important than whether the movement will openly confront its contradictions by recognizing Serbia's responsibility for genocide and the importance of Bosnia's struggle for a multiethnic society. For history has not only shown that today's retrogression cannot be reversed so long as a movement defines itself only by what it is against. It has also shown that unless a movement projects a liberating banner of new human relations, all sorts of reactionary tendencies will rush in to speak in its name. Despite the excitement generated by today's protests, it will have little lasting effect if the part of the movement which has a progressive content does not confront and rid itself of its internal limitations.

Marx spoke to this 150 years ago in *The German Ideology* when he declared, "For the success of the revolution itself, the alteration of men on a mass scale is necessary, an alteration which can only take place in a practical movement, a revolution; this revolution is necessary not only because the ruling class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because the class overthrowing it can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of the ages, and become fitted to found society anew."

The problem we face today—and not alone in Serbia—is that the collapse of the effort to project the Marxian principles of revolution has created a powerful impediment in the way of ridding ourselves of the "muck of the ages." This, however, is no reason to turn away from the task of projecting the principles of Marx's philosophy of revolution, as spelled out in the highest expression of our age's movement from theory. It only makes it more urgent. Whether or not this generation rises to this challenge will very much define the direction, not just of the Balkans, but of us all.

—January 26, 1997



To order, see literature ad, page 7.

## Rwanda, Zaire and the crisis in Central Africa

On Jan. 19, reports announced that Hutu militiamen linked to the 1994 genocide had killed three international aid workers in Rwanda. Now that hundreds of thousands of Hutu refugees have returned from Zaire, their militia leaders having been defeated by the African liberation forces led by Laurent Kabila, the atrocities against returning Hutus predicted in the world press have not materialized.

Instead an older type of fear is returning to Rwandan villages. Tutsi survivors of the genocide now see some of the killers walking about free, intimidating by their presence potential witnesses against them.

### TRIALS BEGIN

The Rwandan government has promised to prosecute only leaders of the genocide, and even arrests of those people are moving quite slowly. The first trial took place only recently, two years after 1994. The government's public stress has been on creating for the first time a multiethnic society with equal rights for all citizens. As President Pasteur Bizimunga, himself a Hutu, told a Western journalist recently:

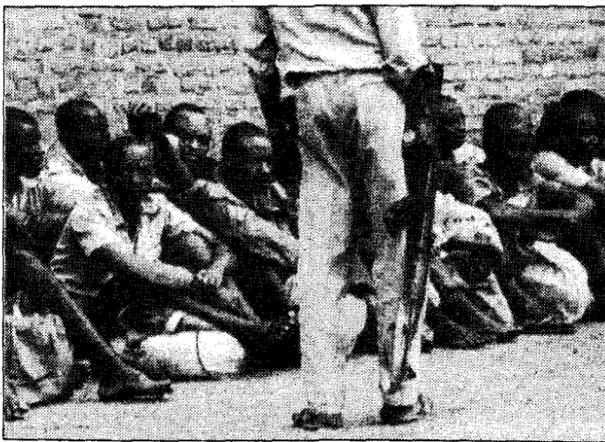
"There are authorities in this country, Hutu and Tutsi, who are putting in place policy so that people may feel comfortable in this country—share the same fundamental rights and obligations irrespective of their ethnic background—the extremists don't feel happy with that" (see Philip Gourevitch, "Letter from Rwanda," *The New Yorker*, Jan. 20, 1997).

In neighboring Zaire, the fight against the Mobutu dictatorship continues. By now, the Rwanda- and Uganda-backed rebels have taken control of a huge swath of mineral rich territory in Eastern Zaire.

Although a December counter-offensive by Zairian troops was easily repulsed, there is now fear that a mercenary force, organized by a former member of the late French President Francois Mitterrand's personal security force, will soon hit the ground in Eastern Zaire, confronting the rebels with their most serious military challenge to date. On the other hand, regions far from the fighting such as Shaba and Kasai may also be on the verge of joining the rebellion.

### UGANDA AND SUDAN

The events in Eastern Zaire and Rwanda have had wide repercussions throughout the region. They have strengthened the hand of the Ugandan government. It



Hutu prisoners accused of participating in 1994 genocide in Rwanda.

has in turn stepped up its support for Southern Sudanese rebels across the border who are fighting against the Bashir-Turabi Islamic fundamentalist regime.

Recently, the most important opposition leader in Sudan's mainly Muslim north, former President Sadek al-Mahdi, fled into exile in Eritrea and has joined with the mainly Christian and animist Southern rebels in a broad opposition front. Those rebels have also been making dramatic headway lately.

If the rebels in Southern Sudan and Eastern Zaire succeed in toppling their respective governments, two of Africa's most reactionary regimes, then some new possibilities for the freedom movement may open up.

A note of caution is in order, however. Burundi's chauvinist military regime has also been strengthened by the recent events in Zaire, and it has engaged in several massacres of Hutu civilians.

In addition, the fact that the U.S. government seems to be quietly backing Kabila's forces in Zaire—and is reported even to have dissuaded him from moving further into the interior—suggests that forces motivated by interest other than African liberation are also at work on the side of the rebels.

—Kevin A. Barry

**Youth**

**Mario Savio, Freedom Schools and Berkeley '64**

by Kevin Michaels

The News & Letters pamphlet *The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution* was published in July 1965, after this tumultuous series of events: the Freedom Summer activity of 1964, the Berkeley Free Speech Movement (FSM) of the fall and winter, and the first of the teach-ins against the Viet Nam war, which took place at the University of Michigan in the spring. The forward to the pamphlet asks: "does an organic link connect the Negro revolution, the student rebellions and the anti-Viet Nam war teach-ins?"

A connection did indeed exist and this link, plus the recent death of FSM activist Mario Savio compels a new look at the pamphlet, for which he contributed his only written account of those tumultuous weeks.

Much of the text of the pamphlet is devoted to the relationship between the Freedom Schools of Mississippi and the Berkeley campus. For us, thirty years later, that connection and the questions it prompted the students to ask about society bear examination because student activity such as that against California's recent Proposition 209 constitutes much of what little political activism

**American justice on trial**

*Berkeley, Cal.*—On Jan. 12, Criminal Justice Consortium, an umbrella organization of advocates for prisoners and prison reforms, held a fund-raiser to help send Dorsey Nunn to the International Conference on Prison Abolition to be held in February in New Zealand.

Dorsey Nunn wants to tell the international audience about the over one million people in U.S. prisons. He said: "In East Palo Alto, for example, 63% of Black youth between the ages of 16 and 25 are under the control of the criminal justice system. The statewide figure is 40%. Up 'till now only celebrated individual cases come to international attention. I heard of demonstrations in Paris for Mumia Abu-Jamal and for Geronimo Pratt. But I have not heard much outrage about the sheer number of people incarcerated in the U.S. Let us remember that the way the Holocaust started was by rounding up masses of people and demonizing them."

"The U.S. rate of incarceration, at 615 per 100,000, surpasses that of Russia at 590. The U.S. condemns China for using prison labor, but when it comes to prison labor in the U.S. I only hear silence from the international community."

"I recently made a trip to El Salvador where FMLN was concerned with privatizing prisons. They were calling for solidarity against the mostly American businessmen who finance this privatization. Many speakers spoke about solidarity, meaning support for the FMLN. Sure, I support the FMLN, I marched against the Gulf War in support of the Iraqi people, etc., etc. But solidarity has to go both ways, it has to mean putting on the table issues we all need to address. I want to encourage international solidarity with U.S. prisoners."

"We need to redefine what it means to be a political prisoner. When a Black mother gets 25 years for six grams of crack, while others get a slap on the wrist for many times that amount of powder cocaine, maybe she is a political prisoner we don't recognize as such. When someone is doing life without parole for a third burglary (because of the three-strike laws) might they also be a political prisoner?"

"One of the things that inspired me to start thinking internationally was when Clinton was able to get money for all these extra police, but not for midnight basketball. When we passed the three-strike law we made it a priority to incarcerate the grandson rather than educate him. I want to go to New Zealand to tell the truth about the American so-called justice."

To get more information about the ICOPA conference or support Dorsey Nunn's trip write to: Criminal Justice Consortium/Tides Center, 1611 Telegraph Av., #1501, Oakland, CA 94612.

we see today.

The establishment of Freedom Schools in Mississippi in the summer of 1964 gave many white northern youth a chance to participate in the Civil Rights Movement that had captured the attention of the world—a chance to serve as a new kind of instructor. As participant Eugene Walker wrote, "The whole Freedom School Project was not evolved in order to educate youth in the sense of teaching them mathematics or English." Instead, the students were to be given the first chance they had ever had to discuss and share their history and struggles against oppression.

Just as the curriculum was unlike an ordinary school, the relationship between the students and the teachers was fundamentally different as well. The educators, Savio among them, were educated by people whose entire existence was shaped by the racism of South USA.

At the summer's end, the northern youth dispersed to their college campuses, many of which were giant institutions like the schools of the University of California system. The booming American capitalism of the post-war period needed managers and technicians and to meet the need, the university had developed into a gargantuan halfway house for middle class youth in which they were to be prepared for the needs of the economy. Thought, discussion and the questioning of things as they existed was not on the syllabus.

By the early sixties this stifling atmosphere had generated a pall of dissatisfaction over American campuses, a "real resentment" as Savio called it. The word alienation became part of the students' vocabulary, so much so that activist/theoretician Raya Dunayevskaya found that her talk on Marx's theory of alienation was the one most requested on campuses.

It was to this world the Freedom School participants returned—but they weren't the same people they had been before. Berkeley proved to be the site of the struggle between the Freedom Schoolers and the administrators of the higher education machine.

What evolved was a spontaneous response to official limitation on student activity that echoed the fight of IWW members against curtailment of their organizing in the western U.S. earlier in the century. The students' activity, as well, had what participant Barbara Garson called in the January 1997 issue of *The Progressive*, "a positive, if not totally clear, vision of a better world." Dunayevskaya included her alienation talk in the pamphlet to challenge this vision with Marx's own.

The inspiration the Free Speech Movement drew from the Freedom Schools was explicit from the beginning. The historic fight for Blacks for freedom had, once again, energized and helped define other freedom struggles.

Today, the vision of the FSM's adversary UC President Clark Kerr—of the the university an integral component of the capitalist economy—reigns unchallenged. Science research departments are becoming directly integrated into corporate structures while privatization of university services gallops ahead. The cost of education rises, while the bachelor's degree becomes inadequate to provide employment in the high-tech economy.

But students are still active. The past few years have seen substantial mobilizations against federal aid cutbacks and anti-affirmative action moves. Students too have ventured far off campus to participate in campaigns like last year's Union Summer organizing drive, which was directly modeled by the trade union bureaucracy on Freedom Summer.

What some of them learned there was that workers, who best know their world, need to be responsible for their own organization. This lesson, if carried back by the student organizers, can serve as a new link between struggles in the workplace and on the campuses.

The alienation the students of the sixties became aware of, the split between what they wanted to learn in the classroom and what was forced on them by the administration, is a symptom of the division capitalism forces between mental and manual labor. It defines our existence today as it did then.

Workers want to organize themselves in order to overcome this division, just as students want to live in a world without racism, a world in which they have access to meaningful education. The realization of this connection between the struggles of students and workers, and the importance of people developing themselves in their struggles, can perhaps serve as an inspiration like that the Freedom Schools gave to the FSM. The better world it wanted has yet to be achieved.

**The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution**



\$5....Use literature order on page 7.

**Tupac Shakur: 'To live and die'**

The year 1996 saw the tragic murder of Tupac Shakur. His death was not just a loss to the Rap world of "Hip Hop," but a loss to the Black and Brown community.

Some Black youth in L.A. have characterized 2 Pac as the spokesman for the Black community through his words of fire and pain. Violence in words and act reflect the torturous existence of many Black youth.

Even with his high roller status of money and prestige, there was a no sell-out tone to his music. This underground level of music in most cases gets very little radio play. Tupac's mother Afeni Shakur, a former Black Panther and recovering cocaine addict, gave birth to him while in prison, which seemed to frame the torturous existence that his lyrical music spoke too. The confrontation in life and word, and the anticipation of death can almost be felt within each song. Many say his music video "I ain't mad at cha" anticipated his own death. This cut was probably written while Tupac was incarcerated at Clinton Correctional Facility for sexual assault.

After serving about 8 months Tupac was bailed out for \$1.4 million by Suge Knight, owner of Death Row records, and a well known Compton Piru (Blood). This relationship with Knight led to his death.

In his powerful memorial for Tupac titled, "2pacalypse Now: The Sadness of What Might Have Been," Mumia Abu-Jamal also delivered a strong critique that caught the contradiction through which Tupac's creativity developed:

*From the loins of Black Panthers came a boy who called himself 'thug,' and who grew to admire the nihilism of 'gangsta' life.*

*From revolutionary to thug—regression in the extreme, in one generation. Tupac was a truly talented artist who brought passion and 'street creeds' to each of his arts. That said, I must confess, I did not care for much of his later, 'West Coast'-era work. It seemed empty of social substance, or butt-shaker music with no soul.*

*His earlier works, 'Keep Your Head Up' and 'Dear Mama,' were odes of admiration for black women and, as such, will live long after 'California Dreamin' days.*

*Just days before his unfortunate and untimely death, some old heads like myself talked about his enormous potential and how he could influence millions to go toward a revolutionary, as opposed to materialistic, 'gangsta' direction. Fate decreed that was not to be.*

Tupac's lyrical assault upon all that exists in this world, was not a repeat of the past Black struggle or just Gangsta Rap in it's most hollow form. He was an originator in the street—the drum beat of a soldier and the youth who has no other place to go but the street. Tupac anticipated the death of many Black youth on the streets in 1996. Like he said, "to live and die in LA is too common an occurrence."

In 1996 I "witnessed" the loss of three hom' boys, Black youth from the Watts community, that I knew personally. We had helped each other out in the past;

their future gone by gunfire for revenge, jealousy, hate, gang warfare or just tribal conflict...One clique within a clique against another.

Black-on-Black murder under white racist America is a power hungry game for "identity," where the amount of notches you have on your gun gives you power and prestige in a self-destructive society of poverty and despair, where human life carries very little value.

"How hungry they all were, just to sit, talk, be listened to seriously, to be believed, to be respected, to be cared about, to be liked and even to love. Though most of them would never say the latter. They were so hungry to be dealt with honestly, to know where they stood. So needful of everything human beings everywhere are needful for, but here in massive doses."

The here and now that Dr. Rundlé is speaking about in *The Melancholy History of Soledad Prison* was the Adjustment Center at Soledad in 1971. This attitude 25 years later reflects a human hunger for humanity in the housing projects of the inner city across the country. Then-Black Panther field marshal George Jackson wrote a year before his murder by prison guards at San Quentin, August 1971, "I don't think we can afford to be nice much longer, the very last of our protection is eroding from under us...There will be no means of detecting when that last right is gone, you'll only know when they start shooting you. The process must be checked somewhere between now and then, or we'll be fighting from a position of weakness with our backs against the wall."

Which is exactly what has happened 25 years later despite the 1992 L.A. rebellion. The three strikes you're out law, has tripled the incarceration rate. The '92 rebellion has not been enough to get the "Pig" off our backs. What is needed is a philosophic, human, Marxist shot to wipe this capitalist system from reality. —Gene Ford

**How to contact NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES**

<b>CHICAGO</b> 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707 Chicago, IL 60605 Phone 312 663 0839 Fax 312 663 9069 Email nandl@lgc.apc.org <b>MEETINGS</b> Call for information	<b>NEW YORK</b> P.O. Box 196 Grand Central Station New York, NY 10163 212 663 3631 <b>MEETINGS</b> Sundays, 2:30 p.m. (Call for January meeting times) Washington Square Church 133 W. 4th St. (Parish House parlor), Manhattan
<b>DETROIT</b> P.O. Box 27205 Detroit MI 48227 <b>MEETINGS</b> Thursdays, 7 p.m. Central Methodist Church Woodward and Adams	<b>OAKLAND</b> P.O. Box 3345 Oakland, CA 94609 510 658 1448 <b>MEETINGS</b> Sundays, 6:30 p.m. 2015 Center St. (at MilVIA) Berkeley
<b>LOS ANGELES</b> P.O. Box 29194 Los Angeles, CA 90029 213 960 5607 <b>MEETINGS</b> Sundays, 5:30 p.m. Echo Park United Methodist Church 1226 N. Alvarado (North of Sunset, side door)	<b>MEMPHIS</b> 1725B Madison Ave. #59 Memphis, TN 38104
<b>FLINT, MI</b> P.O. Box 3384, Flint, MI 48502	
<b>INTERNATIONAL MARXIST-HUMANISTS ENGLAND</b> BCM Box 3514, London, England WC1N 3XX	

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Papers from **THE NORTH AMERICAN LABOR HISTORY CONFERENCE**, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, October 17-19, 1996

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## Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

After nearly a year of delays, Hebron, a city of 160,000 Arabs and 450 Jewish settler fanatics, has finally passed largely to Palestinian control. No less than 60,000 Palestinians turned out on Jan. 19 to hear Palestinian Authority President Yasir Arafat proclaim that the last city in the occupied territories had been "liberated."

In fact, it was something less than a liberation. The zone, 20% of the city where the 450 settler fanatics live, will remain under mainly Israeli control. More important, further Israeli withdrawals from the West Bank will now be delayed until May 1998. Also, while Arabs in Hebron will no longer live under military occupation, they will now experience the authoritarian rule of Yasir Arafat.

Nonetheless, the withdrawal from Hebron and, more importantly, the agreements for further withdrawals in 1998, the latter with guarantees from the U.S. government, does represent an important development. For the first time the reactionary, anti-Arab Likud government of Benjamin Netanyahu has been forced to promise publicly to trade land for peace, not only in Hebron, but also in large parts of the West Bank.

What has changed since last spring, when Netanyahu implied during the election campaign that he would scrap much of the Oslo Peace Agreements? Or since last September, when he deliberately touched off a mass Palestinian uprising by opening a disputed tunnel near the most important mosque in Jerusalem, and then kept the tunnel open despite worldwide condemnation?

One, there have been the actions of the Palestinians themselves. In September, the Israeli public was stunned

## Crisis in Peru

The hostage seige at the Japanese embassy in Lima has focused attention on the Tupac Amaru guerrillas (MRTA) but it is crucial to look at the government of President Alberto Fujimori and the crisis of conditions in Peru. The MRTA took over the Japanese embassy with remarkable ease on Dec. 18, releasing over 500 hostages since then with some 70 remaining at present, including cabinet ministers, high ranking police and judicial officials, military officers and a brother of Fujimori.

A central demand of the MRTA is the release of hundreds of their own members from Peru's horrendous prisons, which Fujimori says he will never do after mounting a campaign in the early 1990s to put them there. Since 1992, when he dismissed the then-sitting parliament and wrote a new constitution, Fujimori has exercised virtual dictatorial powers.

The neoliberal economic model—privatization, deregulation of labor laws, foreign investment, ending social programs and so forth—which Fujimori has pushed since gaining office, has pleased capitalist interests by slashing inflation and boosting the economy's growth rate. It has not resulted in new jobs, higher wages or better health care and education.

It has forced the layoff of hundreds of thousands of workers as enterprises are "rationalized." Nearly half the population of 24 million live in poverty and only 15% of workers have meaningful full-time employment. Despite Fujimori's cutbacks in public spending in order to finance Peru's huge debt, the economy is slowing down and the growth rate for last year may be measured as low as 2%.

Despite the growing misery of the poor and underemployed, there is little popular support for the MRTA. Some analysts claim that is because they are considered with the same hatred as the Pol Potist-Maoist Sendero Luminoso. It is also likely that the Peruvian masses have long ago rejected old answers to very new problems.

## Human forces behind Hebron agreement

to see its soldiers facing not only rocks, but well-aimed rifle fire from a well-trained Palestinian police force. These police, who are really a disguised version of the army the Palestinian Authority is forbidden to form, did not turn and run the way so many Arab armies have done in the past when confronted by the Israeli military. Not only did 20 Israeli soldiers die, more than in the first year of the Intifada, but the Palestinians also showed that they had enough discipline to protect wounded Israeli soldiers and trapped civilians from mob attack.

Two, there has been intense pressure from outside. Even the U.S. has leaned hard on Netanyahu, while nor-

mally friendly Arab states such as Egypt and Jordan sharply distanced themselves. The visit last fall by France's President Jacques Chirac, who stopped just short of openly taking the Palestinian side, also helped to show the Israeli public just how isolated the country had become under Netanyahu.

Three, Israelis among the nearly 50% who voted against Netanyahu have refused to remain silent. When gun-toting racist settlers in Hebron tried to claim the heritage of those Jews massacred and driven from the city in 1929, an organization called Hebron Families (POB 29828, Tel Aviv 61297, Israel), composed of their descendants, stated: "Settlers living in the heart of Hebron do not have the right to speak in the name of the old Jewish community. Their pretension to be representing the way of our parents is deceitful. These settlers are alien to the way of life of the Hebron Jews, who over the generations created a culture of peace and understanding between the peoples and faiths in the city."

Other Israeli peace activists have held mass demonstrations against Netanyahu. In addition, a six-hour successful general strike held on Dec. 29 showed another type of division within Netanyahu's Israel: the opposition of rank-and-file labor to his Reagan-Thatcher economic policies. Finally, not to be underestimated was the strong resistance at the top, from both the military and the intelligence services, to Netanyahu's provocative statements and policies toward the Palestinians.

While Netanyahu has for now been prevented from scuttling Oslo, he has managed nevertheless to delay even its all-too-meager plans for Palestinian self-rule. The Hebron agreement has won the praise of an anti-Arab reactionary like New York Times columnist A. M. Rosenthal as well as of the opportunistic Russian immigrant politician and Netanyahu cabinet member Natan Sharansky, who had the temerity to slander the martyred Yitzhak Rabin for allegedly having "betrayed" the peace process "by consciously refusing to hold the Palestinians to their word."

## South Korean strikes

South Korean workers have been striking to rescind new draconian anti-labor laws passed in stealth by the government on Dec. 26. The legislation allows capitalist managers to control employment more tightly through



laying off full-time workers, rescheduling hours and lengthening the workday, and hiring scabs to replace strikers.

The laws also postpone until the year 2000 the legal recognition of the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU), which represents over one half million workers in auto, shipbuilding, railroads, subway and textiles. Autoworkers struck on Dec. 26, and were joined by other KCTU workers including teachers, bank employees and hospital workers. Very quickly, workers from the legally sanctioned Federation of Korean Trade Unions joined and the action became an indefinite general strike of over 250,000 workers which continued through the beginning of January.

The strikers gained widespread support from South Koreans who were angered at the way the New Korea Party of President Kim Young Sam rammed through the laws at a 6 a.m. parliamentary session when no opposition members were present. Strikers also want Kim to rescind sweeping new powers granted to the Agency for National Security, successor to the Korean CIA. The Agency is supposed to control "subversion" from North Korea but is used equally against trade union activists and political dissidents.

In mid-January the KCTU changed tactics, calling for strikes only one day a week—Wednesdays—until Feb. 18. Strike leaders want to negotiate directly with the Kim government, but as we go to press no serious action has been taken although Kim has alluded to the possibility of amending the laws and recognizing the KCTU.

Capitalist leaders in South Korea reportedly support Kim's hard line against labor. It will be important to see what results because South Korean workers have issued a direct challenge to state-capitalism at a time when labor struggles are growing throughout Asia.

## Swiss bank scandal

On Jan. 10, 28-year-old Christoph Meili, a night watchman at the giant Union Bank of Switzerland noticed an apparent crime in progress. This was not an ordinary robbery, however, but a crime by the bank itself. Despite a law passed in December forbidding destruction of bank records pertaining to Switzerland's role as Nazi Germany's banker, Meili noticed something suspicious: piles of mortgage records from Berlin and other cities during the 1930s and 1940s sitting waiting to be shredded.

Meili then made a decision: He broke bank rules by taking some of the suspicious materials home. With some difficulty, he located a Jewish cultural organization which helped him to go public with the information. As he knew would happen, he was immediately fired and is being investigated by the police.

But Swiss public opinion has termed Meili the "document hero." Swiss are now demanding forcefully, along with much of the outside world, that a serious investigation take place. After Meili's initiative, there is a greater chance that more of the true story will be uncovered about the role of Swiss banks during the Nazi period.

This included accepting deposits from Jews who were later murdered, and then thwarting efforts by their survivors to find it, instead keeping the money. It also involved knowingly accepting for deposit from the Nazis tons of gold looted from occupied governments, or from Jews destined for death, and then allowing the Nazis to channel those funds onto the international markets for arms and strategic materials. Survivors and their descendants are still waiting for a full accounting and for a just compensation.

## NEWS AND LETTERS COMMITTEES

### WHO WE ARE AND WHAT WE STAND FOR

News and Letters Committees is an organization of Marxist-Humanists that since its birth has stood for the abolition of capitalism, both in its private property forms as in the U.S., and its state property form, as it has historically appeared in state-capitalist regimes calling themselves Communist as in Russia and China. We stand for the development of new human relations, what Marx first called a new Humanism.

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcat strikes against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation — activities which signaled a new movement from practice that was itself a form of theory. News & Letters was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard unseparated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation.

Raya Dunayevskaya (1910–1987), founder of the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism, became Chairwoman of the

National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees from its founding to 1987. Charles Denby (1907–83), a Black production worker, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper from 1955 to 1983. Dunayevskaya's works, *Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 until Today* (1958), *Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* (1973), and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (1982) spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally, as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa.

This body of ideas challenges all those desiring freedom to transcend the limitations of post-Marx Marxism, beginning with Engels. In light of the crises of our nuclearly armed world, it becomes impera-

tive not only to reject what is, but to reveal and further develop the revolutionary Humanist future inherent in the present. The new visions of the future which Dunayevskaya left us in her work from the 1940s to the 1980s are rooted in her discovery of Marx's Marxism in its original form as a new Humanism and in her re-creation of that philosophy for our age as Marxist-Humanism. This is recorded in the documents on microfilm and open to all under the title *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection — Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development*.

Dunayevskaya's philosophic comprehension of her creation and development of Marxist-Humanism, especially as expressed in her 1980s writings, presents the vantage point for re-creating her ideas anew. Seeking to grasp that vantage point for ourselves and make it available to all who struggle for freedom, we have published Dunayevskaya's original 1953

philosophic breakthrough and her final 1987 Presentation on the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy in *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* (1989), and donated new supplementary volumes to *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*. News and Letters Committees aims at developing and concretizing this body of ideas for our time.

In opposing this capitalistic, racist, sexist, heterosexist, class-ridden society, we have organized ourselves into a committee form of organization rather than any elitist party "to lead." We participate in all class and freedom struggles, nationally and internationally. As our Constitution states: "It is our aim... to promote the firmest unity among workers, Blacks and other minorities, women, youth and those intellectuals who have broken with the ruling bureaucracy of both capital and labor." We do not separate mass activities from the activity of thinking. Send for a copy of the Constitution of News and Letters Committees.