

Clinton's raid on Iraqi

The continuity of the Clinton administration with the Reagan-Bush approach to foreign affairs was starkly revealed as we were going to press, when the U.S. launched 23 cruise missiles on June 27 against an Iraqi intelligence building in downtown Baghdad. While this attack was supposedly in retaliation for Saddam Hussein's plot to assassinate George Bush during a trip to Kuwait several months ago, it is doing nothing to undermine Hussein's hold on power. It has had a far more lethal impact on the citizens of Baghdad, over a dozen of whom were killed in the raid.

Clinton's assertion that the raid was planned for 2:30 a.m. in order to "minimize civilian casualties" can hardly conceal its barbaric nature. The target of the raid was in a residential area of downtown Baghdad, with many civilians sleeping on their porches and roofs at the time of the attack. The U.S. nevertheless launched the missiles without issuing any advance warning. Once again, the lives of Iraqi civilians are sacrificed in the name of projecting U.S. imperial might overseas.

The timing of the raid suggests that Clinton, like Reagan and Bush before him, may be using conflict with Iraq to bolster his domestic and international standing. Clinton has come under intense criticism for capitulating to the Serbian destruction of Bosnia, and undoubtedly wants to show that the U.S. can still take "effective" military action in areas that it deems "vital to our national interests." He is also anxious to divert attention from his floundering efforts to rekindle the economy here at home by projecting himself as all-powerful commander-in-chief overseas.

Far from revealing the "fresh face" of this administration, the latest attack on Iraq shows there is no fundamental difference between liberal capitalism and outright neo-conservatism.

Black World

'American Apartheid'



by Lou Turner

Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

"The materialist doctrine that men are products of circumstances and upbringing, and that, therefore, changed men are products of other circumstances and changed upbringing, forgets that it is men who change circumstances and that the educator must himself be educated.... The coincidence of the changing of circumstances and of human activity can be conceived and rationally understood only as revolutionizing practice."

—Marx, *Third Thesis on Feuerbach*

Race is the dominant organizing principle of American social relations. That is the inescapable conclusion and methodological imperative of the just published study by professors Douglas Massey of the University of Chicago and Nancy Denton of the State University of New York at Albany on the primacy of racial segregation in the structuring of inequality in American society.

Complaining that racial segregation has dropped out of studies on social inequality and the creation of the Black "underclass" over the last two decades, Massey and Denton hope not only to correct that conceptual omission but to provoke renewed debate around the dominant role of racism in the structuring of American social reality. While there are a number of provocative elements in their long-overdue study, from the comparison of the 1930s Depression with today's "structural dislocations" to their dispensing with the notion that the Black condition can be easily situated within America's ethnic diversity as one among many, there are three themes around which Massey and Denton construct their argument.

CONCENTRATION OF RACE AND POVERTY

First, there is no doubt that Massey and Denton are arguing against the class-specific analysis of Massey's colleague at the University of Chicago, William Julius Wilson. It is against Wilson that their first theme evolves, namely, that Wilson's hypothesis that the structural transformation of the ghetto was brought about by deindustrialization and the out-migration of the Black middle class is insufficient to explain the spatial concentration of poverty into an "underclass in the Black community."

Although the economic restructuring of the last two decades subjected the Black community to debilitating

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Immigrant tragedy reveals depth of China's state-capitalist crisis

by Bob McGuire

The grounding of the Golden Venture off New York revealed, to those who saw some of the survivors straggle ashore, an unexpected glimpse at the scale of the desperate migration from China within the last two years. The estimated 50,000 to 80,000 Chinese who have made it to the U.S. illegally, many paying or borrowing up to \$30,000 for the passage to smuggler gangs despite the certainty they would become virtual slaves until the debt was paid off, exposed the actual conditions in China in what many regard as a booming export economy.

The massiveness of this immigration recalls the steady flow of Haitian refugees since the overthrow of Aristide, a comparison reinforced by the Clinton administration keeping nearly all the 300 refugees from the Golden Venture, like Haitian refugees, incarcerated. But how do we reconcile the utter poverty of Haiti's deteriorating economy under military terror with the positive produc-

tion statistics that economists point to for China?

In China, the booming business for smuggler gangs raises questions about how rapidly expanding production alters the lives of workers and peasants. China boasts a \$76 billion foreign trade surplus from 1992 as production increased 14%, led by the export-processing special economic zones of southeast China.

LIFE AND LABOR IN CHINA

Guangdong province alone absorbed \$9 billion in foreign capital in the first nine months of 1992, from the U.S., Japan, Taiwan and Hong Kong in particular. China's economy is now regarded as third in the world by the International Monetary Fund on the basis of purchasing power. The fear of U.S. business interests losing a piece of this growth made it predictable that President Clinton would overrule candidate Clinton and back continued most-favored-nation status for China—with human rights conditions pushed far into the future.

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Tens of thousands march in Detroit, p. 8



Mine workers strike for job security

Editor's note: We print below three accounts of the United Mine Workers union (UMWA) strike. The first consists of excerpts from a speech given by a UMWA member at the Decatur, Ill. Solidarity March and Rally (see story on page 3). The second and third were written by correspondents who visited striking miners in southern Illinois and in West Virginia.

Decatur, Ill.—Currently in southern Illinois the Mine Workers have approximately 3,000 striking miners picketing at Consol, Peabody, Zeigler, Arch, and across the nation we have an additional 13,000 people on the picket lines...The mine workers by tradition are militant. They strike constantly, and we've been able to use that to get what we want.

In 1988 we negotiated a contract that contained very strong job security language, we thought. What our contract entailed was that we would be given three out of five new jobs in new operations opened by the mining companies. We thought that was pretty good language.

A month after we negotiated that, the operators went to Florida and had a vacation. They figured out they could get around that language. Instead of opening up that mine called Peabody Coal, they'd open it up called Joe Blow Coal. We wouldn't get a job there. After that occurred, we learned a valuable lesson: You can't trust them. That's what the companies are doing to us today. Production's not down, mines are opening, our people are laid off.

The top issue in our negotiations is job security. There's going to be no more corporate shell games, no more shuffling around the paper work on it. We're going to get some iron clad job security that our folks are going to live with. They're going to have those jobs.

Zeigler Coal Company several years ago owned two coal mines in Illinois—union mines. From those profits they bought Old Ben Coal Company—union mines. From those profits they bought Shell Mining Company—nonunion. They say we don't have a job there. They're wrong. We're going to show them.

I submit to you today that the UMWA work force at those operations made those profits; they enabled those companies to buy more, to get bigger... The union miners at those facilities that are laid off are entitled to those jobs, and we're damned sure they're going to get them.

—UMWA member

Morgantown, W. Va.—"If the coal operators are able to break the United Mine Workers union, you can kiss organized labor in the U.S. goodbye," declared a striking miner at the picket shack of Consolidated Coal Company's mine in Maudsville, W. Va. Five other pickets at the strike shack, all dressed in the army camouflage outfits that have become the hallmark of striking miners since the historic Pittston coal strike four years ago, talked about their impression of the current strike.

With the last contract it was Pittston that carried the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) battle against the UMWA, but after a year-long strike marked by nationwide labor support for the Pittston miners, the UMWA did win that one. "And now," the miners said, "it's Peabody and Consolidated, the really powerful companies, that are involved. This could be a long strike. I wouldn't be surprised if it lasted 'til next year, but we'll be here as long as it takes. We just can't afford to lose this one."

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Woman as Reason

by Terry Moon

What marks the UN international human rights conference in Vienna is the reeking hypocrisy of the leaders—north, south, east and west—and its opposite: the international and revolutionary determination of women to once and for all establish that women's human rights are, in fact human rights, as one step along the way to changing women's oppressive, inhuman conditions.

Hypocrisy: while Bosnia burns, while a multi-ethnic way of life is being destroyed, while mass rape as a war tactic occurs, while genocide is taking place—Western leaders pontificate about the “universality of human rights.”

Hypocrisy: Secretary of State Warren Christopher lectures others about how violations of human rights are not “tolerated by any faith, creed or culture that respects humanity” while the U.S. hijacks Haitians fleeing repression, poverty and death, and sends them back without even a hearing.

Hypocrisy: the false dichotomy made by leaders of China, Syria, Libya, Malaysia, Iran, Cuba and Iraq between human rights and the right to economic development. It is not furthering economic development that was behind the 800 Iranian women arrested this month in Tehran, some for the crime of wearing sunglasses; or female infanticide, forced abortions, forced birth, or the slavery of women in China.

CHANGING OPPRESSIVE REALITY

What brings into painful focus the plight of women and the hypocrisy of all governments is what is happening to Muslim women from Bosnia who had taken refuge in Croatia. Now forced to leave, they are being put on planes to Pakistan—the only country to open its borders to them. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees said: “We told the women, the minute they leave the airplane they should put on their veils.”

Azra Imamovic, a refugee from Sarajevo, said: “I'm worried about Islam orthodoxy there, but we're really not safe here.” She is right to worry. In Pakistan over 4,500 women are in jail, accused of breaking misogynist religious laws. Many were raped but didn't have the required four Muslim men witnesses and were thus jailed for having “impermissible sex.” Once in prison more

Filipinas not for sale!

New York, N.Y.—In June, a day before Philippine Independence Day, a women's indignation rally against the trafficking of Filipinas was held here. About 150 participants, mostly women, of varying nationalities and organizational affiliations, gathered at the Dag Hammarskjold Plaza at 4 p.m.. The rally attracted passers-by with placards, banners, and chants, complemented by the sound of drums. As we neared the Kuwaiti consulate, cops lined in front of the rally and stopped it, threatening to arrest the drummers and anybody who went outside the cordon limited to about a third of the pavement space.

Conscious of the threats of arrest, the rallyists continued shouting slogans: “These are words of indignation, F... you!” “Hear us scream, hear us wail, Filipinas are not for sale!” “Women's rights are human rights!” “Freedom now!”

A petition letter, written by the GABRIELA network which organized the rally, protesting the international exploitation and abuse of Filipinas and demanding the immediate enactment of laws preventing and prosecuting violations of women's human rights, was distributed.

Part of the letter explains: “Each year, approximately 250,000 leave the Philippines to seek some means of livelihood overseas.” A GABRIELA leader said: “While we can see how the government benefits directly from the migrant workers, it has not actively done much to protect Filipina workers from exploitation and abuse.”

“Filipinas in Kuwait have been fleeing from the sexual and physical violence of their employers and seeking sanctuary with the Philippine embassy. Both governments have not done anything to remedy the situation.”

Many Filipinas are also trapped in the international sex trade. Most poignant is the case of 75,000 Filipinas prostituted by the Yakuza. When Maricris Sioson was returned dead from Tokyo, the Japanese government claimed she died from hepatitis. An independent autopsy in the Philippines revealed bruises and contusions, and indications that a sword had been inserted into Ms. Sioson's vagina. Neither the Japanese nor Philippine government has done anything about this or other cases of violence and exploitation in Japan.

During World War II, the Japanese Imperial Army abducted and imprisoned thousands of Filipinas, making them “comfort women” for Japanese soldiers. The women were raped by as many as 40 to 50 soldiers a day in small, dark rooms with no hope of escape. The Japanese government has refused to acknowledge women, most of whom are now in their 60s or 70s.

Slavery lurks in mail-order bride agencies which actively recruit “girls” and their buyers by advertising in *Esquire*, *Harper's* and other magazines. Using photo catalogs, women as young as 14 are bought like commodities, and once married, they suffer all forms of abuses with no choice or legal recourse.

Copies of the petition to halt the export of Filipinas can be obtained from and mailed back to GABRIELA Network, P.O. Box 8357, FDR Station, New York, NY 10150-1919, or faxed to 718/726-3902. —Grace

Women transform UN rights conference



An angry Bosnian woman punches her fist through a wanted poster of Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic at a protest near the UN conference on Human Rights in Vienna.

than 70% of Pakistani women are sexually assaulted by their jailers.

It is this oppressive reality that women are determined to change. To deal with the UN, women created the Global Campaign for Women's Human Rights involving over 950 groups. There is a reason that women have shown themselves to be the most effective group at the Conference. As Elizabeth Levitan Spaid wrote in the *Christian Science Monitor*: “Women activists agree that the 1985 UN Women's Conference in Nairobi was a catalyst in generating the momentum among women's groups to organize on a global scale.”

Though in 1985 the UN, no doubt with relief, declared the Nairobi conference the end of the decade for women, “not only did the Indian women propose another conference in five years and offer their country to host it, but all the women considered this not the end but the beginning of a totally new relationship.”*

SELF AS SOCIAL BEING

In fact what is crucial here is precisely how the women consider themselves. The male reporter for *The New York Times* found it “surprising” when Rana Nashashibi, a Palestinian women's leader, “complained about the perils of life under Israeli occupation but her principal message was that Palestinian women and children were above all victims of violence in the home.” But to the thousands of women there—including U.S. women—Nashashibi expressed the reality of women's lives in every country.

Further, Nashashibi revealed what has been the high point of the Women's Liberation Movement in country after country when she spoke of the need not to wait until after revolution to demand women's freedom: “We have become aware that Palestinian statehood will not necessarily bring freedom for women from a patriarchal society.”

As for Iran, Cuba, China and the rest who argue that human rights are not universal but depend on cultural and social conditions in each country, no one demolished this better than a Sudanese woman, Nahid Toubia, in speaking against the dangerous and deforming practice of genital mutilation: “Parts of our bodies have been removed in the name of culture and social conformity. But culture belongs to us too. We have the right to decide what parts of our culture we want to preserve and what parts we want to abandon.”

In speaking of the women who have suffered this abominable practice Toubia said: “When you listen to these women, the psychological pain just comes flooding at you. The pain is just unbelievable. The women are holding back a silent scream that is so strong that, if let out, would shatter this earth.”

Whether or not women get what they are after from this UN Conference, including a special UN rapporteur to focus on violence against women, it is not what the UN will do that is important. It is what still remains to be done and women know that is up to ourselves. What this conference revealed was the recognition of self as social beings, of Women's Liberationists in action, a recognition of our power to “shatter this earth.” The challenge is how to move from opposition to the creation of the new. How to bring into being that world where all can live free and whole.

* See Raya Dunayevskaya's “1985-86 Marxist-Humanist Draft Perspectives” in the August-September 1985 *News & Letters*, p.11.

Video: Bosnian struggle

The Balkan Action Coalition has made available a short and powerful video documenting the voices of men and women in Bosnia-Herzegovina from all ethnicities who are now fighting for their multi-ethnic independent society. Everyone should see it! To order a copy, please make a \$15.00 check payable to “ABO” and send it to: Balkan Action Coalition, 3411 W. Diversey, Chicago, IL 60647.

Bosnia and Feminism

Editor's note: Below we print excerpts from our interview with Susan Soric, a Croatian-American feminist with the Balkan Action Coalition in Chicago.

Probably what is most important for women in the U.S. to know is that there has been a feminist movement in the former Yugoslavia. Women in Croatia are continuing their work and creating new initiatives in response to the overwhelming need for assistance for women who have been raped or left homeless. They are doing everything from documenting genocidal rape for a war crimes tribunal to counseling women on emergency hotlines to feeding and clothing them.

They are also recognizing that women share a common suffering that manifests itself in wartime as lost rights, lost opportunities and common victimization in a culture that was always somewhat misogynist but has become virulently anti-woman. One of the most common fears is of the increase in violence of all kinds against women.

A woman involved in Women's Help Now, a Zagreb organization with a hotline for rape survivors, has sent out a statement in Croatian with questions about what is feminism in relation to war: “Until now there were different ways of communicating and working together that cannot be in a war,” she writes. “Is that feminist tradition adequate for understanding war? Can this feminism understand and accept the differences in position, in experience?”

“It is clear that we don't all have the same experiences in war. We are killed, we are raped, we are hurt in a bombing, we lose our close relatives, we are left without a home, or we have gone days in fear, not knowing what is going to happen. These different experiences connect us. So is feminism a witness? Is it an analytical tool, or a mediator in war? Could feminism as a political position ever follow official politics? Have you felt that you could experience war in your life, or does that war happen to someone else?” So you can see that they are thinking very deeply.

Feminists in the U.S. need first of all to educate themselves about the former Yugoslavia—about the culture of that region, and especially about the war. If we listen enough and elicit enough information, and help in the dissemination of their voices to the rest of the world, we can be in a position to respond with our own ideas and resources.

Some U.S. feminists working on war-related women's issues are realizing they are not pacifists. If it takes military intervention to get women out of the rape camps, some would support it. Others like me support self-defense, particularly in the case of Bosnia. The Bosnians believed they were unique in their multi-ethnicity, that they had lived so many years in peace together that there was no need to arm themselves. A virtually defenseless nation under siege is one for which women especially have sympathy.



Women-Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey

In the June 1993 “Women Worldwide,” the print shop dropped a line from the first item. We regret the error and reprint the story below in its correct form.

The Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights (RCAR) is fighting back against harassment and threats aimed at pro-choice churches, synagogues and clergy by right-wing anti-women fanatics. Five Nebraska churches were plastered with posters of bloody fetuses; threatening hate mail was sent to an Oklahoma clergyman who wrote a letter to the editor supporting a woman's right to choose; a synagogue in Iowa was picketed because the rabbi was involved with RCAR, and in Minnesota the homes of a minister and a clergy counselor were picketed and stalked by a thug videotaping the family's movements.

—Information from RCAR Newsletter

In Amsterdam, a feminist group called Spuugzat (I'm spitting mad) has organized against woman-hating and racist advertising on billboards. They use graffiti and “official” complaints to protest and demand stronger government advertising codes. A Mazda billboard showing a woman with blackened eyes depicting the range of car colors was up for three months before the code commission acted on complaints against it. After Spuugzat occupied the commission, the group was allowed to check ads before they came out.

Women in Peru are being threatened, raped and murdered by both government security forces and the opposition Maoist Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path), according to the Women's Rights Project of Americas Watch in a report titled “Untold Terror: Violence Against Women in Peru's Armed Conflict.” Often the same women are victims of violence by both sides. Shining Path has systematically assassinated at least ten women community leaders since 1985 and regularly terrorizes women-led groups and feminist organizations.

More than 5,000 people turned out in a Minneapolis park in June protesting the swarming of Operation Rescue (OR) on the city for a summer of violence. OR singled out Minneapolis for their “boot camp” to train more misogynist thugs to stop women from exercising our right to control our own bodies.

Unions declare Illinois a 'war zone'

Decatur, Ill.—Workers from A.E. Staley Manufacturing Company and from the Caterpillar plant here were joined on June 26 by their families, Caterpillar workers from other cities, and union members from as far away as Flint, Mich., to form a human chain stretching the three miles between the Staley and Caterpillar plants. Drivers of passing cars honked their horns and passengers raised their fists in support.

The host local unions, Allied Industrial Workers (AIW) Local 837 (Staley) and United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 751 (Caterpillar), have declared Illinois "a war zone" and urged others to "enlist now." The Staley and Caterpillar workers are without contracts, and union members are "working to rule" inside the plants. "It's our solidarity versus theirs" was their call to rally.

Two other struggles also were focal points of the Solidarity March and Rally: the United Mine Workers (UMWA) strike (see story beginning on page 1) and the 1,500 utility workers locked out by Central Illinois Public Service Company. The latter include 900 members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) Local 702 and members of the International Union of Operating Engineers Local 148, who have ratified a contract, but are honoring the IBEW's picket lines.

'NO CONTRACT, NO PEACE'

Chants of "No Contract, No Peace!" and "Solidarity!" rose repeatedly at the rally back at the AIW Local 837

Detroit pay cuts

Detroit, Mich.—With only two hours' notice, a 10% pay cut was imposed on all City of Detroit AFSCME workers June 7. Members of AFSCME (American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees) had been working without a contract since July 1, 1992. Last month a "fact"-finder ruled that the city's budget deficit entitled it to impose the cut.

AFSCME held out against the cuts longer than any other non-uniformed employee bargaining unit. Last July the Teamsters accepted a five-day workweek with fewer hours because, when the inevitable overtime would be scheduled for "essential services," they would get more hours at the overtime rate. AFSCME, however, negotiated a four-day workweek with nine-hour days.

In services where Teamsters drive AFSCME crews to job locations—like cutting grass in parks and vacant lots or repairing streets—the two schedules create at least a 30% cut in efficiency. Workers are as angry about this as their own loss of wages. In one service yard Teamsters volunteered to conform to the AFSCME schedule because, "You can't get anything done!"

Though city workers blame Mayor Coleman Young's administration for wasting money and for bureaucratic inefficiency, most believe that their jobs are no longer secure, no matter who is in office. Everywhere privatization is being carried out, piecemeal, whether it's a suburban contractor painting lines at street intersections or the increasing use of Wayne County offenders (who are to be referred to as "volunteer workers" or "the Alternative Work Force").

Mayor Young's decision not to run for a sixth term comes as no surprise to city workers, many of whom have been openly campaigning for other candidates. Efforts by city workers to do their jobs right and renewed self-organization in the neighborhoods—and not who wins the election in November—can be the beginning of real change in Detroit.

—Detroit city worker

Mine workers strike for job security

(continued from page 1)

While the UMWA has lost much of its economic clout (only 28% of U.S. coal comes from union mines), it has succeeded in fragmenting the BCOA, comprised originally of the 12 largest coal companies in the U.S. Three have pulled out of the BCOA and signed agreements with the UMWA.

Emotions are running high, and miners are taking action to halt coal trucks and other operations. "We stopped coal trucks here," one picket said, "only the company went to court and got an injunction against us the next day, and our UMWA district officer told us to obey the injunction."

Meanwhile, expressions of solidarity and aid to the miners increase, with the AFL-CIO pledging financial aid, with other measures of support coming from organized labor in Australia, Britain, Germany, Turkey, Chile, Nicaragua, Colombia and Spain. "The coal companies are all becoming parts of international corporations, so all of U.S. labor had better start working with labor in other countries," a picket said. Another chimed in, "Even though we're not as strong as we used to be, if every worker went out, we'd be able to shut this country down. That's the kind of action we need to take."

—Andy Phillips

Southern Ill.—Three thousand Illinois coal miners are presently on strike alongside fellow workers in Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, Pennsylvania and West Virginia. Targets in Illinois of the UMWA action include Peabody's Baldwin and Marissa Underground mines; Consolidation's Burning Star No. 4; Arch Mineral's Captain, Conant and Kathleen; Zeigler's Spartan and No. 11, and Old Ben Nos. 24, 25 and 26. One sees in this list what is a fact of the strike nationally: it is not directed against a particular company, but against the administrative prac-

union hall, and the human chain was declared a "total success" by Local 837 president Dave Watts. He proclaimed: "Decatur has drawn a line. Labor is going to take this country back." While many speakers limited their goals for the labor movement to achieving a "decent contract" and passage of the striker replacement bill now before Congress, others did not.

A representative of the Operating Engineers Local 148 declared that the striker replacement bill "is not a cure-all" and hoped that "this rally becomes the beginning of a new, resurgent labor movement." A rank-and-file member of Grain Millers Local 103, which represents workers at the Archer-Daniels-Midland, said:

"I don't have a speech or anything to say to anybody except we need to band together. I tell you: if the union heads could get off their power trips and band every local union together, we could do a lot of things, but the way it is set up now, it's not going to happen.

"If the UAW, the AIW and every other International union could sit down together and get us all together, we could shut this place down. There ain't nothing moving when we're on strike, no matter if it's Staley, Caterpillar or anything. We can shut the whole town down. We could shut the whole nation down. That's the only way we're going to have any progress. That's the way I feel about it. It all has to be one big international union."

CHANGING LIVES

His view of the changes needed within the union movement, however, was not the one prevailing at the rally. When he said that "the way it is set up now, it's not going to happen," other workers shouted at him, "Yes it is!" and "Yes we can!"

There were signs at the rally that the way of life in central Illinois is inexorably changing. One was the declaration by a representative of IBEW Local 702 that even "if we get this contract settled, it will never be the same as it was" between the company and the workers. Another was the presence of so many women who, as "spouses" of the men workers, are active in all phases of the struggles outside the plants and have taken on new roles at home, as well.

—Chicago News and Letters participants

Editor's note: At 3:00 a.m. on the morning after this rally, A.E. Staley locked 800 workers out of its corn processing plant. The union pledged to intensify its boycott of the products of Staley's parent company, Tate & Lyle.



tices of the coal mining industry at large.

Accounting for the current rate of extraction, the resources of existing mines will be exhausted in seven years. Additionally, compliance with the Clean Air Act will phase out the production of high-sulphur coal. The foreseeable mine closures have pronounced the divided priorities of Labor and Capital. The mine workers seek assurance that the transition to new mines will not be accompanied by a disruption in their livelihood; the mine owners seek only to extract as much as possible from the workers.

A group of coal miners picketing Arch Mineral's Captain in Perry County could be found listening to a radio station playing "Welcome to the Machine" by Pink Floyd. The miners point out a nearby security guard, one of a squad brought in from Ohio by Arch, equipped with audio and video surveillance devices.

"We've been playing the radio to drown out what we're saying," explained one of the miners. "We started out with a country station, but then we heard the guards listening to it too, so we put on a rock station because we figured they wouldn't like that."

The guards, along with a barbed wire topped chain link fence erected by Arch in anticipation of the strike, are part of that company's effort also to portray the miners as threatening saboteurs. A UMWA member said that there have been several instances in which the guards have tried off camera to provoke the picketers in order to have something to videotape.

The owners' campaign for popular opinion has been a visible failure. Driving through the cities of Perry and neighboring Randolph counties, one is greeted with dozens upon dozens of signs in front yards stating support of the UMWA. Asking any miner how long they expect the strike to last, the invariable reply is, "one day longer than the company."

—Tesla Coil

Condemned to perpetual struggle?



by B. Ann Lastelle

A certain despotism accompanies the implementation of "team concept" at the Helene Curtis plant in Chicago. The first point in our manufacturing unit manager's recent reorganization proposal was: "All job responsibilities will be determined by management." The plant manager expects us to operate at 85% efficiency within one year. This means for my line an increase from the current standard of 54,000 bottles filled and packed per eight-hour shift to 102,000 bottles. Such efficiencies can be achieved in only two ways: elimination of downtime and reducing the number of people on the line.

CAPITALIST PROBLEM-SOLVING

Before each shift each "team" (line) meets for one-half hour to review the previous day's production (what we did right, what we did wrong, how we could have done better) and to plan for the upcoming shift (products to be run, change-overs required, problems on the previous shift, how to cover for missing people). Do we set the speed of the machine? No. Do we determine staffing on the line? No. Do we set the standard? No. Our task is to solve problems within a very narrow framework.

These meetings also are expected to generate suggestions for "line improvement." The compounders (who mix solutions for the shampoos, conditioners and hair sprays) had a suggestion. They wanted to start their shift one-half hour before the packaging lines do, so that they could accomplish the transition between shifts before packaging needed their attention. Although they had petitions signed by all of the packaging workers and the approval of the supervisors, the manufacturing unit manager refused to allow it. So much for "giving workers a say."

UNIONS 'MANAGING' WORKERS

Helene Curtis is nonunion. Some labor leaders think a union can make a difference in "worker-involvement." Lynn Williams, president of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), for instance, told the AFL-CIO's executive council meeting in February, "We're talking about really managing the American work force in a totally different way, and we believe that can only be accomplished in a union setting" (Chicago Tribune, March 21, 1993).

The USWA in late May negotiated a contract with Inland Steel providing for "union participation in the company at all levels." "Designated union members" are to have "access" to Maurice Nelson, president of Inland Steel, who "made it clear the final decisions still belong to management...[U]nion members would have a 49% say while he, Nelson, would have a 51% say" (Chicago Tribune, May 28, 1993).

With the exception that we at Helene Curtis don't have "designated" representatives, how is that different from what happens to us? Is "managing the American work force," even with the help of the workers' "representatives," really "totally different" from the despotism of capital? What is?

STRUGGLE NOT ENOUGH

Labor activists speak not of "managing" workers, but of organizing and struggle. Jane Slaughter of Labor Notes, for one, argues that "corporations' arbitrary power" can be limited only by labor struggles and social movements which "impose their will on the owners of the economy." She writes: "Yes, we live in a society where the corporations have the power and make the rules. But we make a mistake when we accept those rules as givens, and make no effort to impose our own rules—our own values—on the decision-makers" ("Should We All Compete Against Each Other?" Labor Notes, May 1993).

This is good, but not good enough. Slaughter never broaches the idea of workers overthrowing the "owners of the economy," expropriating the "corporations," becoming the "decision-makers" and creating a different, a new society to live in. If we aren't talking about that—about the nature of a new society, about how do we get there, about how that goal is related to day-to-day battles—aren't we condemning ourselves to perpetual struggle against the despotism of capital without ever reaching something totally new?

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From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya Marxist-Humanist Archives

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

Editor's note: The following is a "Dear Friends" letter Raya Dunayevskaya wrote to News and Letters Committees, reporting on the completion of the draft of what became Chapter 1 of her 1958 Marxism and Freedom, "The Age of Revolutions: Industrial, Social-Political, Intellectual." In the letter she refers to the draft chapter as taking up the dialectic of "The French Revolution and German Philosophy." The letter also discusses her divergence from C.L.R. James (Johnson) on Hegelian dialectics. Readers can locate the text of the letter in the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, #12105-06.

May 18, 1956

Dear Friends:

I was so completely exhausted yesterday when I completed the chapter on the dialectic—The French Revolution and German Philosophy—that I did not forward a covering letter with it. This is the most difficult chapter of the whole book and needs to be introduced formally by the local chairman in the manner in which the first discussion of the book was done. At the same time there is one concrete question that I will wish discussed. It is this: Now that I have the whole material before me, I feel that after the convention and discussion I will wish to rewrite Chapter 1 on the Industrial Revolution and Classical Political Economy and this Chapter 2 on the French Revolution as one chapter and call it either THE REVOLUTIONS AND ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL THOUGHT or THE AGE OF REVOLUTIONS: Industrial, Social-Political, and Intellectual. The point would be to open the modern world with the revolutions which indeed laid its foundations and posed the questions as well of its ultimate development which we are now living through.

It is only when I actually started working out the philosophic problem on black and white in its strictly philosophic implications that it finally became possible to sharpen up the great divide in the state-capitalist tendency between the Johnsonites and us. We did a thorough job on that politically. Now it suddenly became clear that one of the three fundamental attitudes, fundamentally false approaches to Hegel, was precisely the Johnsonite, which is now placed along with the Communist and academic as the sheerest sophistry, one more aspect of the Existentialism which manipulates the dialectic to fit any arguments it wished, like a Philadelphia lawyer arguing both, absolute opposite, sides of the question with equal glibness. Thus to Kaufman [Grace Lee Boggs], Hegel was both the philosopher of the counter-revolution and of the permanent revolution, while the "Absolute" was both supposed to designate us and the Existentialists as incorporating all of past culture. No wonder we couldn't ever get back to the work on Capital, that is, Marxism.

Each generation must reinterpret Marxism for itself—Marx himself did for the three decades of his development and that of the working class movement of the 1840s through the 1848 revolution; the 1850s, and the 1860s when a new dialectic came out of the very struggles of the workers in America and in France. Each period, as each thought; each activity, as each appearance, has its own dialectic, and this you cannot learn by rote, but only after you have absorbed the past, studied concretely the present, can you finally have a contribution to make on your own. Anyone who has ever been in any of the movements that call themselves Marxist has heard, and repeated by rote, that the three elements of Marxism are: Hegelian dialectics, Classical Political Economy, and the doctrines of the French Revolution. After which they proceeded to fight for 5¢ more in wages. In a word, it meant absolutely nothing to them for their day because it meant nothing they needed to relive of the past. The truth is that only with the present book does each period come alive in what it meant, then when it happened; what it meant to Marx; and what it

means to relive it now.

Take the French Revolution. It had a dialectic of its own. The development from the Bastille till the Enrages, and a good way to remember the Enrages is to remember what it means—indignant hearts. Now the movement used to repeat only the Jacobins as the "heroes," and as late as 1936 James made it "The Black Jacobins," while there are some men who would have seen the field hands rather than the coachmen as the greatest contribution. In any case, Marx saw at once, when he broke with bourgeois society and turned to study the Great French Revolution, that it was the mass movement, the deepest layers, the self-mobilization of the urban poor, where lay the foundations for the future development of proletarian struggles. That is "one element" of the doctrine of Marxism that now comes to life and is the unifying element of the other three. That is why for the first time with us "History" of the class struggles has appeared as if it were something altogether new instead of the life-

blood of the Marxian theory without which it means nothing.

Now the dialectic of the French Revolution, insofar as the great bourgeois thinker was able to see, was that it was a process of development, a constant overcoming of contradictions; you didn't get to freedom or the absolute at one fell swoop, but through meeting enemies and overcoming them, through contradictions with your own previous revolutionary leaders as the Jacobins, etc. The method then, despite the fact that to him world history was a development of the world spirit to Hegel, of revolutionary human activity, dialectical development, is what Hegel discovered, while all other philosophers, when they did sense contradictions, either tried to reconcile them by "the will of good men," or mystical evasion of all reality and running to God. At least Hegel's Absolute, though only in thought, was on this earth, not in heaven.

(continued on page 5)

Editorial

Guinier and the politics of race

Race and racism have always been a powerful force in U.S. politics. Over the past 12 years the Reagan and Bush administrations have used racism, overtly and covertly as a political adhesive to create virtually a white majority Republican Party. President Clinton and the Democratic Party are very conscious of this political reality and are determined not to alienate the so-called white middle-class electorate that came over to the Democrats last November by appearing to be the party of African-American civil and economic rights.

Their efforts to hang on to the politically conservative "white majority" explains much of the ambivalence of Clinton's administration, and why he quickly withdrew his nomination of Lani Guinier to head the civil rights division of the Justice Department once she was dubbed "Clinton's quota Queen" in the Wall Street Journal.

POLITICAL LIABILITY OF RACE

Lani Guinier is an African-American professor of law at the University of Pennsylvania; she is not a radical Black political leader and hardly a household name among the vast majority of African Americans before Clinton dumped her as his nominee. Nevertheless, she became a political liability to Clinton once conservative and liberal Senators, who practice the politics of political expediency, discovered that she had written articles for law journals which pointed out that the concept of majority rule in the electoral process does not constitute "democracy" because "...racism excludes minorities from ever becoming a part of the governing coalition, meaning that the white majority will be permanent."

Elsewhere, Guinier has argued that "In some instances, we also have to worry about protecting rights of minorities where you find a local majority that may be acting in a prejudicial way to rig or corrupt or abuse the democratic process."

There is nothing new or revolutionary in Guinier's critique of "white majority" rule. It has been an historic political problem, beginning with the disfranchisement of Black Americans in the post-Reconstruction South and the gerrymandering of political districts, when Blacks could vote, to assure a white majority vote.

The racist fear of Black political rule is still an element of U.S. politics. Currently, it's a bone of contention in the battle over how the election districts should be drawn in Selma, Ala. What Guinier apparently didn't know when she wrote her law articles, is that Bill Clinton staged his election campaign in a way to attract white middle-class voters away from the Republican Party, i.e., people who were for "law and order" and opposed to affirmative action and welfare programs. These

voters were his first priority. He let them know it, by separating himself from Jesse Jackson in the celebrated quarrel over the "Sister Souljah" rap lyrics. Clinton staged his campaign for all-white middle-class voters; it was these voters he had in mind when he caved in before conservative pressure.

His failure to support Lani Guinier indicates that Clinton's consensus politics will lead to further political betrayal of Blacks and women, as he carries his party further to the right. He has already reneged on Haitian immigration and danced around gays in the military.

Non-divisive politics supposedly stopped with the appointment of David Gergen, who is now reshaping his public relations staff. Gergen is a former Reagan advisor and is noted for having promoted "Reaganomics."

'AUTHENTICITY' OF BLACK LEADERSHIP

While the Guinier affair has shown that Clinton is in the process of creating a conservative Democratic Party, the liberals and Black politicians within the Democratic Party, including Guinier herself, and the Congressional Black Caucus, do not want to break with Clinton. They may criticize Clinton, but break with him, never! They seem to want the Clinton Administration and its embrace of conservatism to work. We also saw that the three women Senators, Carol Moseley-Braun, Diane Feinstein and Barbara Boxer, who were elected last year by women and liberals, didn't rally around Guinier's demand to have her case debated by the Senate. Boxer led no charge of women lawmakers up the Capitol steps, as she did in the Anita Hill case.

Perhaps, one reason Black leaders were slow to come to Guinier's defense has to do with an article for the Michigan Law Review about authentic Black representatives. She wrote that "authenticity" refers to community and cultural-based leadership, which distinguishes between minority-sponsored and white-sponsored candidates.

The problem with this definition of authentic Black leadership is that it is a naive abstraction. Once Black leadership becomes involved in the affairs of the capitalist state, i.e., the managing of its budget, its military and police and its foreign policy, that Black leadership is already "non-authentic" regardless of how culturally it may be connected with the Black community. All political leadership is non-authentic to the African Americans living in South Central Los Angeles, precisely because it is only formal representation by Black politicians on the Los Angeles City Council, in the state legislature and in the U.S. Congress.

The rebellion in South Central last year was not a cry for political representation, but revolutionary liberation from the poverty and racism of the existing system, in both its reactionary and liberal forms.

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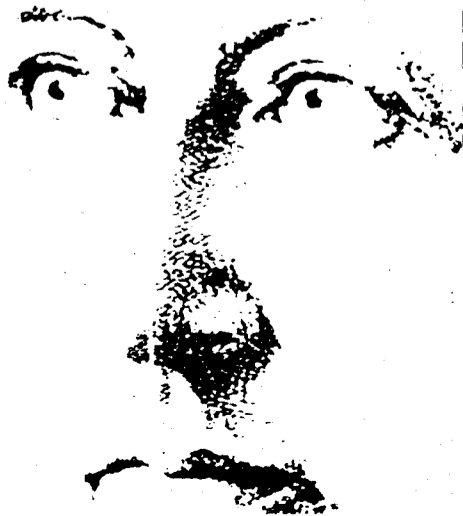
by Raya Dunayevskaya

WHY HEGEL'S PHENOMENOLOGY? WHY NOW?

It never fails that, at momentous world historic turning points, it is very difficult to tell the difference between two types of twilight—whether one is first plunging into utter darkness or whether one has reached the end of a long night and is just at the moment before the dawn of a new day. In either case, the challenge to find the meaning—what Hegel called "the undefined foreboding of something unknown"—becomes a compulsion to dig for new beginnings, for a philosophy that would try to answer the question "Where to Begin?"

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Philosophic Dialogue

What freedom is about

by Patricia Altenbernd Johnson

Editor's note: Patricia Altenbernd Johnson is a Women's Studies teacher and Professor of Philosophy at the University of Ohio in Dayton. She has published articles in the Owl of Minerva and the Quarterly Journal of Ideology.

Reflections on theory can easily be disjoined from the events and experiences of everyday life. What I most appreciate about Raya Dunayevskaya's reflections is her insistence that theory and practice must always be interconnected. In Hegel she finds a thinker who confirms this interconnectedness and who challenges and focuses her thought.

In her letters to non-Marxist Hegel scholars printed in the May N&L, Dunayevskaya remarks that "Hegelian dialectic lets retrogression appear as translucent as progression." Her interest in the section on the Idea of Cog-



nition manifests her concern to recognize ways in which the Will can stand in the way of its goals and so contribute to and conceal retrogression. Peter Wermuth's call for a "serious rearticulation of what freedom is about" continues this concern.

Perhaps a return to the early sections of Hegel's *The Phenomenology of Spirit* would be helpful in the process of this rearticulation. It is in the sections on Self-Consciousness that Hegel begins to trace the emergence of freedom. He identifies three elements or moments as constitutive of the emergence of freedom: struggle, absolute fear or the fear of death, and formative activity. While Hegel traces a progression towards freedom out of this dialectic, it is important to recognize that the self-consciousness that emerges at this point is unhappy, not free. An articulation of freedom that strives to avoid retrogression must ask why this consciousness is unhappy and what would be needed for it to become joyful.

As I read Dunayevskaya's letters, I had just finished reading Alice Walker's *Possessing the Secret of Joy*. The character of Tashi in this novel can be understood as illustrating this dialectic of struggle, fear, and activity and of raising the question of the possibility of joy as important to an articulation of freedom. The end of the novel provides an image that suggests that resistance is what is required for joy.

But the novel seems to me to suggest a more complex response to this search for joyous freedom. Vital to freedom is the need for every person to "own" one's body. Any articulation of freedom that does not recognize the full impact of this need is bound to be retrogressive, and any practice that does not embody commitment to this need cannot ultimately be liberative.

Origins of Hegelian dialectics

(continued from page 4)

Hegel may not have recognized materialism, but it is materialism, dialectical materialism, which can explain him, for there is nothing in our thought that is not already imbedded in the activity of the proletariat, and a genius as great as Hegel, living in a period of the French Revolution and Napoleon, could not but catch the impulse, though he himself could not see the masses as living subject working out their freedom by themselves, and worked out everything only for the elite philosophers. If it needed a Marx to stand Hegel on his feet, it needed a Hegel to lay down the prerequisites for Marxism.

One final word in this introduction to the chapter on the dialectic. It cannot be separated from the Absolute, for it is the method of the Absolute. If at this day and age you think of the absolute only as thought, if at this day and age you cannot materialistically interpret that last chapter of Hegel, then you get to the freedom of socialism like a bolt from the blue, as pure empty agitation in the manner of the Socialist Labor Party or the Johnsonites. If, on the other hand, you have worked it out, then you have faced the task imposed on you by history, of reinterpreting Marxism for your own generation. When I first said that the two poles of my book would be the Absolute Idea and Automation, people thought I was a bit off; by now I hope everyone can see what hard work awaits us now that we have recognized what specifically is our age and our job in it as part of the forward movement of the masses to full freedom.

Philosophy, organization and revolution

This "Philosophic Dialogue" continues the discussion on the 40th anniversary of the philosophic moment of Marxist-Humanism begun in the special supplement in the May N&L. The supplement reproduced two letters by Raya Dunayevskaya to non-Marxist Hegel scholars and an essay by Peter Wermuth on Spontaneity, Consciousness and Organization. To obtain this special supplement and the discussion on it in the June 1993 N&L, contact News & Letters.

Praxis, cognition and will in Hegel, Marx and Lenin

by George Armstrong Kelly

Editor's note: George Armstrong Kelly (1932-1987), noted Hegel scholar and author of Hegel's Retreat from Eleasis (1978), wrote the following letter to Raya Dunayevskaya on Oct. 6, 1986 in response to her letter to him of Sept. 26, 1986, a version of which was published in the special supplement in our May 1993 issue.

The first thing to say about all this is that I am not, as you know, a Leninologist and have not read his notes on Hegel's *Science of Logic* for quite a few years. But what you recount about Lenin's deviation from Hegel's treatment of cognition-Denken-theory-Absolute Idea, etc. strikes me as correct, because practice and volition were of higher value to him than "the Absolute" or, indeed, *Das Denken* (thought).

Secondly, it will not be possible for me at this time—but we will continue—to match the thoroughness and precision and intelligence of your 30 years of exploration. The best I can do for now is to record some observations of my own.

When I say that I subscribe to your critique of Lenin in view of his misuse of Hegel, this does not of course mean that I endorse your interpretation of Hegel, who, for me, is not a revolutionary philosopher in the sense of comprehending the Absolute either as "the new society" or as "ceaseless motion... the permanent revolution." He is a revolutionist in his claims for knowing and the manner of those claims; and they cannot be denied a presumed impact on society. *Gott mit uns* (Got within us) is, from one angle, Hegel's message; and God is not fully Geist (Spirit; Mind) unless or until He is in His community. But there is no need here to rehearse our old debates.

What I've just suggested, however, opens up the speculative problem of the relationship between "objective" and "absolute" in Hegel. For him, "objective" (earlier called *wirkend*) is the sphere of the political, the social, the collective, and of history. As such, it seems a part of nature, even preponderately so, and lends itself to the Marxist "reversion." In contrast, the "absolute" is the objective infused with free will, with spirit, with memory and imagination, and with completed understanding. It is desire quenched and brought to rest in the mind's power, the power of self-knowing knowledge—in T.S. Eliot's words, "the still point of the turning world." It is the consummation of the logic-cognition, now filled with the plenitude of spirit—and, in this sense, Marx is right to claim that "Hegel's true interest is not the philosophy of Right but logic. The philosophical task is not the embodiment of thought in determinate political realities,

but the evaporation of these realities in abstract thought (these last words are not well put—G.A.K.)... Logic is not used to prove the nature of the state, but the state is used to prove the logic" (Critique of Hegel's *Philosophy of Right*, by Karl Marx, Joseph O'Malley translation, p. 18). When Lenin writes "Absolute Idea = objective truth," he muddles "absolute" and "objective" in a non-Hegelian way; for he is obsessed with "objectivity" as established through will and practice and conforming to Marxist "science."

Regarding that latter, Hegel wrote very clearly (*Philosophy of Right*, paragraph 13a): "Thus those who believe that the human being is infinite in the realm of the will in general but that he — or reason itself — is limited in the realm of thought, have little understanding of the nature of thinking and willing. In so far as thinking and willing are still distinct, it is rather the converse which is true, and thinking reason, as will, is (reason) deciding (*sich entschliessen*) on its own finitude."* This is directed against Kantians, but it also applies to Lenin's "voluntarism."

Cieszkowski** was the first, to my knowledge, to try to make Hegel into an apostle of will (or revise him as such), submerging his logic totally within the demands of a philosophy of history, in which praxis would be the dominating Geist of the third, consummating age. Although Cieszkowski was no revolutionary, the way he deploys his materials could well stimulate Marxist adventures in an "objective-absolute." However, with the general secularization of history and social science shortly afterward in Western academic thought, the need for a mediating-consummating "absolute" is scarcely felt; and one gets the Diltheyan*** division of *Naturwissenschaften* (Natural Sciences) and *Geisteswissenschaften* (Human Sciences/Studies), the latter assimilating the Hegelian absolute into the objective (into history), leaving nothing beyond. It is, I would guess, because of this intellectual climate, whether revolutionary or *bon enfant*, that Lenin's encounter with the "absolute" in Hegel's logic is so diffident and so "objective."

That is all I can say for now; and it's off the top of my head. But I'll get back to you soon, at least when there is a little time to spare on those mind-boggling syllogisms that so arrest you.

* In Kelly's letter this paragraph is quoted in the original German.
** August Cieszkowski (1814-1894), Polish Left Hegelian, author of *Prolegomena to Historiography* (1838).
*** Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911), German neo-Kantian whose work, *Jugendgeschichte Hegel* (1905), helped initiate a return to Hegel in German academic philosophy.

On the unity of workers and intellectuals

by Felix Martin

Dear John Yuill,

I am a retired autoworker and the Labor Editor of *News & Letters*. I have been a worker all my life. I come from the coal-mining hills of Kentucky, where my people worked in the mines. I have studied your article in the June N&L, "We need no parties." I agree with that statement absolutely because even before I found Marxist-Humanism and its critique of the vanguard party, I couldn't stand parties.

I want to talk about where I don't fully agree with everything you wrote, like "We do not see any difference between workers and intellectuals if we don't recognize the categories." I do see the difference, because the system created that difference, and this is what has to be dealt with by both workers and revolutionary intellectuals coming together.

THE IDEAS OF MARXIST-HUMANISM couldn't have been worked out without labor and intellectuals coming together. The birth of Marxist-Humanism was connected with Raya Dunayevskaya being active with the coal miners in their general strike of 1949-50. And she came together with Charles Denby, a Black auto worker who became Editor of *News & Letters* at its founding in 1955. Neither workers by themselves nor revolutionary intellectuals by themselves can overcome all the contradictions of this system that has split thinking from doing.

In the capitalist system of producing capital for the capitalist, intellectuals are put in the service of capital against labor. No individual can self-develop. The mind of the intellectual class is telling the hands of the working class what and how to do. The intellectual class see themselves as being free and the working class see themselves living in absolute terror under capitalism. But revolutionary intellectuals who have broken with this society do have a contribution to make if they understand the need to work out a new relationship between the movement from practice and the movement from theory.

Workers live in this damn society and suffer it every day. We sleep in it every night with our aches and pains. Workers' thinking from this is very concrete about this system, but the intellectuals who don't suffer through this labor and pains think in a different way. Yet the revolutionary intellectual who is breaking from capitalism experiences self-development anew, just like a worker, and a worker, too, has to overcome contradic-

tions within himself or herself.

I agree, "The most effective political movements in history have always been spontaneous and citizen based." But all of history up to now shows that that is not enough. To keep that spontaneous movement continuous, it needs to be grounded in a philosophy of Freedom, and that ground needs to be in each human being.

Marx wrote about the general absolute law of capitalist accumulation that with the centralization grows also the revolt, and it is not just any revolt, but one that is organized, united, and disciplined by the very mechanism of capitalist production. This to me reveals the need for the self-development of the Subjects of revolution, especially now in the 1980s and 1990s. We look at Eastern Europe since state-capitalism calling itself Communism fell apart and we see the same old state-capitalist bureaucrats that called themselves Communist still in power over labor. This shows the lacking in the self-development today when it is most needed.

I AGREE ABOUT Marxism being misunderstood by what we call post-Marx Marxists, beginning with Engels. But I disagree that, "We can engage the citizen in world-changing activity if we use language that is as plain as possible without the agency of Marxist grammars and the distinction of class." I think this is what Engels thought he was doing—using plain language to explain "Marxism." And when you say "we use plain language" where is the two-way relationship between the movement from practice and the movement from theory?

Karl Marx discovered what Raya Dunayevskaya called a "new continent of thought and revolution"; then he spent his life concretizing his discovery, in relationship to movements for freedom and the Idea of freedom. To me, his own self-development led him to freedom in his mind, and gave the method and direction, the path for my own self-development. No one can work it out for the other person, but we do need to be working it out both for ourselves and together.

John, Marxism is a revolutionary philosophy of thought and action, the two together for a whole human being. It becomes revolutionary when thinking and action become one, in each person. This is when the revolution becomes permanent. Marx's Marxism to me means self-development, the dialectical process from slavery to Freedom, or it is nothing.

BOSNIA CRISIS REVEALS ACHILLES HEEL OF WESTERN 'CIVILIZATION'

I can't separate what's happening now in Bosnia from what's going on in Somalia. It's a world concept of retrogression. The U.S. government always seems ready to attack a Third World country, but when it's a question of attacking the Serbs in Bosnia—suddenly they say that's too much like a Vietnam situation. I think their attack on the warlords in Somalia is their preparation for war right here at home. They're preparing for another Civil War.

Black revolutionary
Los Angeles

I attended a rally for Bosnia at the UN on May 23, and almost the only ones who came out were Muslims from various communities. The Left wasn't in sight. But the Bosnians I spoke to made sure to say they were not particularly religious, it was just culture and tradition because they had once been conquered by the Ottoman Empire. They were quite open to dialogue with the Left—but the Left wasn't there! Here is a nation, Bosnia, that prides itself on its multicultural heritage, being smashed to bits in the name of "Lebensraum" [living space] and Nazi-like narrow nationalism, and where is the multi-cultural movement? Where is the Left that always supported national self-determination? Only the Women's Liberation Movement has come out for Bosnia. Out of all this, if Bosnians who survive are drive into the hands of Muslim fundamentalism, who will be to blame?

John Marcotte
New York

I am Indian Muslim and consider myself a feminist, so hearing about the rape camps where women are held and raped by Serbian men is both a women's issue and a Muslim issue for me, as well as just a human rights issue. To allow the ethnic cleansing and the rapes to happen in Bosnia sanctions the tendencies of other groups elsewhere in the world. Like in India there are extreme Hindu nationalists who use Serbian terminology as their ideal of a clean Hindu nation cleansed of Muslims. So when people say this is a contained civil war with no ramifications here or elsewhere—that's not true.

Indian Muslim feminist
Chicago

One of the most important points made in your lead on Bosnia in the June issue of N&L concerns the fact that the Western powers haven't lifted a finger to prevent the destruction of the multi-ethnic nature of Bosnia because of the narrow nationalist politics upon which each of them rests. Whether it be Germany or France, Italy or England, a tremendous revival of European racial chauvinism is underway. Let's not forget that the very notion of "ethnic cleansing" first arose from within the heart of West Europe itself a half-century ago.

Solidarity activist
Chicago

A tragic irony grips the world. Concurrent with the recent opening of the Holocaust Museum in Washington another "ethnic cleansing" is underway. Again, America and the rest of the world attempt to cleanse their political impotency with (feel good) resolutions and other non-solution gestures. While Auschwitz is now implanted in our minds as a tragedy that should never have occurred nor ever be repeated, to a lesser extent, it is while my pen meets the page! That six million Jews were slaughtered is outrageous in the sense that a targeted class of people were sacrificed by a state-sanctioned system evilly employed by a multiplier of six million. So it is in the war in Yugoslavia. Future generations will recall Srebrenica as yet another example of mankind's obsession with destroying one another.

R. Dan Ritchie
Riverdale, Maryland

I found the Editorial on Bosnia in the May issue of N&L unconvincing, as I feel that the blame on the U.S. for the tragedy of Bosnia falls a long way short of "aiding genocide" (not forgetting that the U.S. and other major state powers are guilty of that terrible charge elsewhere in the world, as in East Timor).

In ex-Yugoslavia, whatever the vacillations, the Western forces have condemned the Serbian aggression and the murderous "ethnic cleansing," have supported sanctions and called for war crimes tribunals, and threatened military action against Serb forces (although the threat turned out to be a bluff, which the Serbian Chetniks successfully called).

Richard Bunting
England

Your Lead article on Bosnia ends with a quote from a participant in a Marxist-Humanist discussion who asked "how can the effort to reconstitute a critical, humanist Marxism pose a pole of attraction against today's narrow nationalism?" That is very difficult to work out, because the mass publicity for so long was that Marxism is Communism; it is quite a job to try to get out the message that Marx's Marxism is a humanism. Before I encountered News and Letters, I was just like Joe Average, and believed that the perversion of "Marxism" was its reality.

New Reader
Los Angeles



THE STRUGGLE OF HAITIAN REFUGEES

My three children, my husband and I were held in this HIV detention camp at Guantanamo Bay for more than one year. We have passed all the interviews of the INS and have proven that we have a well-founded fear of persecution if forced to return to Haiti. While others in our situation have been allowed to go to the U.S., we have been forced to remain on Guantanamo because the doctors say that I am HIV positive. I don't know what to believe but I cannot trust anything that is said by the people who are responsible for subjecting my family and me to these inhumane conditions.

I want my children and husband, who are not HIV positive, to go to the U.S. It is very sad that the U.S. government forces us to make such a decision but my family's life must go on. The children need to go to school. I don't understand why the military who persecutes the Haitian people are not being punished. Instead, it is the military's victims who are punished by being forced to remain indefinitely in the intolerable conditions.

M. Valney
Haitian refugee

PRISONERS RESIST

I have tried to do something that few other convicts have tried to do: break the mental bondage and express myself. I was punished for what I did, got thrown in the hole, all my writing supplies mysteriously came up missing. Got beat down and harassed by the fascist screws, but all that only makes me more determined to overcome the obstacles in my path.

Prisoner
Michigan

The prison revolt at Lucasville this spring showed our captors that they only control the prison as long as we put up with it. Our refusal to be tested for a new drug against tuberculosis wasn't the reason for the uprising per se, but rather 21 years worth of guards-on-prisoner brutality, racism, inadequate medical care, murders of prisoners by guards, etc. With the uprising a light has been shined on the barbaric conditions of confinement yet it needs to be shined more to expose this.

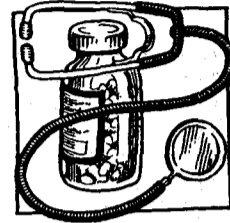
Since the surrender, prisoners have been brutalized by groups of guards—those prisoners who didn't/couldn't participate. Guards are spitting in our food,

Readers' Views

denying us recreation and other necessities in attempts to provoke us so that guards can mace us, bum rush us, and brutalize us. What I'm asking people to do is call or contact Senator John Glenn (U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510-3501) and inform him that society demands that the U.S. Dept. of (In)justice conduct federal investigations concerning racism, brutality, etc. here at Lucasville.

Prisoner
Lucasville, Ohio

HEALTH CARE: IMAGE OF A SICK SOCIETY



Clinton's actions since he has been in office show that he sold the U.S. people a lie during the campaign, when he promised jobs, health care, etc. But the problem is not that he is a "weakling." Clinton is compelled to do what he does because of the relationship of forces and the conditions of this country. Capitalism now has surplus labor; they can't create more jobs. We have to attack him from that standpoint.

Marxist activist
California

In the New York Post recently there was an article describing the use of robots in hospitals, used as messengers, filers, meal-servers, etc. Nurses supposedly love such helpers. Most nurses I have spoken to know it means eventual lay-offs of health care workers. One robot is being leased for \$38,000 yearly. The great advantage for the bosses is that robots don't call in sick or talk back to their supervisors.

Health care worker
New York

The management of the health maintenance organization, Kaiser, in Los Angeles is trying to use the excuse of Clinton's yet-to-be-announced health care reform plan to cut back on the wages and benefits of Kaiser workers! What they are really trying to do is to break our union, SEIU Local 399. Not only did their latest proposed contract, for nurses' aides, clericals, and technicians, take away two holidays and charge us for medical care, but they want to take away our right to a grievance procedure. They propose that management would have the right to impose any amount of takeaways of their own choosing, and the union would have no recourse.

X-ray technician
Los Angeles

When I talk to the "working girls" I tell them where to go for treatment, how to be careful about AIDS. But they want to know where they can make money. Because there are no jobs they go back to the oldest way—to exchange their bodies for what they need. They say, "I've got to live." Yet the state can spend \$30,000 a year to warehouse somebody in prison. The N.Y. State Prison system has a \$3.2 billion budget, of which 82% goes to salaries and fringe benefits. That whole sense of hopelessness prevails for young people.

Health educator
New York

On May 28, the Illinois House voted down a bill requiring parental notification for abortion for women under 18 by only seven votes! What made me so sick about it was that it failed not because every woman must have self-determination. No, it was because the chief doctor's lobby finally got seriously involved in order to protect themselves against the \$5,000 fine for performing abortions without notifying a parent.

This is what Rep. Larry Wennlund said, "I've supported the concept of parental notification, but not the concept of driving doctors out of business..." Even when the State comes out on the side of human beings, it's never about

freedom; it's always about preserving capitalism and its "rights." We are going to be fighting for abortion rights until we totally crush this system.

Disgusted
Chicago

GAY LIBERATION

I liked Tom Williamson's article on the military's homophobia very much, but I don't agree that the President of the U.S. supporting the end of the gay ban in the military is "the most monumental event since the 1969 Stonewall Rebellion." I don't deny that Clinton's position could have a profound effect on the history of the gay and lesbian movement, but Williamson is falsely comparing two very different kinds of events. Stonewall was a spontaneous act of self-determination of people in a freedom movement. Clinton's position is a ruler's political response to the pressure of a freedom movement.

Supporter
Chicago

Latin American gays and lesbians in Los Angeles protested at the Mexican Consulate over the murder of 31 gay men in Mexico last year. The deaths have been linked to paramilitary and police groups, and government authorities have so far refused to respond to these crimes. Other gay activists now fear for their lives and seek support from our brothers and sisters in the U.S. and any other countries we can reach.

Feminist in solidarity
Los Angeles

VOICES FROM OVERSEAS



News & Letters, the Marxist-Humanist newspaper is a well-respected newspaper from which the readers can know the new points and new interpretation of Marxist theory. Readers can also discover how Marxist-Humanism influences the daily lives of people in other countries. The newspaper is helpful for my teaching and research. I usually read N&L with my students and they are very interested in it.

Is it possible to start a special column of "Marxism in the West and the East" to discuss the differences between Marxism in the West and East and to discover the differences between traditional and neo-Marxism? This column would also be an excellent forum to publish some articles on the philosophy of man from the point of view of Marxism and from other points of view.

Educator
Beijing, China

I have found many of your views of great interest and intend to publish portions of *The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism* for the benefit of readers in India and as part of starting a dialogue with you. *News & Letters* is very important. However, I would appreciate more news on the worker's front in the U.S.

Scholar and publisher
Maharashtra, India

We especially appreciate the fact that N&L doesn't focus exclusively on events in the U.S. and Europe. We would appreciate further comments on your differences with other groups.

Revolutionaries
Malta

I've just heard from Mike Tsomva of the KAS, (the largest Russian anarcho-syndicalist federation) to say that KASKIR has started publishing a quarterly English language paper—"Russian Labour Review"—so as to keep foreign sympathizers informed about Russian events. It costs \$6 per issue; payment to be made through Credit Lyonnais, 739 98HA, depots 215 569L, Agence Paris, Daumesnil, 456, 2, Place Felix, Eboue, 75012 Paris.

Laurens Otter
England

ON THE LANGUAGE OF FREEDOM

The reports in the May issue dealing with the "new Mississippi voices" combines the best traditions and principles of *News & Letters* in combining theory/practice. While those articles revealed the power of the "other America" that is the best hope and basis on which to build for the future, the entire issue combined worker and intellectual in a dramatic demonstration of the great potential and contribution *News & Letters* can make in snowing what is wrong, why it is wrong, and what has to be done to correct these wrongs.

**Radical
Detroit**

* * *

The May issue of *N&L* did some new things. First, I never remember seeing where you printed Raya Dunayevskaya's Archives column and then had someone commenting directly on it in the very same issue. What made this work was the quality and carefulness of Peter Wermuth's Essay.

What else was new was the passionate Lead article on the L.A. Rebellion one year later by Gene Ford—no bourgeois reporter for sure, but "a Black worker living in South Los Angeles." No other Left group would even think of "allowing" a Black worker to write the Lead article for their papers. I think this whole issue really caught Dunayevskaya's notion of what it means, as you state in your "Who We Are and What We Stand For" statement: "We do not separate mass activities from the activity of thinking."

**Women's Liberationist
Detroit**

* * *

When I first began reading *News & Letters*, I was attracted by how it both carries news, and is a philosophical organ. But one of my biggest problems in reading Marxist-Humanist literature is some of the philosophical language that you use, like "Notion" and "Absolute Idea." Freedom is a wonderful concept, but we've got to be able to communicate it in language people can understand. If I went out on the streets in the neighborhood talking about "Absolute Idea," I might get myself killed! I agree with

your anti-vanguardism, but we do have to use language that can help people. We have to counterpose concrete programs for a different reality than what exists now, to give people hope. And I disagree with the way Dunayevskaya counterposes the role of a small organization line *News and Letters* Committees to the mass party, which she says the workers will build. We are the masses, and it is wrong to consider ourselves separate. It's an abdication of responsibility.

**Long-time Black activist
Los Angeles**

* * *

Unless one understands Hegelian language, the theoretical articles by Raya Dunayevskaya are not fully understandable. Yet, over the years, I have not seen many terms she uses explained. One can get a feeling about some of these writings, but it is frustrating to wonder if potentially comprehensible ideas are being mystified. Nevertheless, I keep reading *N&L*—here's my two-year sub.

**Still trying
Syracuse**

* * *

Your work seems now more timely than ever as people grope for a new, currently relevant Marxism. Dunayevskaya may just have had the most cogent interpretation all along. She may yet get her due.

**Feminist intellectual
Berkeley**

* * *

Thank you for publishing the two letters of Dunayevskaya from the late 1950s in the June issue, which discussed why she felt "emboldened" to venture into a study of Hegel's Absolutes in developing Marxist-Humanism. It reminded me of how much radicals limit the horizons of their own thought when they skip over philosophy for the sake of gaining a "mass audience." I believe there is a close connection between this tendency and the view that the masses need to be "organized" from above. As Dunayevskaya once put it, the common root of all objections to "mystical, obscure" Hegelianism is the notion that

the masses are backward.

**F. Leibisch
Illinois**

* * *

I like the piece in the June issue called "We need no parties" by John Yuill. As a worker I can understand his problem with the use of the terms "worker" and "intellectual," as it may sound like the intellectual is the so-called thinker who does the leading and we workers are the ones who have to be led. But in the organizational life of *News and Letters* Committees, this isn't what occurs, because both workers and intellectuals are challenged to take responsibility for ideas of freedom. As bad as categories like "workers" and "intellectuals" are, we will not lose them until we throw out this racist, sexist, class-ridden society and start to live a life where all of our human ability can be used.

**David L. Anderson
Chicago**



**AN ERA OF
PERMANENT
UNEMPLOYMENT?**

I was selling the March *N&L* at an unemployment office, shouting the headline of Gene Ford's column, "Too much work or no work at all!" Boy, did that get a response! Then I'd link it to the article on page 3, "Why Clinton's economic plan can't work!" The only person who said "Clinton's plan will work" was one of the workers at the unemployment office on his way in from lunch. I guess he wasn't worried about his job.

**Member, N&L Committees
New York**

* * *

The homeless show us the face of capitalism—they expose its destruction of humanity. Capitalism is dedicated to the idea that the human being has no value. Clinton's crisis comes from trying to cover that over and make us think that things are looking better now. Freedom keeps trying to come through but it's an uphill battle.

**Harry
Chicago**

Do the unemployed in this country remain a reserve source of labor for restructured U.S. capital? Has this capitalism nearly accomplished what it set out to do with automation: rid itself of militant U.S. labor altogether, first its most militant arm, the Black workers, then the labor movement in general? It is still in for surprises. U.S. capital has indeed created, to use their inhuman term for it, an "underclass" of unemployed, Black and white, young and old, and homeless. If this permanent "unemployed army" is to be capitalism's new "underclass," how massive does it become before it shakes and brings down what sits on top of it, like a house of cards?

**Angela Terrano
New York**

* * *

When Chrysler finally got around to building a new Jefferson plant in Detroit, they laid off the workers for one year. Many of the 6,000 laid off never came back. Those that did were sent to school for a year to prepare them for the new plant. The rest were just left out. Now that plant is working six and sometimes seven days a week. With unemployment as high as it is here that is a crime. In some blocks only one or two households have somebody working.

**Black retired worker
Detroit**

RACISM IN GERMANY

I arrived in Germany the week after the firebomb assault on the Turkish family in Solingen (northwest Germany) where three young girls and two women were burned to death. Demonstrations took place in Solingen every day following the attack. And, on the weekend I arrived, the largest one was again in Solingen along with others in many cities across Germany. Probably more important was the prior Saturday evening when Turkish youths in the largely Turkish Kriesberg district, near the former Berlin wall, put up barricades and fought the police. A Turkish woman activist said that it was the first time Turkish youth had directly confronted the police.

**Traveler
Germany**

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L.A. moves to the right with election

Los Angeles, Cal.—Newly elected mayor Richard Riordan is a rich business man who has given millions of dollars in campaign contributions to both Republican and Democratic politicians in the past, in his attempt to sway political power regardless of who is in office. Now he has come of age, out of the political closet, to snatch the reigns of power for himself and those on the political right, along with big business.

This election victory by Riordan over Michael Woo will unleash a build-up of police presence and police power within the Black and Latino community. That was a campaign slogan of all the candidates, this reactionary approach being a repercussion of the Los Angeles 1992

rebellion which sent shock waves throughout the world and put fear in the heart of the state which has demanded a strong hand in government against a disgruntled Black population possibly poorer than seen since slavery. Black rage is as intense as what led to the unfinished Civil War of the 1860s.

L.A. economic hardship has played a big part in Riordan's election, he being a millionaire. Some people think a good businessman can turn around the economy. But in this system being a good thief equals a good business sense. So I fear these "new"-found economic political action leaders that hold office will steal more from the poor who they look at as expendable.

Due to the lack of funds to build up the police force or to increase prison space for those being arrested we can expect a cut in social services such as hospital care, welfare, school supplies, workers' pay, etc. to fund the state police force. The cuts will just be another form of attack upon the Latino and African American community, the poorest neighborhoods, while we see a buildup in police presence to keep us in check, to prevent the next rebellion. Some have characterized the election of Riordan as an attempt to move L.A. back to the pre-Sam Yorty era of the 1950s. But I don't think that the past three decades of movement can be so easily erased from the minds of the people.

Mayor Tom Bradley has retired after being elected 20 years ago as one of the first Black mayors of a major metropolitan city in the U.S. His victory in 1973 was a repercussion of the 1965 Watts rebellion, 1960s movements, and a new Black consciousness. Bradley was elected by an area voting population that at that time and even today is majority white, with Black, Latino, and Jewish voters usually allied against a white conservative vote, to determine who became mayor.

A "liberal" intellectual center such as New York City just elected its first Black mayor, David Dinkins, only three years ago. It seems to be the end of an era of liber-



al politics and the beginning of a new-found conservatism, even with the so-called Democrat Bill Clinton in office as President, who would not even allow Lani Guinier her day in court to defend her views to a Senate committee for a job as head of the Civil Rights Commission.

This election represents part of a reactionary move by the state to further suppress the 1992 L.A. revolt, the rebellious spirit of the masses who rose up against a brutally murderous police force and an unjust system of law and order which protects the haves over the have nots at the bottom. The masses whose voices have yet to be heard clearly, and yet to be silenced completely, demand to give direction to drastically needed social change nationwide.

—Gene Ford

Detroit 'Freedom March'

Detroit, Mich.—Under the banner "Freedom Ain't Free! The Dream of 1963 becomes a reality in 1993," as many as 100,000 people marched down Woodward Ave. on June 26, 30 years after the historic march at which Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., gave the first version of his "I Have a Dream" speech. The non-African-American participation was less than 10%.

The 1993 march, organized and led by the NAACP, included delegations from the UAW, Detroit Public Schools, city churches, homeless shelters, community organizations and the inevitable politicians campaigning for 200 city offices in elections this coming fall. But nearly half the participants were young, and many of them came spontaneously.

A woman wearing a T-shirt in support of Malice Green, the Black man beaten to death last November by four white police officers currently on trial, had also marched in 1963. She said there was no comparison to the 1963 march, and that we had gone backward in many areas since then, especially in race relations and in families' ability to properly raise and teach young people.

At the rally, however, while outgoing Mayor Coleman Young referred to Detroit's loss of population since 1963, he pointed to all the downtown buildings which have arisen under his administration. He did not mention the many more which have been torn down, nor the 9,000 fewer city employees since he took office in 1974.

The NAACP combined the march with an all-out push for membership. Ben Chavis, national director, called for a new alliance between the NAACP and the ANC in South Africa and announced that Nelson Mandela will address their national convention. Detroit NAACP president Wendell Anthony asked people to spend 50% of their income in Detroit. The UAW's Ernie Lofton announced that General Motors was returning 1000 jobs to Michigan from Mexico, but he did not discuss the loss of 200,000 auto industry jobs nationwide since 1979.

Despite these contradictions and many more unanswered questions, the march demonstrated that Detroit's Black community can come together and intends that the 1963 march, in which the spontaneous outpouring of participants overwhelmed the organizers, not be forgotten.

—Susan Van Geider

Black World

(continued from page 1)

"shocks," they constituted exacerbating rather than causal factors. Likewise, the "exodus" of the Black middle class, which Wilson contends left the Black community without a "moral rudder" (sic), did not happen to any appreciable degree, because the Black middle class is itself a persistent victim of residential segregation. In both cases, the spatial concentration of poverty in the Black community into an "underclass" would have occurred with or without these exacerbating factors because the interaction of racial segregation and poverty is the central organizing principle of Black reality.

This introduces Massey and Denton's second theme, namely, that the concentration of race and poverty tends toward the phenomenon of hypersegregation. Employing the explanatory power of simulated models to disclose not only the inexorable logic of racial segregation as the key organizing principle of American urbanization but the additional insight into how segregation and poverty are "built into" the Black community, Massey and Denton reach the startling conclusion that "blacks living in the heart of the ghetto are among the most isolated people on earth" (p. 77).

As powerful as Massey and Denton's contention is that "Geographically concentrated poverty is built into the experience of urban blacks by racial segregation" (p. 118), it is when they take up the question of Black isolation and social alienation, the third theme of their study, that the power of their analysis relapses into a psychological reductionism. It is in their treatment of the "oppositional identities" and "oppositional culture" of the Black community that it becomes apparent why Massey and Denton dedicated American Apartheid to the Black social psychologist Kenneth B. Clark, and devoted the longest section of their book to a discussion of "The Culture of Segregation."

THE PITFALLS OF CULTURE

As much as they are at pains to critique the neoconservative "culture of poverty" arguments, Massey and Denton succumb to just such a tendency in their discussion of the "personal failings," "individual shortcomings," and "normative" behavior and "values of opposi-

'American Apartheid'

tional culture" in the Black community. Their distortion of "being black" as a form of social deviance because of its oppositional nature represents a depoliticization of Black consciousness. Indeed, what accounts for Black oppositional identity and culture today if not the continuing presence of the political consciousness of the rebellious 1960s wedded to a new social consciousness that has emerged from the very conditions that Massey and Denton otherwise so powerfully describe?

Thus the point is, Massey and Denton have made the social environment the social entity that has to be completely transformed, not individual "role models." Massey and Denton know that nothing less than a revolution in the social relations of this country can achieve that end. What they do not know, given the limits of their methodology, is that that revolutionary end is contained in some form in the oppositional social consciousness that presently exists in the Black community.

Dr. Kenneth Clark never did, nor could in the midst of the turbulent '60s, draw the revolutionary implications of his psychological analysis of the effects of racial segregation on the Black mind. That is because the psychological explanation stops at the threshold of the philosophical which does follow out the logic of racism to its inexorable conclusion so that its consequences are readily apparent.

Following his philosophic formulation of racial segregation as substituting an "I-It" for an "I-Thou" social relation in his famous "Letter from a Birmingham Jail," Martin Luther King drew the immediate, revolutionary consequences from the philosophical articulation when he declared that "when you see the vast majority of your 20 million Negro brothers [and sisters] smothering in an air-tight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society...when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of 'nobodiness'—then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait."

American Apartheid is a serious beginning in seeing and understanding "why we find it difficult to wait"; however, it stops short at the "making of the underclass" without ever discerning the "new passions and new forces" for the reconstruction of society to be found therein.

Mauritania—

Africa's other apartheid

Editor's note: The following are excerpts from "Mauritania—The Other Apartheid" by Garba Diallo, who also helps publish the journal *Focus Mauritania*. The full text can be obtained from Nordiska Akrikainstitutet, PO Box 1703, S-751 47 Uppsala, Sweden. Copies of *Focus Mauritania* can be obtained from PO Box 280, Toyen 0608 Oslo 6, Norway.

Since its artificial creation by colonial France in 1960, Mauritania has been a playground for violent ethnic strife, the shameful practices of classical slavery, civilian/military authoritarian rule compounded by serious ecological degradation resulting from prolonged droughts and catastrophic desertification processes.

The arbitrary creation of Mauritania by the forcing together of two ethnically distinct and historically antagonistic communities makes any attempt to build a sense of nationalist and national identity a daunting task. This has been exacerbated by an obsessive determination on the part of the Arabs not to share political power with their black co-citizens.

It was in the name of national "unity" that Mauritania's first president, Mokhtar Ould Daddah, abandoned free political pluralism in favor of power and one-party rule in 1961. This centralisation of power caused widespread discontent at the periphery, and corruption and nepotism in the centre. Political power was removed from the black south to the Arab north, thus confirming black fears of Arab domination.

RACIAL TENSIONS between the ruling Arab north and disenfranchised south mounted and exploded into periodic violence in 1966, 1968, 1979. The Sahelian droughts of the 1970s-80s and Mauritania's involvement in the West Sahara War in 1976-79 turned Arab nomads into ecological/war refugees and created an extensive slum belt around the main towns and along the Senegal Valley.

In 1979, Mauritania gave up its part of the Sahara territory and signed a peace accord with Polisario, the liberation front in Western Sahara. However, neither national unity was restored nor the economy repaired. On the contrary, further strain was added when thousands of black slaves as well as free black African soldiers who had been recruited in the army to fight in the desert were purged from the army following the peace treaty with Polisario.

These internal factors combined with external ones, namely, the growing influence from extremist Arab regimes like Iraq, Syria and Libya, pushed the military regime to resort to draconian measures for "solving" the problems.

In 1980, classical slavery was "abolished" in order to rob initiative away from the newly-created Free Slave Movement, El Hor; Islamic Shari'a laws were imposed to calm slaveholders' fears for a real emancipation of their slaves...Most important of all, however, was the adoption of new land laws in 1983-84: African customary land ownership was abrogated to allow the state to allocate fertile African land along the Senegal River to Arab nomads and businessmen from the north.

The mounting racial tensions led to the creation of the African Liberation Forces of Mauritania, FLAM, in November 1983. FLAM published a manifesto in April 1986 in which it denounced the establishment of an "apartheid state in Mauritania." It called on the government and enlightened Arab socio-political bodies to initiate a national dialogue to solve Mauritania's national question and identity crisis. It also called on the black community to unite and fight for its political, economic and cultural rights by all means necessary, including armed struggle.

Col. Taya's regime, which seized power on December 12, 1984, responded to legitimate black demands with more violence and discrimination. Hundreds of black intellectuals, suspected of being FLAM members, were arrested and sentenced to long terms in September 1986. In 1987 several thousand black servicemen in the armed forces were purged while many others were jailed, banned and confined to remote villages...

IT WAS IN the context of [this] crisis that FLAM decided to resort to armed struggle, which has been combined with a diplomatic campaign to let the world community know what is taking place in Mauritania. FLAM's headquarters is based in Dakar. It operates militarily from both Senegal and Mali as well as from within Mauritania. Following Taya's declaration of pending political liberties last year FLAM suspended its armed struggle to give the democratic initiative a chance. The armed struggle was resumed as time revealed that what Taya meant amounted to democracy "a la apartheid" identical to the one that has been practiced in apartheid South Africa since 1910.

FLAM's main problem is a lack of resources. It is not easy to convince foreign groups or governments to provide assistance to the struggle simply because people hardly know about Mauritania, let alone what is taking place down there. The Arab factor also frightens many black and western countries from taking the Mauritanian issue up for fear of endangering their economic and financial interests in the Arab world.

—Garba Diallo

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Fetishism of capitalist knowledge

Peter F. Drucker, *Post-Capitalist Society* (New York: Harper Collins, 1993).

Peter Drucker's new book asserts that we are on the verge of an epochal transformation where the "real, controlling resource" of production is "knowledge" (p. 6). Further, this knowledge is to be created and practiced in egalitarian "modern organizations" which reject any notion that "philosophy is the queen of the sciences." This type of organization is a "team of 'associates'" that gets rid of the idea of a "boss" (p. 56). Drucker returns in his conclusion to reiterate that "there is no 'Queen of Knowledge'...All knowledges are equally valuable" (p. 217). There Drucker expands on his euphemism for the boss, the manager, who sees "knowledge as a means to the end of organizational performances." While knowledge is a tool for managers, those who are managed and practice their "specialized knowledge" see the "organization as a tool" (p. 215).

UTILITY FOR PRODUCTIVITY

Drucker's search for a "unifying force" for "post-capitalist society" focuses on utility. Utility for what? For that most capitalist of determinants, productivity. Drucker shows that the term productivity and the term organization, as we now understand it, didn't even come into being until after World War II. Drucker cavalierly proclaims that productivity gains have made Marxism irrelevant, overcoming "the 'alienation' and 'immiseration' of the laboring class, and with it the whole notion of the 'proletarian'" (p. 33).

Marx's precise conception was that a society's changing level of technological development and intensity of labor set a standard, "socially necessary labor-time," which determines whether a commodity-producing organization survives. The capitalist obsession is with the completely phantom "quality" of things issuing out of commodity production, the amount of labor time "in" them. That is why "knowledges" that increase productivity get profoundly unequal treatment. A kind of knowledge that is "more equal" than others is formal logic which denudes thought of all meaning and reduces it purely to a tool.

I can say from ten years experience as a programmer applying this kind of knowledge that this is a new intensification of the alienation of the activity of the whole person. The ability to animate machines, to regulate and dominate the live worker, is precisely why this kind of knowledge is valued. "Electronic Plantation" is what workers call the minimum wage and computer-controlled workplace awaiting many of those lucky enough to be "recycled" into a job in this restructured workforce.¹

Drucker is worried there is a "danger of a new 'class conflict' between...knowledge workers and service workers" because of income disparity, not alienated labor (p. 96). He sees deep difficulties lasting a "generation or two," and calls for expanded services, mostly volunteer work, in the social sector to help those "left behind in the shift to knowledge work" (p. 168). He sees the collapse of Communism not as a reason for the West to gloat but as the collapse of a world system based on the Cold War Megastate. His answer to central planning is to learn to manage the "productivity of knowledge" by picking an ambitious goal which can "make a difference" and can be achieved in small "step-by-step improvements" (pp. 190-1).

Drucker extols the re-engineering movement, which has just begun to bring new uses of computer technology into work flow designs, as the answer especially to problems in the low-wage service sector. That same movement has even awakened today's business analysts to a new immediate fact: that "too much productivity growth" is not the solution but the cause of massive unemployment. Their estimate that in a few years as many as 25 million of the remaining 90 million private sector jobs will be wiped out portends a job situation not seen "since the Depression."²

¹ See "On the Electronic Plantation," San Francisco Chronicle, "This World" section, March 21, 1993.
² See "Re-Engineering Gives Firms New Efficiency, Workers the Pink Slip," Wall Street Journal, March 16, 1993. A similar view is also in "Jobs Jobs Jobs," Business Week, February 22, 1993.

Gay activists at crossroads

Chicago, Ill.—The events of the last week of June marked a crossroads for gay and lesbian rights. Over one million gays, lesbians and bisexuals participated in Pride Parades nationally June 27, with 400,000 in San Francisco, 140,000 in Chicago, and 250,000 marchers and 300,000 cheerers-on in New York. Yet three days later, an anti-gay measure barring passage of laws protecting gay civil rights, defeated in Oregon state elections in November, won approval in two cities and four counties in local Oregon elections.

Speakers in Chicago denounced the Oregon initiative and one passed last fall in Colorado. An especially sobering speech by a Pink Angel discussed the increase in anti-gay assaults, arguing that this legislation signals approval for such brutal attacks.

Speakers also challenged Clinton's appointment just before Pride weekend of an AIDS commissioner with little policy-making power, and demanded to know why over a decade of AIDS research has failed to produce effective drugs. Others expressed rage at his foot dragging on lifting the military ban on gays.

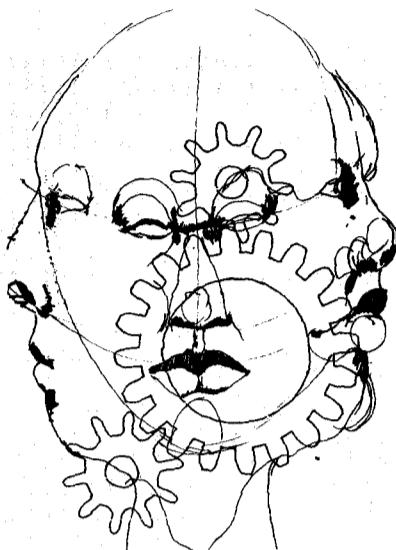
Many of us breathed a sigh of relief when Clinton was elected. Months later relief is turning to anger.

—Laurie Cashdan and Tom Williamson

MARX'S VIEW

For Marx, capitalism's absolute was a growing army of unemployed and at least that much has become transparent to the business world in this new stage of globalized commodity production. In 1986 Drucker's assessment of what was needed in "The Changed World Economy" was to "uncouple" what the Great Depression taught economists they must unite to save capitalism, i.e., production and employment. Answering Drucker then, Raya Dunayevskaya wrote that what all the capitalist ideologues failed to understand was the "fundamental Marx prediction, that the failure to reproduce labor means the death of their whole system."³

Will anything new come out of that "death" or will we have new disasters like Bosnia? Drucker calls for a



"society of organizations [that] is profoundly pluralistic" (p. 51) with each oriented around a distinct task. Such a view whitewashes the unitary straitjacket in the underlying unidimensional organizing principle that relates them all—the commodity form of the product of labor. That's what all the ideologues genuflect to. From the beginning of the introduction of automation, workers have fought alienated labor and have questioned in their struggle the very nature of labor under capitalism.

For Marx everything depended on opening up the question of form by studying the commodity not as capitalists do—as a valid substance outside the human subject. Marx disclosed the total anti-human logic of that idea which relates people through things and gives the product of labor a life of its own. Instead, Marx saw new possibilities with the creation of spontaneous organizations, like the Paris Commune, in the struggle against capitalism. Instead of being fixed in commodity-form, form as form of labor became the open-ended realization of ideas. That could create genuine pluralism and open up organizations from having fixed functions to the self-development of the idea as well as the creation of new knowledge. For Marx only then could "labor, from a mere means of life...become the prime necessity of life."

—Ron Brokmeyer

³ Raya Dunayevskaya, *The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism* (Chicago: News and Letters, 1992), p. 149.

Cambodian Time

*This is the future,
we have abolished the past.
The present is only a metaphor
of tomorrow.*

*Our tasks are accomplished,
in entirely unique fashions,
befitting the age.
Befitting the age,
we have realized our potentiality,
and have become transcendent,
and so, the machine is abolished.*

*That is to say,
the wheel and the plough and the lever,
and all their combinations,
have gained redundancy and relihood,
in this bright new world,
this realm of absolutes.*

*Our hands, as bleeding axioms,
have tilled the shadeless land,
and from the green margins,
of the killing fields,
the tiger harvests.*

*Last month, in prehistory now,
we abolished the city.
Think of that.
A notion for millennia,
in one day, consigned to eternity, to oblivion.
We can never return;
for the road, so busy that day,
it too has been swallowed up by the past.
It too reached its vanishing point,
its last task was to bring us here,
to the edge,
of our new world,
in the Year Zero.*

1988
I. McKechnie

World Congress on AIDS

Berlin, Germany—The IXth World Congress on AIDS was held here June 7-11, with 14,000 attending from 166 countries. Selected as a site before the crumbling of the Berlin Wall in 1990, it was already generally believed that eastern and central Europe were ripe for a new explosion of the epidemic. And since the site selection in the late 1980s, Michael Merson, head of the World Health Organization's Global Program on AIDS, said, "Economic crisis, unemployment, civil conflicts and social disruptions...provide fertile ground for a surge in AIDS..."

Indeed, the incidence of HIV is rising in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Russia, with the outlook especially grim in Moscow. While the government admits to 700 cases, some AIDS experts estimate the real number at 20,000. Marina Savelyeva, a pharmacologist and AIDS activist in Moscow, described an extreme shortage of drugs and medical equipment, even to test people for the virus. Equally ominous is the government's attitude, and its bureaucracy, which impede the flow of funds from outside the country to activist groups in Moscow. She said, "We wrote the ministries many letters. The response we got was not welcoming at all. They wrote that AIDS isn't the biggest health problem in Russia. The absence of aspirin is."

Although the U.S. has by far a greater number of AIDS cases than any other country, the conference hasn't been held there for several years due to the Reagan-Bush policy of denying entry to those who admit being infected with HIV. Recently, the U.S. Congress voted to retain the policy, despite Clinton's vow to reverse it, intensifying the embarrassing position of U.S. researchers in the world scientific community.

In some major African cities one in three adults are HIV positive, and though some researchers reported the rate of new infections is stabilizing there, though at an extremely high rate, in the rural areas no such plateau has been reached. An African researcher declared, "From the studies presented here today, I still cannot get the tangible solutions that we need....If you tell me that you need to maximize efficiency and improve consumer strategies, I may not be able to understand that." In South and Southeast Asia, especially Thailand, Burma and India, the number of infections has tripled in less than 18 months.

While the rate of new infections is often said to be stabilizing in many areas outside the Third World, that glosses over the continuing rise in the poorest, minority urban neighborhoods (especially among women), where often the disease isn't detected until after the person is dead. And a medical correspondent for a Spanish newspaper remarked on Spain's 200,000 HIV-infected people, the highest rate in Western Europe: "The situation for a country like mine, whose economy is still rather weak, will be near catastrophic if new HIV infections cannot be brought to a halt. And this idea seems almost utopian."

Merson of WHO, who believes that 14 million people are infected worldwide, said, "The epidemic of HIV [the infection stage] is well advanced, but the AIDS [full-blown disease stage] is just beginning. As the decade progresses, it will bring about increasingly severe social and economic consequences."

—Victor Hart

Letter from a prisoner

We are off and on lockdown for just about anything. At the time of this writing we are locked down because they just killed another prisoner here, for nothing, a cell, a TV or just because of the color of one's skin. However, I'll try to give to you my small opinion on freedom and total liberation within America as I see it.

As for Marx's philosophy of revolution, it is not a very easy job for me, because you know that I do not really agree with the doctrines of the Communist Parties, and feel that the USSR and China both have a class struggle. It's still the same old line of the very rich and the very poor, which always seems to be most of the people of any country, China, America or the USSR.

This is really one of the reasons I so enjoy reading the works of Raya Dunayevskaya, which always cry out against those little private gangs, working under the color of capitalism or Communism. It's very clear, and I fully understand, that when socialism was formulated by Marx, Engels and Lenin, they were thinking about the people, poor people, with all the people in mind. However, the ruling class have always misused and abused that power, and became little private gangs working for their own self-interest. They make laws to control the poor, to give to them the power to direct or regulate, like a controlled experiment of some very poor human-animals.

If the ruling class can change the laws when they feel like it, even re-word our "Holy Bible," then all the good ideals of a classless and stateless society, in which you find the equal distribution of economic goods in the hands of all the people, will never happen, here in America. We as a people must first learn to live with each other, without race, money or religion pulling us apart.

I personally do not feel that you can find an elected official who does not have an obligation to the ruling class first, then, self-interest and then the public. In so doing he becomes the property of the powerful rich and the private gangs. So I feel like Raya Dunayevskaya's call for "a whole new beginning," and a people's revolution to remove the controlling body of criminals; reaching for a better future-for-all.

Prisoner
Illinois

Immigrant tragedy reveals China's state-capitalist crisis

(continued from page 1)

The refugees on the Golden Venture were all from Fujian, a coastal province near the heart of this area of rapid expansion, yet all felt the necessity to flee to earn a living. It is an indication of the scope of disruption involving mind-boggling numbers of people: an unofficial estimate of 100 million unemployed in China, rising as high as 300 million by the end of the decade. Many of these are peasants who had been hidden on the land but who are now forced off to look for work—90 million people have descended on the coastal provinces alone. This February 700,000 migrant workers passed through Guangdong's capital only to be turned back.

Even workers who do get hired into the new export-processing industries work as contract laborers minus the benefits of older workers in state enterprises with the "iron rice bowl"—guaranteed work. Newly hired workers in those state enterprises also now are contract laborers, working side-by-side with workers who do have housing or health benefits. All workers alike risk the impoverishment of double-digit inflation, and over 100% inflation on key commodities with subsidies removed.

Already massive layoffs in state enterprises in the last five years are just the tip of the iceberg of what is planned—in coal alone, the state plan is to close 30 major mines and lay off 400,000 more miners. Over two-thirds of 1.2 million remaining workers at the Wuhan Iron and Steel complex are set to be laid off. As many as 70% of the layoffs have been women, far beyond their numbers in the affected industries.

Without unions independent of the state, workers have resorted to direct action to oppose plant closings and layoffs. At one coal mine, miners burned down their manager's house and got their jobs back—at least for that moment.

Acts of sabotage and violence have been so widespread following layoffs that the state enacted a plan to focus police and military power on plant closings; "Security work should be strengthened at factories, oil fields, mines and other key state projects to prevent people with ulterior motives from stirring up workers to riot."

THE PEASANTS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

In the countryside it has been the actions of the local officials that have been stirring up the peasants to riot. Confiscatory taxes on crops have left some peasants, in reports from Manchuria to Anhui, with less than subsistence. The extraordinary added taxes and tax increases are tied to rampant corruption and cronyism, for projects that can become private holdings in insider deals.

In an atmosphere encouraging every kind of money-making sideline, local officials are still conniving with gangs trafficking in women—kidnapping them and selling them as peasants' wives. These women are frequently maimed or shackled in order to prevent their escape.

Peasants unable to resist powerful local officials have had everything taken, as with a peasant in Guizhou who said he was left without the means to buy pants for his children. But peasant revolts have been widespread, with tax collectors killed, or protests as in Henan where peasants blockaded the main rail line for 24 hours to demand an end to added taxes and an end to the practice of issuing IOUs instead of cash for compulsory crop sales to the state.

THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

There is repeated evidence that the various strands of

the Democracy Movement of 1989 were never crushed, that imprisonment and labor camps have not quieted demands for freedom and democracy. Yet even as Beijing has selectively released some well-known political prisoners from as far back as the Democracy Wall movement of 1980-81, such as Xu Wenli and Wang Dan who refused to recant, arrests of political prisoners have continued.

Still, a dozen or more organizations have been able to maintain themselves underground, continuing to put out leaflets or newspapers. Some have continued to voice public demands, notably Han Dongfang, the railroad worker who founded the Beijing Autonomous Workers Federation in Tiananmen Square in May 1989, despite his near-fatal jail term.

But it was to the army that Deng Xiaoping turned in 1989 to try to crush the movement in the June 4 massacres of Tiananmen Square and Chengdu—and the military has been in the ascendancy ever since. On paper the military has a nominal budget of a farcical \$6 billion dollars. The actual expanded budget has enabled the military to purchase fighter aircraft from the former Soviet Union that dominate the Asia-Pacific sky, and to consider buying an aircraft carrier as well. As a consequence, shown in its laying firm claim to the Spratley Islands and its oil resources. However, the role of the army is above all within its own borders.

Beginning May 24, the 42nd anniversary of the 1951 Chinese takeover of Tibet, 200 or so people demonstrated against price rises, rent increases and an end to free health services—then deepened the demonstration with the additional slogan, "Chinese out of Tibet." Protesters suffered tear gas attacks but continued demonstrating for four days, until local authorities publicly agreed to address grievances. This time there was no repeat of the massacre of 1988.

Other Tibetans have complained of their best students being taken to China proper for years at a time to be educated—apparently with the intent to mold a whole new generation of leaders for Tibet to replace the mainly Chinese officials now in control. That the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) is determined to maintain control of Tibet is made clear from the elevation of Hu Jintao, former Party boss over Tibet, to the seven-member Standing Committee of the Politburo at last October's meeting of the 14th Central Committee.

NEW DISCUSSIONS OF MARXISM

What most frightened Deng Xiaoping and his hand-

picked successors are reports of revived discussions of Marxism among dissidents within and without China. A decade ago China's rulers still laid claim to being Marxist but underlined their link to Mao Zedong, not Marx, when they began a campaign against "spiritual pollution," targeting especially Wang Ruoshui for exposing the existence of alienation within China. Admitting alienation existed within China would have conceded the state-capitalist nature of China. But the CCP claim to represent Marxism discredited Marxism among some intellectuals in the Democracy Movement.

Since 1989 the Party lays claim only to state power, and in the face of the free market and stock exchanges has had to give up its fraudulent claims to continuity with Marx. That has lifted a great weight from the shoulders of those rethinking after 1989.

Now in current discussions one intellectual has said that you cannot blame what happened in China on Marxism, because the CCP leaders by 1949 had no connection to Marx's ideas. One young activist disagreed, naming Marxist scholars within the Party, though agreeing that they identified Marxism with state property. There is general agreement that the youth in China are very interested in the writings of the young Marx on humanism.

For China's rulers, confronted by a population that does not respect their authority, Wang Ruoshui's words should remain terrifying: "A specter is haunting the Chinese intellectual world—the specter of humanism."

On 'multiculturalism'

Steven's article "Multiculturalism: a rejoinder" (News & Letters, March 1993) responding to other columns in recent issues on the subject is so chock-full of buzzwords that it is virtually unreadable. Nevertheless its persuasive point, that multiculturalism is a reaction to the dominant official culture which negates "differences, history, revolution," does warrant serious consideration and discussion. Radical students drawn to the apparently oppositional project of considering the emergent versus the dominant cultures are not simply dupes of reformists wearing new clothes. Indeed, despite their reaction against humanism, often viewing any mention of humanism as bourgeois, there is a nascent radicalism that recognizes the creativity of marginalized cultures.

These cultures of the oppressed are often expressions of struggles against the dehumanization organic to capitalism. The fact that there are many cultures is for some a cause for celebration. It is enough for them to recognize everyone else, perhaps to "understand" that "they are different." There is a multicultural industry producing larger, more inclusive books for the curriculum. Yet nothing really fundamental is challenged.

DIVISION OF MENTAL, MANUAL

Not all advocates of multiculturalism accept this view. Yet even those who emphasize the oppositional quality of minority cultures fail, it seems to me, to question the division of mental and manual labor—of intellectuals and workers—so fundamental to capitalist society. In this, the current critics who admire Adorno have forgotten his statement that culture is an expression of the division of mental and manual labor. It is a division which Marx regarded as the hallmark of capitalist society. It is precisely this that needs to be challenged now.

In other words, Steven still assumes that intellectuals interpret cultural representations. The mass movement is viewed only as "informing" already held categories. Thus, what the multicultural intellectual does, apparently from the vantage point of "difference" but certainly as an outsider, is merely emphasize the internal divisions within a mass movement while what makes the "movement" a movement is glossed over.

On the other hand, Maya Jhansi suggests in her article on "Multiculturalism and Revolution" (Aug-Sept 1992) that when multiculturalism abstracts culture from revolution it becomes an ideological substitute for revolution. Jhansi connects this to a critique of postmodernism's interest in changes in form. However, she seems to take an extreme position that virtually submerges form while overemphasizing content. Jhansi argues that postmodernists tend to assume that all literature "from Steele to Hurston to Shakespeare" is equal but at the same time insists that they "privilege form." This conflates two tendencies within postmodernism: the literary relativists (who argue that all literature from the hack writers to the classics is equal but also include the genuine voices of dissent against the "cannon") and those critics interested in aesthetic form (whether modernism, postmodernism or whatever). While this might not appear to be an important part of Jhansi's overall critique, I believe that separating form and content (and emphasizing content) could lead to a position that advocates a type of crude realism.

FORM EXPRESSES CHALLENGE

I think a study of "form" and revolutionary moments in history would reveal something other than merely "subverting" other literature (an ad nauseum argument within academia). Rap music, for example, with its mechanical dissonance and repetition, is not only a lament about the fragmentation and mechanization of life, but can also express a characteristic of revolt—it is the form for a dialogue on experience.

Form, seen in the context of the content itself and the historic context, expresses in some way a challenge to existing reality and is not outside of life itself (which is really what culture is about), and can also be an expression of new human relations.

—Shelley
New York

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Who We Are and What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees is an organization of Marxist-Humanists that stands for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private property form as in the U.S., or its state property form, as in Russia or 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. We have organized ourselves into a committee form of organization rather than any elitist party "to lead."

Raya Dunayevskaya (1910-87), founder of the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism, became Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees from its founding to 1987. Charles Denby (1907-83), a Black production worker, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper from 1955 to 1983. Dunayevskaya's works *Marxism and Freedom...from 1776 until Today* (1958); *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* (1973), and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (1982) spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally, as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa. These works challenge post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism.

The new visions of the future that Dunayevskaya left us in her work from the 1940s to the 1980s are

rooted in her rediscovery of Marx's Marxism in its original form as a "new Humanism" and in her recreation of that philosophy for our age as "Marxist-Humanism." The development of the Marxist-Humanism of Dunayevskaya 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*, on deposit at the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs in Detroit, Michigan.

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 1959 philosophic breakthrough and her final 1987 Presentation on the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy in *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* (1989), and have 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, exploitative society, 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.

Youth

Chicano Studies struggle—a new stage of youth revolt?

by Mitch Weerth

Just as it took the L.A. rebellion one year ago to bring back a guilty verdict for Stacy Koon and Lawrence Powell, so the events at UCLA show today's youth again ready to take matters into their own hands to resolve issues the bureaucracy cannot. This time the powers-that-be was the UCLA administration, forced to face up to a 25-year-old pledge to make Chicano Studies a full-fledged department.

The fact that UCLA is a hallowed institution of higher learning ought not to obscure the nature of the struggle: it comes from below. It is not alone that nearly half of Latino students in the University of California (UC) system come from families who earn less than \$20,000 a year, but that today there is a current of revolt running deep within Black and Latino communities. Whether or not the UCLA events mark a new stage for youth nationally, there can be seen the beginnings of a new social consciousness.

BAY AREA WALKOUT

Consider just two of the many recent events in another part of the state, the San Francisco Bay Area. On April 1 this year over 2,000 junior high and high school students walked out of classes to protest racism and the lack of cultural education. Most were Latino. One of the participants, Mayachela Garcia, a senior from Skyline High, said, "The problem for kids is not in the streets, it is in the classroom. We need to restructure our entire educational system, not just make adjustments and find quick remedies." Dwayne Johnson, a senior at Oakland Technical High, put it this way: "We are hungry to learn about our own history and our own culture, but we are fed junk. We demand more than that."

Other walkouts have been led by 12 to 14-year-olds in the area. And at UC Berkeley in March, 50 students were arrested for taking over the Chancellor's office to demand that all four ethnic studies programs be given department status. Outside the building the University Police sprayed Mace on more protesters blocking the doors.

The protest at UCB raised the issue of forming a "Third World College" with five separate departments. In 1968, this was one of the central demands of the Chicano student movement at UC San Diego and at UCB, so why do two of the top institutions in the state not have Chicano Studies departments 25 years later?

Latino enrollment in the UC system has decreased over the past four years. According to the Latino Eligibility Task Force just 3.9% of Latino high school grads qualify to attend, compared to 5% of African Americans. At the same time the number of Chicano Studies majors has quadrupled at UCLA since 1989. A similar phenomenon is occurring at UCB.

Interestingly enough, this trend is the opposite of what some established Chicano Studies professors have predicted recently. It has been the custom to assume a rise in enrollment due to the growing Latino population. As Carlos Munoz put it in his book, *Youth, Identity, Power: The Chicano Movement*, this predicted increase "will not necessarily materialize into larger enrollments for Chicano Studies programs. The times have changed and there is no Chicano Movement that compels the average student to become an activist or study Mexican American culture." The old movement is obviously not the only thing that can cause students to pack Chicano Studies courses; will the professors who have their jobs today as a result of that movement recognize a new stage of Chicano consciousness and help it to self-develop?

AN IDEA STRUGGLING TO BE BORN

Perhaps there is an idea struggling to be born in part via the UCLA students' thinking on what kind of education they want. Here is how one of the protesters arrested May 11 put it: "Curriculum should be generated from issues and struggles in the community at large, and would be held accountable by the community. A place would be created that would link the Latino community, UCLA, Latino students and faculty. Currently, Chicano/Latino students don't have a space in this university. We have some Hollywood front that can be carted away or torn to pieces whenever the university deems neces-

sary."

This need to relate the community to the university was explicitly part of the origins of the struggle for Chicano Studies. At San Francisco State, in 1968 the proposed program also saw itself as being "a powerful force in the renovation and reconstruction of the entire system of education." The aim was for an education born of the struggle that would in turn serve that struggle.

The ideas expressed so far in today's revolts show signs of beginning where the Chicano Movement left off. The actual programs that exist today are far from the original goal of genuine service to the struggle for freedom, nationally as well as internationally. In the intervening years the bureaucracy has played its role in dulling the senses; as Marx wrote 150 years ago it "is a circle from which no one can escape. Its hierarchy is a hierarchy of knowledge..." If the old movement meant at one time to break completely with that hierarchy of knowledge and stand on its own ground, today's revolts expose its failure. A new stage of revolt must begin with a total uprooting.

Los Angeles, Cal.—Following the May 11-12 protests at UCLA (See "Chicanos seize UCLA building," June N&L) the university administration began to reconsider student demands. The students held ongoing daily protests outside their conference room.

On May 25, a hunger strike began. Student Marcos Aguilar stated, "A few of us were talking about ways to

counter the assumption that students of color get together only to riot. We talked about Cesar Chavez and we thought a hunger strike was necessary to bring the university around."

Strikers' demands were: departmental status for the Chicana/o Studies program, the dropping of charges against students arrested for taking over the building on May 11, and full funding for all of UCLA's ethnic studies programs.

There were nine hunger strikers, six of whom were UCLA students, four women and two men. One of them, Cindy Montanez, 19, was joined by her 16-year-old sister.

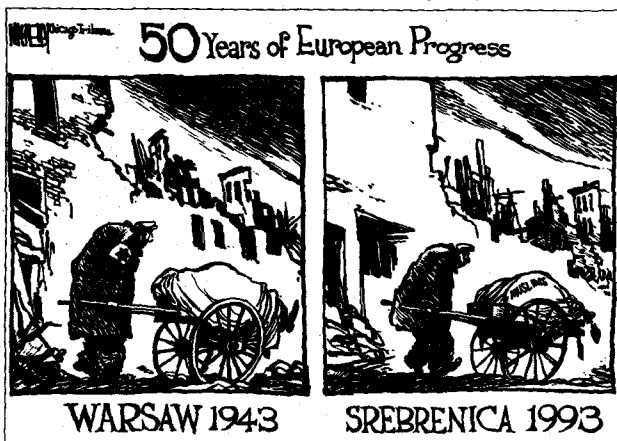
One long time Chicano activist, who remained with them a number of days and nights, said, "It was impressive to see the solidarity of families and community. The students' mothers backed them 100%. The 16-year-old supporting her sister was really something. Men and women were involved, people of all ages and races and backgrounds were represented. It means something that people from other countries identified with this struggle and were ready to lay down their lives."

"It seems like La Raza has been increasingly politicized since the 500 years protest in 1992 [against the celebrations of Columbus] and then Cesar Chavez's death. The way the strikers expressed it to me was that they were doing this fast for the community and for the future."

Not until June 3 did university negotiators sit down and talk with the strikers.

—Anna Maillon

Stop genocide in Bosnia!



Chicago, Ill.—On June 25 over 75 people made their feelings and determination to stop the genocide in Bosnia heard at a protest organized by the Balkan Action Coalition (BAC). It was mostly women from diverse backgrounds who participated—Muslim women, Women's Action Coalition members, Jewish activists, students active on their campuses, as well as men from Vietnam Vets Against the War and the Green Party. What was really disturbing was that other than News and Letters Committees, who had a strong presence, none of the Left was to be seen. I also wondered where the anti-Gulf war activists were.

We held huge banners on both sides of Lake Shore Drive that read "Our arms embargo supports 'ethnic cleansing.'" "Self-defense is a human right, lift the arms embargo in Bosnia." "Don't let Bosnia die, call

Clinton at 202-456-1111." People also held smaller signs that "No to Muslim ghettos, yes to multi-ethnic free society!" "Stop the genocide" "Women in U.S. stand in solidarity with Bosnian women" "Self-determination for Bosnian people" "Stop the partition of Bosnia."

Since the demonstration took place at 7:00 a.m., thousands of people going to work saw us and many honked their horns in support. I think this could be the beginning of a serious kind of internationalism, where overall, the recognition is that Bosnia needs to be able to defend itself—its multi-ethnic character, and that this is what we support, not a call for U.S. military intervention, or a capitulation to "ethnic cleansing" by supporting "safe havens." Another demonstration sponsored by BAC and the Green Party will take place Tuesday, July 20th, 11:00 a.m. at 307 N. Michigan.

—Sonia Bergonzi

A new News & Letters pamphlet
Questions for the freedom movement
Bosnia-Herzegovina: Achilles
Heel of Western "Civilization"

- Articles from News & Letters on the crisis in Bosnia
- Essay by Raya Dunayevskaya on "A Post-World War II View of Marx's Humanism, 1843-83; Marxist Humanism in the 1950s and 80s"

\$1

Negation and the '90s generation

I recently attended the first of the workshop/classes on "The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism" at the News and Letters office in Chicago, and I wanted to talk about my personal reaction to the question of negation that Hegel, Marx, and Lenin pursued with such vigor. Negation—it should appeal to the youth of any generation, right? It has always appealed to me on some level. Yet those workshops confirmed my personal experience as a 19-year-old middle class white male—negation is not enough.

This is a lesson that I learned the hard way, which is to say I learned it by growing up in Reagan's America. The rich got richer by negating the underclass and focusing on the glitter of their affluence. The subcultures that attempted to resist this attitude were defeated again and again—although not necessarily defeated in the realm of action.

What seems evident is that resistance in the eighties (and obviously on many previous occasions) was defeated by philosophic attrition.

The resistance that focused on music failed almost certainly because one can only feel angry and nihilistic for so long before the simpler, more profound influences of capitalism insinuate themselves back into one's life. Yet as I felt my way through these subcultures, I came to understand the marvelous feeling of liberation that they can give you. They free you to walk the streets and say "No." I really can't stress the importance of this great resounding "No!" enough.

Yet—negation is not enough, in my experience. These subcultures, especially "alternative" music forms, are being subverted daily by the very system that they were created to oppose. They have been transformed into their opposites, to the despair of those of us who so treasured the power their negation gave us. Even postmodernism, which for the most part was inspired by

the philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche, is beginning to reveal the depth of its denial of a critical element of Nietzsche's philosophy, that element being "Yes-saying," which I think is very related to the Hegelian-Marxian dialectic.

The lesson I've learned from Reagan and Derrida: it is not enough to walk through life denying all objectivity's hold on you. Objectivity, through sheer perseverance and weight, will drag you down. The only alternative that I can perceive is to focus on the kernel of "truth" that exists in the imperfect oppositions that surround me. The second negation, so important to Hegel and Marx, is emerging once again in the struggles of my generation. It is up to us to find the possibilities of future social relationships within the current contradictions, and to stand ready at the threshold of social change with rigorous, dialectical "yes-saying" on the tips of all of our tongues. It must well up from our every action.

It seems that even the second negation must be pushed further. One must understand negativity as a living, moving principle; which is to say that you must understand the subtler movement of Absolute negativity. This category of the negative is the most devious and the most liberating, since it is so intrinsically tied to self-consciousness. Does self-consciousness stop suddenly when we are presented with a new set of circumstances and relationships? If such a sudden halt does not occur in our day to day lives, why then should we cease thinking dialectically after any future social revolution? The thought is absurd, and thus the concept of a permanent revolution and the movement of the dialectic must be truly taken to heart, even if it cannot be properly appreciated at this moment in time.

Dialectics can be the source of a great revolutionary spirit when it is understood that negation and its opposite are much too related for anyone to ignore.

—Jonathan

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Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Since June 11, UN forces, including the U.S. military, have been engaged in ferocious ground and air assaults on the neighborhoods of Mogadishu controlled by Somali General Mohammad Farah Aidid. The almost daily UN bombardments have caused massive destruction. The U.S. and the UN have put out Wild West style "wanted" posters for Gen. Aidid and his top officers, whom they hold responsible for a June 5 ambush in which 23 Pakistani UN troops were killed by Somali forces. To this end, Clinton has sent additional U.S. troops to Somalia.

Guatemalan demonstrations protest coup

One month after the short-lived coup supported by the military and carried out in civilian clothes by President Jorge Serrano, Guatemalans continue to demand fundamental social change. Less than two weeks after the current president, Ramiro de Leon, was sworn in hundreds of Indians rallied in the capital, June 17, to demand creation of a "Truth Commission" to investigate and bring charges against the military for the murder and disappearances of tens of thousands of people during the 32-year-long civil war.

The continuing demonstrations by labor unions, students, Indians, human rights activists and others against Serrano over austerity measures, government corruption, and the lack of serious negotiations with the URNG (Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union) to end the civil war were growing daily in May when the military urged Serrano to dissolve the civilian government and rule by decree.

The sequence of events shows how the discontent and revolt in Guatemala drove events:

- Serrano and the military were unprepared for the breadth of opposition to the coup. The business sector along with politicians united with grass roots groups, unions and the Left against the government. Within a few days, denunciations poured in, and small groups of demonstrators dared to take to the streets on a daily basis. The U.S. threatened immediate withdrawal of economic aid. After one short week on June 1, the military forced Serrano to resign.

- A meeting of the opposition forces was held June 1 to negotiate the formation of a new government. When the military and capitalists shut out the unions and other opposition groups, Rigoberta Menchu walked out with others in protest. She spoke to a rally the following day, characterizing the events as a "coup d'etat against the people."

- On June 3, the Vice President under Serrano, Gustavo Espina, declared himself president, with backing by the military. Demonstrations against Espina broke out immediately and one day later he renounced his claim.

- On June 6, Ramiro de Leon was sworn in as president. De Leon had been Attorney General for Human Rights under Serrano and was given latitude in that role to criticize the military for human rights atrocities. Thereby he had achieved some measure of popular support. However, as President he backed off a demand he made during the crisis to prosecute military officers who had supported Serrano, and was forced to name one of the most repressive military heads, Gen. Roberto Perussina, as Defense Minister.

De Leon, with the backing of business and political leaders looking for the "less conflictive" solution, has called for a "Social Investment Fund" to send development money into the countryside, in an obvious effort to stave off further mass opposition and street demonstrations. It is not clear how long the military will allow the government to act with any independence.

What is certain is that the opposition movement from below, which has thus far kept the guns and tanks off

In Brief...

UKRAINE—Discontent in Ukraine erupted in a strike wave which began in the Donbass coal region, led by the strike committees which had helped to bring down Communist rule. Tens of thousands of miners from over 200 mines went on strike, June 7, after the latest round of government austerity measures which quadrupled the price of bread in one week. The miners were joined by nearly half a million industrial workers who struck in solidarity. The strike committees called for the resignation of Ukrainian leaders, particularly the president, Kravchuk, who they say has been "travelling abroad, arguing with Russia about dividing the Black Sea Fleet and building an unnecessarily large army—while watching the parliament make decisions about so-called reforms at the expense of the people."

NIGERIA—After planning a tightly controlled two-party presidential election in which it hand-picked both candidates, the ruling military decided in the end to cancel the results of the June 12 elections shortly after they were held. Many observers think that one reason for the cancellation was the fact that the slightly left of center candidate, Moshood Abiola, seemed to have scored a resounding victory. Although himself a Muslim, Abiola is from the southwestern Yoruba region. He would have become the first leader of post-independence Nigeria, military or civilian, who did not come from the predominantly conservative and Muslim northern Hausa-Fulani region.

U.S.-UN occupation troops attack Somalis

The origins of the June 5 clash are extremely murky. On the one hand, it is claimed that Aidid's forces struck as a way of "testing" the UN forces once the U.S. had withdrawn most of its troops from Somalia. On the other hand, it is admitted that Aidid might have attacked because of rumors that the UN was about to shut down the Aidid forces' radio station. That station does lie in ruins today, after the massive UN bombardments.

What is clear is that the UN and the U.S. are attempting, in true imperialist fashion, to "teach Aidid a lesson." The UN attacks since June 11 have taken a severe toll. The most horrendous incident was that on June 23,

when Pakistani troops fired on an anti-UN demonstration of several thousand people.

According to *Le Monde* (6/15/93): "Journalists certified that the Pakistanis, protected behind barriers, could not have felt themselves in immediate danger, and fired no warning shots." When the smoke cleared, 20 unarmed women and children lay dead, and 50 more were wounded. No casualty estimates have been released with regard to the massive artillery and missile attacks on the neighborhoods where Aidid's forces are holed up.

Why is this happening now, in June 1993, and why are the U.S. and the UN so bent on destroying Aidid's power now? After all, the U.S. and the UN have for months worked with and even propped up Aidid, including preventing one of his rivals from attacking the city of Kismayu earlier this year. As Eric Olfert, a Mennonite relief worker, noted before the recent clashes:

"The United States military, by its nature, bargains with centralized arms-oriented structures, in this case represented by the warlords...this focus on the warlords has swung influence toward them...In the long run, I fear, United States military intervention will be shown to have significantly slowed and perhaps derailed the Somali search for peace by its inadvertent strengthening of the illegitimate warlords" (*New York Times*, Letter, 5/12/93).

The U.S. propping up of the warlord Aidid was hardly inadvertent, however. All over the world, the U.S. has traditionally supported similar despots. Even today, Aidid is using arms supplied originally by the U.S. to the previous dictator, Siad Barre. Once the intervention was underway in late 1992, the U.S. quickly formed close ties to Aidid: Osman Atto, an Aidid supporter whose warehouse has been attacked in recent days by the UN and the U.S., is the same man to whom the U.S. pays rent for its Embassy in Mogadishu. The U.S. military and the UN have ignored non-military groups, whether the newly formed women's organizations, or the traditional structures at the village level.

The real reasons for the UN attacks on Aidid at this time may actually lie thousands of miles away, in Bosnia. At the very moment when the UN's total failure to stem or even slow down Serbian genocidal aggression has become evident to all, isn't it possible that Clinton and the UN command have decided to make themselves look more decisive and effective by cracking down, not in Bosnia, but on much easier terrain, in Somalia? There may also be a calculation that world opinion will be less outraged by the inevitable civilian casualties if those civilians are Black Africans.

What the UN has succeeded in doing is something that would have seemed impossible only weeks ago: making the warlord Aidid into a genuinely popular figure in some parts of Somalia. The U.S. and the UN have also lost ideologically: the veneer of benign imperialism that seemed so evident last fall, when the starving were rescued with the help of U.S. troops, has been dissipated by new images, those of foreign occupation troops shooting down indigenous protesters.

German anti-racist action

May and June have seen a whole series of confrontations over the issues of race, immigration and neo-fascism. On May 26, while 10,000 leftist protesters blocked streets and besieged parliament, a new law severely restricting the entry of asylum-seekers into Germany was passed. Even the government-sponsored newsletter, *The Week in Germany* (5/28/93) conceded: "the right to asylum will continue to exist, but it will be almost impossible to attain." The new law was supported by all of the establishment parties—Christian Democrats, Free Democrats and Social Democrats.

On May 29, five Turkish women from a family who had lived in Germany for over 20 years were burned to death after a gang of drunken neo-Nazi skinheads set their house on fire in the industrial town of Solingen in western Germany. The victims ranged in age from four to 27. In the days which followed, thousands of angry Turkish and German leftist demonstrators took to the streets.

Turkish and some German youths clashed repeatedly with the police in Solingen. After nightfall, shop windows were broken, cars demolished, and barricades of burning tires built. Two days later, several hundred Turkish motorists blocked access for several hours to the Bonn-Cologne airport. In Bremen, young Turks fought pitched battles on the streets with skinheads. The public employees union, Germany's largest, called a symbolic sympathy strike with the victims in Solingen.

For the first time since the wave of racist violence began nearly two years ago in Hoyerswerda and other eastern towns, the Turkish minority, 1.8 million strong, has thrown down the gauntlet to the racists. While the numbers of protesters on the streets have been relatively small, the size and the concentration of the Turkish population in inner city neighborhoods and in key industries places them in a position really to shake up German society.

The new mood was expressed by a young Turkish woman, who supported the confrontations with police and skinheads: "This is the only way we are ever going to be noticed or taken seriously. The candlelight processions and petitions haven't produced results. Suddenly people are talking seriously about our situation here. That isn't because of the bombing. It's because we're finally saying that we're fed up. If you're positive, you never get anything. Nothing happens in this country without pressure from below" (*New York Times* 6/6/93).

the streets, has been the deciding force since the May coup. The many formations, from indigenous women's groups to student committees and labor unions, have gained a new confidence which is still developing and is far from satisfied with the latest "civilian" rule.



Thousands of Guatemalans marched in the streets shouting "We don't want the military, we don't want Espina!"

Bosnia partition backed

The *New York Times* (6/18/93) summed up well the capitulation by Clinton and the other Western leaders to the genocidal Serbian aggression in Bosnia: "President Clinton signaled tonight that the United States might accept a partition of Bosnia seized by force, provided that all Bosnian Muslims and Croats agreed to such a plan." The stench of the 1938 Munich conference, where the bourgeois democracies ratified the carving up of Czechoslovakia by Hitler, forcing the outgunned Czechoslovak government to "agree," filled the air.

Since ultra-nationalist and fascist Serbian militias now control 70% of Bosnia's territory, and rightist Croatian forces much of the remainder, only a tiny sliver of land, at most, will be left to the citizens of the multi-ethnic Bosnian state, where Muslim Slavs are the most numerous ethnic group. Unlike either the Serbian or Croatian regimes, the Bosnian collective presidency includes not only Muslims, but also Serbs, Croats, Roma and Jews, a fact seldom mentioned in the reams of press coverage.

If nothing stops this outrage, most of Bosnia will probably be absorbed into a Greater Serbia and a Greater Croatia. Even the tiny portions of land now held by the citizens of the Bosnian republic are subject to siege and constant artillery bombardments, and it is unclear if the UN, despite its promises of safe havens, will protect them even in those little remnants of territory. There is no longer even much talk of allowing the Bosnian forces to obtain weapons—the UN arms embargo remains in effect, punishing the victims of aggression more than the aggressors, who are well supplied with arms already.

In fact, the fairly large town of Gorazde, whose population has swelled to 60,000 with the influx of refugees, seems on the verge of falling to the Serbian militias. In addition, many expect the Serbian nationalists to raze Sarajevo to the ground rather than allow it to remain the capital of even a tiny vestigial Bosnian state.

Desperate Muslim Slav women refugees, who have lived in Croatia since fleeing the genocide and rape camps in Bosnia, are now being evicted by the Croatian government, which has dropped all pretense of being an ally of Bosnia. In a grisly parallel with the fate of the Jewish refugees in the 1930s, no European country or the U.S. will admit them either. In mid-June, 300 Muslim refugees boarded a plane from Croatia to Pakistan, the only country which would take them in. The UN officials told the shocked women among them, who had been raised in a secular, multi-ethnic culture, that they should "put on their veils" as soon as they landed.

It is important to note that not all Serbs support their ultra-nationalist leaders. Recent moves in the parliament by Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic and the even more bombastic nationalist Vojislav Seselj to oust the slightly more moderate Dobrica Cosic sparked street demonstrations in Belgrade against the growing power of the most violent, militaristic factions.

Vuk and Danica Draskovic, leaders of the Serbian opposition who, although nationalists themselves, have nonetheless called for an end to the war and the withdrawal of Serbian forces from conquered territory, now sit in jail. Severely beaten by police and charged with attempting to overthrow the government because they dared to organize large street demonstrations in Belgrade in June to protest Cosic's dismissal, they now face up to 15 years in prison.