

NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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50¢

With AFL-CIO around, 'we need a union'



by B. Ann Lastelle

"We believe that the working people are the only force in the world today capable of changing present-day society and of evolving the forms and the shape of future society. Just as in 1936-37, the American working people found their own way, through the sitdown strikes, to industrial organization and the CIO, so they are searching today for the new political and social forms to fight the labor bureaucracy.... We see the labor bureaucracy as the last barrier to the full emancipation of the working class."

—Constitution of News and Letters Committees

A copy of our twelve-hour work and holiday schedule stayed in my tool box for over a month while management attempted to steal our time off to staff the production lines at last year's end. As I went over the schedule again and again with my co-workers, I thought, "We need a union." I also thought, "We are so weak because people don't keep track of their own business. They wait for someone else to do it."

The 16.3 million union members in the U.S. are 14.5% of the work force, the lowest level of unionization since the 1920s. Only 10.2% of private sector workers are organized. John Sweeney, President of the AFL-CIO, in 1996 announced his intention to raise \$20 million for organizing. Yet my labor activist friends in the right-to-work South, where low-wage predominantly Black workers struggle for union recognition and contracts, say they have seen not one penny of that money.

The distinction between organized and unorganized, however, conceals a deeper similarity, revealed by a

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Black World

Clinton in Africa—Why now?



by Lou Turner

"Why Africa? Why now?" is surely the skeptical response to President Clinton's 12-day trip to six countries in sub-Saharan Africa by anyone even marginally acquainted with the history of U.S. imperialist relations with Africa in the 20th century. The one thing Clinton's African adventure is not about is his public confessions of sorrow for slavery, sorrow for U.S. foreign policy which reduced Africa to a pawn of its Cold War rivalry with Russia, or sorrow for the backwardness of American attitudes towards Africa. Sorry, Clinton may be, but making the most significant trip to Africa by a sitting American president has nothing to do with confessing official sorrow for white supremacy. So why is Clinton in Africa, and why now?

READY OR NOT, HERE THEY COME

The story begins with the early 1996 trip of late Commerce Secretary Ron Brown to Ghana where he extolled Africa as the "last frontier for American businesses" to the plane load of corporate execs he brought with him. The plot thickens in March 1997 when a high-powered corporate policy forum on Africa convened by The American Assembly in New York City urges Washington to adopt a new "Partnership with Africa", followed by Hillary Rodham Clinton's trip to Africa shortly after and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's trip in December. In between these trips, Clinton previews his Partnership for Economic Growth and Opportunity in Africa at the June 1997 G-7 Summit in Denver. The real denouement comes, however, at the end of 1997 when the Southeast Asian economic collapse catches the capitalist world by surprise.

By the time Clinton and his entourage of 800 government, business, and media groupies descend on his African hosts who must stretch their already stretched meager budgets to accommodate the "historic journey," the U.S. Congress has scrambled to make a little history of its own with the passage of the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). The AGOA mirrors Clinton's own Partnership for Economic Growth and

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Right-wing BJP claims power amid deepening crisis in India

by Maya Jhansi

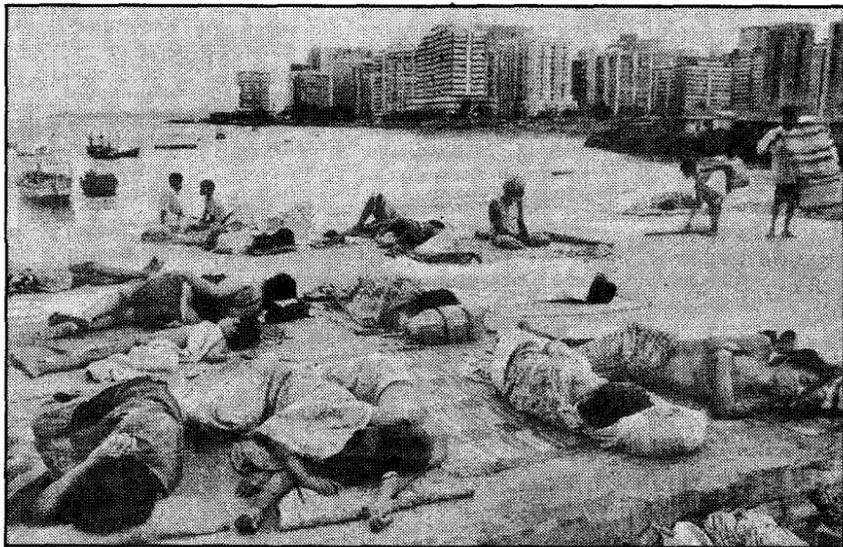
An alarming new development threatens India's long history as a secular and multicultural democracy which 50 years ago threw off the yoke of British imperialism: the coming to power of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). The BJP, led by the Hindu nationalist, Atal Bihari Vajpayee who was sworn in as Prime Minister on March 19, 1998, is a right-wing party known for its neofascistic anti-Muslim ideology of *Hindutva* or Hindu fundamentalism.

A crucial factor which allowed the BJP to form a government was the failure of the Congress Party and the leftist United Front to come together and provide a secular alternative. For now, it seems that the Congress Party will forego challenging the BJP in order to rebuild itself around Sonia Gandhi, the Italian-born widow of Rajiv Gandhi. The United Front fared the worst in the elections, with its parliamentary standing dropping from 180 to 98 seats. Now, several parties from the United Front have abandoned it or split to join forces with the BJP. The ease with which these "committed" secularists have moved into the BJP fold shows their absolute bankruptcy.

The BJP's rise to prominence is phenomenal—in 1984, they won only two seats out of 543. Today, they and their allies hold over 250 seats. Surely, the devastating economic and social crises in India and the growing discontent of the Indian masses with the corruption and betrayal of the politicians has contributed to the BJP's unprecedented success.

TARGETED MINORITIES

Today, over 350 million Indians, some of the poorest of whom are Muslims who comprise the largest minority, live under the official poverty line. The literacy rate is an appalling 48% overall and 39% for women. Where the Indian constitution projected universal education for Indian children by 1960, today one in three children have never been to school, and anywhere from 17 to 100 million children are enslaved in brutal forms of child labor. For many women, outmoded marital practices, dowry deaths, sati, rape and violence still define the parameters of their existence.



India's two worlds—Bombay's homeless slumber against the backdrop of city high-rise apartments and corporate towers housing India's new middle class.

In the face of the intractable crises in India, the BJP resorts to neofascistic scapegoating of India's minorities, and to militaristic denunciations of Pakistan and other foreign powers that supposedly threaten the "unity" of Hindu India. To the Hindu right wing, Dalits and other lower castes are as much of a threat to *Hindutva* as are the Muslims.

This election is not the first time that Indian political parties have enflamed communal tensions for their own electoral gain. The precursor to the BJP, the Jan Sangh, was part of the reactionary Janata Party government that ousted Indira Gandhi in 1977. The Congress Party itself instigated anti-Sikh riots after Indira Gandhi's assassination by a Sikh bodyguard that led to the deaths of over 3,000 Sikhs and the flight of 50,000 out of New Delhi.

Never before, however, has a party defined by narrow nationalism and religious fundamentalism come to power in India. In 1992, the BJP in collusion with Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sanghatna (RSS), the militant Hindu nationalist organization responsible for the murder of Mahatma Gandhi, led mobs in the destruction of a 400-year-old mosque in Ayodhya which they claimed to be the birthplace of the Hindu god, Rama. Over 3,000 people, mostly Muslims, were killed in the riots that swept India in the aftermath. Though apologists claim that communal

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Nurses and patients win at Kaiser

Oakland, Cal. — "We took on a multibillion-dollar corporation and we won!" This was the sentiment of most of Kaiser-Permanente's 7,500 RNs and their supporters when on March 25, on the eve of their seventh strike against the giant northern California HMO, the California Nurses Association (CNA) announced a tentative agreement. The nurses had been working without a contract since January 1997 when Kaiser demanded a six-year wage freeze for some nurses, a 12% wage cut for others, and many other take-aways.

Instead the nurses won a 12% wage increase over the next four years. More importantly, a committee of 18 RNs, chosen by CNA and confirmed by Kaiser, will spend half their time investigating patient care issues. The nurses, who are fighting a daily war on the wards and in the clinics over staffing levels, were unwavering in their determination to have some control over the quality of their own work. The nurses have shown the way and reawakened the power of labor to break new ground against capital's drive for permanent restructuring.

After a strike last April when over 90% of all union workers came out in a massive show of solidarity with the nurses, AFL-CIO President Sweeney initiated a "strategic partnership" with Kaiser. But many workers in other Kaiser unions, community members, the UAW, the United Mine Workers and the Teamsters who had won a victory at UPS stuck with the nurses.

Workers in other Kaiser unions were hoping that, for bargaining leverage, the nurses would hold out until their own contracts came up in November. However, on March 17, as the nurses prepared their seventh strike action, Kaiser and Local 250 SEIU announced a new three-year contract already. The contract, purely an economic package of raises of 3% per year for the next three years, was reached after only two negotiating sessions.

Local 250 President Sal Rosselli proclaimed that the "Kaiser partnership, though in its infancy, is effective."

In this case the truth was told by Kaiser management spokesperson Lila Peterson who said, "We wanted to get through the wages issues and not have an acrimonious situation like with CNA." At this stage, Kaiser management welcomed the opportunity to settle with Local 250's 15,000 Kaiser workers on purely economic issues. The nurses and their allies in other unions have been uncompromising in their fight for quality. Unlike the hierarchical AFL-CIO, the CNA is an autonomous fighting union that is more in touch with the daily struggle over staffing in today's health care workplace. Service workers know we can thank the recent strike actions called by nurses for Kaiser's supposed beneficence.

We welcome the extra money, but Local 250 union officials insult our intelligence when they think we can't see any further than the extra money in our paycheck. Before Sweeney's "strategic partnership," Owen Marron of the Alameda Central Labor Council was one of the loudest exposing Kaiser's declining quality. After the line became "Kaiser is a quality care provider," he started lecturing the nurses that quality care was not a winnable issue.

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International ♀'s Day: 'Hegelian dialectic is the story of my life'

Editor's note: This talk was given on International Women's Day.

by S. Hamer

International Women's Day was set aside in honor of the thousands of women who marched and rallied in the streets, who died to demand recognition and protested against the inhumane working conditions and unjust treatment of us as individuals and as working women. This day represents women struggling in solidarity to be recognized and treated like human beings, and to declare solidarity with all unorganized women workers.

My presentation tonight is about how working women like myself have struggled and fought to bring about a change in the mind, because without a change in the mind, you cannot make a change in the world.

In the South we as Black women struggle just to have a voice. Rosa Parks initiated the whole Black revolution in the South in 1955 by refusing to give her seat to a white man. Fannie Lou Hamer, who lost her job in 1962 when she tried to exercise her right to vote, became one of the Civil Rights Movement's most eloquent spokespeople as a founder of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. But still as women they were treated as the exception. Women in the Delta, especially Black women, have struggled to this day to be looked upon as women and treated with dignity and respect, and have demanded equal rights. This day we celebrate to send signals that our fight as women will continue until we uproot this exploitative, sexist, racist society.

Mississippi is one of the poorest states in America. Before Delta Pride Catfish, the only source of income was the little money you received from welfare or chopping cotton in the fields. I'm going to tell you a story of my journey. It's a struggle of the mind. I'm talking about

Latina celebration

San Francisco—In the heart of the Mission district, the Latino section of town, the International Women's Day (IWD) celebration featured two Latinas.

Maria Elena, a Zapatista supporter, focused on the way this society (capitalism, though she didn't name it as such) creates individuals who are extremely isolated from each other. Yet people are thirsty for contact. The Zapatistas, she said, are far away, fighting for dignity and humanity. The way to show solidarity is for everyone to fight for the same cause wherever you are. We need to fight the powerlessness we feel in the face of the system every day, not just on occasions like IWD.

She concluded by saying that the Zapatistas' masks are not just to help conceal their identity from the police. They are meant to symbolize that each is not "just" an individual, but a representation of everyone. It was a very concrete re-creation of Marx's 1844 statement that "the individual is the social entity."

Theresa Azucar spoke about the fight her daughter, Theresa Cruz, has been waging against the justice system. Theresa Cruz is a battered woman, in prison for attempted murder because she confided in a male friend that she was abused and that friend shot her abuser. Theresa Cruz's mother and her children have been fighting to get her released. Their tireless activity and testimony caused the California legislature to enact a law that allows the Board of Prison Terms to consider effects of abuse when deciding about an abused woman's parole. Theresa Cruz is not asking for pity. She is demanding justice. She and her children have suffered enough from her abuser and the system that kept her in prison for over seven years.

This International Women's Day celebration showed several dimensions in Latina women's struggle against the alienation in the society. —Urszula Wislanka

For more on International Women's Day, see p.11

AFSCME not helping

Washington, D.C.—Conditions for the custodial workers, most of them Black women, who clean the government buildings here are the same as last month (See "Capital equal pay battle," N&L, March '98). We still face discrimination, less money than the men for the same work and more work put on us. AFSCME was talking about a rally on Equal Pay day in April. Other than that, nothing else has changed.

We don't picket but we need to get something done because the working conditions are getting absolutely horrible. Now the bosses are threatening us, saying: "You think that's bad? You just wait, it's going to get worse!" It seems to me that something could be done about it, but evidently I'm wrong because the union isn't doing anything. I don't know if it's because we are fighting the Architect of the Capitol.

We don't have a contract. We just won the union election in August. But it seems like management won't even negotiate. The members are getting frustrated, they are ready to get out, they don't see any change. We've got to fight with management and the union too! We feel like our union dues are being taken but we're getting nothing in return. They got rid of the one organizer we had who showed signs of improvement.

I haven't heard from the National Organization for Women (NOW) since the rally last month. I joined them last year and sent them a thank-you note for supporting us with the rally, but I haven't heard anything from them since, not a word.

—Hazel Drews, President, AFSCME Local 626

my mind and many of the other women I work with.

In *Marxism and Freedom*, by Raya Dunayevskaya, I read that the Hegelian dialectic is the story of the mind's fight through many different stages, trying to reach to freedom. That is the story of my life, too.

WHEN WE WERE ON WELFARE, we were in a degrading situation, because they gave you barely enough to live on. They harassed you and checked your home and found out if a man lived with you, just to give you this little money to live on. When we heard about the jobs at Delta Pride, we had the illusion that when we got off welfare and went to the factory it would totally change our lives.

But when we went to the factory, they harassed us, worked us all day.

We had carpal tunnel syndrome that crippled women in the plant. This was the life at Delta. So it wasn't a progress up scale. In a sense it was just as bad as welfare. Then we knew we had to say no to this degrading production system and the racism and sexism that came with it. So you see, we had to give up the illusion that becoming production workers would make us free. And then we had to start the fight all over again.

We organized Delta Pride so we could gain dignity and respect on that job, and have benefits to safely take care of our families. But then came the first contract negotiation, which didn't give us the justice we were seeking. It had too many gapholes which the company could use to their advantage. But the worst part was how the contract was negotiated: through upstairs, underhanded deals. We had a negotiating group. But they had the union officials and the company officials. They would put us downstairs in one room and they would stay upstairs in another room and negotiate what they wanted.

We had the illusion that if we got a union, it would totally change our lives. But we learned that unless the union is each and every member standing up and fighting together, it won't make us free. Just like becoming workers didn't make us free, becoming a union member with the thought of someone leading us to freedom didn't make us free either.

THEN CAME THE 1990 STRIKE. The women at Delta went out on strike not just because they wanted extra money or extra holidays, but just because they wanted to have rights to go to the bathroom, which were taken from us. In the first contract we negotiated those rights. In the second contract the company came back and said: "For the last three years women have been abusing this bathroom right. They go when they want to go; they stay as long as they want to stay. We're going to start letting you women go at 12:00 during your lunch hour." That's what sparked the 1990 strike.

Through that strike a source of solidarity was brought about, because women, men, and groups all over the world came together in solidarity to make a difference. Connecting to the day we are celebrating, that's what solidarity is all about: standing together to change whatever struggle and fighting for that. We learned through this victory that we could demand the dignity and respect we deserve as working women. But how do we teach the unorganized? Why didn't they learn from our struggle? I know it goes deeper.

Review: Fanon and feminism

T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting. *Frantz Fanon: Conflicts & Feminisms*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998.

Tracy Sharpley-Whiting's new book on conflicting attitudes of feminists to the Martinican revolutionary philosopher Frantz Fanon is sure to stir up new controversies regarding the value of Fanon's writings for feminism. We cannot afford to allow anti-Fanon feminist arguments remain unchallenged, she shows, if we are to work out a radical humanist vision for today.

Sharpley-Whiting addresses writings on Fanon by three groups: those she calls "liberal Euro-American lit-crit feminists"; Algerian nationalist feminists, some participants in the Algerian 1954-62 liberation movement, as was Fanon; and radical Black feminists in the U.S. She is most sympathetic to the third group, which has drawn heavily from Fanon in constructing women's liberation unseparated from Black liberation.

She is most critical of the first group, whose postmodernist critiques revolve largely around Fanon's treatment of Martinican writer Mayotte Capécia in his 1952 *Black Skin, White Masks*. Most of these commentators, Sharpley-Whiting argues, have not read Capécia for themselves, but simply attack Fanon's critique of a Black woman writer. Taking Fanon's analysis out of the context of his study of the psychic alienation of the Black colonized in relation to the white colonizer, they erase Fanon's revolutionary critique of the Antillean colonized subject who attempts to be recognized as fully human by trying to assimilate the colonizer's culture (p. 34). Such analyses pit feminism against Black liberation, she insists.

ALGERIAN FEMINISTS, on the other hand, are directly concerned with national liberation, but ask why Algerian women in the 1954-62 national liberation movement failed to win equality after independence. They question whether nationalism might be inherently incompatible with women's liberation. Marie-Aimée Helie-Lucas, founder of Women Living Under Muslim Laws, accuses Fanon of "mythmaking," insisting his writing on women freedom fighters does not confront their subordination before or after independence.

Sharpley-Whiting's response to Helie-Lucas and sev-

Fear is still real for us in Mississippi. I've constantly talked about America's Catch and the struggles we've been going through there. They've had three elections that resulted in defeat. They are harassed, mistreated, fired; they are surrounded by unionized plants that have made a difference. But the fear is so deeply rooted. You don't even have to be a worker; you just have to be Black. Look what happened to the Jackson Advocate last month. This newspaper supported us when we were on strike and now their whole office was fire bombed.

We need to overcome both the illusion and the fear. The only way we can do this is through the struggle of the mind, developing the idea of freedom and organizing to make it a reality.

Women Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey



ON INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY...

In ALGERIA, where hundreds of women have been among those massacred by fanatic Islamic fundamentalists since 1992, more than 500 women, some pictured above, courageously rallied in the capital demanding government changes in the retrogressive Family Code.

At a women's assembly in Mazar-i, a town in northern AFGHANISTAN controlled by factions opposed to the Taliban movement which has relegated Afghan women to virtual slavery since taking over in 1996, IRAN'S highest ranking woman official, Masourreh Ebtekar, vice president of environmental affairs, pledged support saying: "Your sisters in the Islamic Republic of Iran are attentively listening to your suppressed cries." Women's rights activists in other countries, led by European Union humanitarian commissioner Emma Bonino, also dedicated International Women's Day to their Afghan sisters, urging foreign pressure on the Taliban.

Thousands of women and men marched in SPAIN protesting sex bias and domestic violence.

Feminists in POLAND were heckled by anti-abortionists and pelted with eggs and potatoes.

eral other Arab feminists becomes a fascinating jumping-off point for considering Fanon's "profeminist," radical humanist vision. Her analysis hinges on his warning in *The Wretched of the Earth* about "the pitfalls of national consciousness."

She connects Fanon's warning to his concern with "national consciousness" that is an "all-embracing crystallization of the innermost hopes of the whole people." The new government must "guard against the danger of perpetuating the feudal tradition which holds sacred the masculine element over the feminine," Fanon cautions (quoted p. 64). Sharpley-Whiting compares his warning to Sojourner Truth's criticism of Frederick Douglass as "short-minded" when he favored Negro men alone winning the vote after the Civil War, as analyzed by Marxist-Humanist Raya Dunayevskaya.

SHE LINKS FANON'S prescient warning to his analysis in *A Dying Colonialism* (the "mythmaking" discussion) about women freedom fighters and the profound transformations they generated. As women reinvented themselves as unveiled revolutionaries, there was "a new dialectic of the body of the revolutionary Algerian woman and the world," Fanon wrote (quoted p. 70). This "new dialectic" profoundly affected the Algerian family, in which the woman "literally forged a new place for herself by her sheer strength" (quoted p. 72).

Sharpley-Whiting makes an exciting contribution to the Marxian concept of revolution-in-permanence—a phrase she uses—by pinpointing Fanon's attempt to capture philosophically that moment at which Algerian society was in the process of becoming something new, a moment tragically rejected by Algeria's post-independence leaders. Although she does not discuss the Hegelian dialectic of negativity, she shows how Algerian culture's transformation was emerging from within the revolutionary process, not from an outside colonial power which tried to force modernity on the colonized for its own purposes.

Feminists cannot afford to fall into their own "pitfalls" by relegating Fanon to the dustbin of history. This is especially important today, when Algerian women fighting fundamentalism are once again engaging Fanon's dialectic of self-transformation. —Laurie Cashdan

Cat pact takes back strikers—and rights

Decatur, Ill. — After the first Caterpillar contract was rejected in February, we were the only UAW local to turn down this Caterpillar contract in March. Why? Because it's a rotten contract. There are a lot of issues that are no good and the people did not like it, so they turned it down. Caterpillar this time did take back all the people who were fired for their actions in the struggle. But one of the deals was that 15% of the new workers they hire will be part-time. They won't have any benefits.

We didn't give Cat a permanent two-tier hiring system since, if someone is hired, they are brought into top rate eventually. But they got to hire those part-timers who can be brought in, fired, and brought back as the company sees fit. They still have to pay union dues, but they don't have the rights the rest of the union members do.

Some of these guys are mad about the flexible hours we have to put up with now. Before if you worked overtime at night, the company paid you time-and-a-half whether you had worked over 40 hours in the week or not. In some instances, you'll have to work 40 hours before they start paying overtime pay. You have some people working weekends for straight time.

They did retain a cost-of-living increase, but they get it as a lump-sum payment at the end of the year and the increase doesn't go into the base pay rate. So it's not really a cost-of-living raise. The people here were also upset over the premium on insurance. We lost a lot in this contract.

How do you let bygones be bygones when people in the struggle commit suicide, families are busted up, and there are divorces over the hardships we suffered. I also blame the higher ups at Caterpillar for bringing on the confrontation that happened. They were the ones who went after the union.

When Yokich, our international UAW president, says that "the agreement represents economic progress, security for the future and, perhaps above all, justice and dignity," I think that's a bunch of baloney. He's lost his focus. Maybe because of the unification of unions that's coming, he wants to get all his ducks in a row. Maybe he'll get to be the first president when the Autoworkers, the Machinists, and the Steelworkers finally merge.

As it is now, the leadership in the UAW have to retire at 65. In the Steelworkers, you can be 100 and still be the president.

We had three big struggles here in the past few years. In fact, Decatur used to be a strong union town.

Workshop Talks

(Continued from page 1)

Black union steward from Mississippi: "A lot of people depend on the stewards. They just wear them down. How do you build the morale in your unit? If you go on strike, you've got 90% with you. But as far as facing that white man, telling him what's wrong and what's right, you've just got a few soldiers in there. You've got to teach the people to stay on them and build their courage up to take care of their spot. That's your spot. If you don't, your union will die out."

The CIO was created by the spontaneous actions of workers who took care of their spot. A union committeeman, quoted in Raya Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom* described what happened: "In building their unions [workers] thought that they were creating instruments of organizing and controlling production in their own interest. The capitalists, aware of this, insisted that the unions recognize the capitalist mode of production. This is the basic conflict that the labor leadership is unable to resolve..." (p. 263).

The labor bureaucracy of the 1950s refused to oppose automation, despite the consequent speedup and unemployment, instead hailing "progress" and the shortened working day the new production methods supposedly would bring workers in the future. The bureaucracy sold out young militant Black workers who organized and wildcatted against racism, speedup and unsafe conditions in the auto plants of the late 1960s and early '70s. It endorsed contract concessions, competitiveness and team concept in the 1980s and '90s.

John Sweeney continues that class-collaborationist stance. He told business executives one year after taking office as AFL-CIO President that he wanted "to help American business compete in the world and create new wealth for your shareholders and your employees. It is time for business and labor to see each other as natural allies, not natural enemies." Sweeney, perhaps sensing something amiss, has asked for help from students, who joined the Union Summer organizing campaigns and attended college teach-ins; and from social activists and academics. He has not asked the workers. The labor bureaucracy and radical intellectuals historically have substituted their own activity, or at least planning, for the thinking and self activity of the working class.

Is it any wonder that decades of such "leadership" have disoriented workers? that workers' confidence that they themselves can effect change is at low ebb? We get glimpses of self-organization here and there in organizing drives, strikes and shop floor struggles, but for workers both within and outside unions the question remains: How are we going to get organized for our own full emancipation?

They were all UAW shops in the '40s. Then when there was a split between the UAW and the Allied Industrial Workers union, in 1956, they all went with the AIW—Staley, and others. When Caterpillar was organized, they went with the UAW. Mississippi Valley Structural Steel was the first plant where scabs crossed picket lines in Decatur. Now that plant is gone.

Years later the union at Staley was locked out, and now no more than 50 people are in the union, out of 750 at one time. There were 150 who went back in at the settlement two years ago, but now only 50 are left. That was also a victory for the corporations. Even when members of the Steelworkers who work at Firestone voted for their contract after the strike, people still felt like they lost.

That's not to say that Caterpillar, Firestone, and Staley weren't all in this together. The UAW made some big mistakes of their own, like the selective strikes. But they called the unfair labor practices strike in 1994 and instead of calling it off when Caterpillar started replacing union members, the UAW should have let its members go back and then called them out again.

—Local 751 veteran

HARRY McSHANE

and the Scottish Roots of

MARXIST
HUMANISM



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Capitalism gone hogwild

Duplin County, N.C. — Duplin County is equal distance between Raleigh and the coast. It's a very poor county, with maybe 39,000 people and three million hogs. It also has the largest turkey processing plant in the U.S., Reaford Turkeys. The lower rung has been filled by Mexicans and Central Americans—most without papers. Conditions are poor. Workers in the field don't have fresh water so they drink from the ditches and get sick. Some workers had to inoculate turkeys but were not given gloves. Their hands turned bright blue. There is no union.

The hog farmers dig these huge pits that they call lagoons; they are really huge latrines. They line them with clay, but of course they leak. When they fill up, the solid waste supposedly sinks, and they spray the liquid waste over crops and land. I would not buy produce in this county if you paid me! If it keeps raining the lagoons will spill over and the sewage will run into streams and ponds. There is also a rendering plant here. This is the worst smelling place any of us have ever lived in.

Besides the big hog farms here—Murphy's Farms, Brown's, and Smithfield's—there are a lot of smaller concerns started by people who didn't have much before but now have set up farms with 2,000 hogs and are making money. They just had a meeting with over 350 residents—most of them hog farmers. They call themselves The Farmer's Defense Fund and are trying to bring down the state health rules. They are suing the Health Commissioner, Dr. Harriet Duncan, who tried to enforce the state law. They also targeted State Representative Cindy Watson, who lives here and supports environmental laws. They told her they would get rid of her.

The Governor, Jim Hunt, has done nothing but is now getting worried because there is some hysteria over the pollution of the water and danger to fish. We are only 50 miles from Wilmington and they are starting to get some runoff from here. There is concern nationally.

When people wake up to what is happening to the water here, they will be forced to move, and they will look for another poor community. But right now they can get that very cheap labor right here. There is a tremendous amount of discrimination against the Hispanic workers. Whites really don't want them here, even though the economy would totally collapse if they left. People speak badly about them; they don't want to provide services for them. The police turn a blind eye to the companies hiring people without papers as a service to the companies.

—Latina feminist

Canadian school strike ends

Calgary, Alberta — Striking custodians in Calgary's Catholic schools voted 78% in favor of ending their nine-week strike after a deal was reached with the school board. The deal was brokered with the assistance of the new Calgary Catholic Bishop, Fred Henry.

Since the strike began on Jan. 16, 270 members of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) Local 520 representing custodians in Calgary's Separate (Catholic) school system had walked the picket lines over the issue of contracting out services.

Believe it or not the union agreed to a deal which allows the board to contract out, but gives the union the right to appeal. To whom the appeal will be made is not exactly clear.

The custodians' contract had included a "no contracting out clause" which the school board wanted removed. Despite the fact that Edmonton Public Schools recently agreed to such a demand from its workers and studies have shown that it is less cost-effective to hire contract labour, the school board refused to budge on the issue. School board chair Ted Sullivan has argued that the school board has no plans to employ contract labour, but insists the board needs the "flexibility" that the removal of the clause would give them.

None of this, however, disguises the fact that every day since the strike began, the schools were cleaned, albeit not very well, by scab labour. Every day since the strike began, members of the Alberta Teachers' Association Local 55, which represents teachers in the Catholic school system, walked through the caretakers' picket lines! No one seems to have suggested that the schools needed to be shut down. Instead the strategy appeared to be to rely on the good faith of new Catholic Bishop Fred Henry, himself a former brewery worker and who personally opposes contracting out, to resolve the dispute.

CUPE 520 President Tony Miotti responded by saying "The board keeps saying they have no intention of contracting out. Let 'em prove it." Isn't that why the union went out on strike, because they didn't trust them to keep their word? Apparently now the CUPE leadership is willing to give the school board the benefit of the doubt.

—Neil Fettes

The author works, teaches and produces *Red & Black Notes* in Calgary.

Limits of union reform

New York — I spoke to a former member of Local 138, the reform local featured in Dan La Botz's book about Teamsters for a Democratic Union, *Rank and File Rebellion*. Unfortunately, what La Botz held up as the model for reform in the Teamsters turned out to be the model Carey followed, stealing from the union to finance his re-election:

"We voted out all the crooks in Local 138 around 1990 or so. The boss was mad because he was in with the mob, and so were those local leaders. He paid a driver \$500 off the books to sign us all up into Local 814. But we all said no, we're staying in 138. So we had all these new guys leading 138, the reform guys, good guys. One drove a high-low with us for years. But after a couple of years, we found out he stole \$200,000 from the union. They all ended up stealing. Then the supermarket changed owners, and I hear he made guys sign a paper saying they wouldn't be in 138, then he got the union out.

"These guys were supposed to be so clean when they came in, and they ended up stealing just like everyone, and destroyed the union."

Reforming unions by voting in new "good" guys and not touching the form of organization or the idea of what a union is, is like putting new wine in old wineskins, whether at the local or international level.

—John Marcotte

Nurses win at Kaiser

(Continued from page 1)

A federal mediator said the key to getting Kaiser to move was the nurses' rock solid unity which didn't diminish in their ongoing strikes. The nurses had continued the courage and defiance demonstrated by service workers in the 1986 strike against a two-tier wage structure. The real test for the future is whether this newfound power of labor through unity can be extended to cross all boundaries of professionalism and turf battles among unions at Kaiser. To break those boundaries rank-and-filers have to speak to each other and determine the agendas of their unions.

On the heels of the CNA and SEIU tentative agreements, Kaiser management announced a major corporate alliance with Summit Hospital to take over all ICU and inpatient medical/surgical admissions. This is a move toward moth-balling Kaiser's 50-year-old flagship hospital in Oakland—precisely the kind of redlining of health care, determined by managed care cost strategies, that we health care workers have been fighting throughout the country for the past two years.

You can judge how much the labor movement has lost in its principles by how little satisfies some of today's labor officials. Those of us in the work-a-day world know that the problems in this permanent restructuring are a lot deeper than money only. What is fundamental in society is how it values the health of its workers. Hopefully the nurses' victory will open up our thinking about what is possible in this fight against permanent restructuring throughout the economy.

—Kaiser service worker

From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya
MARXIST-HUMANIST
ARCHIVES

Editor's Note

As part of our commemoration of the 150th anniversary of Marx's *Communist Manifesto*, we publish Raya Dunayevskaya's 1980 critique of John Molyneaux's *Marxism and the Party*, a 1978 work by a British Trotskyist which largely focused on the *Manifesto*. Written as a letter to an Iranian Marxist-Humanist on Sept. 4, 1980, the critique has been slightly edited and shortened; we have also supplied headlines, footnotes, and the material in brackets. The original is in the *Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, microfilm no. 15235.

Nothing reveals more sharply how deep into the mire a Marxist can land when he disregards the philosophy of Marx in considering organization, as when that separation of philosophy and organization occurs on the theory of permanent revolution. It is there (pp. 20-22) where John Molyneaux's inglorious achievement in *Marxism and the Party* occurs.

In the very first chapter of his book he deals with Marx's [March] 1850 Address to the Central Committee of the Communist League.¹ There is hardly a line in his three pages on the Address that doesn't display a total deafness to Marx's new continent of thought. Just listen to a few of Molyneaux's fantastic conclusions:

1) His misreading of the *Communist Manifesto* begins with his reference to "the main scheme set out in the *Manifesto*," and ends with the outright slander that Marx was "led to depart somewhat," in the actual 1848 Revolution, from that "scheme": "Instead of coming forward as a clear advocate of proletarian revolution and the representative of an independent working class party, Marx was forced to act through the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* as the extreme left wing of radical democracy..."²

There is no point in going into the details of Marx's magnificent revolutionary journalism in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, when obviously Molyneaux has not read a single issue of it and got third-hand its subtitle, "an organ of democracy." And if he ever did read a copy, he proves himself to be as deaf to it as to that greatest of all *Manifesto*, which, though ordered as "the program" of the Communist League, turned out to be the unfurling of so historic a challenge to capitalism and for proletarian revolution, that no one could possibly recognize the document under Molyneaux's description of "its main scheme." Evidently it doesn't seem to enter his mind that **both writings and the actual revolution** were the very ground for Marx's famous 1850 Address on...permanent revolution.

2) Molyneaux, to the contrary, thinks that it is the organizational question—the independent political organization of the working class—which predominates over the question of "the theory and practice of Marxism." No wonder Marx felt compelled, when he heard such Marxists in his day define Marxism, to declare, if that is what Marxism is, "I am not a Marxist."

3) Marx supposedly issued the March 1850 Address because the preoccupation with "practical realization" [of] party organization couldn't be realized in the autumn of 1849, when Marx was already in London. Since Molyneaux's preoccupation is with organization, he chooses to quote two paragraphs from that Address, from its organizational part, [on the proletariat's need] to reorganize itself "if it is not to be exploited and taken in tow again by the bourgeoisie as in 1848."

One would think that at this point even a strict SWP vanguardist³ would follow Marx in his report on the dialectics of revolution....The further continuance of revolution, Marx concludes, would be "the party of the proletariat...Their battle cry must be: The Revolution in Permanence."

4) No such logic flows from the mind of a Cliffite. Instead he concludes his analysis with something out of the blue: "Marx makes his closest approach to Lenin's concept of the vanguard party (though of course there are still major differences)" (p. 21)...Even when Molyneaux makes some acknowledgment of revolution, he embellishes it with such loaded phrases as "the plan to tighten the organization" and "only then does it become an integral part of the perspective of dynamic revolutionary action."

MARX AND LENIN ON THE PARTY

Let us first clear up some of the misstatements that are supposed to parallel Marx's and Lenin's concepts of the vanguard party, which would certainly shock Lenin to no end.

So far as the historic periods are concerned, while Marx in 1849-50 was still thinking of an impending revolution, Lenin, in 1902, when he was working out *What Is To Be Done?*, was very far from expecting an impending revolution, much less a proletarian revolution.

- 1. Marx's March 1850 Address to the Central Authority of the Communist League, in which he projected his concept of "revolution in permanence," can be found in Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 10, pp. 277-87.
- 2. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was the principal vehicle of Marx's revolutionary journalism during the 1848 revolutions.
- 3. SWP stands for the British Socialist Workers Party, led by Tony Cliff. Its contemporary U.S. counterpart is the International Socialist Organization (ISO).

Marxism and 'the party'

Nevertheless, at the 1903 Congress [of Russian Marxists], Lenin did apologize for his emphasis [in *What Is To Be Done?*] on the need to limit party membership, saying that the stick had to be "bent" in such a direction both because the party had been so loose and because without a theory of revolution there can be no revolution.

Indeed, when the 1905 Revolution burst out so spontaneously, it was just then when Lenin changed his position on "tightening" the organization, demanding that it be thrust wide open. Later he was to declare that whereas everyone attributes the split between Mensheviks and Bolsheviks to that 1903 Congress when it "technically" took place, he considered that it was 1905 where the two tendencies [became] opposites.

Where Molyneaux discovered "the similarity between Marx's concept of the party...and Lenin's 50 or more years later derives in large part from the parallels in

Congress was the most organizational in the sense that all tendencies were there, the battle of ideas was never separated from the organizational form. Above all, the relationship of spontaneity to organization, both in Lenin's and in Luxemburg's speeches, was never more sharply expressed. That, however, is out of the purview of Molyneaux....

5) Molyneaux diverts so totally from Marx that a reader would take for granted that Molyneaux has no claim to Marxism. Thus, as he approaches the so-called second period of Marx, 1850 to 1864, which Molyneaux calls "the years of retreat," he allows it all of two pages. Please keep in mind that this is the period in which Marx wrote a) the 1857-58 *Grundrisse*, b) the 1859 *Critique of Political Economy*, and c) the 1863 second draft of nothing short of *Capital* itself, not to mention all the articles against colonialism and for the Abolitionists and the Civil War in the U.S., which led him to reorganize the structure of his greatest theoretical work.

6) Even when one wants to so narrow Marxian organization as to be willing to disregard Marx's writings during the period that do not concern the party, the party, the party, one has to be careful with dates. It is not 1850 when there was no "party"; Marx's March 1850 Address was to the Central Committee of the Communist League, which he didn't leave until 1852. Secondly, in the same two years [1850-52], there were meetings with both the Chartists and the Blanquists to discuss the founding of a "World Society of Revolutionary Communists."

In 1851, when Marx was already in the British Museum developing some very great new theories, he was still attending meetings of the London Council of the Communist League. And when members of the League were arrested and the 1850 Address was found on their persons, the Cologne Trial followed.⁵

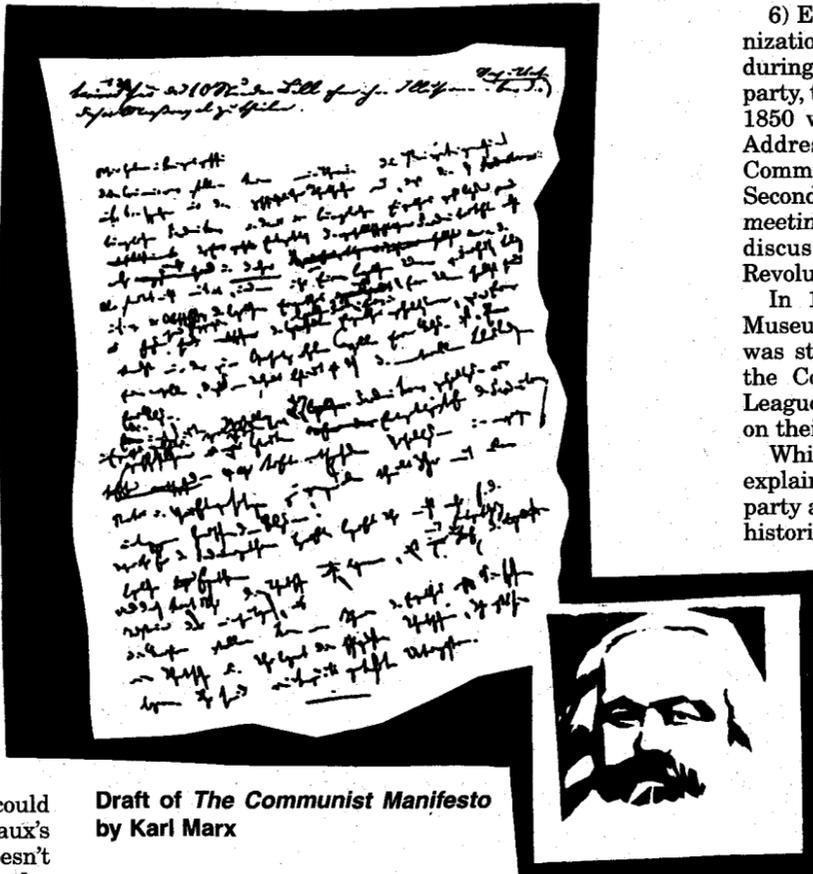
While it never dawns on Molyneaux that Marx explained how important his theoretical work was to the party as **Marx understood it**—"a party in the eminent historical sense"—he should have at least known of the May 1861 meeting Marx organized in London to protest the arrest of Auguste Blanqui by the French police. It is doubtful, however, whether Molyneaux would recognize a party "in the eminent historical sense," or in the sense that Blanqui expressed his deep gratitude for what "the German proletarian party had done," which Marx answered: "No one could be more interested than I in the fate of a man who I always held to be the head and the heart of the proletarian party in France."

In rounding out the totality of his misconceptions of Marx, Molyneaux becomes arrogant enough to tell Marx all about how "the essential starting point for a theory of the revolutionary party is rooted in what we called earlier the 'optimistic evolutionism' of his (Marx's) view of the growth of working-class political consciousness." Then Molyneaux kindly releases Marx from any "blame" because he lived when "reformism had not emerged as in any way a major threat." Therefore, says Molyneaux, it is "understandable" if Marx bent the stick "in the direction of economic determinism" (p.35).

Molyneaux's arrogance has not yet reached its apex.

(Continued on page 9)

5. See Marx's "Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne," in *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, pp. 395-457.



Draft of The Communist Manifesto by Karl Marx

their situation" (p. 22), Lenin and the whole Social Democracy of the time saw parallels— and dissimilarities—between the revolutions.

To grasp the total ramifications all the way to our day, one [must] however grapple with the 1907 Congress [of Russian Marxists], the only one where all tendencies—Bolshevik, Menshevik, Luxemburgist, and even the Bund⁴—argued the 1905 Revolution, [in] its relationship to and departure from 1848. Quite clearly, though that

4. The Bund (Algemeiner Yiddischer Arbeiter Bund) advocated the autonomous organization of the Jewish proletariat. The 1907 Congress of Russian Marxists is discussed in detail by Dunayevskaya in *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.

PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

in history, in theory, in today's freedom struggles

A series of classes. Check the directory on page 9 for the location nearest to you.

"Because the transformation of reality is central to the Hegelian dialectic, Hegel's philosophy comes to life, over and over again, in all periods of crisis and transition, when a new historic turning point has been reached, when the established society is undermined and a foundation is laid for a new social order... Marx, the discoverer of a totally new continent of thought—Historical Materialism—grounded his philosophy of liberation in the PRAXIS of the proletariat as well as in Hegel's dialectic."

—Raya Dunayevskaya, from the Introduction to *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre, and from Marx to Mao*

This year marks the anniversaries of two world-historic moments. 1998 sees the 150th anniversary of Marx's *Communist Manifesto*, written on the eve of the 1848 Revolutions—at a revolutionary moment which stretched from Europe to the Seneca Falls Women's Convention in New York. This year also marks the 30th anniversary of 1968 when new mass revolts covered every corner of the globe, giving the lie to those who said the drive for social revolution was a thing of the past.

Those revolts, however, showed that in our era, no amount of revolutionary will and energy is sufficient to complete the revolution so long as a philosophy of liberation rooted in Hegel's dialectic and Marx's humanism is missing. In addressing this reality, Raya Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* did not just speak to the impasses reached in the movements of that era, but provided a direction for overcoming the barriers to writing a new chapter in the revolutionary struggle.

Today, on its 25th anniversary, the challenge of *Philosophy and Revolution*, to work out a viable alternative to this racist, sexist, heterosexist, class society, is more relevant than ever. These classes will return to that challenge with the eyes of today to work out the integrality of philosophy and revolution for today's freedom struggles.

Class 1 The Todayness of Hegel's Revolution in Philosophy	Class 3 The Hegelian-Marxian Dialectic in Post-Marx Marxism (I)	Class 4 The Hegelian-Marxian Dialectic in Post-Marx Marxism (II)	Class 5 Economic Reality and the Dialectics of Liberation
Class 2 Marx's Rootedness in and Continuous Return to the Hegelian Dialectic	Lenin's Philosophic Ambivalence in Light of the Problem of Revolution Today	From Mao, Sartre and Fanon to Lukacs, Adorno, and Derrida	

The core readings will be in *Philosophy and Revolution*. Many other readings will be in "The Power of Negativity," a forthcoming collection of writings by Dunayevskaya on dialectics. For each class, full and open discussion will follow the presentations. Reading materials are available from News and Letters Committees.

Essay Article

Quest for freedom in Amazonia

by Osmarino Amancio Rodrigues

It is probable that at present there are more than 1.5 million people in the Amazon forest who depend on its products for survival. This is without taking into account the numerous families expelled from the forest, who live in the cities sustained by the work of their family members who remain in the forest, planting and harvesting some of its riches: obtaining dried fruit; hunting without affecting the sustainability of the animals; extracting latex from the rubber trees while respecting their production capacities; planting, and fishing. Indians, *seringueiros* (rubber tree tappers) and other forest workers represent a lifestyle that cannot be destroyed, but to the contrary, must be developed.

There are more than two million different species of trees, ten times the number found in temperate forests, 50,000 plant varieties, 2,500 fish species, more than a thousand distinct birds, and much more. What is for certain is the understanding of the people of the forest that the gigantic Amazon forest is not brutal, but rather a sensitive and delicate beast.

We the *seringueiros* and the Brazil nut crackers united with the Indians and all other peoples from the Amazon because, as with the bees and orchids, we are part of this biodiversity of the forest. We are therefore decidedly against the ranchers and the capitalists, whether Brazilian or foreign who are interested in setting up operations that destroy the forest. The people of the forest need the forest to live, and the forest needs us to defend it against capitalist barbarism.

The forests of great biodiversity are still found in Brazil, Mexico, Colombia, The Congo, and Indonesia, exactly the regions where imperialism leads to devastating and destructive action without any masks. The peoples of the Amazon forest have knowledge of the millions of plant species there because we use them in our everyday lives as part of our daily food or because we know their properties for providing us with products such as oils, waxes, aromas, latex, and remedies. Brazil has an immense wealth for humanity in this sense, where 10 to 20% of the total number of the planet's species is found.

We do not have an overall knowledge of the wealth of our biodiversity, but we know that capitalism is not interested in developing it for the use of humanity, but wants to destroy it for profit. And this is exactly why there is a war taking place in that large forest, a true war between the peoples of the forest and capitalism, whether national or international. In this war, many revolutionary comrades have died, others avoided the struggle, and others prostituted themselves when they saw the possibility of earning money by changing sides. That is what we call the law of money.

SERINGUEIROS SELF-ORGANIZATION

I come from a country that has continental dimensions and the region known as the Amazon corresponds to more than 57% of its national territory. It is evident that a country with these dimensions presents us with a very diversified rural reality. We have the extracting section (including rubber tree tappers—*seringueiros*—and other people who live in the forests), the rural wage workers (permanent and temporary), poor small rural property owners, and the landless (made up of small property owners who lost their land, rural wage workers with nowhere to work, and urban unemployed with rural origins).

Until 1972 there was no organized movement in the Amazon. The *seringueiros* and the indigenous people, known in Brazil as "Indians," and all other Brazilians faced a military dictatorship which, fearing the increasing and entrenched guerrilla activity, resorted to a policy that aimed at genocide of the populations that lived in the forest and at the destruction of the forest itself. No one presented any form of collective struggle. We had no idea of the policy that capitalism intended to apply to our region and even less of that intended for the country as a whole.

It started with the intensive process of expulsion from the forest of the Indians and other peoples. The Catholic Church initiated a project of ecclesiastical grassroots communities, but they had limitations. In 1975 we then launched the first trade union of rural workers in the state of Acre. This was the beginning of

the process of the decimation of rural workers' trade unions in several municipalities in the region. During this period the unions allowed by the government were multi-class while from the start our intervention was for organizing the working class.

In 1976 the first collective action against the *latifundia* (large estates) system, the large land owners, and the government's policy was organized. It was a hard struggle which made us understand the importance of collective action, fraternity, and solidarity since it was a fight against the army and the state police. It was a confrontation that made history. It was when for the first time we emerged victorious on the first *empate*. *Empate* is a form of collective action against forest clearance where the *seringueiros* unite to prevent the land owners from destroying the woodlands. Men, women, and children participate in these confrontations. It is a struggle where sides are clear, and where solidarity and trust are what we most need. They are our strongest weapons.

At the end of the decade of the '70s, the conflicts became more and more intense in almost all of the regions of the Amazon, and at the beginning of the '80s we founded, together with urban workers, the Central Unica de Trabalhadores (CUT), a working-class entity that centralized all trade union activities and became the largest of its kind in the whole of Latin America. The majority of the unions of the region affiliated with CUT, but from the beginning we understood that CUT did not have a major concern with elaborating a policy with us for the Amazon. They emphatically characterized our struggle as merely ecological, did not agree that our movement was a movement for agrarian reform, and confused our struggle with that of ecologists and environmentalists. Amongst the majority of the Brazilian left vanguard it wasn't clear that the struggle against the destruction of the Amazon is a struggle for the survival of approximately two million people, that it is a struggle that confronts the capitalist system.

We cannot deny that the ecologists were great allies, sometimes more than the traditional left which, through its policies, ended up collaborating in maintaining the isolation that the system intended for us. However we managed to understand this and decided to act to end this isolation. In 1985 we created the National Council of *Seringueiros*, aimed at developing a policy around the peoples of the forests.

At the same time, the Movement of Landless Rural Workers was created, or rather reactivated, as well as the Movement of Those Affected by Dams. Sectors of rural workers managed to find ways of organizing that strengthened them and of ending the isolation in which they lived. However, we had to do this by our own initiative since neither the traditional left nor CUT had a policy for rural workers in Brazil. Although we had comrades in the national executive of CUT who tried to develop work and policy in that direction, they did not find support.

SELF-DETERMINATION AND SOLIDARITY

The National Council of *Seringueiros* and the Alliance of the Peoples of the Forest developed a policy in which the question around large estates and economic, political, and social questions were considered together with the ecological question. Several associations, cooperatives, and schools were founded and we started work on preventative health care.

These movements had the objectives of strengthening the trade union movement, breaking away from the state, and fighting for socialism. One of our first stands was not accepting any land ownership documents, in other words, fighting for the right to use the land taken away from farm owners and other enterprises. At the time and until the present, we think that our attitude was the most politically correct. We have faced several difficulties since the majority of the current leadership of the movement is making concessions, accepting money from the seven richest countries to develop timber extraction. Each day there are more non-governmental organizations and the movement is weakening.

We need to unite with you to fight capitalism, whether with its neoliberal or its social democratic face. We want to fight the system in its totality and not in parts, and although we are doing this at the level of

our country, we need that struggle to be strengthened internationally.

We believe that the political conditions are very favorable since the grassroots base is in revolt against the executive of the National Council of *Seringueiros*,

where only a minority identifies with the base. The peoples of the forest—*seringueiros*, Indians, *rebeirinhos* (craft fishermen), *castanheiros* (people who crack Brazil nuts)—were the main subjects of a proposal to defend the Amazon. Their proposal is based on traditional ways and their ways of life in the extraction and gathering of diverse products (such as rubber, Paranut, fish, potato, acai—a palm used in wine, cream, sorbet, and so

on—oil, fruits, and others), maintaining a profound relationship with the ecosystem, extracting from nature not only the necessities for basic survival.

On the other hand, the government's model of development established in that region from the '60s onwards—with the opening of roads, fiscal incentives to the estate owners and agro-industries, and colonization projects—brought a profound loss of character to the space and social life. One of the assumptions of the government's model, that of a demographic void and absence of economic activities with resulting large immediate profits, did not allow the perception of the existence of complex forms of survival, both economic and cultural, characteristic of a tropical forest region.

The resulting social and ecological transformations—deforestation, expulsion of populations, a high poverty rate of the urban populations, and loss of ethnic and cultural character—are a product of the process with two faces. On the one hand, there's the implementation of completely predatory economic activities, causing profound modifications in the environment. On the other hand, there's the destruction of the activities that already existed as agricultural and extracting activities in which the local populations were involved.

CONTRADICTIONS AND VICTORIES

In the Western Amazon, especially in Acre, the *seringueiros* every year organize in the summer a movement for the defense of the forest against the devastation. These are the *empates* which are collective actions that envisage stopping or preventing the destruction of the forest. During the *empates* the camps of the enterprises are disrupted, the chain saws and the agricultural instruments seized, and there are also discussions with the workers in those estates to persuade them to abandon the work of forest destruction. The National Council of *Seringueiros* of the Amazon, formed by the representatives of several rural unions in the region as a result of the first *empate* /meeting of *seringueiros* that took place in 1985, took a similar part in the movement in the region.

Those actions, true historical beacons in the defense of the forest and of the peoples that live in it, are beginning to suffer from a great erosion process due to the bureaucratization and degeneration of the current leadership which no longer defends important principles. For example, they don't defend the movement of the people who live in the forest and who had the objective of strengthening the rural union movement which is fighting for agrarian reform under their control, and against all the extension projects financed by the seven richest countries whose only objective is immediate profits.

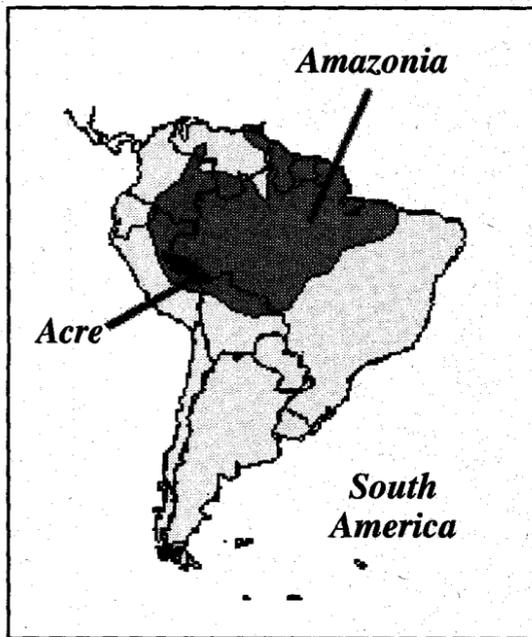
Today, with the current leadership, those actions which were truly historical events in the defense of the Amazon peoples and forest are not finding a response because they take place in remote and isolated regions, through individual activities by small groups of people.

Even with all these problems, even with many comrades being killed in this war, the movement has had important victories. We managed to remove from the hands of the woodland estate owners 11,786 square miles of forests during the decade of the '80s. This land area is a victory for 9,174 families in the struggle for land and agrarian reform. From 1990 to 1995 we increased that area to approximately 19,300 square miles, but it is important to highlight that 347,500 square miles have extractable potential. This means that the war will continue since land reform in Brazil will only take place when a revolutionary perspective will become strong enough. The current war we are engaged in is already part of the revolutionary process.

We think that it is time to stop the advance of capitalist barbarism in the cities as well as the rural areas. Preventing them from applying their policies in the Amazon is to inflict a defeat to the system. But we know that this struggle cannot be carried out only by those workers who are directly involved. It is a wide struggle that depends on the solidarity and understanding of its importance at the international level.



Seringueiro (rubber tree tapper)



Osmarino Amancio Rodrigues is leader of the Brazilian National Council of *Singueiros* (Rubber Tree Tappers). He succeeded NCS founding head Chico Mendes who was assassinated in 1988. This essay is adapted from a speech at the International Socialist Network conference in Cape Town, South Africa on Dec. 4, 1997. To support the NCS, write Osmarino Amancio Rodrigues, Caixa Postal 11, Cep. 65. 932-000, Brazilia Acre, Brazil.

U.S. CAPITALISM AND ITS ONGOING WARS

When questioned at Ohio State University about the morality of the U.S. bombing Iraqi civilians, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright replied, "I am really surprised that people feel it is necessary to defend the rights of Saddam Hussein, when we ought to be making sure he does not use weapons of mass destruction." This is exactly the way our government wants us to think: If you do not support murdering civilians, you must be for the enemy. This is not true. We do not support Saddam Hussein. He is a cruel dictator who is heading an extremely oppressive government. What we do support is protecting the lives of innocent people who will be killed as an expense of war.

We take note that at the conclusion of the Gulf War many Iraqi citizens rose up in opposition to Hussein, but the U.S. government gave these people no support. The result was that they were massacred as a demonstration of Hussein's power. Ever since that war, Iraq has been under UN imposed sanctions that have led to the deaths of up to one million people, many of them innocent children. We feel that the blood of these deaths will be on our hands if we fail to ask the necessary questions about the U.S. participation in the Middle East.

**Marxist-Humanist students, NIU
DeKalb, Illinois**

Your editorial, "Stop ongoing U.S. war on the Iraqi people" (March 1998 N&L), hit the nail on the head. The Senate vote to condemn Hussein as a "war criminal" and set up a UN tribunal to try him was a sorry reaction to the UN-brokered deal to resolve the crisis created by the U.S. over arms inspection. They want to legitimize the installation of a puppet regime in Baghdad in order to be assured a continuous supply of oil from the region, oil being the lifeblood of the western capitalist system. It's the type of aggression our government proved itself quite capable of in Panama in 1989. From Hiroshima and Nagasaki, through the Cold War, right up to today, our leaders have no problem with finding "moral justification" for any kind of massacre. This conflict is not ours. We must oppose it. **David Tyler
Louisiana**

Imagine that Chile, Cuba, Guatemala, Indonesia, Iraq, Iran, Nicaragua (et al) decided to undermine, overthrow the government of the U.S., kill millions of people in the process, and establish a puppet regime. This is exactly what the U.S. (through the CIA) did and/or wishes to do everywhere.

Consider that in Indonesia the U.S. puppet, Suharto, killed more than a million people when it took power with the help of the CIA and the U.S. military establishment — and that's not counting the hundreds of thousands killed in East Timor. Then consider that Indonesian workers were already on starvation wages before the present economic crisis and draconian measures imposed by the IMF led to sharp price increases, layoffs and further hardships. Then ask if it is mere "coincidence" that the head of the IMF and the Secretary of Defense of the U.S. were in Indonesia at the same time, or whether they were there so U.S.-made machine guns could keep the "peace" (and Suharto in power)?

**Observer
Little Rock, Arkansas**

Your editorial on the "U.S. war on the Iraqi people" raised several issues I had not previously given any thought to. It was wonderful food for thought. You should consider, however, reducing the use of Marxist-Humanist language not familiar to others as it limits the ability to reach those not in the know. In particular, I didn't understand the use of "tail-end" as a verb and "solidarize" — although I guessed the latter means "to show solidarity." **Steady reader
Israel**

I'm anxious about the idea of a philosophy of revolution because cultures are so diverse. Your editorial-article in March takes up minorities in the Middle East and Iraq but I don't know their cultures, what their revolutions were about, or their vision of the future.

Your article critiques those who only see the enemy of your enemy as your friend; says we should solidarize with the

masses; and at the end says that Marxist-Humanism has a whole body of ideas to contribute to focusing on new voices of opposition. It seems your goal is to create a real internationalism but I feel that is not realistic. It sounds too hegemonic, as if this one philosophy has the answer. *Maybe I will learn what you mean in the classes here on Raya Dunayevskaya's Philosophy and Revolution.*

**Young peace activist
Memphis**

Editor's note: This class series is being held in several areas. See ad, p. 4.

I notice that Clinton found a few moments to speak against the "excessive violence" in Kosova, saying that he doesn't want any more of the kind of photos seen in the first two weeks of March. The press called this a condemnation, but it sounds to me more like advice. After all, Serbian police forcing photo-journalists to jump out of second-floor windows just isn't the U.S. government's idea of efficiency. **Critic
Indiana**

In early March an extraordinary teach-in about the situation in Iraq was held on the campus of San Jose University. Led by one Greek and one Jewish faculty member, the discussion included Palestinians, Iraqis, Iranians, Africans, African-Americans, a white American who had been a member of the U.S. military, young and old, men and women, lesbian, gay and straight, peace activists and many more. Yet there were only about 30 people total! What made this so notable was that all these participants were agreed that the sanctions were unjustifiable and genocidal, and that the U.S. military plans against Iraq were unconscionable. As one of the organizers said after the meeting: "A few years ago, those in attendance would not even have sat together peacefully in the same room. Today they are unanimous against war. Something has changed, for the better." **Jennifer
San Jose**



THE PRISON CONDITION

Your coverage of prison issues is as good as it gets in a nation that exercises a tight control over prisoners' communications. Another excellent source of "voices from the inside" is the newsletter of the Coalition for Prisoners' Rights that comes out of Sante Fe, New Mexico (PO Box 1911 at zip 87504). A glance at the voices heard there shows that abuse in U.S. prisons is a nationwide phenomenon. You hear about it from Hawaii to Texas, from Georgia to Illinois, from Arizona to Pennsylvania.

The capitalist system, which initiated a class war against workers, has now created a world of forced labor and financial speculation called the prison system, which is so inhumane that the ordinary wage slave has to thank God that at least he/she is not incarcerated. The whole rotten system stands as a threat against the entire working class.

**Been there
Louisiana**

Please thank the donor who renewed my subscription to N&L. All inmates must now place their personal property in a small box they issue to us. That means that all legal materials, commissary items, books and papers will have to be mailed to somewhere outside the walls or we will wind up with a very ugly disciplinary report. It has forced me to break down my library, but I will be able to read each new issue of the paper that arrives. Each day this camp is becoming more and more like living in hell and the only place you can be transferred to is Tamms, the new grave yard.

**Prisoner
Illinois**

Editor's note: Tamms is the state of Illinois' newest super-maximum security prison, where inmates cannot smoke, watch television, work out with weights, or do anything but sit alone inside bare-walled cells except for two hours a week in an empty exercise cage.

Readers' Views

The extra coverage on the prison condition in the March issue was excellent, especially Gene Ford's essay on the Black mind in revolt. He gave an excellent picture of the struggle Blacks face under this system of racial control and of the new movement within California to rise against the increasingly brutal system. I have noticed in prison publications the growth in the number of politicized prisoners in that state, something greatly lacking here. **D.S.
Iowa**

COLLECTING TAXES AND INTEREST

This year there is a noticeable swelling of my annual outrage that 51% of the federal budget is allotted to past, present and future military spending. No longer available is the miniscule protest of withholding the phone bill's federal excise tax. Capitalism will continue to feed a murderous military arsenal as integral to our inhumane system. Our responsibility is to struggle for conscious control of a totally new world. In response to the inspiring work of *News & Letters*, I'm enclosing my check for your Prisoners Subscription Fund. **Sheila G.
New York**

I could not help wondering if the editor of *USA Today* realized what a point he was making by running two articles right on top of one another in their March 2 issue. One head read: "Suharto claims IMF bailout not enough." It referred to the \$43 billion "rescue package" the IMF had bestowed on him. Directly below, the headline read: "IRS audit focus: Working poor." It referred to the fact that for the past three years taxpayers whose incomes were below \$25,000 a year were far more likely than wealthier citizens to have their returns randomly audited to detect possible "cheating." The article reported that more random audits were done on Southern taxpayers because it is one of the country's poorest regions. I guess somebody has to pay for capitalism's charity! **Not laughing
Illinois**

I call the IMF the Interest Collector for the U.S. and international banks. The Third World debts, the debts of the former Soviet satellites, and now Indonesia, Korea, Thailand, etc., are excellent reasons to force the debtor countries into draconian and unpopular measures, lowering living standards, salaries, creating unemployment, raising the price of consumer goods. A few years ago Hungary even considered taking the IMF to the International Court in the Hague for creating intolerable hardships on the population. **Giorgio
Canada**

ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE PROCESS

It was surprising to read in the March issue that the writers of "Our Life and Times" view the Oslo Accords as "the finest chance it (Israel) has ever had to make a durable peace with its Arab neighbors." What is meant by "durable peace" and "finest chance it has ever had"? The people of the Mid-East need the killing and fighting to stop, yet accepting "the peace process" as a viable alternative is to view the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in an ahistorical, non-dialectical, non-revolutionary manner. **Stephen Steiger
Prague**

A courageous moral stand was taken when Britain's Foreign Minister Robin Cook strode away from the Israeli who was officially briefing him on Har Homa to shake the hand of Saley Tamari, a Palestinian who has led the battle against the new Israeli settlement on this land. Bat Shalom had a contingent of eight women who joined other Israeli peace organizations to applaud his efforts but our voices were drowned out by the din of Israeli right-wingers shouting "anti-Semite," "Jerusalem forever" and other angry slogans against him. Later, we and our partners in the Palestinian women's Jerusalem Center were able to convey our joint message directly to him when he entered the

school yard of the Palestinian girls college.

We let him know that we want the leaders of Europe to help put the peace process back on track, and that we are calling on Israeli and Palestinian political leaders to shape a peace agreement that will ensure the security of both peoples — something which cannot be achieved without two states for two peoples and the city of Jerusalem serving as two capitals for these two states.

**Gila Svisky, Bat Shalom
Jerusalem**



MARX'S COMMUNIST MANIFESTO TODAY

Franklin Dmitryev's article on the *Communist Manifesto* and "revolution in permanence" illustrated the profundity of Marx's concept of revolution. If the "socialist man" had been created during the 70 years of the Soviet Union in no way would the likes of Yeltsin have come to power. What happened in Russia shows how difficult it is to create revolution in permanence.

**Blown away
Vancouver Island**

Did you know that China is issuing a special limited edition of the *Communist Manifesto* to mark the 150th anniversary? Limited means 5,000 commemorative copies and 500 of a collector's edition. The *Manifesto* has now been turned into a marketing opportunity. The question is how will China explain that the *Manifesto* is certainly out of step with the current policies of the ruling Communist Party in Beijing?

It was first translated in part into Chinese in 1906, but the translator took some liberties, using the term "common people" instead of "workers" because largely rural China would have to rely on peasants against the imperial regime. And the classic conclusion was also changed. Instead of: "The workers have nothing to lose but their chains, they have a world to win. Workingmen of all countries, unite!", the Chinese version read: "Then the world will be for the common people, and the sounds of happiness will reach the deepest springs. Ah! Come! People of every land, how can you not be roused?"

**Interested in the answer
Illinois**

The interest in Marx seems to be growing, especially in France, where the 150th anniversary of the *Communist Manifesto* on Feb. 23 was remembered with two new editions. The first of 35,000 copies sold out immediately. Both cost the same price, 10 francs (a bit less than \$2). On Feb. 13 the Communist Party daily, *l'Humanite* offered its readers a photocopy of the first (1848) edition. One of the French publishers was quoted as saying: "All the classics of subversion are very successful with the new generation. We thought it was time to re-read Marx in a serious way."

**Correspondent
Prague**

SPEAKING OUT ON MEXICO

A dozen Latinos, all of them recipients of MacArthur Foundation "genius grants," gathered in Chicago in March to condemn military violence in the Mexican state of Chiapas. They said they were forced to speak out after 45 people were massacred by pro-government paramilitary gunmen, "because our Latino leaders are not leading," as the novelist and poet, Sandra Cisneros, put it. "If 45 people were killed in Cicero, there would be outrage," said Maria Varela, a civil rights activist. "The privilege of leadership carries responsibility," is the way Hipolito Roldan put it.

It was the first time MacArthur fellows have collectively spoken out on any issue. It was an important first.

**G.F.
Chicago**

FIGHTING RACISM

There was not much expectation among Black folks that Hollywood would ever recognize the artistic, let alone historical, significance of Black subject matter as worthy of its coveted Academy Award. And that academy proved true to form this year. Not only did Spielberg's stunning picture, "Amistad," not get nominated for best picture, but Spike Lee's "Four Little Girls" on the 1963 Birmingham Church bombing, which was nominated for best documentary, got passed over as well. That these two films, which caught the irresistible spirit of Black freedom struggles at two major turning points of American history—the Abolitionist movement of the 19th century and the Civil Rights Movement of the 20th—could capture the conscience and imagination of Black and white America but not the motion picture academy, can only mean that Hollywood's "benign neglect" of the Black dimension may have run its course.

Chicago Southsider Illinois

The deal the city of Cicero, Illinois, made with the KKK to keep them from marching in their town was a deal with the devil. It got the KKK out of the limelight where they look like idiots, gave them \$10,000, and then did their work for them. It sure shows you that, 30 years after the murder of Martin Luther King, Jr., the conditions he was fighting against are still there.

Anti-racist youth Memphis

The Black community is outraged by the recent arrest of Jeremiah Mearday on trumped-up charges of drug possession and resisting arrest after two white cops were fired for having brutalized Mearday a year ago. It is viewed as revenge against Mearday, the Black community and the growing anti-police brutality movement. But there are two political issues embroiled in this latest development. First, the attempt by Mearday's lawyer to depoliticize his police brutality case has come home to roost. The Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) always saw the case in political terms.

Second, it is clear the FOP was testing Chicago's new Black Police Superintendent Terry Hilliard. Everyone knows the resignation of the former Superintendent, Matt Rodriguez, came as a result of his firing the two white cops for the Mearday beating and that the FOP is now testing Hilliard to see where he's coming from. In comes Jesse Jackson, who angered the Black community when asked where he stands by saying he would wait for the investigation of the matter by Hilliard's office. What must be recognized, however, is the political content of Jesse's response — namely, that the movement and the Black community have become so radicalized by this issue that Jesse has to think twice before aligning himself with them.

Lou Turner Chicago



WOMEN'S LIBERATION PAST AND PRESENT

In reading Raya Dunayevskaya's March Archives column, where she talked about white women seeing themselves limited to auxiliary tasks, it's important that these women were Abolitionists. It wasn't only women's rights they were interested in. They wanted to do something about the crucial issue of slavery. We saw the same thing in the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley in the 1960s, that involved the students who had taken part in Mississippi Freedom Summer and wanted to end racism. In both cases it was a question of what was "in the air." It was both the Black dimension and the idea of freedom that led to the Women's Rights Convention.

Women's Liberationist Memphis

Both of the talks I heard at a meeting for International Women's Day here were enlightening to me because both talked about the struggles of women, past and present. One woman brought out the struggles of women in prison and related

the struggles in this country to those in other places, especially what Women in Black are doing to protest what is happening in Kosova.

The other talk brought out what women discovered when they left welfare to go to work and found they still had to struggle against inhuman treatment. When she described what it is like to stand all day, doing the same job over and over, and not even being able to go to the bathroom, I thought: the only difference between welfare and a job at starvation wages is that on public aid at least you don't have to worry about getting "carpel-tunnel syndrome." Other than that they seem exactly the same. You feel humiliation in both, and either way it's a dead-end situation.

Mother on TANF Chicago

Because the jobs a lot of women have to take leave them still eligible for welfare to keep their families alive, it destroys any illusion that being a worker will make us free. It is like what a lot of women prisoners I've talked with have found. They thought once they got out of prison they'd be free. But once they got out they faced the same conditions that landed them in prison in the first place. In both situations, you realize it isn't your personal problem, that total freedom means something very different than this society.

Ready for a new society Chicago

THE LEGACY OF DR. SPOCK

Many of the commentaries on Dr. Benjamin Spock, who died in March, failed to get the connection between his advice on raising children and his opposition to the nuclear arms build-up and, later on, the war in Vietnam. This reminds me of the biographers of Helen Keller who never pay attention to her deeply held socialist principles, much less connect them to her life's work. I always considered Dr. Spock in the vanguard of helping parents to learn how to individually help their own children gain a sense of self. This was perverted by the Right when they attacked the so-called "permissive" generation which blossomed in the

1960s into the civil rights and anti-war youth. I'm glad a little bit of that Dr. Spock was rubbed off on me.

Class of 1968 Michigan

I heard that Dr. Spock was a subscriber to N&L. Is that true?

Spock and N&L admirer Chicago

Editor's note: Yes, we are proud to have counted Dr. Spock as one of our earliest subscribers.

NEWS & LETTERS

WHO SUPPORTS NEWS & LETTERS?

After we published the story on the firebombing of the Jackson Advocate in N&L last month, I got a telephone call from a civil rights activist in Mississippi who is leading the campaign to support the Advocate and uncover the criminals behind the firebombing. She said the story told the truth about the situation in Jackson, a truth that has been hidden by the media there. She liked the story so much that she read the rest of N&L, which she had never seen before. "I never knew much about Marxism," she told me. "Just what I learned in school, and what they tell you on the news. I always thought I was a 'liberal.' But after I read your paper, I see Marxism very differently. It makes me think that if this is Marxism, I must be a Marxist, too."

Michael Flug Chicago

Iowa, where I am now living, is not exactly the hotbed of revolution. Yet as I talk to more and more people at work, I find more and more people who hate this society, but don't feel they can do anything about it. I talk to them about revolution and we get into some wonderful, thinking conversations, although I try to make sure the boss doesn't hear, since revolution must be the last thing Big Brother wants to hear at an oppressive work-place.

Jenny Iowa

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS

BOOKS

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
New! 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

- Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal 1989 edition includes Afterword by Raya Dunayevskaya \$14.95

BY KEVIN ANDERSON

- New! Lenin, Hegel, and Western Marxism: A Critical Study First full-length treatment of Lenin's studies of Hegel. \$15.95

PAMPHLETS

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa" by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucuses in the Unions" by Charles Denby \$2
Harry McShane and the Scottish Roots of Marxist-Humanism by Peter Hudis \$3
New! Bosnia-Herzegovina: Achilles Heel of Western 'Civilization' (Expanded edition) \$5
Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis Includes critiques of Ernest Mandel and Tony Cliff \$2
The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. by Andy Phillips and Raya Dunayevskaya \$2
25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.: A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.50
Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World Since World War II by Raya Dunayevskaya \$2
Theory and Practice, by Rosa Luxemburg First English translation \$2
Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.25
Frantz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought by Lou Turner and John Alan \$3
Working Women for Freedom by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan, and Mary Holmes \$2
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Marxist-Humanist Literature Catalog

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New depths of racism, Chicago-style

Mearday win irks cops

Chicago—"They arrested Mearday again!" This was the shout heard through the halls of a Chicago high school the day after police re-arrested police brutality victim Jeremiah Mearday, 19, on March 19 and charged him with the possession of six crack-cocaine rocks and with assaulting three cops.

Students were angry, but not surprised to see Mearday pictured hand-cuffed between two white cops on the front page of the *Chicago Tribune*. Just one week earlier officers James Comito Jr. and Matthew Thiel were fired when a police board found them guilty of fracturing Mearday's skull with flashlights in September. Youth who know the tactics of Chicago cops firsthand had no doubt that Mearday's lawyer was telling the truth when he called the new arrest was "a planted revenge case."

As one youth put it, "the police of the 25th District, they're crooked. They try to find ways of locking you up. If they can't find anything on you, they will put something on you."

Students were outraged that police would have the nerve to claim that Mearday would attack three armed officers, and that the police didn't realize who they were arresting. "The police from around there know everybody. They can go around and point out who lives where, give their names, and even their parents' names," said one.

One friend of Mearday stressed that people in the neighborhood know who the drug dealers are and Jeremiah is not one of them. "Everybody knows that Jeremiah does not sell drugs," he said. "His father let him know that if he ever found out he had any contact with drugs, he would kick him out. And he listened to his father, and I know because my family knows his family. We grew up playing together."

Since last September youth anger at the police has been building. One student explained, "When he first got beat up by the police, people reacted the way they always do. You had people who were mad. You had people talking about ways of getting the police back for beating him up. They started resisting the police."

"If the police tried to stop somebody, they would just keep walking. If the police say something to them, they just pretend they didn't hear, and if the police grab them, they would push them off them. I even heard people talking about shooting at the police and blowing up their cars and their stations."
—Jim Guthrie

Cicero's racist follies

Chicago—The industrial suburb of Cicero reconfirmed its long-standing reputation as an enclave of virulent racism in a recent incident which drew national attention. Several months ago a faction of the terroristic Klan movement, the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, announced its intention to hold a rally in Cicero on March 14. Cicero's municipal government initially balked not at the message of the rally, but at the security expenses it would incur. A judge, however, ordered that

the Klan be permitted to demonstrate.

The advanced notice of the Klan's intentions gave activists time to plan a counter-demonstration, unlike the visit of another Klan faction to Chicago shortly before the 1996 Democratic National Convention, news of which was skillfully kept under wraps by the Daley administration.

The prospect of thousands of anti-Klan demonstrators panicked Cicero President Betty Loren-Maltese, and shortly before the date of the rally she announced a breathtaking deal with the Klan. Cicero would pay for and arrange the distribution of Klan literature to all of its residents instead of hosting the rally and counter-demonstration.

However shocking this municipally sponsored racist propaganda effort may sound, it is entirely in keeping with Cicero's history of hostility to Black people which



"Down with neo-fascists" is the message outside the Cicero Town Hall on March 14.

stretches back long before the violence which met Martin Luther King on the housing rights march he led in 1966 in neighboring Chicago's Marquette Park.

Since that time Cicero, like much of the Chicago area, has experienced substantial Latino immigration and it is estimated that 45% of Cicero residents are Latino. But Black people are still unwelcome there, shut out of housing and access to suburban jobs.

An anti-Klan demonstration took place on the day of the canceled visit and over 100 people marched through Cicero's streets to its town hall. But the demonstration's self-proclaimed organizers limited the scope of the march to anti-Klan statements and did not permit the voicing of demands for open housing. Despite the advanced notice of the rally, it appeared that little or no organizing had been done to bring out Cicero residents opposed to the Klan and the city's compact with it.

Shortly before the rally Cicero announced that its agreement with the Klan was off and that no literature would be distributed. But this was too little, too late for a city still besmirched by bitter racism.

—Kevin Michaels

Black World

(Continued from page 1)

Opportunity, and both push African governments to "unleash the market forces" of capitalism—the very ones that have historically underdeveloped Africa.

Hailed as opening a new chapter in U.S.-African relations and as signaling a shift from Cold War foreign policy made by the National Security Council to economic policy formulated by government agencies responsible for U.S. trade relations, the AGOA was nevertheless roundly criticized by Randall Robinson, president of TransAfrica, for being "aimed mainly at benefiting large foreign private investors and multinational corporations" instead of the people of Africa. This refers to the "trade not aid" debate that surrounded the passage of the AGOA and which split the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC).

TRADE VS. AID SMOKESCREEN

This trade vs. aid debate has generated several curious, though diversionary, mini-dramas, splitting Black institutions like the CBC, families and continents. Congresswoman Maxine Waters, currently the chair of the CBC, reluctantly voted for the AGOA after failing to amend some of its IMF-style austerity measure. Not only did Congressman Jesse Jackson Jr. go against Waters and sharply criticize the Act but Jesse Jr. is at odds with Jesse Jackson Sr. who is the chief salesman of the Congressional Act and Clinton's Partnership in his role as Clinton's special envoy for democracy in Africa. African leaders themselves are divided on Washington's new initiatives to make trade not aid the basis of U.S.-African relations. Ghana's Jerry Rawlings and Uganda's Yoweri Museveni are on board, while South Africa's Thabo Mbeki jumped ship.

However, the differences over Washington's new Africa initiatives do not get us any closer to discovering what's really behind Clinton's African safari. The fact of the matter is that multilateral lending aid from the IMF and World Bank, as well as U.S. direct aid has reached an all-time low in any case. So "trade vs. aid" poses a specious distinction to begin with. At the same time, private net investment has increased by nearly 80%, while the aggregate growth rate of 35 sub-Saharan African countries has averaged 5% over the last three years, over twice the rates of the previous decade. With the IMF bailout of the Southeast Asian economies, sub-Saharan Africa could only look forward to that lending source drying up even more. South Africa's industrial economy, which has already embarked upon the structural adjustment path of IMF austerity, is the only exception to this—which also explains its opposition to the AGOA.

In any event, neither Congress' AGOA nor Clinton's Partnership relieves the crushing debt obligations that Africa must pay to multilateral institutions like the IMF or private financial institutions. But nor will ridding Africa of its debt burden eradicate human poverty, which the AGOA is also silent on. So while there have been criticisms of the the AGOA's lowering of tariff barriers to African textile and apparel exports to the U.S., especially by trade unions, there is little expectation that the African share of the textile and apparel market will increase much beyond its projected 1 to 3% level. The real fear is that Africa will become a trans-shipment point for Asian textiles and apparel manufactures to flood the U.S. market.

OPENING A TELECOM BONANZA

More importantly, Clinton's trip and the AGOA opens up Africa, already the most open economy in the world, more to U.S. imports. Even now, U.S. trade with the 12 countries of Southern Africa totals \$9 billion, more than U.S. trade with the 15 Republics of the former Soviet Union combined. Despite all of this, global capital flows to Africa still only amounts to less than 1%. So what is Africa's significance for the U.S. in the so-called new global economy?

Clinton has his eye on U.S. capital investment in the development of Africa's telecommunications infrastructure. It is one of the areas where the U.S. can gain a headstart over its European competitors in Africa. Moreover, the very nature Africa's economic underdevelopment as a supplier of unprocessed raw materials to the global economy, and the nature of Western, especially U.S., high-tech development over the last 25 years dictate a new kind of capitalist penetration of Africa.

The telecommunication infrastructural needs of multinational corporations and global finance capital institutions in Africa are, of course, the primary destination of this high-tech development in underdeveloped Africa. And while Clinton and Africa's elites dream of secondary spin-offs and linkages from this high-tech infrastructure going to government, indigenous manufacturers, and social sectors (Clinton's favorite is linking Africa's school children to the Internet), there is absolutely no reason to expect that such linkages will be made, anymore than they have previously been in the history of the West's imperialist relations with Africa. On the contrary, this relationship will only be pushed to its logical extreme.

As the so-called new global economy has experienced newer and deeper commercial crises (e.g., Mexico, and recently Southeast Asia), underdeveloped Africa has become more important. However, far from signifying a new prominence of Africa in the world economy, Clinton's trip is indicative of how primitive capitalist accumulation is forced to become in today's vaunted globalized economy.

Thirty years after Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s death, his legacy remains a 'prologue to a drama of liberation that is occurring daily.'

"The depth of self-development also among those who came to lead the Black movement can be seen just by comparing King's description of the specifics of the 1955-56 Montgomery Bus Boycott in his *Stride Toward Freedom*, and his philosophical letter from a Birmingham jail. In that letter to a group of 'fellow clergymen,' Dr. King rejected their attempt to confine the movement to legalisms. 'We can never forget,' he wrote, 'that everything Hitler did in Germany was 'legal' and everything the Hungarian Freedom Fighters did in Hungary [in 1956] was 'illegal'...this calls for a confrontation with the power structure.' Dr. King wrote: 'To use the words of Martin Buber, the great Jewish philosopher, segregation substitutes an 'I-it' relationship for the 'I-thou' relationship and ends up relegating persons to the status of things.'"

From *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* (1973), by Raya Dunayevskaya, p. 339.

"Both nationally and internationally, both in relationship to the non-violent tactics here and the more violent phases of the African revolutions, Dr. King had developed to the point where he let nothing stand in the way of the struggle for freedom....It is true that all that Dr. King had achieved through the years was but prologue. But it is prologue to a drama of liberation that is unfolding daily. His greatness lay in recognizing the objective movement of history and aligning himself with it. Precisely because it was both objective and had masses in motion, it is sure to continue on a high historic level till society is reconstructed from the bottom up."

From "These Uncivilized United States: Murder of Rev. King, Vietnam War," by Raya Dunayevskaya, in *News & Letters*, May 1968.

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Editorial

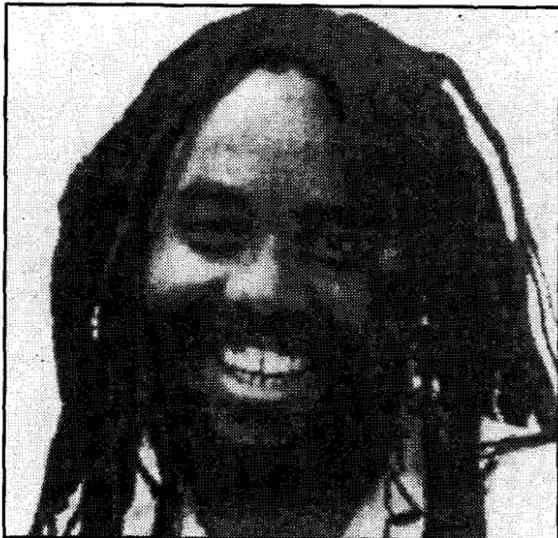
Two recent events in Pennsylvania's prisons have focused attention on the racist and oppressive history and essence of the U.S. criminal "justice" system: the hunger strike by death row prisoners including Mumia Abu-Jamal at SCI Greene, in Waynesburg, and the death of Merle Africa of the MOVE Nine at SCI Cambridge Springs. Behind both of these events lies a common history of racism and legal repression.

PRISONERS' HUNGER STRIKE

At first, the hunger strikers appeared to have won a small victory over the prisonrats. The strike began in response to a March 5 directive from the Pennsylvania Department of Corrections (DOC) which slashed the few rights prisoners have left. Amnesty International issued a statement describing these new measures as "draconian." For example, family visits were to be cut down to one hour per week (from a mere two hours) with no more weekend or holiday visits allowed. For family members who already have to make a six-hour trip from Philadelphia, this would be a huge blow. And prisoners' phone calls would have been limited to one fifteen-minute call per week. The DOC appears for now to have backed down on these points.

Further, the DOC had ordered prisoners' personal belongings to be confiscated. This happened without warning the day the directive was issued. Mumia Abu-Jamal described what he witnessed this way: "While [the authorities] did not attack the men themselves, they did attack personal, mental, educational and legal property. Books, underwear, sweat suits, footwear, ink pens, cosmetics, letters—everything was stripped from all. Men were given two choices. Ship or destroy. If any property could not fit into a standard record box, it could not be kept. Visits were halted, commissary food items excluded, recreational equipment forbidden." At this time this issue has yet to be settled.

The "blitzkrieg" at SCI Greene may have been a vindictive response to the recent legal victory by prisoners



Mumia Abu-Jamal

which allowed them the right to private conversations with their attorneys. But it is also a part of the ever-growing national trend toward depriving all prisoners of their legal rights and so-called "privileges," meaning the exercise of their basic humanity. This includes everything from the use of exercise equipment for physical health to the right to keep books. This isn't confined to Pennsylvania by any means. Prisoners also tell of reprisals visited upon them for circulating literature.

DEATH OF MERLE AFRICA

It should be noted as well that the prisonrats are not so much worried about the prisoners having private property as they are worried about the ideas that are to be found in books, papers and personal writings becoming common property. From the grossest physical brutality to the most refined high-tech torture, the prison system is aiming to impose a total dehumanization upon its victims. And this dehumanization is part of a long history of racism that has fed the system's growth. The death of Merle Austin

Africa on March 13 is the starkest possible reminder of this history.

Merle Africa, along with the rest of the MOVE Nine, had spent 20 years in prison, ever since the Aug. 8, 1978 assault by police upon the MOVE headquarters in Philadelphia in which one police officer was killed. Although it was never shown in court that any MOVE member had fired at the police, and although the judge in the case admitted that he had no idea who killed the officer, nine innocent people were given sentences of 30-100 years.

MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES

(Continued from page 4)

Here it is: "But it is also necessary to understand that in the sphere of his theory of the party, the legacy of Marx's work, whatever its positive achievements, was something that had in time to be overcome by the Marxist movement if capitalism was to be overthrown" (p. 35).

As you can see, once an SWPer has surrounded himself with quotes from Tony Cliff and other leaders, he follows Hegel's analysis of what comes after one "gains power": "In place of revolt, comes arrogance," arrogance sufficient to demand the "overcoming" of the theory of the party Molyneaux attributes to Marx.

THE FETISH OF THE PARTY

Having "overcome" that theory, Molyneaux, in the final chapter, sings the glory of the Party, "the revolutionary party today," and manages to throw overboard reality itself. Thus, he forgets (it would be more correct to say never recognized) that a whole new Third World arose from the mid-1950s and that it was in that period that the historic, first time ever, revolts from under Stalinism occurred in East Europe—he mentions neither the East German 1953 revolt nor the 1956 Hungarian Revolution which brought onto the historic stage Marx's 1844 Humanist Essays.

Instead he attributes to [the mid-1960s to mid-'70s] "the appearance of a number of studies devoted to disinterring the Marxist tradition on the question of the party and indicating perspectives for the present" (p. 163). But why then forget the revolution in Portugal, which did present a revolutionary Marxist group (which as a matter of fact the SWP solidarized with) which came up with a beautiful new category: *apartidarismo* (non-partyism)? Is it that the SWP hardly focused on that word in its support of the PRP/BR, much less revealed that the head of the party was a woman, Isabel do Carmo?⁶

The sexism in Tony Cliff is matched by equally subtle racism in Molyneaux as he characterizes the reactionary fascist 1930s as "black reaction" (p. 128). If there is any color that characterizes Hitlerism, it certainly is not black. The master race was lily white. For someone to be so insensitive as to characterize that period as "black reaction" discloses a great deal.

Peculiarly enough, even when he greatly admires and praises his leader, Tony Cliff, he does so in mere footnotes. Thus footnote 45 (p. 184) ends with a reference to Cliff, "who, in 1947, produced the first fully worked out analysis of state-capitalism in Russia." That again is incorrect. The first "worked out" analysis of state-capitalism was produced in 1941, not 1947. It was written by Raya Dunayevskaya, not Cliff. Indeed, the six-year lapse between Dunayevskaya's study and Cliff's could tell quite a story about non-cooperation with state-capitalists in the Trotskyist movement. Tony Cliff was quite adamant about mak-

6. For a discussion of the Portuguese Revolution of 1974 and its concept of *apartidarismo*, see Dunayevskaya's *Women's Liberation and The Dialectics of Revolution*.

Then-Mayor Frank Rizzo was a former police commissioner who became a spokesman in the '70s for "white backlash" through a series of brutal assaults upon the Black community framed in the reactionary Nixonian rhetoric of "law-and-order." Rizzo's demonizing of MOVE was a part of this racist program. As he said after the 1978 assault which saw heavy police gunfire and water cannons directed at adults and small children alike, "The only way we're going to end them is get that death penalty back in, put them in the electric chair and I'll pull the switch." Then and later, the journalism of Mumia Abu-Jamal was the major force in attempting to break through this demonization with an honest presentation of MOVE's views and actions.

Merle Africa's sentence became a death sentence. Prisonrats claimed that she died of cancer without being aware she had it. Friends and family questioned this, saying that she seemed to be in good health. Health care for women in prison is notoriously poor, and there are many questions surrounding her death, but one thing is beyond dispute. The last 20 years in the life of an innocent woman were taken away. This injustice is a touchstone for the entire system, which should be held to account at long last.

The refusal of prisoners like the hunger strikers at SCI Greene to accept dehumanization needs to be met by a movement outside prison walls that aims at breaking down those barriers of the mind that helped build those walls. Mumia struck this note in writing of the situation that moved his comrades to strike: "I wrote about the attack on the life of the mind. This is that attack realized."

What frightens racist politicians and prisonrats now is that they are faced with a mind that is beginning to move, to ask some profound new questions about the system itself and to redefine a reality that has been imposed upon it. This mind is embodied in the struggle for a new consciousness within the prisons, as well as in thousands of grassroots organizations that are being formed to combat the racism and oppressiveness of this society. The question for revolutionaries is, how will we be responsible to this movement of consciousness?

Marxism and 'the party'

ing such an analysis "purely economic."⁷

Unless you recognize Marxism as a whole new continent of thought, you cannot but divide Marx up into economics, politics, a little bit of philosophy and — "no theory of the party." Now, it is true Marx had no theory of the party as we know it since Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?* What Marx thought of as "party" [was] organization as tendency, political-philosophic tendency, so that the class nature of workers can become a movement from spontaneity to a "party of their own," so that it becomes what he described Communists to be—an integral part of the working class, [which has] a view of the class struggle as a whole and not just of the immediate demands; and that they are internationalist and not nationalists.

After Marx unfurled that great historic class and international banner in the *Communist Manifesto*, and participated in both the 1848 revolutions and the greatest revolution of his day—the 1871 Paris Commune—he criticized unflinchingly the 1875 [German] Social-Democratic program, in the *Critique of the Gotha Program*, to which only Lenin measured up—and not with Party, but with *State and Revolution*. . .⁸

When Molyneaux does get to mention Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks*, he has nothing to say, excusing himself on the grounds that he'll discuss philosophy when he deals with Gramsci. And when he finally deals with Gramsci's philosophy of praxis, he does not return to Lenin, much less grapple with Lenin's statement, "Cognition not only reflects the world, but creates it".... That is exactly where the great tragedy comes in.

That is to say, whereas Lenin reorganized himself, [in] his position[s] on *State and Revolution*, on *Imperialism*, on the National Question and Colonialism, on dialectics "proper" and on the Will, he did not reorganize his concept of the Party. Had John Molyneaux paid any attention to the single word, dialectic, that Lenin uses in his Will regarding Bukharin,⁹ he would have gotten a great deal further in comprehension of Lenin's concepts than the whole 188 pages of his book. His full Trotskyist mentality comes out most clearly when he deals with Luxemburg: He is so happy that there he can appear to be for spontaneity that he doesn't even know how economist he is and how he steps back into vanguardism as he attributes all of Luxemburg's mistakes to a single phenomenon—her supposed lack of appreciation for the "unevenness of development."

Needless to say, he never even poses, much less tries to answer, the crucial question: does a Marxist group have a historic right to exist?

7. For the distinctiveness of Dunayevskaya's theory of state-capitalism, see her *Marxism and Freedom* and her writings published posthumously as *The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism*.

8. Dunayevskaya was later to argue that Lenin's *State and Revolution* nevertheless failed to concretize Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Program* when it came to the question of organization. See *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (1982), chapter 11.

9. In his Will, Lenin said Bukharin "never fully understood" the dialectic.

Clouds over Czech Republic

Prague—The Czech Republic is about to face hard times, both economically and politically. All governments of the Czech Republic from the moment when the country became independent (after the separation of Czechoslovakia on Jan. 1, 1993) until the end of 1997 have been led by Vaclav Klaus, whom many regarded as of a very high standing.

But almost out of the blue a dark shadow was cast on Klaus' Civic Democratic party (ODS). Nobody of the party leadership was able to explain where the millions of crowns had come from which "sponsors" paid to the party.

While no guilt of Klaus could be proved, as the party chairman he certainly had his part of the responsibility. A small group of opponents in the party asked him to resign both as prime minister and leader of the party. He refused—then suddenly one of the coalition parties left the government. Losing the parliamentary majority he had to give up, so he offered his resignation to the president, Vaclav Havel.

When Havel asked Lux, chairman of the Christian Democrats, to find a prospective new prime minister, Lux proposed the job to the governor of the National Bank, Tosovsky. This man—not connected with any party—formed a government where two small previous coalitions were represented as well as some ODS members. Since these, however, belonged to the oppositionist group which was defeated at the party conference, they had to give up their membership, so ODS—the biggest parliamentary party so far—had no representative in the government.

Bitterly attacking both its dissidents and the other two parties, ODS representatives were saying the government was illegitimate—not mirroring election results anymore. It had to rely on the votes of Social Democratic deputies who promised their support to prepare the way for premature elections—possibly in June.

With rising unemployment, unprivatized big parts of the banking industry, current account deficits and uncertain results of the budget, a fragmented political scene and negotiations for membership in the European Union ahead, the country regarded just a few years ago as a Central European tiger is not on its knees but most probably going toward very difficult times. The horizon may clear up partly after the June elections, but there will remain many clouds for the near future.

One of them may be the rising wave of racism as shown not only in the general population's attitude but also in the growing number of atrocities against Romanies or black (dark)-skinned foreigners. The Romanies—a minority of several hundred thousand—are trying a way out by escaping from the dangers to Canada or Britain and asking for asylum there. This phenomenon seems to be a very serious problem for any government to come.

—Stephen Steiger

Right-wing BJP claims power amid deepening crisis in India

(Continued from page 1)

tensions will be eased under a BJP government, there are already reports of violence against Christians by Hindu fanatics in the states of Gujarat and Maharashtra.

In their election manifesto, the BJP declared the Ayodhya incident the "greatest mass movement in post-independence India" which "strengthened the foundation of cultural nationalism." Vajpayee, the so-called "moderate" face of the BJP agreed, saying that "Hindu society had been regenerated."

The concept of Hindu "cultural nationalism" goes back to Golwalker, the leader of the RSS during the time of Gandhi's assassination. In 1939 he wrote that in Hitler's approach to the purity of nationhood lies "a good lesson for us in Hindustan to learn and profit by." Such open advocacy of Nazism has been spewed forth in recent times by Bal Thackeray, the lifetime leader of the Shiv Sena, a group of Hindu fundamentalist thugs who formed an alliance government with the BJP in the state of Maharashtra.

Not all aspects of these elections were to the right, however. In Maharashtra, where people directly experienced BJP-Shiv Sena rule, the Congress Party won an overwhelming majority—38 out of 46 seats. One of the issues involved was outrage over the massacre of Dalits by Mumbai (Bombay) police. One BJP official told a reporter: "A strong undercurrent was running through the minds of Muslims and Dalits against our government. We underestimated their anger and strength, and realized it only after the results were out." This undercurrent of discontent will surely make the BJP's seat of power shaky.

Still, no one should be fooled by the BJP's recent rhetoric about democracy and "consensual politics." No doubt, Vajpayee and the even more rabid Home Minister, L.K. Advani, will wait until they have gained some stability at the center before unleashing their now muted agenda of building a Hindu temple at the site of the demolished mosque in Ayodhya, the abrogation of article 370 of the Indian constitution which grants regional autonomy to the majority Muslim area of Kashmir, and the institution of a uniform civil code. The first task of the BJP is to gain legitimacy by proving to other political parties, to the nation and to the international community as a whole that it can be a stabilizing influence on the shaky political situation. This is, after all, India's fifth government in only two years.

The BJP's quest for stability will mean a greater militarization of Indian society. The one platform they are unwilling to bend on is the drive to openly build nuclear arms. Neither Pakistan nor India are willing to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, making the issue of nuclear armament a global threat.

GLOBALIZATION AND GRASSROOTS RESISTANCE

A stable government, even under the stewardship of the BJP, is in the interests of India's ruling class, which is one reason the BJP had the support of India's largest indus-

trial houses. Japan's ambassador to India recently told the Confederation of Indian Industry, that "the political situation has made our people really apprehensive about investing."

The economic platform of the BJP is *swadeshi* or economic nationalism, a response to the problems that neoliberal restructuring has caused to Indian industry and to the masses in general. India introduced liberalization policies as far back as the early 1980s, which under Rajiv Gandhi's New Economic Policy, in the late 1980s gained some momentum. The fall of so-called Communism in 1989 paved the way for Indian economists and policy makers to advocate more full-scale "free market" restructuring. In 1991 Congress Party Prime Minister Narasimha Rao worked out a new set of economic "reforms" designed to bring India into the globalized economy.

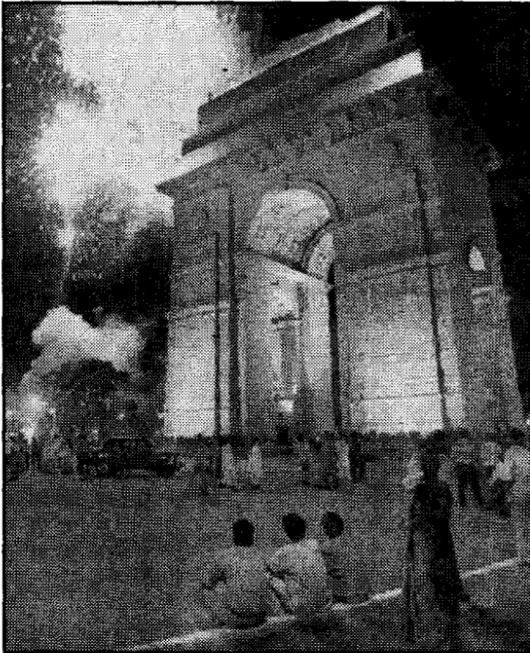
The BJP coalition government has pledged to continue these "reforms." They want a rapid dismantling of internal financial, investment and currency controls, and they support foreign investment in infrastructure. However, they favor a slower opening up of the domestic market to foreign competition to give domestic industry the opportunity to become globally competitive. This has no doubt gained the support of a section of India's capitalists because of the Asian economic crisis, in the wake of which even "experts" who touted unfettered liberalization are now attacking the IMF and World Bank.

India lags far behind other Asian countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, South Korea and China in economic growth. Though the 1991 Economic

"Reforms" were introduced to bring India alongside the so-called Asian "miracles," the process of throwing India open to foreign investment has, at best, been only partial. Compared to China, which reported \$40 billion dollars in outside investment in 1996, India reported less than \$3 billion the same year. This is in part due to the fact that India lacks the strong, centralized state apparatus that multinational interests prefer.

Grassroots movements against the inhuman logic of capitalist development have also blossomed throughout India, from the struggles of fish workers against factory trawlers to the struggles against Enron Corp. One of the largest and most successful movements in India today is the struggle against the massive Narmada Valley Project in Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh, a movement led by women. The project is to build 30 large dams, 135 medium dams and 3,000 small ones in the Narmada River Valley. The Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA or Save the Narmada Valley Movement) estimates that one million people will lose land or be otherwise affected by the building of these dams. The Indian and state governments have either drawn up inadequate resettlement plans or have abandoned the displaced completely.

International and local protests forced the World Bank out of the project five years ago, and continuous revolt and resistance by villagers has put the project on hold for the past three years. In the words of the NBA's outspoken



Celebration of India's independence from British rule several months before bitter fruit of elections brought BJP to power.

supremacists in the campaign to turn environmentalists into immigration control advocates. We have asserted that new immigration restrictions do not address the root causes of environmental problems and will have a disproportionate and harmful impact on people of color."

The anti-immigrant initiative is supported by the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), which receives money from the neo-Nazi Pioneer Fund. The National Audubon Society and the Environmental Defense Fund have already signed joint statements with FAIR, which has long courted the Sierra Club. On FAIR's board is the infamous neo-Malthusian ecologist Garret Hardin, proponent of the "lifeboat ethic"—meaning the ecological lifeboat's too small, so let the Third World drown. "Clearly the worst thing we can do is send food" to poor countries, he preaches. "Atomic bombs would be kinder."

Even if the racists lose the vote they have set the ground of the debate. Their opponents, unable to conceive of any social system other than the present capitalist one, implore the racists to take "economic or social" questions elsewhere, and "let Sierra Club get on with our efforts to protect the environment." Consequently, they fail to challenge the Malthusian ground of overpopulation as the cause of environmental degradation.

Marx pointed out that Malthus became famous at the moment when "the French Revolution had found passionate defenders in the U.K.; the 'principle of population'...was greeted with jubilation by the English oligarchy as the great destroyer of all hankering after human development." Whenever there is no vision of a totally new society where production serves human needs rather than the other way around, the door is opened to reactionary ideology.

—Franklin Dmitryev

feminist leader, Medha Patkar: "This struggle has been led by women and financed by farmers of the valley. This will send a strong message to Indian and foreign corporations that privatization will not be accepted on their terms. The people will decide how development proceeds in the Narmada Valley."

The twin realities of rising religious fundamentalism and the neoliberal restructuring initiated in 1991 have spurred various grassroots movements around India to unite together as the National Alliance of People's Movements (NAPM). After much debate and back and forth between the 200 and more movements involved in the NAPM, an alternative manifesto of the people's movements called "The People's Resolve" was issued in 1996. This document hits out against the "profit-oriented New Economic Policy," as well as against caste oppression, sexism, environmental degradation, and child labor, calling for an alternative where "creativity and selfless humanity and not material abundance are valued."

India has a rich legacy of women's liberation, peasant, tribal and labor struggles that is ongoing. The organized Indian left has remained staunchly deaf to these creative mobilizations. Much of the Indian left has historically followed the Soviet or Chinese line, ignoring the needs and aspirations of the Indian masses for a different kind of socialism. Today, the Left's support of neoliberal restructuring is a further betrayal of the masses. West Bengal, for example, "celebrating" 20 years of Left Front rule, was recently declared by Germany to be the state with the best foreign investment climate. This is surely behind the current lack of support for the United Front.

What remains a foremost challenge is working out an alternative vision of Indian society not hemmed in by the false opposites of globalized capitalism on the one hand and economic nationalism on the other. Not only are the slogans of economic nationalism by the BJP disingenuous, they are ultimately bids of the Indian ruling class to maintain control over the capitalist extraction and exploitation of Indian labor. As the Center of Indian Trade Unions' secretary, Vivek Monteiro recently told the *Times of India*: "Though labor has been badly hit by liberalization, there is not much difference in the economic policies of most national parties."

In general, attempts at liberalization in India face the country's long history of struggle against Western imperialism. The roots of the contradictions that plague India today are found in this rich legacy and in the unfinished nature of India's independence movement. As the first nation to gain its independence from British rule, India opened a whole new Third World, from Asia to the Middle East and from Africa to Latin America.

As Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in the early 1960s, "India's world role shone so brightly that it dimmed that other truth, that no fundamental change in human relations occurred after independence. The dominant Congress Party, which had succeeded in uniting all classes in the struggle against foreign domination, first began showing its true class nature by leaving production relations, in the city or the country, basically unchanged." Because the question of what happens after national independence was never confronted, narrow nationalists today are able to pervert the revolutionary history of India's struggle for national self-determination.

As India crosses the 50 year mark of independence, it is still plagued by the deep internal dualities that freedom from British rule by itself never resolved. The BJP clearly sees itself fit to fill the void left by the bankruptcy of the Congress Party and the Indian Left. The vocal discontent of the Indian masses and the persistent humanism of a multicultural and linguistically diverse India will make the BJP's task of staying in power difficult. Yet as everywhere fundamentalism thrives in the wastelands created by the revolutionary left's failure to meet the aspirations of the masses for a better way of life with a viable alternative to capitalism. In light of this, a return to Marx's concept of revolution-in-permanence is imperative if India is ever to develop a truly humanist Indian socialism.

Greenwashing racism

Anti-immigrant groups are trying to usurp environmentalism. The latest maneuver is a ballot initiative the Sierra Club is to vote on this spring. It calls for new immigration restrictions under the pretext of protecting the environment. It is yet another attempt to use the cover of environmental organizations to make this type of racism more acceptable.

An opposing group called Sierrans Fight Overpopulation, Not Immigrants issued a statement saying, "to remain silent about the presence of racists in our midst, or worse, to deny or conceal the racially discriminatory consequences of specific acts and policies, is to perpetuate racism itself. We have exposed the involvement of white

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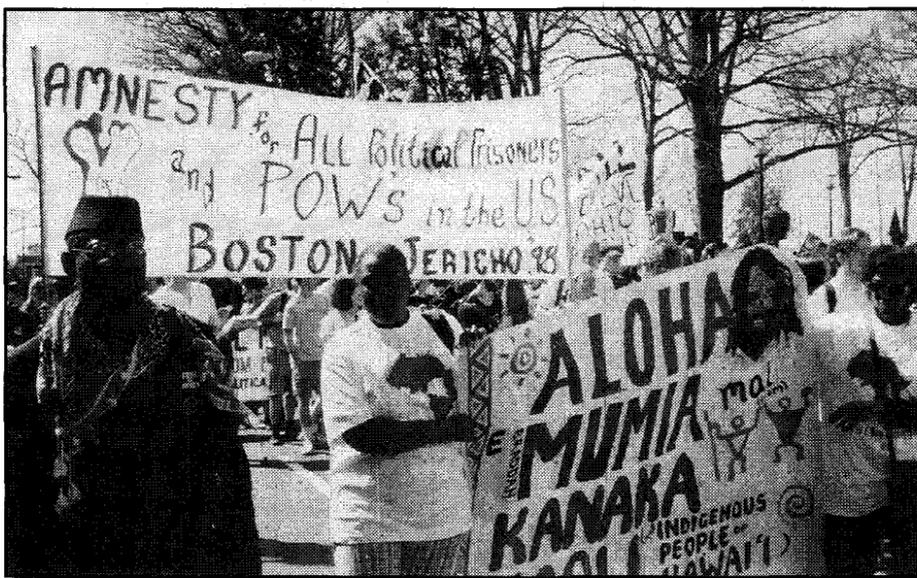
Jericho '98 goes beyond its boundaries

by Kevin Michaels

Washington D.C.'s Meridian Hill Park was renamed in Malcolm X's honor for the morning of March 27 as people from all over the country gathered there to prepare for Jericho '98, a march and rally to draw attention to political prisoners in the U.S. penal system. Jericho '98 grew out of a belief among members of the New Afrikan movement, supporters of the MOVE 9, Mumia Abu Jamal, Leonard Peltier and Puerto Rican independentistas that their jailed comrades were languishing, isolated from and forgotten by the public. A call went out to activists and organizers and plans began to be drawn up for a March on the White House.

The day of the event turned out to be a brilliantly clear one, and as many as 2000 participants, most of them under the age of twenty-one, lined up in a staging area after listening to several musical performances. The march itself featured drummers, enormous puppets and colorful banners emblazoned with the names of imprisoned political activists. Bystanders and motorists passing the parade route waved their support as the march progressed. The marchers paraded around the White House and then assembled in Lafayette Park to rally and hear speakers.

It can be said that the success of Jericho '98 hinged



mean the exclusion of someone as revolutionary as Ruchell Magee, imprisoned in California for over 30 years, but, had he still been alive and behind bars, it

would also have prevented the Black revolutionary thinker George Jackson from making the list.

This having been said, Jericho '98, without question, was a success. The spirit and vitality exuded by the participants, Black and white, young and old, was palpable. The message of the march, while focused on U.S. prisons, was international—officially in the sense that the fourteen Puerto Rican prisoners of war are citizens of a nation fighting a colonial oppressor, but unofficially in that a group of Kurdish Americans were circulating fliers decrying the murder of Kurdish political prisoners in Turkish jails.

The march went beyond its boundaries because implicit throughout the day's activities was the understanding that the United States has reached a point at which the courts and the penal system have become brutal weapons of social domination. Mandatory sentencing, the highly politicized war on drugs and the increasing prevalence of control units functioning as prisons within the prisons themselves are now a reality used to manage an enormous number of human beings. Not every prisoner is political, but the tradition of prison as a revolutionary classroom is more alive today than at any time in the past.

Raya Dunayevskaya wrote that George Jackson discovered the dialectic of liberation in prison because America's Black dimension is grounded in the desire to construct new human relations on the other side of the oppressive society which confronts it. Hopefully, the spirit in evidence at Jericho '98 is an intimation that this same desire is being kindled in all the forces of revolution in this increasingly retrogressive land.

Women students search for humanist Marx

San Jose, Cal—A student-organized panel on "The Thinking Class: A Symposium on Women and Class" held on March 12 during Women's Week at San Jose State University became a vivid demonstration of the maturity of our age and the need for Marx's Marxism. Six graduate students and two Women's Studies faculty members discussed various angles of class differences, including education, lesbian and gay issues, the gutting of welfare, the intersections of race and class, and Black feminist thought.

But what made the event notable was the recognition that we need to return to Marx's thought directly. As one faculty member stated, there is a sophisticated

language for the discussion of class, but we in the United States have been reluctant to use it: the language of Marxism.

A student from the former Yugoslavia was quite explicit about the need for feminists to read the original Marx because, she said, "I come from a country where Marxism had frozen into a dogma." Given that the ruling ideas of any era are the ideas of the ruling class, which are then falsely naturalized, she pointedly asked "Who benefits if we don't know the humanist Marx?" While a professor rightly cautioned that we need to analyze the legacy of post-Marx Marxist totalitarianism, a Chicana colleague noted that the U.S. government is clearly afraid of Marxist thought, still barring immigrants entry if they are Marxist.

One of the more important discussions occurred around the legacy of the incomplete movements of the 1960s and 1970s. A Chicano youth asked, why are there more divisions than just rich and poor? The answers, from faculty and students alike, pointed to both solidarity and difference. Recognizing that we are often divided by the oppressors, one participant noted that "if we don't recognize the distinctions among ourselves, we won't be able to see how we are played off against each other."

A Black lesbian youth wanted to know how to combine and balance multiple identities; the name and thought of Audre Lorde then filled the room, as panelists and audience members alike echoed her ideas that our fear of difference is institutionalized, and we must go beyond seeing ourselves in dualistic terms. It was thrilling to hear Lorde's and Marx's thought brought together in this richly multi-ethnic, feminist setting. The description of Marx's method given by the student from former Yugoslavia could apply to Lorde as well: "Think, think; think; question, question, question all the time: This is Marx's way."

—Jennifer and Ursula

Day of silence to fight homophobia

The second annual National Day of Silence (NDOS) will be held on April 8, 1998. In 1997, students at over 100 high schools and colleges took part in this event, which protests the silence created by homophobia. On the NDOS, participants of all sexual orientations take a vow of silence for nine hours, handing out explanatory cards instead of speaking to friends, classmates and professors. This organized, visible silence has proven very successful in raising awareness of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) issues. After the silence hours, much dialogue goes on about the nature of silencing and the roots of homophobia.

This year, we want to reach more campuses than in 1997, and in order to do that, we need your help! The NDOS is not expensive to hold, the event builds community both between LGBT youth activists nationally and on the individual campuses which take part. The NDOS strengthens ties with other campus organizations, garners visibility for LGBT students and their allies and reaches nearly every individual on campus.

This is the only national event designed by and for youth to raise awareness of LGBT issues. So far about 54 high schools and colleges have sent us word that they intend to hold the NDOS at their campuses this year.

If you want more information about the National Day of Silence, please consult our web page at <http://wsrv.clas.virginia.edu/~mkp6n>. —Organizers

Teens transform conference

Chicago—About 100 women gathered for the annual International Women's Day conference on March 7 held this year at DePaul University. In continuity with last year, the multidimensionality of the participants, especially the presence of high school students, including many young women of color, helped deepen the content of the conference.

At the session titled "Young Women on Young Women," several college student speakers stimulated heated discussion among the 40 present, the majority of whom were teenagers. They discussed the feminization of power, sweatshop factories, sex education, and discrimination faced by Black youth today.

The biggest controversy erupted in response to a discussion about the welfare reform legislation's "abstinence only" provision, which rewards states whose schools teach only abstinence and nothing about safe sex or contraceptives. When an older Black woman in the audience said she felt "abstinence only" might be a good thing, hands flew up around the room. One young woman after another insisted that teenagers have a right to be informed and make their own choices about sexuality and health. Many expressed frustration with adults who view teen-aged women as sexually licentious and incapable of making informed decisions about their own bodies.

Several youth also attended the workshop on "Women in Prison: Support and Solidarity Work" which proved to be an indictment of the whole of society. Women asked, "What are we reducing people to?" referring to life inside and outside prison.

The criminalization of women as a category came out in this workshop. One speaker had been imprisoned for seven years for fighting back against domestic violence before she was released through the work of the Illinois Clemency Project. Another discussed how lesbians are given harsher sentences and punished in prison with solitary confinement and denial of parole for "lesbian activity." Yet another speaker revealed that if a mother's children are in foster care while she's imprisoned for more than nine months, she will permanently lose custody of them—as if being convicted of (or held for) a crime, or being single makes one a bad mother. The same speaker also informed us that women convicted of a felony are ineligible for welfare.

Toni Bond's talk at a workshop on "Reproductive Rights and Health Care" challenged the movement, including her own organization, the Chicago Abortion Fund, as well as Planned Parenthood to rethink their relations to the communities they "serve." Had women in these communities been made integral to the women's movement instead of being seen as the people "we're" fighting for, Bond asserted, perhaps we could have fought off late-term abortion bans, parental consent laws, or the 1977 Hyde Amendment that banned Medicaid for abortion.

She challenged feminists to connect reproductive freedom to economic and social justice. As a Black woman, she said, we can't discuss abortion in the Black community separate from HIV, affirmative action, welfare reform, sexual assault, domestic violence and substance abuse.

The most serious dialogues that took place here were initiated by teens and women of color—precisely the women society most demonizes. It reveals that the search for truth about oneself and the world is a crucial aspect of women's struggles for liberation.

—Sonia Bergonzi and Laurie Cashdan

Promise Keepers apologetics

Who Are the Promise Keepers? Understanding the Christian Men's Movement by Ken Abrams (Doubleday, 1997), is presented by the author as being an objective view of the group by an outside observer. However, it soon becomes obvious that the book is propaganda for the Promise Keepers written by a sympathetic member of the theocratic right. Abrams uses expressions such as "giving equal time to creationism," and "giving gays special treatment under the law." Fundamentalist-style testimonials are used to show how Promise Keepers suddenly and drastically changed the lives of men. The danger of the book is that it could serve its purpose in swaying the opinions of those who are not familiar with the goals of the theocratic right or who haven't thought in depth about sexism, racism, and heterosexism.

The fact that the group is all male is portrayed as being the main reason that feminists are against Promise Keepers. Abrams trivializes women's concerns by referring to the "protests of a few malcontents" who are referred to as "radical feminists." Also, for public relations purposes, Promise Keepers redefines "dominance" as meaning strictly dominance through violence. In this way its propaganda portrays feminists as having the misperception that Promise Keepers directly teach men to beat their wives.

In fact, people who have worked in the movement against violence against women have proven that the belief that the man should be the "head of the household" is a factor in causing both domestic violence and public tolerance of it. We should question why Promise Keepers expects one adult to submit to another in a marriage. Equality and negotiation do work, and democracy in the family is related to democracy in society.

The idea of listening to what the oppressed have to say is lost on Promise Keepers. This is how Abrams can say that Promise Keepers is "one of the most vocal groups addressing racial issues in our day." The token Black speakers at Promise Keepers rallies address the issue of Black "racism" towards whites. They tell audiences of mostly white men that Blacks "need to break out of this ethnic mindset" and that problems in the Black community are strictly caused by moral failure within the Black community itself.

Promise Keepers are strongly urged to join "accountability groups" in order to submit their lives to close examination as cult members are expected to do. The idea that people should be accountable to their own conscience, let alone determine their own values, is not even raised. In fact, Abrams states that men should not look within themselves for their identity, but should understand "masculinity" by looking "to God," that is, to Promise Keepers.

—Artemis

Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

In March, the conflict between Kosova's Albanian majority and their Serbian overlords burst into the open. In a series of brutal attacks reminiscent of the worst days of the 1992-95 Bosnian War, Serbian forces invaded several Kosovar Albanian villages, murdering, torturing, and raping as they went. By the end of March, the death toll was at least 80, with 20,000 people fleeing their villages. As in Bosnia, the U.S. verbally threatened Serbia but did nothing, the Western Europeans temporized, and Russia promised to aid the Serbs. Western human rights groups chimed in, condemning the violence on "both sides."

The unindicted war criminal Slobodan Milosevic, who still serves as Serbia's top leader, hesitated for a few days after the U.S. threats, but then, when nothing came of them, resumed and even escalated his genocidal attacks. On March 24, in a gesture of contempt, Milosevic invited the notorious killer Vojislav Seselj, who advocates driving "disloyal" Kosovar Albanians over the border, to join his government.

The background to this conflict goes back to 1987 when, as Communist Yugoslavia began to collapse, Slobodan Milosevic transformed himself from Party apparatchik to Serbian nationalist. He went to Kosova—even the spelling of the name is in dispute, with Serbs spelling it Kosovo, and the Albanian majority Kosova—and gave a speech asserting Serbian control over the province, despite the fact that its population consists of two million Albanians and only 100,000 Serbs.

Using arguments similar to those of religious zealots like Israel's Netanyahu, Milosevic claimed Kosova for Serbia in perpetuity because (1) its churches and monasteries are relics of the time when Serbs dominated the area, and (2) it was here that a Serbian king was defeated in 1389 by the Ottoman Turks, who proceeded to rule over the Serbs for the next 500 years. Even more shockingly, such views were defended by leading opposition intellectuals such as the longtime Marxist humanist Mihailo Markovic. This was the first step in the latter's transformation into the rabid nationalist demagogue he is today.

Beginning in 1989, Milosevic revoked Kosova's autonomy, subjecting it to military rule. The Albanian majority set up a series of unofficial political, educational, and community structures, declaring its independence from

Chileans protest Pinochet

Protests erupted outside and inside the Chilean congress on March 11 as ex-dictator, retired general, and self-appointed "Senator for Life" Augusto Pinochet went in to take the non-elected seat he had constitutionally engineered while in power.

Thousands protested in the streets as Pinochet entered. Inside, a group of senators jeered and held up photographs of some of the 3,000 people murdered or disappeared by Pinochet's regime during his 1973-90 dictatorship and extermination campaign against leftists and dissidents.

Included among the photos was slain president Salvador Allende, whose presidential building was bombed by Pinochet's planes during the September 1973 coup to overthrow the elected Socialist Party government.

Besides engineering his Senate seat, Pinochet also passed a sweeping amnesty while in power, making it nearly impossible thus far for families and relatives of victims of the military to take them to trial for their crimes. While "Senator" Pinochet is now shielded from the courts, he is not protected from the anger and contempt of thousands of Chileans.

Will the Serbs launch war over Kosova?

Serbia in 1991. Using the tactics of nonviolent resistance under the leadership of Ibrahim Rugova, the majority remained firm and disciplined in its non-cooperation with Serb rule, while also carefully distinguishing between the Serbian people and Milosevic's regime. Another group of Kosovar Albanians, perhaps as large as 500,000, fled abroad rather than suffer under Milosevic's rule.



By 1996, a new generation emerged, impatient not only with Rugova's strict nonviolence, but also with his refusal to call street demonstrations. They were outraged by the fact that Clinton's 1995 Dayton Accords, which sold out Bosnia, failed even to mention the plight of Kosova's two million Albanians. Some of them had also fought as volunteers in the multiethnic Bosnian army.

In early 1996, the Kosova Liberation Army (UCK) announced itself with a series of small-scale attacks. Then, in spring 1996, the dictatorial regime of Sali Berisha in neighboring Albania, which had worked hard to prevent aid from crossing its borders into Kosova, collapsed in a popular uprising. After that, thousands of weapons made their way across the border.

By the fall of 1997, UCK attacks became more frequent and serious. Defying Rugova's ban on street demonstrations, Kosovar Albanian students took to the streets again and again, braving vicious attacks by Milosevic's police. By early 1998, both the UCK's attacks

Crisis in Indonesia



Students demonstrate at National University in Jakarta.

As President Suharto was rubber-stamped for another term of iron-fisted corrupt rule by Indonesia's "Consultative Assembly," student protesters demanding an end to Suharto's rule left their campuses and clashed with police in Jakarta. They join the deepening wave of rejection of Suharto's policies to salvage the country's economic crisis.

In January, Suharto signed on to IMF terms for a \$40-plus billion dollar bailout, but has stalled on carrying them out, especially those terms which demanded a breakup of his family's billion-dollar cartel system. He has further thumbed his nose at the IMF by appointing family members and political cronies to the "new" government.

While the IMF and its U.S. representatives have put the pressure on Suharto, the Indonesian masses are bearing the load of Indonesia's collapsing economy. The rupiah has shrunk to one-quarter of its value a year ago. The government has begun withdrawing subsidies on basic commodities like food and cooking fuel. But it continues its subsidy for train and bus tickets for the thousands of recently laid off workers to leave industrial areas and go back to their impoverished villages.

and the student and citizen demonstrations had begun to worry Serb authorities.

Then, on Feb. 23, U.S. envoy to the Balkans Robert Gelbard described the UCK as "without any question, a terrorist group." It was only days after receiving this green light from the U.S. that Milosevic began his massive attacks on Kosovar villages.

Is another genocidal Serbian war on the horizon in Kosova? Possibly. Milosevic seems to want one, and the U.S. and its European allies seem ready to give him a relatively free hand once again. However, the alignment of forces is different than in Bosnia in 1992. Serbs constitute only 5% of Kosova's population. In addition, Kosovar Albanians are better organized and armed, both politically and militarily, than were their Bosnian counterparts in 1992, plus they can count on some aid from Albania.

Finally, Milosevic's Serbia is far weaker than in 1992. It is (1) battered by years of war and economic collapse, (2) restless under his authoritarian rule, as shown by the 1996-97 pro-democracy demonstrations, and (3) facing a rearmend Bosnia which chafes under the totally unjust territorial compromises forced upon it at Dayton, and at the way in which Bosnian Serb war criminals continue to rule undisturbed over much of their nation's territory.

Kosova women's protests

On March 8, women of Kosova organized by the Network of Women protested against violence, ethnocide, genocide and the silence of the international community. These protests were also to solidarize with the victims in Drenica, central Kosova.

Women have become aware now that one sided conflict resolution is not enough to end the consequent violence practiced over these years. This time they decided to remain silent 15 minutes, paying tribute to the dead and live victims, with a white piece of paper on their hands.

These protests did not happen only in Prishtine, they happened at every place in Kosova. Bigger centres had women out in the streets and the rural areas had women at the door steps. All women were saying that we do not want to be displaced, we want to stay here, we do not want war, we are for peace.

According to the evaluations, at least half a million women protested. —Sevdie Ahmeti, Prishtine

Chiapas resistance grows

Since the Dec. 22 massacre of 45 unarmed Indians by government trained and supplied paramilitaries in Chiapas, both the repression and resistance have intensified. Under the guise of restarting peace talks with the Zapatistas—negotiations which the government, in effect, sabotaged—the Zedillo government has unleashed the army to drive deeper into and occupy Indian communities which are sympathetic to the Zapatistas. The occupying army is now at least 40,000 strong.

Resistance is growing as Indian communities armed with nothing more than machetes have confronted the soldiers. They have rejected the government's phony social aid program which is a fig-leaf cover for the army's penetration into their land. Instead, many Indian communities have set up their own social assistance structures with links to receive medical and other aid from international support groups.

To counter this, the Zedillo government has begun an attack on "foreigners" in Chiapas. This includes journalists, humanitarian relief personnel, and especially activists within the Catholic Church who have a long service record within the Indian communities. At least five "foreign" priests have been expelled from Mexico since the Chiapas rebellion began.

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 form 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 in 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 imperative 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*.