

Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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Special Feature:

'A New Revision of Marxian Economics'

Dunayevskaya's original analysis of Stalin's 1943 attack on Marx's Capital exposes the state-capitalist truth behind Gorbachev's "perestroika"—page 4.

How can you
make a living
on workfare?



by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

In June, we were reading in all the newspapers and hearing on all the news shows about the so-called landmark welfare bill passed in Congress by a lopsided vote of both Democrats and Republicans. The bill's purpose is to change "welfare" into "workfare," with welfare mothers being blamed for everything from the disintegration of the family to the national debt.

As if the biggest welfare scandal is that of a poor mother trying to raise her children, rather than all the money, sweat and tears this capitalist system extracts from the lives of working people every day!

What I want to know is, how will the welfare mothers now forced into workfare jobs be able to make a living, when today there are between 20 and 40 million people working at part-time jobs or jobs that pay less than welfare, with no medical or any other benefits? According to the bill, welfare mothers who go to work will receive up to a year of continued Medicaid coverage and up to nine months of paid child care—but what happens after that?

LOWER AND LOWER WAGES

This whole bill, with its provisions for both one-parent and two-parent families, is not to help these families climb out of poverty forced on them by capitalism; its purpose is to force wages for working people down, lower and lower.

In spite of at least a 15-year history of national
(continued on page 2)

Black World

Super-power collusion in Southern Africa



by Lou Turner

The arrival of the counter-revolutionary Angolan guerrilla leader, Jonas Savimbi, in Washington, D.C. on June 22 for a two week U.S. tour of the South, discloses anew the intruding super-power context of South Africa's destabilizing wars in Southern Africa and the undeclared civil war within its own borders. According to Angolan government official, Pedro Van-Dunem, following his recent talks in Washington with State Department representatives, through its regional wars South Africa is "attempting to create a constellation of states at which South Africa is in the center."

As late as May the Angolan government charged that arms were left to Savimbi's UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) following joint U.S.-Zairian military maneuvers along the Angola-Zaire border. Indeed, what has been called "UNITA's American front" refers to the U.S. resupply and training centers in Mobutu's Zaire along Angola's northern and eastern border, while South Africa bolsters UNITA along Angola's southern flank bordering Namibia. In short, U.S. involvement in the Southern African war has achieved what Reagan has so far been unable to do in Central America, namely, to impose his counter-revolutionary dominance on an independent Third World revolution through the creation of an imperialist axis with the likes of apartheid South Africa.

What has been represented as a new diplomatic breakthrough in the press is the current round of negotiations being held by the U.S., South Africa, Russia, Cuba and Angola. However, what none have seriously examined is the visit of that West German neo-fascist Franz Josef Straus to South Africa earlier this year, following his trip to Moscow where he conferred with Gorbachev. Reportedly, Straus delivered a message to
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Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1988-89



Protest against racism at U.C. Berkeley. Demonstrations against racism occurred at many U.S. campuses this year.



Youth in the Armenian capital of Yerevan conduct vigil for annexation of Nagorno-Karabakh to the Republic of Armenia.

I. Two Rulers at the Summit; Two Worlds in Each Country

"They are all alike, these two poles of state-capitalism, Russia and America. Both conspire to identify those two opposites—Marxism, which is a theory of liberation, with Communism, which is a theory and practice of enslavement. Both hope thereby to avoid the wrath of the working people of their own country. For the two fundamentally opposed worlds are not Russia and America, but the workers and capitalists in each country."

—Raya Dunayevskaya, Perspectives Thesis, September, 1957

Two kinds of illusions emanated from the super-power Summit between Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev, held last month in Moscow. On the one hand, the world media euphorically declared we had reached the end of the Cold War. In truth, the INF (Intermediate Nuclear Forces) Treaty could not hide either the ever-escalating nuclear arms race or the continuing drive for single world domination on the part of both the U.S. and Russia. On the other hand, those—whether on the Right or on the Left—who can see these continuing battles, do not see that the new stage includes not only superpower collusion but superpower collusion over what Gorbachev called "hot trouble spots on the planet."

To cut through these illusions and get to the true meaning of the supposed "rapprochement" of the super-powers, demands that we look at the objective-subjective situation inseparable from the philosophic foundation, Marxist-Humanism as a body of ideas.

That ruling powers find their affinity at historic turning points when they fear the masses taking power in their own hands has been clear ever since the infamous 1939 Hitler-Stalin Pact that gave the green light to World War II. That most shocking event became the point of departure for Raya Dunayevskaya's original theory of the new world stage of state-capitalism, which she developed into the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism. The fact that the end of World War II set the stage for the next U.S.-Russia superpower rivalry, for World War III—as seen in two Koreas, two Germanys, two Vietnams—shows that even when the point is superpower collusion, the aim of each is still single world domination.

Both Reagan and Gorbachev came to the Summit with their own fake agendas, with Reagan posturing on "human rights" and Gorbachev posing as a champion of "arms control." What was new, however, was that—where Gorbachev got Reagan to narrow the discussion to arms control without bringing up human rights in 1986 at Iceland—here Reagan succeeded in deflecting attention from arms control with his grandstanding on human rights. Not only did the recently signed INF Treaty not destroy a single nuclear warhead—they are merely being stored for future use—but, whereas in Iceland Reagan's consuming obsession with "Star Wars" was at least challenged by Gorbachev, here a path has been cleared for its full development by both sides.

Despite all the talk about a future treaty on long-range nuclear weapons, a whole new stage of nuclear weaponry now confronts us. Indeed, U.S. war adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski has recently written that: "technological changes have wrought a revolution in the way nuclear weapons may be used in the future. They are

no longer just crude instruments for inflicting massive societal devastation but can be used with precision for more specific military missions, with relatively limited collateral societal damage."¹

This barbarous attitude to the destruction of human life characterizes all of capitalist reality. It is a daily threat. At the very moment that the Summit was taking place, came no less than three mine disasters—in West Germany, the Philippines and South Africa. They were preceded by the U.S. industrial explosions in Nevada and Texas and followed by the Russian industrial freight train explosion near Gorky.

What is pivotal is the existence of two worlds—that of the rulers and that of the masses—within each country: workers fighting their deadly conditions of labor; national minorities demanding self-determination; youth opposing a world they did not make; women demanding new human relations. To find what the masses within Russia and within the U.S. think of the rulers, all you have to do is listen to some of the voices from below. Listen to a Russian soldier returning from Afghanistan: "Our soldiers have been forced to become criminals and murderers, for it is a crime to force another nation to submit to our will..." And listen to Suzan Harjo, of the National Congress of American Indians, protesting Reagan's arrogant and ignorant comment on Native Americans at Moscow University: "I was appalled...but not surprised. He has headed the worst administration for Indians since the days of outright warfare and extermination."

Raya Dunayevskaya had been developing her concept of "two worlds" ever since the birth of Marxist-Humanism. From its origins, two worlds, for Raya, meant both the irreconcilable contradiction between rulers and ruled, and the unresolved contradiction in thought between objectivity and subjectivity. She returned to that concept in one of her last writings, her essay "Why Hegel's Phenomenology? Why Now?" (May 8, 1987, N&L). There she probed again the "unresolved contradiction" between the "two worlds of subjectivity and objectivity which still remain in opposition." She singled out Hegel's concept from the Science of Logic: "*The two worlds still remain in opposition; one a realm of subjectivity in the pure spaces of transparent thought, the other a realm of objectivity in the element of an externally manifold actuality, which is an unexplored realm of darkness.*"²

There is no way to transcend those life and death "unresolved contradictions," those objective/subjective crises, without being rooted in the philosophy of revolution for our day. That philosophy of revolution is spelled out in Marxist-Humanism's "trilogy of revolution"—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).

¹ See "America's New Geostrategy" in Foreign Affairs, Spring 1988. Brzezinski is here summing up the findings of the blue-ribbon panel on "Discriminate Disarmament." This bipartisan panel included Kissinger as well as Brzezinski.

² "The Idea of Cognition," Hegel's Science of Logic Vol. II, p. 462 (Johnston and Struthers edition).

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Women's studies, women's freedom: two separate paths?

by Terry Moon

Two thousand women came to Minneapolis, Minn., to the 11th National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) Conference, "Leadership and Power: Women's Alliances for Social Change." The conference showed that the ten year drift of NWSA away from its radical beginnings continues to deepen. And the tiny number of Black women present revealed that NWSA lost the ground it had gained last year when the conference was held at Spelman College in Atlanta, Ga.

And yet so alive is women's diversity and passion for a new society that reality could not help but intrude into the conference. Thus at the workshop on "Women's Struggle in the Welfare State," despite the fact that all the panelists were academics, welfare women from Minneapolis came to that workshop and transformed it. So too Marj Schneider of the Womyn's Braille Press brought the reality of the blind's fight for full literacy into the workshop on "Disability, Literacy and Feminist Consciousness: Eight Years of the Womyn's Braille Press."

DISCUSSION OF FREEDOM MISSING

Women's real concerns did make their way into the workshops but what seemed missing to me—even where we were sure it would be present, as in the sessions with international women—was any discussion of the meaning of women's fight for freedom and our desire to totally transform this society. Many in women's studies have this perspective, but at NWSA the focus was on making the University a better private enclave.

NWSA is an example of how far today's Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) is from its radical beginnings when it challenged the Left's narrow idea of freedom. Telling was the fact that none of the titles of the almost 300 workshops mentioned Karl Marx or socialism, or the relationship of feminism to either.

That some in NWSA see nothing wrong with that and in fact think there is nothing wrong with the women's movement today was revealed most sharply by a back and forth I had with Charlotte Bunch at the workshop on "Translating Our Vision for the Practice of Freedom: Feminist Pedagogy for the 21st Century."

Third World feminism

Editor's note: Sister Mary Soledad Perpnan, Coordinator and Editor of Third World Movement Against the Exploitation of Women (TWMAEW), a Philippine-based internationalist feminist publication and organization, was in New York City in June. She attended several meetings, conferences and the huge June 11 anti-war rally in Central Park. Below are excerpts from an interview with New York News and Letters Committees.

I am now deeply involved with the Campaign Against Military Prostitution, a project of TWMAEW. We're working for alternatives, so women can make a choice.

I had no idea when I first began in feminist organizing activity the range of possibilities it would open. Perhaps the beginning was the Dec. 10, 1980 Action for Human Rights we initiated. We sent a letter to the Japanese Prime Minister demanding an end to the exploitation of Philippine women. This led to an all-Southeast Asia protest in January, 1981, when everywhere the Japanese Prime Minister traveled, women from that country confronted him with noisy protests over the issue of "sex tourism."

We have worked with women who question the system; in fact, I've challenged the National Democratic Front, since all their ten points have virtually nothing on women.

Understanding sexism and racism makes one's outlook universal. For example, I organized the Third World women session at the "Forum '85," which served as a non-governmental alternative to the United Nations World Conference on the Decade of Women in Nairobi, Kenya. We made a beautiful poster which read "Third World Women Speak Out on the Shackles that Bind Us: Racism, Sexism, Classism." It depicted Asian, African and Latin American women breaking their shackles.

When we saw the size of the hall we were to use we were shocked. We were given the largest auditorium, Taifa Hall. We didn't think we would fill it, since there were 100 workshops being conducted simultaneously. But the women came pouring in. Over 1,000 women came. Many African women spoke from their hearts, as well as Latin American and Asian women.

I would like to be identified with Third World feminism, the feminism of women of color. Quoting from TWMAEW principles of unity, "we call on our sisters in the Third World who are oppressed and exploited to share our vision and join us in action. To those in countries that oppress and exploit us, men of conscience included, we extend an invitation to take up our cause and stand in solidarity with us. Together we hope to work towards change that is not a mere change of positions of power but a total transformation of structures through a methodology that is not oppressive and exploitative. In time we firmly believe that the power of solidarity will hasten the building of a world of peace, equality, and justice for all."

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There I asked if some of the problems women's studies professors were encountering in the classroom weren't the result of the fact that women's studies no longer had a relationship to the WLM, as well as the fact that the WLM isn't as militant and revolutionary as it once was.

QUALITY VS. QUANTITY

Bunch, who has been an activist since the Civil Rights Movement, really shocked me when she said that we do have an exciting movement in the 1980s—different, not better or worse, but an evolution we can affirm. She claimed that more people are demonstrating against Reagan's wars in Central America than ever did over Vietnam, and that there are more women involved in groups today as well.



Women-
Worldwide



Women workers in Seoul, South Korea last month protested efforts by their employer, Mitsui Company of Japan, to suppress union activities. While in the U.S., support for better working conditions for both Korean and American women workers was being urged by Crystal Lee Sutton, the textile worker who inspired the movie, "Norma Rae." Sutton joined those rallying for striking American Linen Company workers in Minnesota, and called for a boycott of South Korean-made garments after a fire near Seoul killed 22 young Korean women as they slept in their dormitory/work place in oppressive conditions like those of the devastating 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist fire in New York City.

In April, 62 Israeli women journalists demanded that Israeli Defense Minister Rabin release Palestinian journalist, Nahida Nazal, editor of the women's column of Al-Awdah weekly. Nazal was one of at least 1,200 people placed under six-month Administrative Detention without trial.

—Information from *The Other Israel*

Women in Tanzania have formed the Shonga Women's Group to increase communication between urban and rural women. They plan to set up a women's center in Dar es Salaam, as well as publish a 40-page monthly newsletter in English and Kishwahili. They can be contacted at: Shonga Women's Group, P.O. Box 7393, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

—Information from *Women in Action*

Two Catholic nuns, who have been under attack from the Catholic Church since 1984 when they publicly stated their pro-choice position on abortion, were not dismissed by their religious order despite pressure from the Vatican to do so. Said Sisters Barbara Ferraro and Patricia Hussey, who run a homeless shelter in Charleston, W. Va., "We accept this victory for all women who have had to struggle with freedom of speech and freedom of conscience within the Roman Catholic Church."

Who controls health care?

Los Angeles, Cal.—The Women's Liberation Movement fought for women to have control of their bodies and more control in women's health care. This included taking personal responsibility for preventative care and educating ourselves about good health practices.

The crime is that when women do take responsibility the medical profession is even more resentful and patronizing, regardless of all their ads about good health habits. When women do take responsibility, especially poor women using public health benefits, their hands are still tied.

I am pregnant and may have to have a Caesarian section. During the pregnancy I have been anemic, putting me at risk of blood complications even if I deliver normally. Because my insurance does not pay for blood I asked friends to donate blood in my name. This is common practice at most hospitals and is considered socially responsible as blood supplies are dangerously low. In any event, blood must be paid for, in blood or money.

When I called the hospital to arrange for a donation I was treated as if I was hysterical and stupid. I was told that transfusions during deliveries are rare. When badgered I said this was my first child, and then I was written off as a panic-stricken first-time mother.

Without my knowledge the hospital called my obstetrician. He figured I went over his head and didn't trust him.

If I'm anxious at all, as they seem to think, it is really about bringing a child into this sexist, exploitative world.

—Pregnant and poor

Here was a woman, involved in freedom movements for over 20 years, who was viewing the movement in a purely quantitative way. Yes, 100,000 women protested Reagan's anti-abortionism in 1986. But the qualitative difference between the WLM today in the U.S. and in the non-industrialized lands, as well as between the WLM today and what it was in the late 1960s and early 1970s, is that then, the movement was explicitly about freedom, about creating a new society, about totally transforming human relationships and creating a new world.

Yet revolutionary ideas did enter NWSA. At our Women's Liberation—News and Letters literature table we talked to women from Hawaii to New York. Some wanted to know about Marxism, others promised to help us place the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection archives in their area. We met a young woman who was worried about what it did to you to stay in the school from the nursery to a PhD degree and was planning her life differently, and an older woman who called herself a Marxist and felt the conference was "not political enough." Many we met were excited to find out about Raya Dunayevskaya and her development of the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism.

A high point of the conference was the poetry reading Thursday night. Lesbian, writer and activist, Adrienne Rich said we cannot blame all problems on patriarchy, the world can't be decomplicated; it can only be transformed piece by piece by many complicated and different visions. She was followed by Audre Lorde, Black poet and activist who was incensed by an NWSA fundraiser that christened you a "Daughter of the Feminist Revolution" when for \$50 you got a poster and a button, or for \$100 a "DFR" pin! She said: "I am not the daughter of a feminist revolution that it costs \$50 to join."

Lorde, in a voice that sometimes dripped with sarcasm and anger, asked what the over 500 women's studies programs that exist in North America mean to the lives of the women sitting here? What kind of forces are they for social change? What do these 500 programs mean to the Nigerian Women's Center or women in South Africa who bury one half of their children before they are five years old? "How," she asked the women sitting there, "do you use yourself in the power of what you say you believe?"

It was in the poetry that night and at the Women's Liberation—News and Letters literature table that revolutionary ideas were discussed. Let's continue that much needed dialogue. Write us your thoughts.

Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

welfare rights activity, not one welfare mother was invited to testify at the Congressional hearings on the bill. These Democrats and Republicans all think they know what's best for these welfare mothers, who supposedly can't speak for themselves or have nothing intelligent to say.

Did anyone in the hearings talk about Reaganomics, lack of good-paying jobs, racism and sexism, unemployment and homelessness, and the difference between the small-time drug dealers and the big-time dealers supported by the White House? It seems that the only job left one can live on is pushing cocaine for the drug capitalists.

TRAINING SCHOOLS A FRAUD

I read an article in the *Los Angeles Times* about a young mother who quit her waitress job to become a hair stylist, something she had wanted to do for years. She had seen a commercial on TV about a beauty college that promised professional training leading to a good-paying job. The federal government would loan her the needed \$5,000 to take this course.

The school turned out to be nothing but a trap to rob her of this borrowed money. She received no real training and there was no job waiting at the end. Her life has turned into a nightmare, with collection agencies at her door demanding the rest of the loan she still owes and all the back interest.

At the unemployment offices every day there are people signing up workers for these schools that supposedly would get them into these \$12 to \$20-an-hour jobs. At the Whittier, Cal. unemployment office one day I saw a man ask an unemployed worker, "How about signing up for this welding school, so you can get a good-paying job?" The worker said, "I am a welder! Where are the jobs?" The person doing the signing up turned away.

The jobs that are left for the working class are mainly minimum wage jobs, with no benefits. That's true in big cities and in the small towns. I talked to a woman in rural Indiana, and she told me about her job at a factory making covers for video cassettes. She told me she had pulled her back out, by pulling boxes off a high shelf.

She went to the doctor who first told her to stay off work for one week, but then at the end of that week told her that she needed another week at home. When she called the company to tell them this, the foreman said, "We have already fired you." She said the reason the company fired her at the end of the seven days was that if she had been off ten days, she would have been eligible to draw worker's compensation.

This is what Reagan calls "economic prosperity." It is the story of people's lives all across this country. It is the true face of this inhuman capitalist system.

Workers are more than just spare parts

by B.A. Lastelle

My machine broke down at work last night because a set of rollers, which we had kept functioning by wrapping them with masking tape, finally wouldn't work at all, despite the efforts of the chief engineer, two mechanics and two operators. We have been asking for new parts for the machine for months, but they come, if at all, very slowly. Yet even as the condition of the machine deteriorates, we are expected to produce plastic bags at the same rate and with the same quality.

I remembered other places I had worked. At the paper factory, where presses built in 1903 were literally held together with wire and duct tape, the strippers and packers had to pull harder and sort faster to make up for dies not cutting smoothly through the stacks of paper and cardboard. At the canning plant, when the plastic conveyor belts snapped, workers were placed along the lines to push the cans from one work station to another. Production continued even as the belts were being repaired.

DO MACHINES RUN WORKERS?

These experiences make me think about what Raya Dunayevskaya meant when she wrote in *Marxism and Freedom* that "...the means of production in the process of production reveal their true nature in relationship to the worker." It seems to me that the relationship of workers to machines is upside-down, inverted.

In spite of what we say—that we "run" the machines—the fact is that they run us. Machines in production determine the number and the nature of the jobs themselves, the speed and difficulty, the length of the working day and the amount of overtime required. We are present simply to do what the machines cannot and to fill in when they break down.

While this inverted relationship seems clear in plants where the equipment is deteriorating, it is no less true in the most modern systems. An Oscar Mayer worker, in a recent conversation about automation at her plant, said that, on the one hand, "We are going to have a whole lot of people that are going to be displaced." On the other hand, she said about one particular new machine, "...but when the meat gets bad, the girls have to go [to work on the line], because the machine can't handle it."

Karl Marx wrote in *Capital*, his critical analysis of capitalist production, that the "subjective principle"—that is, the human principle—"of the division of labor no longer exists in production by machinery." He went on: "...in its machinery system, Modern Industry has a productive organism that is purely objective, in which the laborer becomes a mere appendage to an already existing material condition of production" (my emphasis).

MARX SAW WORKER RESISTANCE

Marx wrote further that because machinery is automatic, and therefore moves and works more or less independently, it could go on producing forever, 24 hours per day. That is what the owner of the machinery, the capitalist, wants, but production is limited by "the weak bodies and the strong wills" of the workers. Machinery, therefore, in the person of the capitalist, is "...animated by the longing to reduce to a minimum the resistance offered by that repellent yet elastic natural barrier, man."

The capitalists may look for solutions to their production problems through replacing workers with bigger, better and more automated machines or through simply attempting to discipline us to work harder and faster. We who long for a more human society, not one ruled by machines, must look in precisely the opposite direction—to the "resistance offered" by that "natural barrier," human beings, the workers, ourselves.



Response to Kellner on Marcuse and Dunayevskaya

Marcuse biographer and philosopher Douglas Kellner's critique (May 1988 N&L) of my essay "Dunayevskaya-Marcuse Dialogue on the Dialectic" (April 1988 N&L) is a most serious one. First, Kellner takes issue with my conclusion that "Marcuse abandons Hegel's notion of dialectical reason" after 1960.

Here, I think, Marcuse's own texts (some of which I quoted) speak well enough for themselves, such as his 1960 Preface to *Reason and Revolution*, written at the very time that he and Raya were arguing over Hegel's Absolute Idea. In the Preface, even dialectical Reason is critiqued by Marcuse, because it "comprehends everything and ultimately absolves everything" (xii). He develops all this further in *One-Dimensional Man* (1964): "The web of domination has become the web of reason itself," while "transcending modes of thought seem to transcend Reason itself" (p.169). He substitutes what he terms avant-garde art's Great Refusal of capitalist rationality for the living revolutionary subject, the proletariat. This was certainly not his view in the main text of *Reason and Revolution* published in 1941, where his concept of dialectical Reason included the workers as a "revolutionary class" possessing "free rationality" (p.319).

Writing in the midst of 1968, Marcuse saw the youthful New Left as an example of the Great Refusal, embracing it quite uncritically in *Essay on Liberation* (1969). As Kellner suggests, it is true that after the defeat of 1968, in *Counter-Revolution and Revolt* (1972), Marcuse did shift his position again, challenging the New Left's hostility to theory, its "revolt against Reason—not only against the Reason of capitalism, bourgeois society and so on, but against Reason per se" (p.129). But even here, his critique did not pose the idea of a return to philosophy by the Movement.

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DIALECTICAL REASON

That perspective was articulated by Raya alone, not only during the high point, 1968, but especially in her 1973 *Philosophy and Revolution*, which connected together the New Left's rejection of labor as a subject of revolution with its rejection of Hegelian dialectics: "Lack of confidence in the masses is the common root of all objections to 'idealistic, mystical Hegelianism'" (p.288). As against the "endless activism" of the New Left, Raya wrote that "what is needed for our age is a restatement of Marx's concept of the 'realization' of philosophy, that is, the inseparability of philosophy and revolution" (p.291). The beginnings of this difference can I think be seen in the Dunayevskaya-Marcuse correspondence in 1960-61.

Kellner's second point, his critique of what he calls my "somewhat exaggerated" notion of a "break" between Dunayevskaya and Marcuse is well-founded, and I would agree with his view that "they always had the utmost respect for each other."

HEGEL'S ABSOLUTES

The third and most serious set of questions Kellner raises centers around the concept of the Absolute in Hegel. He notes that both Marcuse and Korsch rejected Hegel's Absolute as "a form of idealist mystification." Secondly, he asks why I used the term "Absolutes" in the plural.

Here one needs to look again at Marx's 1844 "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic," which itself centers around Hegel's Absolute Knowledge in the *Phenomenology*. Raya alone picked up this thread, writing in *Philosophy and Revolution* that "nowhere is the historic character of Hegel's philosophic categories more evident than in Absolute Knowledge" (p.11), and suggesting that "absolute negativity" was what Marx had singled out in 1844.

In her 1953 letters, in her correspondence with Marcuse, but especially in *Philosophy and Revolution* and after, Raya developed her discussion of Hegel by looking at Absolute Idea in the *Science of Logic* and the Absolute Mind in the *Philosophy of Mind* as well as Absolute Knowledge, seeing each as a distinctive dialectic. In her 1986-87 notes for her new book Raya called our attention to the error of lumping these together. I hope to return to this subject to write more on the differences (and similarities) between Dunayevskaya and Marcuse on dialectics.

—Kevin A. Barry

Lay-offs at Eckrich

Chicago, Ill.—We just had a lay-off at Eckrich. We've been working Sundays for a month now, maybe longer. They've started this new system where Sundays are not voluntary. There's nothing in the contract about that anyway, so if you're not working a full seven days in one week, you may have to come in on Sunday. We worked on Mother's Day and on Father's Day. They don't care whose day it is. It's always Eckrich's day.

So here we are busting our asses, and all of a sudden they close the door and kick people out. They think of us as machines and just put us away for three or four weeks. Well, we aren't machines. We have feelings, too, and for a lot of people, it's pretty devastating to get laid-off. I've been laid-off at times that I never wanted to get laid-off. It would really shake me up.

People get kind of nervous, kind of anxious, when they hear all the rumors about lay-offs. You think: What will happen to me? Will I be laid-off or just switched around? How am I going to pay the bills? You can just look at people, especially the people who just started. It shows on their faces. Some probably won't even get any unemployment compensation, because they haven't been there long enough.

I used to turn to the bottle quite a bit when I was laid-off, because there was nothing to do. You don't have money to take a trip or anything; you have all this time with no money. And right now we have all this money with no time. We could maybe take a weekend trip up to Wisconsin, but no, we have to work the weekend; we're not going anywhere. And then if people have husbands or wives working too, forget it.

I have more money put away in the bank now than I've had for quite a while, but I don't expect it to stay there, because production isn't going to keep up like this. It's always temporary. Everything's temporary; nothing's permanent. I get really angry. They're manipulating us. It's just the idea that they can just about do whatever they please.

—Eckrich worker

Robots and overtime at Oscar Mayer

Chicago, Ill.—The Oscar Mayer plant is being "modernized". We have new packing machines, robots that catch the boxes and stack them on the skids, automatic packers, automatic placers and more computerized slicers. We are going to have a whole lot of people that are going to be displaced. And right now there's a push for all of us. They have us on an emergency schedule where they can call seven days every other week. And the union let them do that.

We're supposed to be getting this new "lunchables" line. It's going to be 80 people on four shifts. They're going to run first and second shift ten hours for four days and then the weekenders on Friday, Saturday and Sunday. We didn't vote on this. It was just a memorandum of agreement between the company and the union. The union told us that out of courtesy they were just letting us know what they were going to do.

Our main contract says that after 40 hours, you get time-and-a-half. On the "normal" work schedule we get time-and-a-half after eight hours. With the "compressed workweek" you don't get time-and-a-half until after 10½ hours. What happened to the half? If they're saying that our workday is ten hours, why would we have to work 10½ hours to start getting time-and-a-half?

The ripples from this agreement are going to affect all of us in UFCW (United Food & Commercial Workers) Local 100 here. If Eckrich and those other places see Oscar Mayer running ten hours for four days, getting out the same amount of work, saving a day that they can close the plant down, and working 10½ hours with no time-and-a-half...Boom! Here they come.

Our contract is up in December of 1989. When we go into negotiations, we're going to have a battle. I don't know what Oscar Mayer's going to offer us, but I'm asking for a raise. I don't mind working a little overtime now, because when that time comes, I'm not going to have any bills. So if I have to hit the street, I can be on the street. You know that in ten years we haven't had a raise? And every time they evaluate the lines, they speed them up and raise our rate.

—Oscar Mayer worker

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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 article, "A New Revision of Marxian Economics," was written in 1944 as a commentary on "Some Questions of Teaching Political Economy." Both were printed in the American Economic Review, September, 1944, Vol. XXXIV, No. 3. The controversy surrounding Dunayevskaya's analysis of Stalin's revisions of Marx's law of value confirming the class nature of Russia and citing the beginning of world competition between Russia and the West, became the subject of an article in the New York Times in October, 1944. Gorbachevism's current re-examination of Russian history never touches this most fundamental perversion of Marxism initiated by Stalin: that the capitalist law of value operates in "socialist" Russia.

The article from Pod Znamenem Marxizma (Under the Banner of Marxism), which is published in this issue, appears to be merely a criticism of the old methods of teaching political economy in the "curricula and textbooks" of the higher Soviet schools. Actually it is no mere reproof of pedagogical error. Its *raison d'être* is contained in the argument that the law of value, in its Marxian interpretation, functions under "socialism." This is a clear departure from the former economic doctrine which prevailed not merely in the schools but in the most authoritative and scholarly publications as well as throughout the Soviet press. That this treatise appears now is an indication of the lines along which Soviet political economy may be expected to develop in the post-war period.

Foreign observers who have carefully followed the development of the Soviet economy have long noted that the Soviet Union employs almost every device conventionally associated with capitalism. Soviet trusts, cartels and combines, as well as the individual enterprises within them, are regulated according to strict principles of cost accounting. Prices of commodities are based upon total costs of production, including wages, raw materials, administrative costs, amortization charges and interest plus planned profit and the various



Factory workers elect delegates to Petrograd Soviet, 1920. After 1917 Revolution workers actively debated their role in production and in the state.

taxes imposed as revenue for the maintenance of the state. Essential to the operation of Soviet industry are such devices as banks, secured credit, interest, bonds, bills, notes, insurance, and so on. As the present document explains it, "denial of the law of value created insurmountable difficulties in explaining the existence of such categories under socialism."

The article, "Some Questions of Teaching of Political Economy", contends that although the law of value operates in Russia, it functions in a changed form, that the Soviet state subordinates the law of value and consciously makes use of its mechanism in the interest of socialism. In order to show that the operation of the law of value is consistent with the existence of socialism, the article cites those passages from the Critique of the Gotha Programme in which Marx states that in a socialist society, "as it emerges from capitalist society," the laborer will receive in return for a given quantity of work the equivalent of such labor in means of consumption. The present authors reject, however, the formula that flows from these passages, namely, that labor will be paid by "the natural measure of labor": time. This, the document states, is not in consonance with the experience of Russia, where labor is highly differentiated according to degree of skill and as regards intellectual and physical differences. The authors therefore propose a new slogan: "distribution according to labor." They consider that they have thus translated the law of value into a function of socialism. It should be noted that they thereby completely identify "distribution according to labor" with distribution according to value.

THERE IS INCONTROVERTIBLE evidence that there exists in Russia at present a sharp class differentiation based upon a division of function between the workers, on the one hand, and the managers of industry, millionaire kolkhozniki, political leaders and the intelligentsia in general, on the other. It is this which explains certain tendencies which began to appear after the initiation of the Five-Year Plans and have since become crystallized. The juridical manifestation of this trend culminated in 1936 in the abolition of the early Soviet constitution. The constitution which was adopted

in its place legalized the existence of the intelligentsia as a special "group" in Soviet society. This distinction between the intelligentsia and the mass of workers found its economic expression in the formula: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his labor." This formula should be compared with the tradi-



Russian edition of Marx's Capital Russian was the first language into which Capital was translated.

tional Marxist formula: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need." "Each according to his need" has always been considered a repudiation of the law of value. The document, however, states that "distribution according to labor" is to be effected through the instrumentality of money. This money is not script notes or some bookkeeping term but money as the price expression of value. According to the authors, "...the measure of labor and measure of consumption in a socialist society can be calculated only on the basis of the law of value."

The whole significance of the article, therefore, turns upon whether it is possible to conceive of the law of value functioning in a socialist society, that is, a non-exploitative society.

Marx took over from classical political economy its exposition of the law of value in the sense that labor was the source of value, and socially-necessary labor time the common denominator governing the exchange of commodities. Marx, however, drew from this labor theory of value his theory of surplus value. He criticized classical political economy for mistaking the apparent equality reigning in the commodity market for an inherent equality. The laws of exchange, Marx contended, could give this appearance of equality only because value, which regulates exchange, is materialized human labor. When the commodity, labor power, is bought, equal quantities of materialized labor are exchanged. But since one quantity is materialized in a product, money, and the other in a living person, the living person may be and is made to work beyond the time in which the labor produced by him is materialized in the means of consumption necessary for his reproduction. To understand the nature of capitalist production, it is therefore necessary, Marx contended, to leave the sphere of exchange and enter the sphere of production. There it would be found that the dual nature of commodities—their use-value and value—merely reflects the dual nature of labor—concrete and abstract labor—embodied in them. For Marx the dual character of labor "is the pivot on which a clear comprehension of political economy turns."¹

MARX CALLED the labor process of capital the process of alienation. Abstract labor is alienated labor, labor estranged not merely from the product of its toil but also in regard to the very process of expenditure of its labor power. Once in the process of production, the labor power of the worker becomes as much a "component part" of capital as fixed machinery or constant capital, which is, again, the workers' materialized labor. According to Marx, Ricardo "sees only the quantitative determination of exchange value, that is, that it is equal to a definite quantity of labor time; but he forgets the qualitative determination, that individual labor must by means of its alienation be presented in the form of abstract, universal, social labor."²

In its Marxian interpretation, therefore, the law of value entails the use of the concept of alienated or exploited labor and, as a consequence, the concept of surplus value.

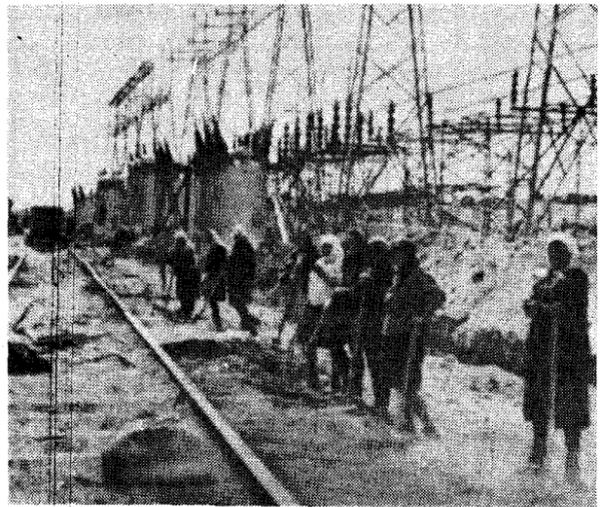
Hitherto all Marxists have recognized this fact. Hitherto Soviet political economy adhered to this interpretation. In 1935 Mr. A. Leontiev, one of the present editors of Pod Znamenem Marxizma, wrote: "The Marxian doctrine of surplus value is based, as we have seen, on his teaching of value. That is why it is important to keep the teaching of value free from all distortions because the theory of exploitation is built on it."³ And again: "It is perfectly clear that this division of labor into concrete and abstract labor exists only in commodity production. This dual nature of labor reveals the basic contradiction of commodity production."⁴

1 Capital (Chicago, Kerr, 1906), Vol. I, p. 48.
2 Teorii Pribavochnoi Stoimosti, T. II, 2, c.183-84. (Theories of Surplus Value, Vol. II, 2, pp. 183-84.)
3 Political Economy, A Beginner's Course (New York, Internat. Publishers, 1935), p. 88.
4 Ibid., p. 58.

"A new revision of Marxian economics"

The new article contradicts this theory and its interpretation. It recognizes the existence in Russia concrete and abstract labor but denies the contradiction inherent in the dual nature of labor. It recognizes the pivot upon which political economy turns, but denies the basis of exploitation which to all Marxists as well to opponents of Marxism has hitherto been the essence of the Marxist analysis. This is the problem the article must solve. It is interesting to watch how this is done.

IN PLACE OF the class exploitation, which was the basis of the Marxist analysis, the new theoretic generalization proceeds from the empirical fact of the existence of the U.S.S.R., assumes socialism as irrevocably established, and then propounds certain "laws of socialist society." These are (1) the industrialization of the national economy, and (2) the collectivization of the nation's agriculture. It must be stated here that both these laws are not laws at all. Laws are a description of economic behavior. The "laws" the article mentions are statements of fact. What follows the laws as a manifestation of the "objective necessity of a socialist society"—"distribution according to labor"—does partake of the character of a law. "Objective necessity," it must be remarked, does not arise from the economic laws; the economic laws arise from objective necessity; it may, of course, manifest itself differently in the Soviet Union but the manifestations the present authors cite are precisely the ones that emanate from capitalist society. The document fails to make any logical connection between the new basis, "socialism," and the law characteristic of capitalist production—the law of value. The implication that the state is really "for" the principle of paying labor according to needs, but is forced by objective necessity to pay according to value is precisely the core of the Marxist theory of value. The supreme manifestation of the Marxian interpretation of the law of value is that labor power, exactly as any other commodity, is paid at value, or receives only that which is socially necessary for its reproduction.



Women workers on railroad construction in 1930. Under Stalin the independence of trade unions and the right to strike were abolished. Worker speech up under the name of "Stakhanovism" was instituted.

This startling reversal of Soviet political economy is neither adventitious nor merely conciliatory. That is the real significance of the article. It is a theoretical justification of social distinctions enshrined in the Soviet constitution. That this elaborate theoretical justification is made is proof that the Russian people are being prepared for the continuance of a social relation which had no place in the conceptions of the founders of communism or the founders of the Soviet state. The article argues that the law of value has operated not only in capitalism but also has existed from time immemorial. A proof, its present existence in the Soviet Union is cited and a reference is made to Engels's statement that the law of value has existed for some five to seven thousand years. Engels's statement, however, is contained in an article in which he deals with the law of value only in so far as commodity prices reflect the exact value of commodities. The Marxian thesis is that the more backward the economy, the more exactly do prices of individual commodities reflect value; the more advanced the economy, the more commodity prices deviate; they then sell at prices of production though in the aggregate all prices are equal to all values. In that sense, Engels states, the law of value has operated for thousands of years; that is, ever since simple exchange and up to capitalist production.⁵ That Engels did not in any way depart from value as an exploitative relation characteristic only of capitalist production can best be seen from Mr. Leontiev's own preface to that little booklet, Engels on Capital. There the Soviet economist says: "Whereas at the hands of the Social-Democratic theoreticians of the epoch of the Second International, the categories of value, money, surplus value, etc., have a fatal tendency to become transformed into disembodied abstractions inhabiting the sphere of exchange and far removed from the conditions of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. Engels shows the most intimate, indissoluble connection these categories have with the relations between classes in the process of material production, with the

(continued on page 8)

5 Cf. Engels on Capital (New York, Internat. Publishers, 1937), 100.

Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1988-89

II. The Myriad Global Crises and Marxist-Humanism's 'Trilogy of Revolution'

(continued from page 1)

As Mikhail Gorbachev prepared for the June 28 opening of his specially called Conference of the Russian Communist Party—the first such meeting to be held since February 1941, during the Hitler-Stalin Pact—Russian newspapers were filled with new developments all across that land. Gorbachev's new policy of "glasnost," it was said, was sparking debates in the press, meetings of new organizations, and questioning of party policies. In more than a dozen cities, mass picket lines had appeared outside Communist Party headquarters,



photo by Dora G.

Anti-apartheid demonstration in Chicago

denouncing the delegate selection process and the so-called "Old Guard" of the Party. The picket lines, however, were a far cry from those of Russian dissidents, with their hand-lettered signs and "samizdats." These new demonstrations, well organized, carried huge printed banners and included some prominent Party figures.

Gorbachev's Russia of 1988 is a far different situation from Mao's China of 1966. But who could fail to be reminded, amidst the euphoria of "glasnost," of Raya Dunayevskaya's analysis of the 1966 Chinese Cultural Revolution? That upheaval, which appeared to have emerged out of nowhere with mass demonstrations attacking the Party, proved to be, from the start, Mao's drive to re-mold the Party under the banner of "Mao Tse-Tung Thought" alone.

It is of course not a matter of 1966, or of China, that makes a 22-year-old analysis so relevant now. Rather, it is what Raya Dunayevskaya singled out in one of her last writings, penned June 1, 1987: "We must not...look for a crutch just because a new epigone is using the word 'democracy' to mean more than one party, and a Mao is espousing at one and the same time, 'bombard the headquarters' and 'the Party remains the vanguard'..."³

What Raya Dunayevskaya called a "preventive civil war" in the case of China's Cultural Revolution is not unrelated to the present "disorder from above" in Russia, which is compelled by the worry on the part of the Communist Party leadership at the "disorder from below." The ferment of the masses from below is seen not only in the workers' anger at "perestroika," but in the nationalist protests in Armenia, Estonia and Crimea, and in the youth demands for freedom of expression in their attempts to bring clandestine "samizdat" writings into the open. The present disorder in Russia is related directly to the ceaseless revolts within Eastern Europe, especially since the uprising of Solidarnosc in Poland in 1980-81. Above all, the Russian defeat in Afghanistan has had an enormous impact on all levels of Russian society as the returning soldiers are raising questions about everything from imperialist war to the class-divided and racist society at home.

The drive for world mastery that dominates each ruler demands first and foremost getting his home front in order. That is why Gorbachev's "glasnost," including its current re-examination of Russian history since the 1917 Revolution, is inseparable from, and subsidiary to, "per-

estroika," the needed "restructuring" of the economy. Gorbachev's reopening of the historic record is thus highly selective, extolling Bukharin—who made a theory based on the idea of the proletariat as object, a theory which Stalin practiced—as very nearly superior to Lenin. All the rewriting of Russian history is determined by the need to provide an ideological foundation for "perestroika."

It is also for that reason that Gorbachev has no intention of re-examining something a great deal more fundamental—Stalin's 1943 perversion of Marx's Capital. Stalin had claimed then that the "Law of Value," which Marx singled out as the characteristic of capitalist and only capitalist society, still operated in "socialist" Russia.⁵ It is this, precisely this contradiction, which discloses the lie of Russian society, as Raya Dunayevskaya pointed out in her 1957 *Marxism and Freedom*:

"No Russian worker could see the difference between 'socialist labor' and that which was described by Marx as capitalistic, alienated labor...The need to square reality with theory meant one thing for the theoreticians and something else for the Russian workers. The former searched for the proper quotations. The latter...would have to produce more and more" (pp. 238-39).

Many in the Western media do see that what drives Gorbachev is the problem of the "sick" Russian economy which is in need of "restructuring." They imagine, however, that it is a disease unique to the Eastern Bloc. In fact, the problems of the Russian economy are not separate from the crisis in today's world economy, of which Russian state-capitalism, far from being self-contained, is an integral part.

At the June Economic Summit of the seven western industrial nations, all the rulers summed up the 1980s as a decade of "unprecedented economic recovery" in the West. More independent observers⁶ have concluded quite the opposite, namely, that stagnation has now spread everywhere. Indeed, capitalist profits, measured as a share of national income, have fallen, not risen in the 1980s—for U.S. corporations, from 12.1% at the beginning of the decade to 5.7% today. As for what matters to the workers, the figure of 30 million unemployed in the countries of the industrial West at the start of the decade remains unchanged by 1988. Capitalist investment in the Third World, too, has met with declining success in the 1980s, with the rate of return on investment dropping to two-thirds that of the return on investment in technologically advanced countries.

Whether one looks at government-directed economic investment or at the "global reach" of the multinational corporations, the much-touted flow of capital to the Third World in search of low wages has not resulted in Third World industrialization. With few exceptions, the gap between the Third World and the so-called "advanced" countries is greater today than a decade ago. This is spelled out in human terms by the persistent famines in Africa throughout this decade. Raya Dunayevskaya pinpointed this as far back as 1973, in Chapter 7 of her *Philosophy and Revolution* on "The African Revolutions and the World Economy":

"State capitalism can no more industrialize the underdeveloped countries than can private capitalism. In all instances, the technological revolutions further increased the amount of accumulated capital needed to keep automated production going on an ever expanding scale, decreased the amount of living labor needed, relative to that of dead labor or capital, and thereby produced a decline in the rate of profit.... It is not possible to comprehend the African reality apart from the compelling objective forces of world production, the pull of the world market, and the underlying philosophy of the masses which Marx called 'the quest for universality'" (pp. 234, 246).

That "quest for universality" is what unites workers East and West in setting forth a "new humanism." Thus, a meatpacking worker at Swift-Eckrich in Chicago, reading in *News & Letters* of Czechoslovak food production workers burdened with obsolescent machines and suffering long hours, commented, "The whole country there sounds like a giant Eckrich. It's a lot like that in this country, in my plant. If machines go too slow, you end up having to work more hours; you have less time with your family. If they speed up, you're exhausted when you get off and can't do much. Either way the machine runs your life. I want to do anything I can to help make a change."

American workers have experienced a Reagan version of "perestroika" throughout the 1980s. They call this "restructuring" of the economy "concessions by the workers." The vaunted "economic recovery" is rooted both in an archipelago of low-wage, non-union sweatshops springing up across the land and in the "permanent army of the unemployed" that is constantly miscounted. Even U.S. government statistics admit there has been a decline in the U.S. workers' standard of living. A common story is one of a unionized worker making \$12 an hour in 1980 and making \$4.50 an hour in a non-union shop without benefits in 1988.

The ever-worsening conditions of health and safety hit women workers especially hard, as is seen in the latest studies which have finally proved that women who use the 15 million video display terminals now installed in U.S. industry are far more likely to suffer miscarriages and bear children with birth defects. It is also seen in the fact that although two-thirds of all school-age

children have working mothers, even a bill as limited as one to give parents unpaid leave after the birth of a child has gone nowhere in Congress because of disinterest from Republicans and Democrats alike. What both rushed to embrace instead was the monstrous new workfare bill against welfare recipients, which passed the Senate with but three dissenting votes.

These are the conditions facing U.S. workers in election year 1988, when the apparent choices are George Bush and Michael Dukakis. Reagan has seen to it that the ground has been set, politically, ideologically, economically: No matter who gets in they will have to "manage Reaganism." But the next President will also have to face the revolt, especially of the Black masses, who have ever been the vanguard of the American Revolution. The fact that millions voted for Jesse Jackson in the primaries has little to do with where he wants to lead—into "restructuring" the Democratic Party. Rather, for both the Black masses and those white workers who voted with them, it was an expression of their passion to uproot the whole exploitative, racist, sexist system.

This ferment can also be seen in a fledgling new youth movement. It has taken the form of dozens of new independent groups of inner-city high-school youth who meet to discuss ways to oppose this society and who participate in demonstrations against militarism and racism. On the college campuses, where we have seen outright physical attacks against minorities and women students as well as ideological "whitewashing" of those attacks, we have also seen scores of new protests against this disgusting retrogression.

Whoever follows Reagan into the White House is going to be faced not only by these new challenges from below at home but by ferment throughout the American empire. That is certainly true of Mexico, which is in the grip of both a deepening economic crisis and seething discontent among peasants and workers, and of South Korea, where new workers' strikes are sweeping the country at the same time as new student demonstrations have emerged. It is ominous indeed that Defense Secretary Carlucci was in South Korea in June, advising their military on the eve of the Olympics. For who can forget one horrible possible connection between Korea and Mexico—the massacre of student youth protesters in Mexico City in 1968, on the eve of those Olympics?



South Korean students demonstrate on the anniversary of the Kwangju uprising.

Yet even in a land like South Korea, we also have to ask: What does it mean that current student protests there focus more on reunification of Korea than on support for workers on strike? Where has the discussion of revolutionary ideas within the student movement gone since it gained attention in 1986?

Raya Dunayevskaya addressed the great contradictions facing all the forces of revolt of our era, East and West, when she wrote in *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, "The greatest contradiction in all these crosscurrents stems from the very depth of the economic-political-social crises, which produce a great desire for shortcuts to freedom. Instead of grappling with the working out of a philosophy of liberation for our age, theoreticians look only for 'root causes' of oppression. This is good, but hardly good enough. It narrows the whole relationship between causality and freedom; it impedes the dual rhythm of revolution that demands not only the overthrow of the old, but the creation of the new" (p. x).

"Not only overthrow of the old, but creation of the new"—that is the burning question of the age, when all revolutionaries are faced with the problem, "What happens after the revolution?" In 1988 that question is being posed in two very different forms—one in Afghanistan and another in South Africa.

The original context of the question posed by Marxist-Humanism as "What happens after?" was the transformation of the 1917 Russian Revolution, the first workers' state, into its opposite, a state-capitalist society. Today that Russian state-capitalism is being driven out of Afghanistan after nine years of guerrilla war. What will happen after that withdrawal, given the retrogressive world context?

The roots of the present crisis in Afghanistan extend back even before the 1979 Russian invasion. In the turbulent years of the late 1970s, which saw revolutions from Nicaragua to Iran to Grenada, there was also an indigenous Marxist movement in Afghanistan. What preceded the Russian invasion was the break-up of that

(continued on page 6)

³ Raya Dunayevskaya's June 1, 1987 presentation was published in full in the January-February 1988 issue of *News & Letters*.

⁴ Dunayevskaya's writings on developments within Russia in the 1980s are voluminous. See especially her Political-Philosophic Letter of November 1982, "Andropov's Ascendancy Reflects Final Stage of State-Capitalism's Degeneracy"; her August 1985 discussion of "Mikhail Gorbachev, the New Russian Ruler" in *Marxist-Humanist Draft Perspectives, 1985-86*; and her March-April 1987 "Theory/Practice" columns "Two of a Kind: Reagan and Gorbachev and Their Bi-Polar World."

⁵ See Dunayevskaya's "A New Revision of Marxian Economics," first published in the *American Economic Review*, September 1944, and reprinted on p. 4 of this issue.

⁶ See "The Real Reagan Economy" by Emma Rothschild in *The New York Review of Books*, June 30, 1988.

Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1988-89

(continued from page 5)

movement in fierce factional infighting, which helped open the door to both the Russian invasion and a resurgence of Islamic fundamentalism.

Throughout the 1980s the U.S. has done plenty to determine the outcome there. Reagan and Khomeini have worked in tandem to arm and fund the most reactionary Islamic fundamentalist tendencies within the resistance to the Russian occupation, such as the wing headed by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. Despite the seeming opposites of Khomeini and Reagan—they have surely clashed head-on in the Persian Gulf—they both know how to practice "peaceful coexistence" when it is against the Left and any genuine forces of revolution. "What happens after?" is a very grim prospect, indeed, if it means rule over women and peasants by the likes of Hekmatyar, who is renowned for throwing acid in the faces of unveiled women.

At the Moscow Summit, Gorbachev urged us to look at Afghanistan as a "model" for settling what he called "hot trouble spots on the planet." What can such a model have in store for Central America, where Reagan looks for ever-new ways to support the contras? Or for Palestine, where the seven-

month-long "intifada" (uprising) continues while both regional and superpowers look for ways to subvert it?

Where the danger of superpower collusion is most imminent, however, is Southern Africa. The secret negotiations on Angola/Namibia conducted at the Summit set a deadline of Sept. 29 for an agreement. The latest discussions in Cairo between South Africa, Angola, the U.S. and Cuba are taking place just as UNITA's (National Union for Total Independence of Angola) Jonas Savimbi is being greeted in Washington and told that "under no circumstances" would U.S. aid to his murderous forces be curtailed. SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization) understandably fears a sellout on Namibia.

Most crucial of all is the future of the ceaseless Black liberation struggle inside South Africa itself. So deep-rooted is the Idea of Freedom in the South African Black masses that over one million workers participated in a three-day general strike in June despite the fact that the entire self-organization was conducted under conditions of outright fascism.

What energizes this magnificent freedom struggle is

the power of the vision of a whole new society, the power of the Idea of Freedom. At the same time, what confronts that movement is a two-fold challenge: How to develop now a full philosophy of liberation equal not only to the task of overthrowing the totalitarian apartheid regime but also equal to the tasks after the conquest of power?

Such a vision of where we are headed on the day after the conquest of power is not easy to bring forth. It was not until the end of his life that Marx was able to organizationally concretize it in his 1875 Critique of the Gotha Program. It was there—after the "freely associated labor" of the Paris Commune and after the writing of the French edition of *Capital*—that Marx put forth the vision of an end, once and for all, to the division between mental and manual labor. Such a magnificent vision could only come after the long, arduous journey to develop and concretize the whole body of ideas that we call *Marx's Marxism*.

The body of ideas we call *Marxist-Humanism* is what spells out Marx's Marxism for our age. It is the myriad crises we confront everywhere that demand examining the long trek and process in the self-determination of the Marxist-Humanist Idea.

III. The Marxist-Humanist Body of Ideas: Three Decades of its Process of Development

"The whole movement of History is, therefore, on the one hand its actual act of creation—the act by which its empirical being was born; on the other hand, for its thinking consciousness, it is the realized and recognized process of development."

—Karl Marx, "Private Property and Communism," 1844

In her June 1, 1987, presentation, Raya Dunayevskaya asked us to "begin at the beginning, that is to say, as always, with Marx." She saw Marx's 1844 Manuscripts as "the philosophic moment for all of Marx's Marxism, including organization." "Throughout his life," she had written, "he reached to concretize it."

Raya was not only singling out the "philosophic moment" of Marx's Marxism. For our age, she singled out as the "philosophic moment" of Marxist-Humanism her 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes. Precisely because the philosophic moment of the Idea's birth cannot be separated from its long, realized and recognized process of development, we consider the red thread running through all our tasks of 1988-89 to be the inwardization and projection of Marxist-Humanism as a body of ideas.

The body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism achieved its philosophic birth in May 1953, when Raya viewed Hegel's Absolutes not as pinnacles but as new beginnings, containing a dual movement, from theory to practice and from practice to theory. Raya focused on the three final paragraphs of Hegel's *Philosophy of Mind* which he wrote in the last year of his life. Specifically, Raya viewed Hegel's statement in paragraph 575 of his *Philosophy of Mind*, that "the logical principle turns to Nature and Nature to Mind," as signifying a movement not only from theory to practice, but also from practice to theory as well as to the new society. In her analysis of paragraphs 575, 576 and 577 of the *Philosophy of Mind*, Raya spelled out the integrality of philosophy, the "Self-Thinking Idea," with the Self-Bringing Forth of Liberty, as the pathway to the new society.

This philosophic breakthrough was so new, so epochal, that it not only established continuity with Marx's Marxism, but gave birth to the needed philosophy of revolution for our age—Marxist-Humanism. What energized "its actual act of creation"? What is the motive force that guided three decades and more of its "realized and recognized process of development"?

We have too often credited the "maturity of the age" with the birth and development of this Idea, as if that were sufficient by itself. In fact, we have to see that the very concept of the "maturity of the age," which arose within the State-Capitalist Tendency of the 1940s and early 1950s, contained a profound duality. That concept meant something very different to its two co-leaders, C.L.R. James and Raya Dunayevskaya.

To begin to see this, we have to return to the 1949-50 Miners' General Strike in West Virginia. Raya Dunayevskaya, who was active in organizing support for the strike, invited a worker to participate in discussions on her projected new book on Marxism. It is clear there were thus two new vantage points: 1) the maturity of the workers who were asking, "What kind of labor should humanity do?" and 2) the maturity of her own digging into the Hegelian-Marxian dialectic, after she had translated Lenin's "Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic" and studied Marx's 1844 Humanist Essays. To Dunayevskaya, it meant that the questions the workers were posing were inseparable from the challenge to theoreticians to work out Hegel's Absolutes for our age.

To C.L.R. James, "maturity of the age" meant only "voices from below" that one needed to record. For him, the elements of the new society were "everywhere present" and needed only to be "picked up". In the State-Capitalist Tendency's pamphlet *State-Capitalism and World Revolution*, written after the miners' general strike, James so separated the maturity of the new workers' struggles from the new philosophic development begun by Raya that he rejected the national liberation struggles as "reactionary," rejected Humanism as "Christian" or "Existentialist," and did not even mention the miners' general strike. Though the Tendency had argued since 1949-50 that the task of theoreticians in the post-World War II age was to work out Hegel's Absolutes "materialistically," it was unable to relate the

daily struggles from below to this totally new conception.

This debate over the meaning of the concept "the maturity of the age" is not a question of the 1950s alone. As late as June 1, 1987, Raya spoke to this continuing problem when she challenged us: "We were so overwhelmed with the movement from practice that we were hardly as enthusiastic or as concrete about the movement from theory, if not actually forgetting it. I therefore wish to go into great detail about those two letters in 1953, not as the small coin of concrete questions, but as the many universals inherent in them, so that we can see what is still new in them that we must develop for the book."

Simply crediting the "maturity of the age" as the determinant of a philosophic moment does not suffice. For that does not explain how one philosopher catches what is fundamentally new where no one else does.

In fact, in singling out the dual movement within the Absolute—from practice to theory and from theory to practice—Raya's 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes argued against making the "maturity of the age" the sole determinant to the concretization of an epochal philosophic moment. As crucial as was the maturity of our age in the development of Marxist-Humanism, it was the fact that Raya took philosophic responsibility for following out the "self-determination of the Idea" that was critical. By 1986 she had made a new category out of that self-movement, which she called "Marxism-Humanism emerging out of Marxist-Humanism." To see that, not just as past, but as pathway to the future, we need to recollect the trek of the self-determination of the Idea from the 1950s to the 1980s, as seen in Dunayevskaya's "trilogy of revolution."

Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 until Today (1958) was a further development of the 1953 philosophic breakthrough which had discerned a dual movement within the Absolute, from practice to theory as well as from theory to practice. *Marxism and Freedom* traced out the "movement from practice, which is itself a form of theory" from the French Revolution, through Marx's age, to our age of Automation. At the same time, it refused to separate this movement from the "indispensability of the theoretician" in developing the movement from theory to practice as a philosophy of revolution. It did so by singling out the American roots and world Humanist concepts of Marx's Humanism for our day.

The philosophic moment of 1953 led to the breakup of the State-Capitalist Tendency and the 1955 formation of News and Letters Committees. It was concretized in Charles Denby, a Black production worker, becoming Editor of our paper, *News & Letters*. It was concretized in our 1956 Constitution, which singled out the Humanism of Marx. And it was concretized in the first edition of *Marxism and Freedom*, which included the first English translation both of Marx's 1844 Humanist Essays and of Lenin's 1914 "Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic."

In short, through the efforts of Raya Dunayevskaya the philosophic moment of 1953 became the core for the formative years of News and Letters Committees, including *Marxism and Freedom*.

As Raya was finishing *Marxism and Freedom*, the Hungarian Revolution burst forth in East Europe while in the South USA the Montgomery Bus Boycott erupted. In both East Europe and America, Marx's Humanist Essays were being brought out of the archives and onto the world historic stage. It was at this moment that the category of "Marxist-Humanism" was spelled out by Dunayevskaya.

And yet that neither ended the journey of the self-determination of the Idea nor expressed the fullness of the 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes. In looking back on the period of *Marxism and Freedom* in a letter to Harry McShane in 1978 (see N&L, June 1988) Raya

asked us to see "how difficult it is to grasp 'Absolute Idea as New Beginning.'" Even in *Marxism and Freedom*, she said, that concept had not been presented, for the Absolute appeared there only as "Unity of Theory and Practice."

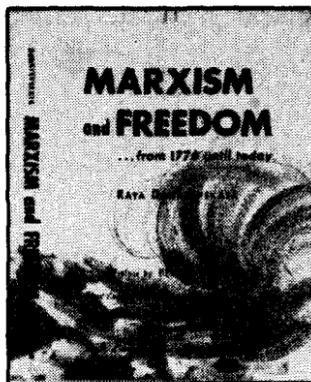
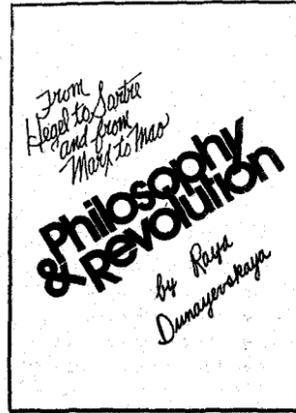
With *Philosophy and Revolution, from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* (1973) we had a new situation. Despite the greatness of the 1960s revolts, 1968 ended without a single successful revolution; for Raya, it demanded a return to the 1953 philosophic breakthrough, with eyes of all the new that had occurred over the ensuing two decades. The result was that *Philosophy and Revolution* was structured not on the movement from practice to theory, but on the movement from theory to practice. Absolute here appeared not only as unity of theory and practice, but as new beginning. And whereas in *Marxism and Freedom* the Absolutes in Hegel are not differentiated, in *Philosophy and Revolution* the Absolute is examined in each of Hegel's major works—"Absolute Knowledge" in *The Phenomenology of Mind*, "Absolute Idea" in *Science of Logic*, and "Absolute Mind" in *The Philosophy of Mind*.

The category "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning" that is spelled out in Chapter One of *Philosophy of Revolution* was thus born both from the deeper digging by Raya into the self-determination of the Idea in the decade following *Marxism and Freedom* and from the fact that the great spontaneous revolts of the 1960s ended not with the new society, but with the aborted revolution of Paris 1968. If it was the Hungarian Revolution and Montgomery Bus Boycott which provided the historic-philosophic "proof" of the category "the movement from practice is itself a form of theory," no such "proof" was provided by the diverse movements of the 1960s for the category "the movement from theory to practice." Rather, the path to the original category "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning" was hewed out by Raya's drive to make concrete and total her view of Hegel's Absolutes for our day.

Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (RLWLKM) (1982) spoke to the new movements of the 1970s, especially *Women's Liberation*, as well as to the new 1970s revolutions—Portugal, Iran, Nicaragua, Angola, Mozambique. It viewed their contributions not only in terms of their uniqueness, but also of their unfinished contributions. At the same time, RLWLKM concretized the category *Philosophy and Revolution* had created—

Absolute Negativity as New Beginning—in a new way by testing the greatest revolutionaries—Engels, Lenin, Luxemburg—against that concept. Raya concluded that Marx's philosophy of "revolution in permanence," especially the works of his last decade such as his *Ethnological Notebooks*, illuminated so deeply the discontinuity between Marx's Marxism and all others that she created the totally new category, "Post-Marx Marxism as a pejorative, beginning with Engels."

In 1986-87, Raya wrote that the "changed world" she pinpointed as the reality of the 1980s had its beginning in the counter-revolution within the revolution that erupted in Grenada 1983. The shock of counter-revolution from within in Grenada was that it occurred after three full decades in the development of the movement from practice that is itself a form of theory, and within the subject of revolution, that had shown itself to be



Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1988-89

the most creative of all in the post-World War II period—the Black Dimension. In face of this shocking development, Raya concluded her analysis of counter-revolution from within the revolution in Grenada in her 1983 Political-Philosophic Letter, by raising “the question of Dialogue, of Discussion, to a whole new height as a theoretical preparation for the dialectics of revolution itself.”

That kind of dialogue was developed by Raya in her 1984 thesis “Not by Practice Alone,” where she singled out responsibility for the movement from theory as key. She wrote, “that movement from theory becomes the uniqueness of Marxist-Humanist philosophy and our original contribution to Marx’s Marxism.” As she wrote the following year, “it becomes imperative to single out the expression ‘the new continent of thought’ from what we always defined Marx’s Humanism to be—a new continent of thought and of revolution. It is the new continent of thought that needs a great deal of further development and discussion. There is no other serious way to fight Reaganism.”

For some 30 years, the movements from practice had constantly challenged theoreticians to meet the newness of their creative spontaneity. In the 1980s, after three decades of unique but unfinished contributions from the movements from practice, Raya was still singling out the challenge to the movement from theory. But what

is new in the changed world of the 1980s is that that challenge has emerged not only from the greatness of the movements from practice but also from their insufficiency in face of the retrogressive reality of this nuclear-armed world. Far from this changed world of the 1980s putting all responsibility back on the shoulders of the masses, for Raya it made objectively urgent the need to further concretize the 1953 philosophic moment, precisely on what no theoretician had worked out—the dialectics of organization and philosophy.

This became the compulsion for a new book on “Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy: the ‘Party’ and Forms of Organization born from Spontaneity.” It was the book Raya was working on throughout 1986-87, and which was left unwritten at her death on June 9, 1987. But what we do have are her voluminous notes on her book-to-be, many of which have now been deposited in her Archives.⁷

One topic taken up by Raya in her 1986-87 notes for the book-to-be—her analysis of the final paragraph of Hegel’s Phenomenology of Mind—can help indicate

⁷ The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development is housed at Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs. Vols. 1-12 were organized and donated by Dunayevskaya herself. Vol. 13, organized after her death, is called Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection.

IV. Philosophic-Organizational Tasks for 1988-89

This question of “recollection of forms now inwardized as the ground for the new” gives us the needed direction for the tasks confronting us after the loss of the founder of Marxist-Humanism. Raya Dunayevskaya’s “inwardization” of 1986-87 has a very specific vantage point: She was re-examining her whole body of ideas from the vantage point of her 1953 philosophic moment because she was engaged in a concrete activity—working out her new book on *Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy*. It was that labor which revealed the centrality of the dialectic in philosophy. Here is how she put it on Oct. 6, 1986:

“Unless we work out the dialectic in philosophy itself, the dialectic of organization, whether it be from the vanguard party, or that born from spontaneity, would be just different forms of organization, instead of a form of organization that is so inseparable from its philosophic ground that form and content are one.” (Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, Vol. 13, #10789).

It is responsibility for that dialectic in philosophy that makes “recollection” and “inwardization” not a question of past history but integral to the most concrete mental and manual activities of Marxist-Humanists in 1988-89.

The 1953 Letters have truly been the rich soil from which all of Marxist-Humanist originality has sprung. In *Philosophy and Revolution* Raya re-examined those 1953 Letters and considered them nothing less than “a new divide within Marxism for our epoch.” It is true that Raya had them mimeographed as part of the very first “pamphlet” News and Letters Committees ever published in 1955 on Lenin’s *Philosophic Notebooks*. Yet today, we have to face the fact that News and Letters Committees never issued in a widely circulated form the full text of those 1953 Letters. Overcoming the separation between philosophic breakthrough and organizational expression is the hardest of all our tasks. In the coming year we propose to combat this separation by printing in the pages of *News & Letters* the full text of Raya Dunayevskaya’s May 12 and May 20, 1953 Letters on Hegel’s Absolutes. We propose also to combine those letters with her June 1, 1987 final presentation, which was published in the January-February issue of *N&L*, as a printed pamphlet with a new introductory note.

It is no accident that we can make this proposal for 1988-89. We can make it now precisely because Raya’s focus in the last year of her life, and especially her presentation written for June 1, 1987, singled out the

1953 Letters as “the philosophic moment” from which the whole of the Marxist-Humanist body of ideas flowed.

At the same time, our focus on the Marxist-Humanist body of ideas carries with it Raya’s two-fold concept: its struggles over more than two decades toward full concretization of the Marxist-Humanist Idea, and its inseparability from Raya’s emphasis on the true meaning of the word body—the live men and women who take organizational and philosophic responsibility for those ideas.

As the Philosophic-Organizational Tasks for 1988-89, the Resident Editorial Board makes the following proposals:

● 1) First and foremost, along with the publication of the 1953 Letters on Hegel’s Absolutes and the June 1, 1987 final presentation written by Raya, we take it as our responsibility to assure the publication of new editions of her “trilogy of revolution”—*Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution, and Rosa Luxemburg, Women’s Liberation, and Marx’s Philosophy of Revolution*, now out of print. The news just received that a new edition of *Marxism and Freedom* is already assured is a tremendous challenge to us to inwardize and project Raya Dunayevskaya’s concept of each Marxist-Humanist “selling the book as founders.”

● 2) The organization and donation of Raya Dunayevskaya’s last writings in a new Vol. 13 as Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection was an historic event, but remains an unfinished task. It demands our projection of it, introducing it to libraries worldwide, and engaging in study and discussion of it with all whom we can reach as part of our own inwardization. In the coming year we propose to organize a new donation focusing on the documents created by Raya in the process of writing her trilogy of revolution—her notes, correspondence, and commentary on her three major works.

● 3) This Spring we held an unprecedented series of classes on “Raya Dunayevskaya’s Marxist-Humanism in the Changed World of the 1980s,” where, for the first time ever, we established as core readings Raya’s epochal 1953 Letters unseparated from either the June 1, 1987 presentation or the Constitution of News and Letters Committees. This year we propose to follow through on those classes, with a new series on dimensions of Raya’s trilogy of revolution viewed from the vantage point of her last writings and her 1953 Letters.

● 4) Organizational responsibility for the body of ide-

the challenge now facing Marxist-Humanists. In that final paragraph, Hegel twice mentions organization: First, he cites organization as inseparable from recollection, i.e., the internalization of the myriad prior stages of thought. Second, Hegel then says these prior historic stages of development rise fully into the Absolute through the integrality of History with “an intellectually comprehended Organization,” what we can call the organization of thought. It is the unity of the two that enables History to become “intellectually comprehended.” In other words, the meaning of History—both as the history of masses in motion and as the historic development of the Idea of Freedom—is finally grasped when the body of ideas and the organization of thought become inseparable.

On April 3, 1987, Raya posed this integrality of the body of ideas with the organization of thought as the pathway to the future. She wrote, “When two such wholes collide a totally new philosophy emerges that would unite the ‘contingency,’ the past, history, with notional comprehension...The long trek of history, striving to achieve this in different historic periods, fought under the name of freedom but always crippled by the narrowing of specific freedoms have not, however, sunk into oblivion but reappear in this recollection of forms now inwardized as the ground for the new.” (Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, Vol. 13, #10899)

as of Marxist-Humanism means not separating our needed organizational growth from the concept of organization. In the year ahead we will have the great advantage of a new edition of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker’s Journal*, the autobiography of Charles Denby, our Black Worker-Editor from our birth to 1983. What makes it totally new is the inclusion of Raya Dunayevskaya’s magnificent “In Memoriam” to Denby, first published in the November 1983 *N&L*. What will be crucial in all our work this year is the search for new platforms to present Marxist-Humanism and for new dialogue with all whom we can reach. Internationally, a great achievement of the past year has been the new discussion of Raya’s life and work in journals such as *The Owl of Minerva*, the *Bulletin of the Hegel Society of Great Britain*, *Radical Philosophy in England*, *Autodeterminacion in Bolivia*, *Das Argument in West Germany*, and preparation of a new pamphlet dedicated to Raya in Italy. This year we propose to extend that international dialogue with a trip to Mexico, where mass unrest deepens daily and where Raya’s entire trilogy of revolution is available in Spanish editions. As preparation for such a trip, we propose to issue as a Spanish-language pamphlet Raya’s essay “Marx’s Humanism and Marxist-Humanism,” printed in *Autodeterminacion*. This will help us not only with our work in Latin America, but at home, where the Latino dimension has just erupted in the Perth Amboy, New Jersey, protests against police murders.

● 5) In 1988-89 our newspaper, *News & Letters*, becomes a crucial focal point for working out an expression of the Marxist-Humanist body of ideas. The column “From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya,” together with essay articles on current events, Subjects of revolution, battles of ideas, and activity articles from the factory floor, from demonstrations for abortion rights, from campus sit-ins against racism, can truly form an ongoing projection of Marxist-Humanism when we dive deeply into the Marxist-Humanist body of ideas. This labor of philosophic re-creation which itself becomes worldly is what Raya spoke to when she asked us in her June 1, 1987 presentation to work out creating a new type of 12-page newspaper in which “the meaning of events and experiences and their direction in a global context” would be presented.

● 6) All of this demands financial responsibility for Marxist-Humanism. We propose a goal of \$35,000 as the minimum amount we need to raise as a sustaining fund for *N&L*. At the same time, we seek continued support for the Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund.

For all our work in 1988-89 it is necessary to look at the inwardization of a body of ideas from the standpoint of the mirror of history. When Karl Marx died, those who sought to be his continuators were faced with the problem of the transition of the Marxist Idea to a totally new sphere. Because they assumed that they knew Marx’s body of ideas, they placed all emphasis on “projection” of the conclusions they believed Marx had reached. And because the task of inwardizing the body of ideas was not placed on their historic agenda, it took a century to publish the whole of Marx. It is also why it took all the way to 1914 before any Marxist caught the opposition to the new age of imperialism—the dialectic of the self-determination of nations—and then it was only because Lenin had returned to the self-determination of the Idea in Hegel’s Science of Logic.

The development of the Marxist-Humanist body of ideas has given us a very different view of the relationship between inwardization and projection. That is why the preparation of Vol. 13 as Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—*Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development* was central to all our tasks last year. Central to all our tasks for the coming year is the view of the whole Marxist-Humanist body of ideas from the vantage point of 1986-87. There is no other way to meet the challenge of an age which presents us, on the one hand, with so retrogressive a reality as Reaganism’s global reach and, on the other, with such a ceaseless and deep passion for freedom and for a philosophy to reach it.

—The Resident Editorial Board

Raya Dunayevskaya’s Last Writings, 1986-87 — Toward the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy

“In donating this volume 13 only eight months after Dunayevskaya’s death, and by including in it documents not edited by her for publication, we seek to sharply contrast Marxist-Humanism’s attitude to the archives of a founder, with those post-Marx Marxists of whom Raya asked, ‘Why a century to publish the whole of Marx?’ At the same time we seek to underline the importance of the last writings of an epochal thinker, writings which as a final determination in the journey of the Idea of freedom, reach both back to the philosophic moment of the Idea’s birth and forward into the future.”
—from the Introductory Note

“For Marxist-Humanists, *Perspectives* makes Retrospective not just a remembrance of things past, but such an inwardizing and projecting of Marx’s whole body of ideas that only then does one fully embark on the new of one’s own age, so that the discontinuity with the old is historically justifiable because it now shows its roots in the continuity.”
—Raya Dunayevskaya,
Marxist-Humanist Perspectives 1986-87,
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From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya

(continued from page 4)

aggravation of class contradictions, with the inevitability of the proletarian revolution."⁶

VALUE, ENGELS has written, is "a category characteristic only of commodity production, and just as it did not exist prior to commodity production, so will it disappear with the abolition of commodity production."⁷ It would be sheer absurdity, argued Engels, "to set up a society in which at last the producers control their products by the logical application of an economic category (value) which is the most comprehensive expression of the subjection of the producers by their own product."⁸ In the last theoretic writing we have from the pen of Marx, a critique of A. Wagner's *Allgemeine oder theoretische Volkswirtschaftslehre*, Marx castigates "the presupposition that the theory of value, developed for the explanation of bourgeois society, has validity for the 'socialist state of Marx.'"⁹

In the opinion of this writer nothing in the article contradicts this firmly established co-existence of the law of value with capitalist production.

The radical change in theoretical interpretation that the article presents not unnaturally brings with it important methodological consequences. The authors propose that in the future the structure of *Capital* be not followed and state that the past textbooks which followed the structure violated the "historic principle." Obviously, this is a very grave departure. Engels explains Marx's rejection of the method of the "historical school" by the fact that history proceeded by jumps and zigzags and that, in order to see its inner coherence, it was necessary to abstract from the accidental. The structure of Marx's *Capital* is a logical abstraction seen in its evolution and constantly checked and rechecked and illustrated by historical development. Marx's dialectic method is deeply rooted in history. However, it utilizes history not as a chronological listing of events but "divested of its historic forms and fortuitous circumstances."¹⁰ Thus the abstract method of Marx does not depart from the "historic principle." On the contrary, the theoretical development of the commodity is in reality the historical development of society from a stage when the commodity first makes its appearance—the surplus of primitive communes—to its highest development, its "classic form" in capitalism. Where a commodity existed accidentally or held a subordinate position as in primitive, slave or feudal societies, the social relations, whatever we may think of them, were at any rate clear. It is only under capitalism that these social relations assume "the fantastic form of a relation between

things."¹¹ That is why Marx analyzes the commodity "at its ripest." He is separating its theoretical potentialities from its historic starting point. Where Marx analyzes a commodity in order to discern the law of its development, the Soviet economists now merely proclaim the arrival of the commodity in a "socialist society."

HENCE WHEN the authors propose that the structure of *Capital* be not followed in the future, it is not because past Soviet textbooks, patterned on it, violated the "historic principle." It is because of their need to divest the commodity of what Engels called "its particular distinctness" and to turn it into a classless, "general historic" phenomenon applicable to practically all societies.

The ideas and methodology of the article are not accidental. They are the ideas and methodology of an "intelligentsia" concerned with the acquisition of "surplus products." What is important is that this departure from "past teaching of political economy" actually mirrors economic reality. The Soviet Union has entered the period of "applied economics." Instead of theory, the article presents an administrative formula for minimum costs and maximum production. It is the constitution of Russia's post-war economy.

¹¹ *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 83.

'Day of liberty' in Romania

Editor's note: The following article was submitted to News & Letters by a Romanian woman who lived in Brasov in 1987, and now lives in the United States.

I participated in the uprising in Brasov, Romania, in the Fall of 1987. It was a Sunday and I was walking home from church with my parents. I remember hearing the singing of the national anthem, "Romanians, Awaken." I said what is that? Someone said, "It's nothing they're just fooling around," but I knew something different and important was really happening. Twenty years ago you could get thrown in jail for singing that song. I followed the sound until I came to the crowds of people marching in the streets. It was fantastic!

The workers had been told to vote at 6 a.m. on a Sunday and then to go back to work again. They were angry because they had big pay cuts that month, and with rationing you can buy very little on what you do earn. It's like being in prison and getting your portions. But the last straw was that the workers didn't get compensation time for voting. They had to show up for work at the regular time and vote. That brought them into the streets, on strike and singing "Romanians, Awaken!"

The whole city joined them. There were many young people in the streets. For the first time everybody was speaking the truth to each other. I cried with joy and sadness. The marchers went to the Communist Party (CP) headquarters and burned it. While they were there they destroyed a portrait of Ceausescu and a CP flag. They threw out of the windows all the hidden stores of special foods, drinks and cigarettes that were for the exclusive use of the party members. It was a difficult thing for hungry people to do. They were masters of the building but preferred to make this a political act, not against the food, but against the CP. All the police could do was stand by nervously, they never smiled, they were put in their place.

Then special riot soldiers appeared, from anti-terrorist brigades that I had never seen before. There were tanks. But the children, some only nine years old, stood in front of the tanks and put their feet up against them. The tank commanders didn't know what to do. They had to stop. It was a stand off between the people and the army, policy and party in the streets. It was a big moment for our generation. We saw that the police had no courage. But, there was embarrassed silence. We had a stand off but we didn't know what to do next. So the police said, "Go home and sleep, nothing happened." We didn't know what to do if we took over, so we went home.

The next day everything changed. Thousands of soldiers and policemen occupied the city. Hundreds of my compatriots and friends were arrested and interrogated inside the tombs of the police buildings. Some have been banished from the city or even disappeared without any trace left behind. The repression was stronger and individually directed now. We feared for our lives and jobs.

The authorities wanted only to find out who had been the leaders. They wanted "the head," but didn't get it, because there wasn't any head. We all did it because we had one day to experience the feeling of liberty and solidarity.

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⁶ O. Kapitale Marksa, pp. xi-xii. (Engels on Capital.) The English translation does not carry this preface, issued by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute under the supervision of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party.

⁷ *Sotchimenia Marksa-Engelsa*, T. XXVII, c.408. (Works of Marx-Engels, Vol. XXVII, p. 408.)

⁸ Herr Eugen Duhring's Revolution in Science (New York, Internat. Publishers), p. 347.

⁹ *Arkhiv Marksa-Engelsa*, T. V, c.59. (Archives of Marx-Engels, Vol. V, p. 59, Ed. Adoratsky.)

¹⁰ Frederick Engels on the Materialism and Dialectics of Marx, included in Ludwig Feuerbach and the Outcome of Classical German Philosophy (London, Martin Lawrence), p. 99

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**CONDITIONS OF LABOR,
EAST AND WEST**

I want to comment on how brilliant the June N&L Editorial on the economy was. In a new way, it showed what is so new about the U.S. economy today—even a "boom" does not mean prosperity for the working class. What has been on my mind is something Marx never had to deal with in actuality, though it is predicted in Part VII of Vol. I of *Capital*. I think we are living in the only time since the industrial revolution in England in which workers' standard of living is declining together with a growth of the system. Just as capitalism cannot help the Third World develop, so the U.S. economy cannot now provide steady employment or income to "its" working class.

**Economist
Salt Lake City, Utah**

I was struck by the Editorial in the June issue of N&L when you quoted the bourgeois economists who are now calling our 5.4% unemployment the "natural" rate. They act as if that were a "biological creation." That reminded me of how hard the women's liberation movement has fought against the notion that "biology is destiny." Massive unemployment, like the oppression of women, is an historical development—it had a beginning, and it can be ended. Mistreating an historical fact is just one more form of disinformation, in other words, a lie.

**Women's Liberationist
Chicago**

Chrysler pensions have finally caught up with GM and Ford. It all has to do with automation and plant closings. Overtime is unlimited, and this is the trouble: they say "you work seven days, you don't need a pay raise." Retirees are dying off—we lost 400 last year alone. People are living longer with newer medicines, but pensions aren't a great worry to Chrysler.

**Autoworker
Detroit**

I was very interested in the article on pollution from a workers' point of view in the June issue. I'm studying to be an electrical engineer, and I'm afraid I'll be made to do things on the job that will injure the environment as well as myself. In these companies you're made to do dangerous things just to make money.

**Student
Chicago**

Some people think there's a form of workers democracy in Czechoslovakia. In his article in the June N&L, "X" shows there's not. They have the same old "quality circles" that workers have here. I'm ambivalent on his point that they are "20 years behind IBM," although I liked the article better after two or three readings.

**Labor activist
New York**

In X's article, the area of workers control is an interesting point. They have limited powers. Speaking of the need of more democratic authorities is Orwellian doublespeak. The workers must vote for the same strata that have always run production.

**Paul K.
New York**

The article on Czechoslovakia written by "X" in the June issue spoke of how backward the state of industry is in his country. It reminded me of a point Raya Dunayevskaya made in her *Marxism and Freedom*, when in analyzing Stalin's rise to power spoke of how horrid was the backward state of machinery the workers were faced with in being forced to produce more and more. Whether you are given "new" or "old" technology, you still lose in this system—the worker is still driven to produce for the sake of production.

**Marxist-Humanist
Chicago**

I've just started reading N&L, and find it very interesting. In the June issue I was hit with the worker's story

Readers' Views

about the thousands of dollars the company spent on a machine, and then told the workers there was no money for their raise. When I worked for Hughes, I experienced the same thing. That company has millions of dollars for research and development, but no money for raises for employees.

**New Reader
California**



**THE
BLACK
WORLD**

It has been in my interest to get in touch with you. I have read *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution* by Raya Dunayevskaya. It is my interest to have such books as a woman aiming to contribute to any form of liberation movement. I have been working with the Gambian Anti-Apartheid Movement and it is my duty to keep in touch with any person with the same aims, and to work hand-in-hand with them.

If there are other books in relation to the book I mentioned above, I would be very grateful to have them in hand. I am really interested in books concerning our movement.

**New Reader
The Gambia, West Africa**

On June 16, Soweto Day, I attended a demonstration at the South African consulate, organized by the Los Angeles Free South Africa Movement. It was the biggest attempt at a cover-up of the true history and meaning of Soweto Day that I ever saw! The speakers didn't mention Steve Biko, and acted like it was the African National Congress (ANC) that was responsible for the Soweto student uprising! But then some young South African students arrived on the scene, and not only energized the whole crowd, but reminded us that Soweto 1976 was not born from the ANC, but from the Soweto students themselves, their own ideas, and Steve Biko's philosophy.

**Long-time activist
California**

The importance of Harry McShane putting out a special issue of *The Scottish Marxist-Humanist* on Powellism in 1968, that you mentioned in your obituary to him (June N&L), was brought home to me after I had read that fascists had firebombed a Black library and bookshop in north-east London in May, wiping out the ground floor. Recently the building had been daubed with racist graffiti. The attack coincided with a verbal attack on Black people by Tory ideologue Norman Tebbit.

**Fred T. Shelley
New York**

Three thousand people marched down Woodward Ave in Detroit on Sunday, June 26 in memory of the Civil Rights march of 125,000 in 1963. At the original march, Dr. Martin Luther King gave his "I have a dream" speech for the first time.

The marchers, mostly Black, included veterans of the 1963 march as well as today's high school youth. Though the general direction of the speeches at the rally pinned hope for change on a Democratic victory in November, the participants expressed more profound views. One woman carried a sign reading "ML King didn't see people only in Black and White," and a man who had marched in both the Detroit and Washington marches of 1963 said Sunday's march gave him the "courage to keep on keepin' on."

**Susan Van Gelder
Detroit, Mich.**

I want to add my thoughts to Diane Lee's review of Toni Morrison's novel, *Beloved* (May N&L), because I experi-

enced the book as a shattering, visionary journey into history and memory and the future—of these United States of America, born as a slave-trading, slave-holding land.

Precisely because Morrison's tale is individual and particular, tied to land and history, geography and season, and a love story, it is universal as well. Beloved in the book speaks often of standing on a bridge. To me, that represents the bridge between Africa and slavery; and the bridge between remembrance of the dead and the continuing life of the living; between desire and change, the past and the present, and historic remembrance pushing to shape the future yet unborn.

**Michelle Landau
Los Angeles**

ON ANTI-SEMITISM

What I liked about Lou Turner's column in the June issue is that it took a stand against Steve Cokely's anti-Semitism. So many people in Chicago wanted to hide his anti-Semitism, like Alderman Danny Davis, who considers himself a spokesman for the Black community and now wants to run for mayor. I'm glad someone is telling the truth.

**Kelly
Chicago**

I am glad Lou Turner wrote about anti-Semitism in the June N&L, but I wonder if there is a reason he never uses the word "racism" for it. Somehow "disorder" and "ravings" do not adequately explain it. It is not just an intellectual strain that disorients nationalists; it is very deep and common in Black society as in white.

**Anne Jaclard
New York**

NEW ANTI-WAR RALLIES

I was fortunate to pick up a copy of N&L at the recent peace gathering in Central Park. It quickly proved to be the most interesting of the dozen publications I was handed that day. However, although I would consider myself to be a humanist and perhaps a Marxist as well, I know nothing of Raya Dunayevskaya and her work on Marxist-Humanism. I intend to correct the situation. Enclosed is payment for a year's subscription to N&L and for a copy of *Marxism and Freedom*.

**New subscriber
Bayside, Queens**

I talked with a lot of the Japanese students in the New York peace demonstration. They have something called the Peace Wave, an anti-nuclear organization. They sent our S.O.S. Racism group a letter from a Japanese student. We wrote back. They are into exchanging things—they gave us a book. They told us what it was like being here and the responses they received.

**High School student
New York**

WE NEED YOUR HELP

Since you carried our report on the Boat Project set up as a Memorial Fund for the Canadian railroad worker Lefty Morgan (see March 1988 N&L) we have received just over \$10,000 toward the \$15,000 needed to buy the engine for the 41 foot fishing boat the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union is sending to the fishermen's union of San Juan del Sur, Nicaragua — the port destroyed by Somoza in 1979. All we need now is the rest of our target fund. We send thanks to your readers who have helped and an appeal to any who might want to join in this project. Donations can be sent to:

**Craig Paterson, Barrister
1400 Dominion Bldg.
207 W. Hastings St.
Vancouver, B.C., Canada**

**WHY PHILOSOPHY?
WHY NOW?**



One of Raya Dunayevskaya's talents, which became part of the development of her philosophy, was her ability to clear the path since Marx, by critiquing those great and small who came after. This became an important part of what she called, "hewing a road back to Marx's Marxism." It can be seen in her letter to Harry McShane (June N&L). There she insisted on not going to either extreme on the question of Engels, to dismiss him as "betrayer," or to merge him with Marx. Maybe her open-eyed way of seeing things, always writing with a wholeness of purpose, is what gave her a clear, revolutionary vision.

**Ginny Adams
Los Angeles**

Peter Wermuth's essay, where he showed "Marx pinpointed Hegel's 'fatal flaw' as the stripping away of the human subject from the dialectic," is what Raya called "the dehumanization of the idea." The essay helped me better understand Marx's philosophy as a new Humanism. Without Hegel's discovery of the dialectic, Marx could have ended up only an economist. But because of his dialectic Marx never separated the economy from the whole human being. This to me would be the new world when the human being can be whole.

**Felix Martin
Los Angeles**

I was at the debate on Marxism at NIU that you wrote up in the June issue. I don't at all agree with those radicals who said philosophy is just a "fancy abstraction." As I've become more active in the movement, I've found you have to have a philosophy before you take action. You have to know why you want to change what you want to change. The kind of critical analysis you offer is very important.

**Philosophy student
Northern Illinois U., De Kalb**

Wermuth helped unravel the mysterious phrases on History and Science as Organization at the end of the *Phenomenology of Mind*. He "translated" the passage on "Recollection of spiritual forms" as Concept of Organization, and the one on "intellectually comprehended" as Organization of Thought. Uniting the two then seems quiet logical, but the real breakthrough is that Wermuth and Dunayevskaya see that Hegel often "crucifies" this unity, because it too had to "face the test of a changed world." To me, this means that while we can dig out historic "highpoints" to build upon, the meaning of such highpoints can be revealed by interpreting philosophy in new ways in grappling with the here and now.

**Wayne Carter
Los Angeles**

A friend of mine asked me why "dialectics" is necessary. He insisted you can prove the need for socialism with straight linear logic—just by showing that distribution should be equitable. I couldn't believe anyone could think of reaching socialism that way.

We have been talking about organizing a conference of youth from all over the country. But I keep thinking of Steve Biko's ideas on Black Consciousness. We want to create that kind of new consciousness out of which a new organization can come. You can't just impose organization from outside that kind of movement.

**Student activist
Illinois**

I regularly read N&L as I have been one of the admirers of Raya Dunayevskaya, whose work *Marxism and Freedom* I read a number of years back. As I am a retired Professor Activist in various Left movements, I can send you, as a compensation for my subscription some of my writings dealing with India and basically inspired by Marxist philosophy of Revolution. I will also be glad to send some of the works of the great thinker Dunayevskaya, whose earlier work impressed me greatly.

**A.R. Desai
Bombay, India**

Haiti—"Challenge to Poverty"

Défi à la pauvreté, Franck Laraque; Montreal, 1987, Le Centre International de Documentation et d'Information Haïtienne, Caraïbéenne et Afro-Canadienne.

Six-and-a-half years ago, among the 50 pages of articles and talks that make up the appendices of *Challenge to Poverty*, Franck Laraque explained and "foretold" the military coup we have just witnessed in Haiti this month:

"The army, the only force with muscle, intervenes after consultations with Washington, takes power and elects the next head of state. To defuse this traditional mechanism, Francois Duvalier created the Tontons Macoutes and weakened the army, nearly annihilating the direct military influence of the U.S. on Haiti's destiny...To overcome this difficulty the American government demanded of Jean-Claude Duvalier, in exchange for massive economic and military aid...the creation of the Leopards [an elite military unit]. Thus the American government re-took control of the Haitian military apparatus...In case the economic and/or military events should force the departure of Jean-Claude Duvalier...(the army) is ready to play its role of guardian of law and order under the amused and vigilant gaze of Uncle Sam. The people, once again cheated, will find themselves, after a brief period of euphoria, under the boot of the same dictatorship baptised with a different name."

The main body of this book, consists of drawing in bold strokes the conditions of Haiti today and some suggestions for concrete starting points for solutions. One cannot read it without instantly being confronted with the very concrete, complex problems facing Haiti: the life of the street vendors and peasants, the intelligence of the illiterate "Madan Sara" who travels back and forth to the U.S. and Caribbean buying and selling, the severe problem of deforestation and erosion, unemployment and illiteracy. This is presented in the context of Third World debt, U.S. imperialist relations, the failure of Reaganite "free market" economics in Haiti, Zaire, Jamaica—as well as in the U.S.!

HAITI'S NEEDED DEBATE

Laraque does not claim to answer this crisis in 90 pages. He wants to stimulate a concrete debate. This book is a direct reaction to the pompous and vague declarations of the numerous aspirants to the Haitian presidency following Duvalier's fall and preceding the November, 1987 elections (which were subsequently drowned in blood), as well as the revolutionary but equally abstract declarations of Left parties.

Laraque asks, why so much debate on the fine phrases of a new constitution, when the budget remains a secret document but is much more concrete? How is the land question to be solved when there is not enough land to distribute to all? How are the wages of the 60,000 workers to be raised, 90% of them women, in the light assembly export industry?

The strength of this book is that, in Laraque's method, the human potential, the human element in both the suffering and the possibilities is always present. Which is more than can be said for most works on Third World development, which usually pose problems and solutions at the technical level alone.

ABSTRACT 'SOCIALISM'

It is only in the appendices that one sees some identification of Cuba and other so-called "socialist" countries as somehow satisfying the "vision for which the urban and rural masses are struggling for so long a time." One realizes that Laraque's break with both bourgeois demagogues and Left abstract revolutionaries, is not complete. To be sure, it would be hard to disagree with Laraque's proposals for an immediate "minimum program": public works, soup kitchens, hospices, literacy and vaccination campaigns, as well as an international campaign to recover the millions stolen and taken

Amazon Indian massacre

On March 28, 1988, 14 Tikuna Indians from the state of Amazonas on the Brazilian-Peruvian border were massacred by machine-guns and over 20 more were injured, including women and children.

According to survivors, the massacre was supposedly ordered by Oscar Castelo, who is a timber merchant and brother of the Chief of Police of Tabatinga Town. The massacre was carried out by lumbermen in the area, who were arrested by local police. In spite of eyewitness accounts they were later released.

Government-instilled hysteria caused the inhabitants of Tabatinga to arm themselves against a "supposed" Indian attack. For two days, the surviving Indians were afraid to leave their communities for fear of further massacres. After that, five Indian leaders decided to go to Manaus, the state capital, and then, to Brasilia, accompanied by Ailton Krenak, the coordinator of the Union of Indigenous Nations (UNI), in order to demand justice and denounce the massacre to the public.

The Tikunas have been struggling for many years to protect their land from invasion and exploitation by such people as the lumber companies. They have appealed to FUNAI (a government Indian agency) and to the government, only to be ignored, as the government describes the situation as a conflict between the Indians and the lumber companies.

The Tikunas and UNI are demanding that the government investigate the matter and incarcerate the murderers responsible for the massacre, as well as order the lumber companies out of Indian territories.

Please write or telegram your protest of this brutal massacre and demand justice for the Tikuna People to: Exmo. Sr. Jose Sarney, Presidente da Republica, Palácio do Planalto, 70000 Brasilia DF, Brazil.

—South and Central American Indian Information Center



Striking workers discuss situation following Gen. Namphy's military coup.

abroad by the Duvaliers, and so on.

Yet there is room for plenty of debate around his posing Japanese and U.S. industry as examples of the benefits of cooperation between unions and bosses to obtain wage increases and better working conditions! There can also be debate as to whether the "three imperatives for progress" of Maurice Bishop—"fallen under the assassin bullets of leftists stuffed with theories and disrespectful of the liberty and life of others," namely, "a politics of absolute honesty with the people, of mobilization and unity of the people, and of an economic policy turned inwards"—are sufficient to avoid the counter-revolution from within as happened in Grenada.

So while its weakness is a lack of reorganization on the long-term vision of where the Haitian masses may want to go to, its combining of "opinions of experts with voices from the streets—voices of which we rarely hear an echo," gives a powerful picture of the crises facing Haiti and some of the immediate solutions. Hopefully, it will call forth further debate at a serious level. An English language edition of this book is also hoped for.

—John Marcotte

Senegal uprising

Senegal—Since the Feb. 28 presidential and legislative elections, the outcome of which is responsible for the present crisis in Senegal, a new political situation has emerged.

The street battles between the students and the police started long before the election campaigns which resulted in the closure of certain secondary schools in the city of Dakar, and in towns like Pékín and St. Louis. The violent crisis was suspended during the elections since everyone was optimistic that the Joof regime will step down. However, the situation did not occur as expected.

The Joof regime became victorious with almost 70% of the votes cast, using tactics to intimidate and frustrate the opposition. At one point they announced over national radio and TV that two Libyan planes loaded with arms were detected at Yoff airport. The ruling Party Socialist (PS) has created Action Committees throughout the country consisting of criminals who have been responsible for torturing opposition militants. The struggle of the Alliance Democratic Senegalese, consisting of five opposition parties, to change the electoral system was in vain.

The day after the elections a violent uprising began involving the youth which eventually spread to other areas outside of Dakar. The women staged their own form of demonstrations by coming out with their cooking pots and other cooking utensils using them as drums indicating the high cost of commodities and the level of hunger in the country. This resulted in the arrest and detention of many women.

The oppressed masses in Senegal are more than prepared for changes. The uprising is without any party or group direction. It is very much similar in character with the uprising in the occupied Gaza Strip and the West Bank.

The closing of certain industries and laying off of workers deeply affected the survival of families. The youth became totally frustrated. Uncountable numbers of youth are without jobs.

The perpetuation of the uprising in Senegal up to this very moment takes place against this background.

—Ba Karang

Black World

(continued from page 1)

South African foreign minister Pik Botha from Gorbachev during his "private" visit to Pretoria.

NEW TRADE UNION OPENING

Whether or not the present concessions by the Angolan government, agreeing to table the question of U.S. military aid to UNITA while negotiating Cuban troop withdrawal, are maintained, the more urgent question facing the liberation movement in South Africa is — to what extent are such concessions the dictates of Gorbachev's policy of "peaceful co-existence" with U.S. imperialism in the Third World?

That makes it necessary to focus on the 3-day mass strike, June 6-8, carried out by a united front of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU).

The immediate objective of the announcement by COSATU and NACTU the first week in June, that they would constitute a "broad front" in carrying out the 3-day general strike, was to protest the draconian Labor Relations Amendment Bill aimed at crippling the Black trade union movement. That announcement, however, came only after a 2-day special COSATU conference of 1500 delegates met in May and decided to open the way for a united front with NACTU. The decision to drop the ANC Freedom Charter as a pre-condition for unity, which COSATU had originally adopted at its second national congress in July 1987, also opens the way for united front actions between the ANC-oriented United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Black Consciousness-oriented Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO).

Prior to COSATU's May conference, a joint communique had been issued by the ANC and NACTU following their meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe in early May. In part, the statement declared that "it was imperative for the labour movement inside the country to strive toward unity with the eventual objective of a single labour federation." Moreover, the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), led by jailed labor militant Moses Mayekiso, and the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union (CCAWUSA) — two of COSATU's largest affiliates and proponents of a Workers' Charter to replace the Freedom Charter — submitted resolutions to the May conference calling for a united front of all organizations. All of this comes on the heels of the intensification of a new form of worker protest at the point of production called "factory demonstrations," following the Feb. 24 bannings.

GLASNOST—SOUTH AFRICAN STYLE

What also underlies the current political shift is the disclosure of Russia's "new thinking" on Black liberation in South Africa in the last year and a half. In his *International Herald Tribune* article, (1-21-87) "From Moscow, a new slant on apartheid," Colin Legum reported that at the Second Soviet-African Conference on Peace, Cooperation and Social Progress held in Moscow at the end of 1986, "A leading Soviet theoretician...advocated far-reaching compromises...that, in some respects, come closer to the views of President Pieter Botha than to the African National Congress or the South African Communist Party."

On Southern Africa

A later "revision" of the "new thinking" was made by Dr. Victor Goncharov, the deputy director of the Institute of African Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, headed by Anatoly Gromyko (son of President Andrei Gromyko). Interviewed in Harare, Zimbabwe in the summer of 1987, Goncharov pontificated in the most schoolmasterly fashion: "Firstly, it is necessary to settle the problems of the liberation struggle, and then to come to the next stage of the social revolution in South Africa. If they (the liberation movement) will insist on putting forward the ideas and principles of the socialist revolution before the settlement of the problems of national liberation, they will lose their allies in the population, they will lose potential allies."

Then "Comrade" Goncharov optimistically concluded that while "the emotion of the past three years has given birth to hopes of a quick victory, it will not be very quick... I believe that in the end South Africa will become socialist, maybe not in 25 years but in a century... I am an optimist."(!)

Though "Comrade" Goncharov is not exactly in a race with time, the Black proletarian masses in South Africa are. In the end Gorbachev's "new thinking" may pose as ominous a challenge to today's Third World revolutions as the "changed world" wrought by Reaganism.

Reagan's racist court

The Washington Afro-American newspaper reported on June 4, 1988, that "the District [Washington, D.C.] Fire Department has attracted national attention because the Reagan administration made it the center piece of its campaign to eliminate racial quotas in the public sector.

Unfortunately, Reagan did get his way, for according to the Afro, "the U.S. Supreme Court voted not to hear an appeal filed...against the District which would have required the city to hire six Black firefighters for every ten job openings." The case was being appealed to the high court because it had been shot down by the U.S. Court of Appeals last year. That court claimed that the plan violated civil rights laws because it called for hiring and promotion of a larger percentage of minorities than whites.

Requiring a "6-to-10" ratio would be disproportionately high in the national context, but the population of the city of Washington, D.C. is 75% to 80% Black. The basic principle of affirmative action is for the ratio hired to reflect the community, which the Fire Department allegedly came nowhere near meeting. The Reaganite investigating committee's "finding" that there was "no evidence of discrimination" didn't even bother to respond to allegations about actual numbers employed.

The Court's rigid interpretation of the numbers game is reminiscent of their other recent decision that civil rights codes do not protect minorities from racial harassment while on the job; only from hiring and promotion discrimination.

Apparently, we didn't escape all such trickery when we blocked the nomination of Robert Bork!

—Karl Armstrong

March against racist attacks at Oberlin

Oberlin, Ohio—At Oberlin College extremely destructive words were written on the bathroom walls of the library this Spring. "Kill all Abusua members" (Abusua is the Black students' group at Oberlin College) and "kill all minorities" were only two of various such offensive and repulsive insults directed toward minority students at Oberlin. Outside Wilder Hall, a building every student on campus passes by at least once a day, a banner reading "white supremacy rules" was hung sometime in the early morning of April 24. Earlier in the semester, other repugnant racial attacks, this time on Asian-Americans, were written on the men's bathroom wall also in the college library.

Following the attacks were two general faculty meetings in which student representatives participated. More than a thousand people took part in an all-campus march followed by a rally on April 29. The hours-long rally, in which members of different minority student groups on campus gave empowering speeches, was the successful attempt to call for a recognition of the problems that some groups face on campus and in the "real" world.

The march and rally was for me, a Latina, an inspiring and empowering experience and a time of admitting to myself that racism does exist even in so-called "progressive colleges" such as Oberlin. This experience forced me to remember the times in the past when I, as a "new immigrant," heard insults regarding my lack of knowledge of the North American ways and language. It was like an initiation period for me and my family. But I realize because of this past semester at Oberlin, that this "initiation period" is not over for me, nor for many other individuals and groups, no matter how well we speak the English language, or how much we have adapted to the North American society.

Yes, it happened/happens in Oberlin in 1988. "Wow, and I thought Oberlin was supposed to be a progressive place." Such extremely naive ideas regarding Oberlin college and its reputation as a utopia for activists could be partially understandable, since this private school promotes in its literature that it is the ideal "progressive" setting. But when this naive attitude comes directly from the Oberlin student-body itself (or a portion of it) some of us, who have known all along that racism exists, can only be terrified and shocked by the great wall of ignorance regarding racism that confronts us, and it will only make our tasks more difficult.

I have spoken to white students who actually contemplated that the racist attacks were done by Abusua members to stir things up on campus. Some would not admit that it could have actually been any Oberlin student. They believe it was done by "townies," and think their level of understanding is not as great as us college

students. Some students went as far as to say that members of certain minority groups on campus overreacted to the whole incident. I would not call such a way of thinking progressive. This alone justifies the growing demand for a more inclusive curriculum of education.

Students had a series of emergency meetings to discuss what should be done about these racist incidents. On April 29 another meeting with the general faculty council and student ad-hoc committee on racist harassment took place. The major topic was a list of six long-term demands by the student committee. The demands called for more minority faculty and an increase in the number of minority students recruited every year. The demands include that more attention be paid to the influence of minorities in U.S. history as well as the introduction of ethnic issues to incoming students.

—An Oberlin freshman

News & Letters photo

Commemorating the 21st anniversary of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, some 5,000 demonstrators rallied June 4 at Times Square in New York City. The demonstration and a march protested the brutal suppression of the current uprising against the occupation and solidarized with Palestinian self-determination. A variety of views on the uprising were represented. Activists, most of them young people, came from as far away as Boston, Philadelphia and Chicago.

Irish youth emigration

Oxford, England—The media reports on the situation in Ireland—North and South—do not reveal the underlying causes of the crisis. They fail to mention the dirty war by the British troops, the continued oppression of Catholics in Northern Ireland and the spreading destruction of the southern Irish economy. The state of the world economy has affected the economy of the Irish Republic particularly badly. You may be familiar with the problems of the new wave of Irish emigration, since many come to New York. Research published in Ireland shows computer operators who go to New York end up as chambermaids or building site laborers.

Irish youth are not prepared for the speed and difficulties of American life. At the same time the need to "succeed" makes it difficult for them to return home, so they pretend to have "made it." For youth in Ireland, Britain still remains a way out, despite fears of police searches and assaults which so many Irish endure under the "Prevention of Terrorism Act"—6,246 youth were picked up under the Act in 1987. Many come to London and remain unemployed. Emigration from Ireland is getting worse, not better. Up to 50,000 young people will leave this year, compared with 1,500 in 1981-82, and 35,000 in 1986-87. It has risen consistently throughout the 1980s as the Irish economy worsened.

What happens when they get to England? Under the new housing legislation there is very little accommodation, and some councils are sending Irish people home. There are some other developments, however. Two London polytechnics are offering Irish studies and there is a growth of Irish writers/poets/musicians in Britain. But these activities of the displaced, while important to the individual and the community, leave unexamined the major issues of the day.

—Correspondent

Trial of NIU students

DeKalb, Ill—On Tuesday, June 14, the trial for most of the 79 students arrested at the Day of Action II at Northern Illinois University took place at the DeKalb County Court House. With four attorneys representing them, a majority of the students arrested for sitting on Lincoln Highway on April 13 crammed the courtroom. (see May, 1988 N&L) The students were told in April that they would be up for two charges, one of "mob action," a misdemeanor, and one of "obstructing a person in a highway," a traffic violation.

Much of the discussion was not with the students but was between the students' attorneys, the state's attorney, and the judge. What we did hear was the students' attorney, Larry Schlam, say that the insistence on the part of the state to convict the students for "mob action" was unconstitutional.

He said that the use of the category "mob action," which is "a gathering of two or more people with the intent to break the law," to describe peaceful demonstrations was thrown out of the Federal District Court and declared unconstitutional over 17 years ago! It could result in the thwarting of the first amendment right to free speech.

After a half-hour recess the court reconvened, and the judge dismissed the charge of "mob action." However, the state had drafted an amended charge against the students which included "resisting a peace officer," a charge which could potentially result in a maximum fine of \$1,000 and up to one year in jail.

After hearing about the new charge, the students' attorneys requested that the other charges be addressed at another court date. This will occur on July 19 of this year.

Continued solidarity among the students arrested was apparent before and during the trial. Before the trial the students gathered in the lobby chanting, "Hey hey, ho ho, all the charges have got to go." During the trial the students applauded after the "mob action" charge was dropped, and as each student approached the bench to receive their copies of the new injunction there was much applause, hooting and whistling.

After the trial the students gathered at a meeting with the attorneys to discuss strategy and to cover the details of the trial. Many students affirmed the need to further educate the students and community about the reason behind the Day of Action.

—Julia

Youth in Revolt

by Franklin Dmitryev

Demonstrators at a university in Rangoon, Burma, in mid-June called for the release of detained students, reinstatement of those expelled for previous protests, legalization of student unions, and an accounting of those killed or jailed in the March 12-18 protests, where troops killed as many as 100 people. When the government closed the university June 21, 5,000 high school and college students and other citizens marched downtown. Street battles broke out, 10 people were killed and 77 arrested. The government imposed a dusk-to-dawn curfew and closed almost all colleges in Rangoon, while demonstrations spread to Mandalay and Pegu.

Javier Arrasco, a student at San Marcos National University in Peru, was killed May 31 by a police officer shooting into a crowd of 100 people protesting an army massacre of peasants in the Andes. Since then, hundreds of students have been detained and dozens injured in demonstrations on three campuses and street blockades. On June 9, police surrounded the San Marcos campus to block thousands of students from marching on the Congress in protest of Arrasco's murder.

Anti-apartheid groups at Yale University built a wall in June to replace two shanties burned down earlier in the month. The shanties, built on campus in 1986 to protest the school's continuing investments in South Africa, were destroyed by a reactionary alumnus attending his 30th reunion. The 40-foot-long wooden wall, covered with anti-apartheid messages, represents the students' unextinguished struggles for divestment.

Students boycotted classes at several universities in South Africa June 6-8 in sympathy with the three-day general strike that protested government restrictions on unions and anti-apartheid groups. At the Univ. of Cape Town, about 150 workers and students occupied a building, demanding pay for striking workers and rescheduling of students' exams.

A faculty strike protesting education budget cuts at the Univ. of Concepcion, Chile, was joined in May by students, who also demanded the reinstatement of seven activists expelled without a hearing. In the face of the ongoing student/faculty strike, Carlos von Plessing, a retired general appointed rector by the Pinochet dictatorship, closed the university indefinitely.

N.Y. peace march & rally

New York, N.Y.—About 100,000 people came to the peace march on June 11. The demonstration was timed in conjunction with the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament and took place a few days after the Reagan and Gorbachev summit meeting concluded. The tone of the rally was to go easy on Reagan and praise the supposed opportunity for dialogue created by Gorbachev. The rally literature stated, "only through cooperation between the peoples and governments of the world" can nuclear disarmament and social justice be achieved. But many participants came with more of a critical attitude.

It wasn't hard to find the view that whenever the two superpowers "cooperate," it's at the expense of the masses in each country. One young woman commented, "I read in one of the papers that they are not even going to destroy the warheads. They are just going to hide them somewhere. We were idiots for believing them." Students and young workers from the Northeast, the Midwest and the South had travelled to New York. Many of them were high school students in newly formed peace and anti-racist groups.

Militant contingents of Gays and Lesbians in ACT-UP demanding research for an AIDS cure and of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, whose convoy of medical supplies to Nicaragua has been detained at the Mexico border by U.S. immigration police, also represented voices in confrontation with Reagan's America.

We sold hundreds of the June 1988 News & Letters with its main article from Czechoslovakia on the real effect of glasnost on the masses there. The author X writes that many leaders of today's restructuring had a hand in welcoming the Russian tanks to crush the liberalization during Prague Spring, 1968.

At the rally, occasionally a Stalinist would comment, "I hope Spring never comes again." Yet many more others said things similar to a school-teacher who remarked, "This year the line is to speak out. But in five years, who knows what the line will be?" A man from Romania was impressed with X's underground report, and, contrasting it to the outlook of the march organizers, said, "When we went on strike, the authorities stopped the reporters at the border so no one would know about our revolt. The people that are making this march are not concerned with the Romanians."

After seeing the May News & Letters featuring the new youth revolts against racism, war and Reaganism, a student from Oberlin College asked us if the paper would report on a protest movement on her campus in response to acts of racism there (see article, this page).

—Rally participants

Philosophy gives action its direction

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Editorial

Destruction of Iranian airliner

U.S. armada out of Persian Gulf!

The shocking destruction of an Iranian passenger jet on July 3 by a U.S. missile fired in the Persian Gulf, resulting in the deaths of 290 civilians on board, cannot be excused as simply a "tragic mistake." The Reagan Administration bears a much more direct responsibility for this horrid, barbaric act.

It is the United States which has turned the waters and airspace of the Persian Gulf into a military zone that threatens nuclear war with its vast arsenal of death-dealing armaments. It is Ronald Reagan—our Commander-in-Chief in search of a war—who has treated the Gulf as a "situation room" for sending out U.S. forces. The crucial question is not whether the killing of the passengers was accidental as stated by the U.S. military, or a deliberate, provocative act, as claimed by the Islamic fundamentalist regime of Khomeini's Iran. Rather, it was both the climate created by, and the reality of, Reagan's armada intrusion into the Gulf last year that set the ground for this terrible tragedy.

WARLIKE ATMOSPHERE

Such is the warlike atmosphere in the Gulf today that only four minutes after the airliner took off it was declared hostile, and three minutes later two surface-to-air missiles were fired. Two-hundred ninety lives lost in seven minutes.

The immediate comparisons to Korean Airlines Flight 007 of September 1, 1983—shot down by a

Russian missile—were not out of line. Taken together, these events expose the high-tech barbarism that the world is held hostage to by both superpowers.

For its part, the Khomeini regime in Iran cried out against the deaths of 60 women and children on the airliner. But daily that regime sends hundreds and even thousands of children to their deaths as fighters in Khomeini's "holy war" against Iraq—a war in which, for his part, Iraq's Saddam Hussein uses chemical weapons. It is against the million plus deaths in the Iran-Iraq War that a "second Iran"—of workers, minorities, women, youth — has been forming. Reagan and Khomeini are one in their disregard for the lives of the Iranian people.

CHANGED WORLD

Reagan's latest actions in the Persian Gulf cannot be separated from the policies of the "Changed World" he has sought to impose globally in the 1980s from his invasion of Grenada to his foray into the Gulf of Sidra. Reagan has threatened and then used his mailed fist in the Middle East against both Khaddafi's Libya and Khomeini's Iran. Unlike Central America, which has sparked a growing anti-intervention movement in the U.S., that this Spring halted contra funding, and which is helping to stay the hand of direct intervention by Reagan, little opposition has arisen against Reagan's actions in the Middle East, particularly against Khomeini's Iran.

It is not that Khomeini's religious fascist regime in Iran deserves any support. It was Khomeini's ideology and his armed supporters who transformed the earth-shaking Iranian Revolution of 1978-79 into a counter-revolution in the 1980s (for a detailed analysis of these events see Raya Dunayevskaya's series of the Political-Philosophic Letters on the Iranian Revolution in *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: The Marxist-Humanist Archives*).

We who live in the United States bear a special responsibility to protest these events. Will there be a new opposition to Reagan's use of military might? Can we recognize that it is not Reagan or Reaganism that is the opposite of a Khomeini or a Khaddafi? Both Reagan and Khomeini rule from the position of narrow class-based ideologies. That Reagan is astride the most massive nuclearly armed power in the world, makes our job of opposing U.S. intervention most urgent.

We cannot separate our opposition to Reagan's policies in Central America from actively opposing him in the Persian Gulf. Far from this diverting or weakening our opposition, it can be the beginning of building a genuine movement to halt Reagan's bellicose war actions everywhere—in the Persian Gulf as in Central America, in Southern Africa as in the Pacific region of the Philippines and Korea. Let's begin with "All U.S. Forces Out Of The Persian Gulf Now!"

Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

The significant stopover of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz's three-day trip to Central America at the end of June was the meeting he held with contra leaders, in Guatemala. There, he said the Reagan Administration would push for a fresh \$30 million in contra aid, including military supplies.

Shultz visited Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala in his first trip to Latin America in two years. He refused to hold talks with Nicaragua, calling it the "rotten apple in the barrel" of Central America. Little was said about the internal crisis in each country. The only agenda point for Shultz's trip was Nicaragua.

He made crystal clear to the Central American rulers that the U.S. is not winding down its campaign to isolate and undermine Nicaragua. For the moment the war inside Nicaragua has quieted down, but the

Reagan's war against Nicaragua is not over

unrelenting economic war has left it near collapse.

The U.S. Congress' defeat of the Reagan Administration's contra aid package in February was no defeat of Reagan's counter-revolutionary campaign, in which all options remain open. Prior to his trip, Shultz warned that the Reagan Administration's preoccupation with defeating Nicaragua is "engaged up to Jan. 20," when a new U.S. President will assume power.

Yet the illusionary stalemate of Reagan's wars in Central America has influenced a significant portion of the Central America solidarity movement in the U.S. A view persists that we can wait out the remaining seven months of Reagan's presidency.

This self-illusion started last August with the launching of Costa Rican President Arias' "peace plan," which Reagan has sabotaged at every turn. It intensified after the February vote-down of contra aid.

The situation in Central America at this moment is

fluctuating ominously. In the past six months, in El Salvador, the death-squad party of Roberto d'Aubuisson has taken control of the legislature. The assassination of trade union, peasant and student activists have begun to rise again.

The Duarte presidency, the campaign against guerrillas, and the nation's economy are being kept afloat by massive amounts of U.S. dollars after nearly nine years of civil war. In Honduras, the military has cracked down hard on unrest following the anti-U.S. riots there.

Above all is the unrelenting threat of newer interventionist moves by the U.S. Since coming to power, Pres. Reagan has never once stepped off his platform of counter-revolution against Nicaragua. As we approach the ninth anniversary of the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua, there is no time for the solidarity movement to quietly await Jan. 20.

Pope greets Waldheim

Pope John Paul II's June visit to Austria, where he sanctified the rule of the ex-Nazi officer and war criminal Kurt Waldheim, was a new low even for this reactionary Pope. Not only did the Pope greet Waldheim and never criticize him; even when he did mention the Nazi atrocities in a visit on the 50th anniversary of the Anschluss, it was as if "all" Austrians had suffered "equally" — the fate of the Jews was passed over in silence.

Besides gaining the support of those nostalgic for the Nazis what was the Pope after in Austria? The answer, apparently, is East Europe.

In a deal with Waldheim, an outdoor mass was set up in Eisenstadt, just across the border from Hungary, and also near Yugoslavia. The crowd of 80,000 which showed up in Eisenstadt was thus three-fourths Hungarian and Yugoslav, people allowed to cross over into Austria by their governments. Since the Pope has not yet been allowed to visit any East European country besides Poland, he was able, with help from Waldheim, to get his "message" into Hungary and Yugoslavia.

Haiti coup

President Leslie Manigat, "elected" in a fraudulent military-run election last January, decided in June to assert his own power against his military masters. Five days later, Manigat was replaced by a military junta headed by General Henri Namphy, the same clique who have ruled ever since the fall of Duvalier in 1986.

Dead silence among the masses greeted the fall of the puppet Manigat and his replacement by open military rule, and rightly so, for nothing had changed: simply a few elite positions had been shifted.

Repression of all genuine mass movements continues unabated, if occasionally a bit more restrained than under the Duvaliers, in hope of getting U.S. aid restored. There was talk in the U.S. media that one side or the other was more involved in the drug trade. A *New York Times* editorial (6/21/88) implicitly supported Namphy, intoning cynically that "it is just possible that the much-abused cause of Haitian democracy might benefit from the coup." After all, had not the U.S.-trained military been the arbiters of Haitian politics from the end of direct U.S. occupation in 1934 right up to the beginnings of the Duvalier period in 1957?

However, the masses' silence at Manigat's fall should not be taken for quiescence. While mass unrest has lessened ever since the November 1987 massacre, important actions continue to take place, as does harsh repression. One example was reported by *Haiti-Progrès* (6/15/88):

Only days before Manigat's fall, 5000 people in Cap-Haitien came out for the funeral of a 19-year-old youth, Reynold Nervose, gunned down on the streets by a soldier after he had "insulted" a local judge. Carrying tree limbs, the crowd marched toward the court house. There, when soldiers teargassed the crowd, they responded with a volley of rocks. All along the way, they shouted their rage at both Manigat and the Army.

Imre Nagy remembered



In 1956, Hungarian workers tore down the huge statue of Stalin as they demanded freedom from totalitarianism.

On June 16, 500 demonstrators gathered in Budapest to remember Imre Nagy, Prime Minister of Hungary during the 1956 Revolution, who was executed 30 years ago by the Kadar regime and Russian authorities.

Earlier in the day, several hundred people went to the corner of the Pest Lorinc cemetery, where graves of 280 executed workers, students and political leaders lie unmarked. The revolutionaries were remembered as their names and occupations were read aloud.

The demonstrators called for the newly-chosen Hungarian Communist Party leader, Karoly Grosz, to rehabilitate Nagy and hundreds of others persecuted and killed by the counter-revolution 30 years ago. Janos Kadar, administrator of the repression after Russian tanks crushed the 1956 uprising, was removed as General Secretary of the CP this May, and replaced by Grosz.

Dissidents have called for more "openness" about the 1956 revolution. Grosz, in his first significant act as Hungary's ruler, answered with a show of force against the Nagy commemoration. Police charged the demonstrators with tear gas and clubs, as the marchers shouted for freedom and an end to the police state.

Iranian workers' strikes

The staggering hardship of Iranian masses today has reached the most extreme of pauperization, chewing at the very bones of their existence.

Despite a news blackout something of the workers own voices can be heard:

•Every body of a dead worker brought back from the war exacerbates workers deep distrust of the rulers. Thus on Jan. 5, 1988 the workers at the Iran Yasa plant learned of the death of their co-worker at the front who had been sent to do repair work behind the lines but then was actually sent to the front lines. Opposing the words of the speaker of the factory Islamic anjuman, the workers angrily demanded "who is going to be responsible for his death, for his family and kids? What have these clergy brought to us other than death and misfortune. Why don't they send Khomeini's son to the war?" The death of workers from the conglomerate National Industries met with similar responses from the workers on Jan. 24.

•Ever since last year, when the labor minister decreed that 20% of the work force from each production unit must be dispatched to the front, the workers have been battling the militarization of the workplace with renewed effort. There are reports that since last summer numerous struggles were waged from strikes and marches to sit-ins and slow-downs which have been the most persistent.

•The workers whose refusal to participate in lunch prayers as the condition for having a lunch break did in many instances, like the Iran Wood Industry, abolish the prayers. But then their lunch was taken away altogether. The workers at Neptune Electric, General Industry in Teheran, and the garment workers of Khaver in Rasht opposed through strikes and petitioning this cutoff as a way to prolong the working day.

•In the National Shoe factories of Teheran, 13,000 workers struck last summer and won a rollback of the extension of work hours. On the second day of their strike they had taken to the streets chanting and marching.

•In July of last year, about 6,000 workers in the Khuzistan province in the agro-industry of Haft-tapeh went on strike calling for genuine workers councils, expulsion of the management and promotion of seasonal workers to permanent positions. This militant strike was put down by the armed guards.

From the sketchy reports reaching us we may not be able to tell the full extent of the unrest, but we do get some glimpses on the depth of the labor opposition. The story of the economy is told fully when it is jammed up with the often spoken but hardly heard voices of the restless workers in and out of production.

—Iranian in exile