

Serving the machine is deadly work



We are pleased to turn our column over to B.A. Lastelle, a worker in Chicago.—Felix Martin and John Marcotte

In **Marxism and Freedom** Raya Dunayevskaya wrote that the key question of our epoch is: "Is productivity to be increased by the expansion of machinery or by the expansion of human capacities?" I have spoken to workers at a Eckrich meatpacking plant where the ownership, like all of capital, has decided in favor of "more perfect machines." When the "more perfect machine" fails, capital attempts to push the burden onto the workers.

Eckrich workers in Chicago have been writing about the new, million-dollar, bun-size hot dog packaging machine in the pages of *News & Letters* since May. That line doesn't seem to be a classic case of automation or speed-up, because it requires more than twice as many people as the other lines, but doesn't produce even twice as much. Yet people who work on line 5 feel sick and tired and stressed out. Why?

WHO PAYS FOR COMPANY MISTAKES?

What now seems obvious is that this is not what the company intended; the machine doesn't work the way it was supposed to. So what happens when technological innovation fails? Workers told me some of what has been happening at Eckrich:

- Supervisors lurk behind the workers constantly, and the moment the line stops, shout at them to start up again. The company has added a second supervisor on each shift in this department.
- The company has instituted new standards for what can be packed. The list of defects covers a whole sheet of paper. The packers have to watch for those defects with packages coming at the speed of 150 or more per minute. Supervisors check through the bad packages the packers have thrown aside to be sure they aren't throwing out any good ones.
- Supervisors go through the rework (hot dogs flipped off the line before they reach the packages because they are too long, too short, broken, torn, cut or discolored) to be sure no good meat is discarded. No mistakes are

(Continued on page 3)

Black World

South Africa at the cross-roads



by Lou Turner

Suddenly, as if the world media had been experiencing "temporary technical difficulties," the wall of white silence around South Africa was breached. Scenes from the Black freedom struggle in apartheid South Africa suddenly appeared on nightly news reports and in the press. Suddenly, South Africa was off the backburner and back in the news, giving many in the West the mistaken impression that the apartheid regime's news "white-out," which had so confounded the international anti-apartheid movement, had itself been confounded.

DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN IN THE SHADOW OF MASSACRE

What we saw unfolding throughout the months of August and September was a new anti-apartheid campaign of peaceful protests aimed at white-only hospitals, white-only public transportation facilities, white-only beaches. It was begun on Aug. 2 by an alliance of anti-apartheid organizations calling itself the Mass Democratic Movement, and was called the Defiance Campaign, after the 1952-53 Gandhi-style civil disobedience campaign inaugurated by the ANC (African National Congress).

The Defiance Campaign begun in August, was aimed to coincide with the electoral campaign leading up to the Sept. 6 national elections, which saw the white neo-fascist Afrikaner National Party once more returned to office by the white electorate. It also marked the election of a new state-president, former education minister F.W. de Klerk, replacing the counter-revolutionary tenure of P.W. Botha's decade-long presidency.

By the end of August a historic Black workers summit was held, bringing together some 800 delegates from the two major trade union federations, COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) and NACTU (National Council of Trade Unions), as well as independent

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Black opposition to racism puts American civilization on trial



Protest march in Bensonhurst after murder of Yusef Hawkins.

by John Alan

The current wave of racism in America stretches from New York City to Virginia Beach, Virginia, and from Chicago to Oakland, California. Within its terrain we can see not only the two worlds of Black and white, but the separation between Black masses and Black politicians in responding to the crises of racism. All of this is inseparable from the continuing retrogression of Reaganism and the irreconcilable contradictions deep within American society.

NEW YORK: MURDER OF YUSEF HAWKINS, WIN OF DAVID DINKINS

During the recent mayoral primary election in New York City, the deadly reality of the two worlds, divided by race, was revealed by the wanton murder of 16-year-old Yusef Hawkins in the Bensonhurst section of Brooklyn. Hawkins was murdered by a white mob just because he was Black in the "wrong" ethnic neighborhood and was wrongly suspected of being the Black boyfriend of a young white woman.

The callous murder of Hawkins took the spotlight away from the Democratic Party mayoral primary contest between the incumbent Mayor, Edward I. Koch, and David Dinkins, the Black Manhattan borough president, when hundreds of Blacks and whites who marched in Bensonhurst were met by vicious racial taunts and threats and were spat upon. The emotions at the marches were in sharp contrast to the fake unity rally held on the steps of New York City Hall after the election.

The theme of "unity" has gone beyond the internal politics of the Democratic Party and has come to mean that the crucial issue of America's growing racism and all of its political and social ramifications are not to be open

political issues for candidates.

The kind of "unity" that they are speaking about was clearly spelled out in the *New York Times* editorial of Sept. 14 that hailed Dinkins' victory over Koch and characterized Dinkins as being "...placid, contained, conciliatory." The editorial went on to say that "New Yorkers yearn for racial peace and harmony" and that Dinkins and Rudolph Giuliani, the conservative Republican candidate, should renew their pledge, "to defuse any potential racial misunderstanding." What voters want to hear from nominees is "talk about issues beyond race relations," such as their view on city charter overhaul, land use and economic growth.

To ignore race relations is tantamount not only to ignoring the present reality in the retrogressive period of continuing Reaganism, but also to wipe out all past Black History as well, and thus paths to overcoming racism in the future. Robert Lipsyte was quite right when he wrote in the *New York Times* that "racism runs through this city (NYC) like a sewer pipe," but he

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Lillian Willis, American Revolutionary

We mourn the death and honor the memory of our comrade, Lillian Willis, whose vibrant life was filled with a multitude of freedom struggles in which she proudly took an active part for over six decades. But her greatest pride was her participation in the development of Marxist-Humanism over the last two of those decades.

Lillian summed up the impact of that philosophy of revolution and the totally new dimension it gave her life in her typically simple and eloquent "In Memoriam" to Raya Dunayevskaya, which appeared in *News & Letters*, August-September 1987, under the heading, "A Thank You to Raya":

Since the early 1950s, whenever Raya was on a lecture tour in the San Francisco Bay Area, she was a guest in my home. I maintained a position as an independent, unaffiliated revolutionary. My activity as an individual continued for all freedom struggles, including organizing meetings for Charles Denby and for Raya.

Raya, again on tour in 1969, finally confronted me. Sitting together at my kitchen table, I had recited a summary of my current activities. Was I expecting a pat on the head? I can still hear her words, loud and clear: "Activity! Activity! Activity! And what comes after the issue is over? Everyone goes home and waits for the next demonstration. How can you call yourself a revolutionary if you do not belong to an organization with a philosophy of revolution, dedicated to the total uprooting of capitalism?" The next meeting I joined News and Letters Committees. Thank you, Raya, for bringing philosophy into my life.

THE LIFE-LONG ACTIVITY Lillian was talking about, which she suddenly saw with such new eyes and continued on such new ground, had begun in her childhood. Her parents had participated as students in the 1905 Russian Revolution and had been forced to flee the counter-revolution that followed, settling in Boston. Lillian, however, could never have been said to "settle."

She was in Detroit in 1936 to help in the sit-down strikes that created the CIO. From 1936-1946 she was in Chicago, where she got evicted for fighting against restrictive covenants in housing; joined the fledgling Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and got beaten up by the Stalinists; worked as a waitress and found her life in danger for fighting in the Restaurant Workers Union against its control by the mob; discovered herself under FBI scrutiny when she helped organize meetings to oppose the threat of World War II and then to oppose discrimination in the armed forces during the war.

When she moved to the San Francisco-Bay Area in 1947, where she remained for 42 years, she continued to be on the "front lines" in every battle she could find—from the Civil Rights Movement and the struggles against police brutality to those for abortion rights; and from labor activity with the Newspaper Guild Union to Women's Liberation activity with Union WAGE, of which she was a founding member.

CAN ANYONE WHO WAS at the News and Letters Convention in 1986, when the proposal for expanding to a biweekly *News & Letters* was being discussed, forget Lillian's description of the struggles the early RWL had waged to put out their paper, *The Fighting Worker*?

"It was," she said, "the period of the Moscow Trials, the Spanish Civil War, the rise of Hitler, the organization of the CIO, the steel massacres in Chicago, revolts of Black workers across the country, the militant activity of the Unemployed Leagues....Our paper, *The Fighting Worker*, was banned by the Post Office because we



Lillian Willis: 1912-1989

opposed the coming war, and the Red Squad followed us everywhere. We were very poor, our printshop was in an unheated basement and had to be kept secret so it wouldn't be broken up. Our comrades slept on the floor. Some chewed newspaper because they put their money into the paper instead of their stomachs.

"Why am I bringing this up? Because everyone here knows what is happening in this decade and it is going to get worse. So to those who say 'we're not ready' to expand *News & Letters*, I ask: How much time do you really think there is for anybody—Marxist-Humanists or not—to recognize that their own collective, subjective, conscious force is the only one that can meet the objective situation, and transform this world into a human society. **There is no other philosophy but Marxist-Humanism that will do that.**"

LILLIAN REACHED OUT, literally, to everyone she met, with that philosophy "to transform this world"—but she reached out most eagerly of all to every young person she met. The stream of new friends and old, in and out of her home, was constant. Her door was always open, and her "kitchen table" often outsold N&L distributions at outside events. She was still selling N&L to the nurses at her bedside the week she died.

Our hearts go out to her comrade-husband-friend of 50 years, John Alan, who has asked that any expressions of honor and remembrance be made—as Lillian would have wished—as contributions to the *News & Letters* Sustaining Fund, in her memory.

—Olga Domanski

Memorial meeting for Lillian Willis will be held October 21 at 3:00 p.m. at Savo Island Community Center, 2017 Stuart Street, Berkeley, CA (off Shattuck Ave.).

Health care — our right!

Los Angeles, Cal.—The California legislature has adjourned for vacation until next year, with Governor Deukmejian's slashing cuts of fully three-quarters of the state's Family Planning budget left in place, despite attempts and promises by liberal legislators to restore the funding.

The outlook is grim for women's health clinics, already heavily burdened by a decade of cuts. After months of jockeying between state and county politicians, mental health clinics also face budget cuts expected to result in lay-offs, closures, and drastic reductions in services.

If the family planning funds are not restored, 35 women's health clinics for poor women in the L.A. area alone will close; these clinics provide cancer screening, breast exams, and tests for sexually transmitted diseases including AIDS. An estimated 235,000 women will have nowhere to go for these services, nor will they have access to the birth control that would help them prevent unwanted pregnancies. The hypocrisy of the rightwing, their drive to control women's lives—not "protect the unborn"—is apparent.

As a woman who has had to rely on women's health clinics for over a decade, I am both horrified and infuriated at this outright attack on our lives. Every woman knows it is medically necessary to seek women's health services at least once a year. And it is our right! It is criminal to allow any woman to walk about with undetected, untreated, often life-threatening conditions such as cancer, or to bear an unplanned pregnancy because she is poor or working without adequate health insurance.

The boldness of the governor, the legislature, and their right-to-life fan club shows me that the days of picking away at women's rights is past—they are slashing away at us. Our struggle for our right to control our own bodies must mean not only the hard, life-and-death fight to maintain legal abortion, but also the battle to ensure that all women—indeed, all men, women and children—have access to the health care that this very wealthy country can provide.

—Ginny Adams

Filipina support group

New York, N.Y.—Gabriela was a woman in Philippine history who led her people against the Spanish colonizers. It is in her honor, and other women like her in contemporary times, that an assembly of women was formed in the Philippines in 1984 and named itself GABRIELA (General Assembly Binding Women for Reforms, Integrity, Equality, Leadership and Action). This development is part of the long, sustained mass movement of the Filipina for freedom—first against the intensifying repression of the Marcos regime, and now the Aquino government.

This September in Chicago, a non-hierarchical coalition of women was formed to support the Philippine based GABRIELA. It included women from all over the U.S. as well as from Canada, Mexico, Germany and New Zealand. The newly formed network will be launching simultaneous activities in the U.S. to support the celebration of the Filipina's National Protest Day on Oct. 28. The network is also working out the release of Ms. Luisa Pasa, a Filipina who has been in detention for nine years.

GABRIELA's vision for the total development and empowerment of Philippine women remains an ongoing challenge to this coalition. Every year a three month study will be devoted to the discussion of issues and singling out needed skills. As a participant, I feel that this type of study may be necessary. I certainly hope though that the pull towards more and more activities will not leave us fragmented and shortsighted of a total vision for Women's Liberation. That is what we will need if we are to really fulfill GABRIELA's commitment.

—Filipina activist

Pro-choice rally held at Northern Illinois Univ.

De Kalb, Ill.—On Sept. 20, over 300 students gathered at a pro-choice rally at (NIU). Many women came to the rally not only to watch others speak for reproductive freedom, but to speak themselves during the "open-mike" session. Pro-choice advocates, old and new alike, were calling for an end to male dominance, saying only women themselves should have a say over what happens in their bodies.

One woman talked of how Marx's 1844 essays speak to the fight for women's freedom today. She said, "How alienated men must be from themselves is shown in the incidence of violence against women, the reversal of *Roe v. Wade*, and in the society's clear disdain for the notion of self-determination for women."

One of the most well received speakers was last year's Black Student Union President who has been an important voice for pro-choice Black women on campus. She brought to light the Black dimension of the reproductive rights issue, speaking to the numbers of Black children stranded in adoption agencies and foster homes. She said the government hasn't kept its promises to the Black people of this country, promises of adequate health care and pregnancy prevention. "The government has never done anything for me," she said, "and I won't give up my rights for them!"

The rally ended with a march and picket at the anti-choice "Peace and Justice Pregnancy Counseling Center" at the Newman Center on campus. This clinic is known for telling women that abortion is murder and pressuring young women to tell everything to their parents and boyfriends, all under the name of God. At the picket the demonstrators, led by a Catholic Latina chanted, "What do we want? Freedom! When do we want it? Now! How long do we want it? Forever!" and "Not the church, not the state, women must decide their fate!"

The rally had been planned at a mass meeting of the Feminist Front where a panel of women spoke out for reproductive choice. On the panel were a Black woman, a Latina, a lesbian, a pregnant woman, a high school woman, and a white college woman. From the start the Feminist Front has shown itself to be multi-dimensional and fervently pro-women's liberation.

—Women's Liberationist

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Women-
Worldwide

Using clubs, dogs, helicopters and razor-sharp wire, South African police stopped an anti-apartheid march of tens of thousands of Black and white women in Pretoria, Sept. 23, arresting more than 150 and beating marchers—including elderly women and children. Women Against Repression, the march organizers, had refused to apply for government permission to demonstrate, asserting that they had the democratic right to protest peacefully.

More than 6,000 women, children and men marched in Minneapolis, Sept. 9, in the tenth annual Take Back the Night march saying: "It's time for women to take care of themselves and for men to change."

Feminist and reproductive rights groups in Germany have been demonstrating against a Bavarian court's indictment of 156 women for obtaining abortions without getting counseling from two doctors, and the conviction of the doctor who performed the abortions. Bavaria's population is 70% Catholic.

For the first time in its 144-year history, Baylor University, in Waco, Texas, is being challenged in court for its unwritten policy barring pregnant, unmarried women from attending classes. A young, Black woman, who was pregnant when she began her freshman year, was barred entry to classes because the school "has a reputation to keep and we can't have you walking around pregnant." Her suit charges sex and racial discrimination and violation of her civil rights.

'Impatience is the enemy of revolution'

Editor's note: The following are excerpts of remarks a young worker from Wisconsin made at the National gathering of News and Letters Committees over Labor Day.

Chicago, Ill.—I want to talk about the alienation of labor. I want to read something from Marx, where he says, "the alienation of the worker from his product means not only that his labor becomes an object, an external existence, but that it exists outside him, independently as something alien to him, that it becomes a power of its own confronting him."

It makes me think of work in general, the way we work, it's just disgusting—what it does to the working woman, worried about her children, who's watching them, what are they doing out on the street when I'm here. It's just terrible.

What it's doing to me is that I take care of my young children before I come to work, and there are days when my daughter is crying, saying, "Daddy, please don't go to work, stay home with me." It just gets to you. I just want to pick her up and hold her and say to hell with work; but they'll say, to hell with you if you're not coming. I feel that we're here to change that. We have to really work to do it.

Then there are other things, like what it does to your health. I never felt as bad as I did working this summer. I just had the week before this off, and I still feel tired and drained. The only thing that would cause that is work, the way they work us, 9, 10, 13 hours; that's against the law, but what's the law going to do? It's not going to come in and say, these guys have been working too long, send them home right now. So we have to

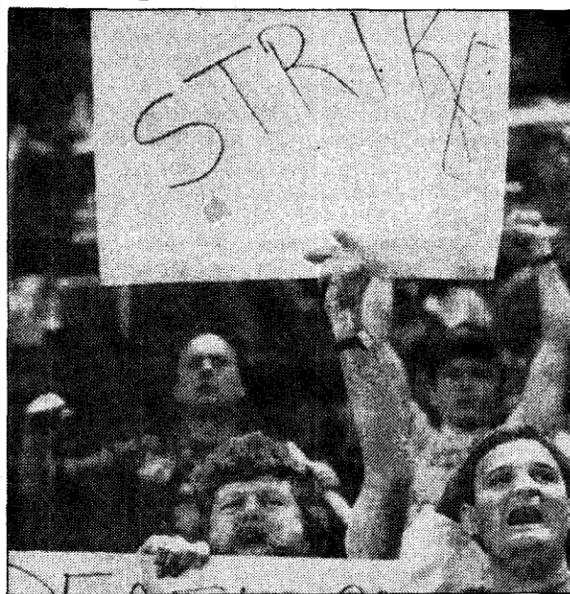
deal with it, we have to change that. We have to work on it.

I took on a union steward's position with the idea that I'm going to change things on my own. What a lie that was. It took a while, but then I ran into an enemy of revolutionaries—it wasn't the management, it was an administrative mentality, what some union bureaucrats have. Without realizing this, I had acquired this mentality. It was the way I was thinking, I was impatient.

There's one thing about revolutionaries, we can't be impatient, because you can read the history of impatient revolutionaries and what it's done—counter-revolution, maybe? Maybe that's what's happening in Poland right now. This Lech Walesa, I think he's a little bit too impatient. Look where he's at now, and look where he was back in 1980.

I think that's really important, that we have to be patient, we've got to be patient. Instead of trying to represent the workers, which I thought I was doing, we've got to try to create a revolutionary mentality with them. Let them do the rest, because that's what it's all about. —Martin Almora

Boeing machinists on strike



Over 57,000 machinists struck Boeing on Oct. 4, demanding relief from compulsory overtime (200 hours per three months!) and a wage increase for the first time in seven years.

NY hospital union battle

Editor's note: As we go to press (Oct. 5) the League of Voluntary Hospitals was forced to reach agreement on a three-year contract with Local 1199 as thousands of hospital workers prepared to strike.

New York, N.Y.—We, the members of 1199, Drug, Hospital and Health Care Employees Union, started negotiating with the League of Voluntary Hospitals on May 4. Our contract ended on June 30. We want a 17% two-year wage increase, but the bosses still say that we are asking for too much.

On July 11 the first burst of flames erupted from within the union when an estimated 20,000 members, led by our new president Dennis Rivera, staged a one-day strike and rally in New York's heart. "The heat is on" was the slogan. The League was unimpressed, calling our demonstration an act of irresponsibility.

Some days later, Rivera sat with Cardinal O'Connor and reached an agreement with him for a 17.3% two-year wage increase for the members of 1199 who are employed at the Catholic hospitals.

The slogan now became "Do the right thing like the Catholics." The members at my hospital were excited and hopeful that a settlement with the League would soon come. Members now wore their I.D. cards and "Do the right thing" stickers proudly.

When the League proposed 12% over three years, the members almost broke in the doors to vote ten to one for an additional two days out on strike. Jesse Jackson joined us at the next rally, which also had a great turnout. But William Abelow, the executive director of the League, said that before he would match the Catholic settlement he would cut his throat. The League members imply that they have no respect for the 47,000 workers who file into the 53 voluntary hospitals of New York City each day and do the jobs that are least desirable, but must be done to ensure the safe and efficient operation of the facilities.

The insignificant functions that the League is referring to are: food service, nurse's aides, X-ray technicians and lab techs. The housekeepers who deal with the proper disposal of infectious wastes on a daily basis, mopping and cleaning up before and after surgical procedures, are also "unimportant."

The grievance procedure is treated as a joke by management, as a waste of their time and taking away from productivity. If they are in the wrong, they try to cover their tracks. The employee is labeled a trouble-maker and is usually harassed in many ways: covert punishment.

One would think that we are living in the pre-Lincoln era where we are fighting for freedom. In my eyes this is indeed the fight. —Hospital worker

Long days at GM, then out

Oklahoma City, Okla.—GM and the UAW here agreed to have college students work for the summer. We call them 89ers because they are only allowed to work 89 days. Ninety days would give them their seniority, then they would have recall rights. GM lays them off before they get their 90 days in.

There must have been a lot of workers retired or whatever this year, because the second shift is short so many workers. Before they laid off the 89ers, we were asked if we would work double shift. Now, that is the only way they can run a second shift.

My section has three or four people stay over every night. These workers work 16 hours and get off at 12:30 a.m. and have to be back in at 6 a.m. That only gives them four or five hours sleep at best. Last week when I came in, there was a man lying on some boxes sleeping for the hour between the two shifts. This man stays over quite a lot.

I heard a rumor that GM couldn't hire new people because there are so many people laid-off at other plants. They first have to give these workers a chance to come here. So why don't they give them a chance? I believe the reason is, they don't know what they want to do with this plant. Like a worker said at a team meeting, "Why should they hire or bring people here, when they have all these a-holes willing to work double shift right here?"

We just got back to work Sept. 11, and we'll be laid off the week of Oct. 16. But I look for a lot more lay-offs in the future. Everything just doesn't look good. GM can sell our overproduction while we are laid-off. And I guess this is all profit.

Younger workers can't get SUB (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits) very long. With less than five years seniority, they can maybe draw five or six weeks SUB, and then it's gone. Now the older workers, with 20 years or more, will be able to get SUB a little longer—supposedly for two years.

I've never been able to draw SUB as long as you're supposed to. You can get it until it's drawn out. The last time, I was supposed to get it for 12 months. After six months they began cutting my checks, and I still drew SUB for just 10 months.

—Day shift worker

Miss. union win vs. racism

Houston, Miss.—Workers here at a small work-pants factory of the Seminole Mfg. Co. won a union election for the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Aug. 4. The workers had to fight a vulgarly racist, divide-and-conquer strategy by the company.

For years, the company's harsh absentee policy was enforced unfairly. Black employees had more absences called unexcused than did whites—and nine in a year was the limit before being fired.

However, the company's insurance policy symbolized the exploitation that all suffered, Black and white. The plan, reminiscent of company-town services, cost employees \$23 per week with a \$500 deductible fee per family member. Most could never afford the coverage. Despite accusations against the union of stirring up racist problems, the tacit understanding at Houston was that a "no union" vote meant continuation of white privilege.

The victory in Seminole's Houston facility was inspired by an earlier victory, Apr. 24, at Seminole's Columbus, Miss. plant, by a vote of 275 to 227, after 40 years of union campaigns and failed elections. The facility employs all women, most of them Black.

As part of a new strategy in 1989, rank-and-file workers from the huge United Technologies factory in Columbus participated in the countless one-on-one meetings with friends, relatives and neighbors in the Seminole plant. The all-union shop, organized with bloodshed by the International Union of Electrical Workers, is almost unheard of in the "right-to-work" South. Workers from the Big Yank plant in nearby West Point, also represented 100% by ACTWU, came to Columbus, too.

The union committee in the shop was entirely composed of Black workers, all of them women. And it was inside the shop where they were able to convince several white workers to vote in their best interests—for a union.

That reflected the ingredient for success in both Seminole wins, but especially in Houston. Unlike previous, failed drives, in-plant committees reasoned with co-workers on the job and in their homes.

After recent Supreme Court decisions, which helped Nissan defeat the UAW at Smyrna, Tenn., just to the north, the union drives at Seminole point to a different future, especially one where workers themselves deal with management-inspired racism.

Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

to be made while the hot dogs are flying by at the speed of 1200 or more per minute.

Supervisors time the machine operators when they change their film rolls and require them to keep a record of their down time.

Hourly production figures are posted on the wall at the back of the department. Daily rework goals, actual rework and yields are posted over the time clock.

The inedible product (meat dropped on the floor) is weighed each shift and those figures are posted, too. And, of course, as always at Eckrich, there is the threat of overtime. If the work isn't done now, people will have to work Saturday or even Sunday.

Near the beginning of the chapter on "Machinery and Modern Industry" in Capital, Karl Marx wrote that, with the advent of machinery, the worker acquired a "new labor of watching the machine with his eyes and correcting its mistakes with his hands." Those are exactly the new jobs created by this line. People are stationed along the line to add meat to the line because it doesn't flow properly, to straighten packages, to snatch packages and film off the line when it starts to jam up, to clean up the packages spewed out all along the line and to tear them down so that meat can be run again.

APPENDAGE TO THE LINE

Marx wrote: "...in its machinery system, Modern Industry has a productive organism...in which the laborer becomes a mere appendage to an already existing material condition of production." And that's exactly what the workers are—appendages to the line. And Marx said: "The technical subordination of the workman to the uniform motion of the instruments of labor gives rise to a barrack discipline," which is what workers at Eckrich are experiencing.

But since capital has chosen to separate what Marx called "the intellectual powers of production" (science and technology) from "manual labor" (the workers) and to convert those intellectual powers into "the might of capital over labor," they deny themselves their greatest resource—the minds of the workers. The alternative to this degraded and degrading form of labor lies in the thoughts and in the creative activity of those workers.

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RETROGRESSION OR NEW BEGINNING?: ON THE DIALECTICS OF ORGANIZATION

The first thing to emerge out of Poland's new so-called "democratization" was the strongest anti-Semitic statements of this generation from the Polish Cardinal Primate. It is not that this anti-Semitism did not exist in the Communist regime, but that with this so-called "breath of freedom" we now see it spoken openly. The opposites being projected in Poland are nationalized vs. private property, but these are not the true opposites in this period of state-capitalism. The \$40 billion the Communist regime invested in heavy industry is coming out of the hides of the Polish workers, who are saying they don't need a new Prime Minister, they need bread.

Black revolutionary
Berkeley

In South Africa, the tremendous creativity of the workers and students has continuously challenged the regime, but now, because the township revolts resulted in such tremendous repression, the question of whether revolution is an illusion is being discussed within the liberation movement. There is a pull towards regression that you can see within the movement. It isn't that the masses can't on their own keep creating all the great new forms of organization, but that illusory ideas come to the fore.

Fred Shelley
New York

In the 1980s, Poland and South Africa were two countries that demonstrated new forms of workers' organization that seemed to hold the key to liberation. In both countries, the self-organization of the masses was shown in how questions of the shop floor became unseparated from the questioning of society as a whole. Yet by the end of the 1980s we see grave contradictions in the freedom movements in both of these countries. It illustrates how the form of organization, as crucial as it is, does not hold all the answers. The whole question of dialectics of organization remains to be worked out—which is why a continuing dialogue on Raya Dunayevskaya's last writings which dealt with this question, is so needed.

Marxist-Humanist
Chicago

I have been reading Raya Dunayevskaya's **Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions**. It is convincing to me when she emphasizes that a revolution is both political and economic but must also develop a new philosophy. In fact, I recently gave a talk at a university where I was able to use many of the concepts to talk about how it can be—and what might be done about it—that the human rights situation in the Philippines under Corazon Aquino has deteriorated to the level, or below, where it was before the People Power uprising that deposed Marcos.

Philippines human rights lawyer
In exile

I have been an activist in the revolutionary movement for over 20 years, ever since I was a teenager during the 1965 revolution in my country, the Dominican Republic. I have worked with all the different "Marxist" tendencies—Stalinists, Maoists, Trotskyists—but I have concluded that they do not have a concept of a real revolutionary change. Rather, as the "vanguard party," they have an administrative mentality towards the masses both now, and after the revolution, when they want to be good managers. I have seen the way these groups operate—they are highly centralized internally, and they participate in mass struggles in order to take them over.

I have recently begun reading the works of Raya Dunayevskaya. I am having the same feeling I had when I first read Marx, over 20 years ago. This philosophy of Marxist-Humanism is the missing link I have been looking for.

Dominican/American revolutionary
Los Angeles

The question posed by the Marxist-Humanist Draft Perspectives, "How to prepare for the 1990s?" brought home to me that I have been an activist in the revolutionary movement for a whole decade. It was Carter's introduction of draft registration in 1980 that first brought me out, as a teenager. Very quickly, in 1980, a large anti-draft movement grew. But what happened to that movement under Reaganism? What was missing? These are the questions the Perspectives addresses in looking at that whole decade.

A youth of the 1980s
Kentucky

The Draft Perspectives published in the August-September N&L took me back to the 1979 Iranian Revolution, to think about what went on then, and how did we get to where we're at now. I remember the current Iranian president, Rafsanjani, from back then in 1979. In my hometown of Abadan, the oil workers had been on strike for three months, and on May 1 they held a huge rally. Rafsanjani addressed the workers, and made accusations that the strike was the work of the CIA.

I knew right then that he was a threat to the genuine revolutionary movement, and that what he was after, with Khomeini, was absolute power. But it's not just the rulers' actions we have to assess, but also the Left, which in 1979 raised no independent banner of freedom. A decade later we cannot reach a new stage without reaching into revolutionary philosophy.

Iranian revolutionary
in exile

For years N&L has emphasized "Reaganism," giving the impression that Reagan, and not capitalism, was the problem. Is now the point to be Bushism? Were you telling the naive to get

rid of Reagan and a lot of the problem is solved?

G. Schmidt
Los Angeles

The air that needs to be cleared is the mental pull of globalized capitalism. This air is the basis for the restructuring against workers and the open door for the new fascism. It's ironic then that what now has currency in bourgeois thought is the view that capitalism has now nearly conquered all other ideologies, putting us on the verge of "the end of history" (see Francis Fukuyama's recent articles). Globalized capitalism is the ground for identical opposites competing to the death.

Ron Brokmeyer
Oakland

Editor's note: At its Labor Day, 1989 national Plenum, News and Letters Committees voted to approve the Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives (see August-September N&L) as the Marxist-Humanist Perspectives for 1989-90. For a copy of the Perspectives, send 50¢ to News & Letters.



**WOMEN'S
FIGHT
FOR
FREEDOM**

Feudalism has so long subjected women to nothing other than liability to society. In the Gambia, where men have to decide for everything between husband and wife, he masters and controls the household. This of course must be fought against and it is our duty to prove we're a thinking being. So the only answer to this call is organization which leads to our existence. The Gambia Anti-Apartheid Movement women's council supports all women's groups and organizations fighting for equal rights and the total liberation of women to improve our living conditions. Comrade sisters, in the history of the Gambia, no women's organizations have ever organized with programmes like our ten-point working platform. Is there anything more scientific, than to prove that our organization does not divorce from philosophy, which has been the failure of so many organizations?

Women's Liberationist
The Gambia

I am a young Guatemalan woman attending Cal State-L.A. and caring for the elderly on my weekends. Recently I spoke to students about the Marxist-Humanist philosophy's relevance to a need we have in Central America to go to deeper roots of our people in order to make a successful revolution, espe-

cially now when the killings are once again on the rise in Guatemala.

I'm not speaking of the kind of revolution Cuba had where only some things improved: both in Cuba and in Central America we see movement that get diverted from full revolutionary paths. Is this where Marxist-Humanism can play a role, in stopping that trend? I'd like to read the documents in Spanish that you have, especially **Dos Ensayos por Raya Dunayevskaya**.

Guatemalan woman
Los Angeles

At the moment, we are studying women's experience in the far-flung farms and mountains, as well as over seas (domestic) work. There is a link poverty. Women are having so much difficulty raising crops in lands eroded and denuded by giant corporations that they seek a living elsewhere to feed their families—either as prostitutes "mail-order brides" or domestic workers in the Middle East, Europe, Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan. The painful choice is between near starvation and modern slavery. Oh, for a government that cared for the people!

Women's Liberationist
The Philippines

BLACK AMERICA

Lou Turner's article (in July N&L) about the shocking odds against them that Black Americans face made me feel quite sick, as it opened my eyes. What an excellent article! The combination of solid factual reporting with feeling, and with a deep commitment and involvement is one which I just don't see outside **New & Letters**. More power to you and the work that you do.

Subscriber
Montreal, Canada

While I am delighted to get rid of that racist, anti-labor Koch and have our first Black mayor (barring a disastrous right-wing turn to elect the Republicans), I think it's also important to say that Dinkins is no great liberal—he neither put forth any new ideas, nor has any history of attacking Koch before.

Ann Jaclard
New York

Black youth today need to learn the history of this society that created their parents and directly influences their lives today. They must be willing to take their lives and destinies into their own hands. I think **News & Letters** is doing a great job in opening up radical ideas to all the revolutionary forces. Here is my \$2.50 for a subscription.

Teacher
South-Central Los Angeles

I think the HUD scandal shows how little faith they have in the future. They are out to steal as much as they can before it all falls apart.

Observer
Michigan

THE CRISIS IN HOUSING

Since New York City kicked us out of Tompkins Square Park, we've moved our protests against the lack of housing for the poor to the United Nations where we've set up a tent city. Please come visit us. Instead of renovating housing, the city keeps tearing it down and putting people in temporary shelters at a cost of \$90 a day. Why isn't this money being used to renovate? Lots of people in the shelters have carpentry and other skills they could use to renovate older buildings.

We support the Chinese freedom and democracy demonstrations, and they support us. Freedom and democracy aren't what they should be in this country either. Tianamen Square, Tompkins Square—one struggle.

Terry and Arthur,
Black homeless activists
New York City

Who We Are and What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees is an organization of Marxist-Humanists that stands for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private property form as in the U.S., or its state property form, as in Russia or China. We stand for the development of new human relations, what Marx first called a new Humanism.

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcat strikes against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation—activities which signaled a new movement from practice that was itself a form of theory. **News & Letters** was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard unseparated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation. We have organized ourselves into a committee form of organization rather than any elitist party "to lead."

Raya Dunayevskaya (1910-87), founder of the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism, became Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees from its founding to 1987. Charles Denby (1907-83), a Black production worker, author of **Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal**, became editor of the paper from 1955 to 1983. Dunayevskaya's works **Marxism and Freedom...from 1776 until Today**; **Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao and Rosa Luxemburg**; **Women's Liberation**, and **Marx's Philosophy of Revolution** spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism inter-

nationally, as **American Civilization on Trial** concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa. These works challenge post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism.

The new visions of the future that Dunayevskaya left us in her work from the 1940s to the 1980s are rooted in her rediscovery of Marx's Marxism in its original form as a "new Humanism" and in her re-creation of that philosophy for our age as "Marxist-Humanism." The development of the Marxist-Humanism of Dunayevskaya is recorded in the documents on microfilm and open to all under the title **The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half Century of its World Development**, on deposit at the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs in Detroit, Michigan.

News and Letters Committees aims at developing and concretizing this body of ideas for our time. In opposing this capitalistic, racist, sexist, exploitative society, we participate in all class and freedom struggles, nationally and internationally. As our **Constitution** states: "It is our aim...to promote the firmest unity among workers, Blacks and other minorities, women, youth and those intellectuals who have broken with the ruling bureaucracy of both capital and labor." We do not separate mass activities from the activity of thinking. Send for a copy of the **Constitution of News and Letters Committees**.

THE CHANGED WORLD OF LABOR

Lots of changes are taking place both in labor's sphere and the community at large, especially down in Cape Town. Archbishop Tutu will always be respected by all South African Blacks for his bold and unwavering stand against injustices of all forms. We are presently in dispute with a company called Midmacor, situated in Japan. The main cause of the dispute is the company's refusal to negotiate wages and conditions of our members with the said company's branch in Selby, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Labor activist
South Africa

I just read in the *Harvard Business Review* that "Today...the cost of direct labor in a typical high-technology company seldom exceeds 10% of total costs" while at the same time "Indirect factory costs...now equal from five to ten times their direct labor costs." Sounds like they must have about 7½ bosses for every worker, and if that isn't some kind of a mess, I don't know what is!

Jan Kollwitz
Chicago

GM has developed this "voluntary input system" in the plant—it's really just another form of team concept. You can get an idea of what it's about from the fight that broke out recently in Materials: One guy working in Materials needed to take his break in the middle of the shift, rather than at the end. When he came back, his support person asked where he was at, and he told him he had to take an emergency break. The support person told him he couldn't do that, that he could only take his break at the end of the shift. They got in quite an argument about this. The point is, this support person carries a union card! It shows how GM is trying to pit labor against labor—they've been doing it for years, but they are really getting away with it now.

Autoworker
Oklahoma

The union leaders all over are now forcing anti-worker contracts down the

workers' throats. So you have a tremendous vacuum and confusion among some of the workers. With the UMW, it matters whether or not the miners follow Trumka. The fact that he called an unofficial wildcat strike showed a heck of a lot of guts. Trumka has tried new kinds of things—his actions are a reflection of the real seething that is going on among the miners. Some miners in southern West Virginia did not go back to work when Trumka told them to do so. They know from the Massey strike that those concessions are not abstract. Just as the CIO helped fill the vacuum the AFL was unable to do anything with, so there are a lot of things happening now.

Ex-miner
Detroit

We cannot talk of labor revolt without being oppressively aware of the Achilles heel of American racism that has reached a new depth in the lynch-type murder of Yusef Hawkins in Bensonhurst, N.Y. It's no accident that this happened in 1989, the year the Supreme Court has attacked the Black movement so viciously, daring to touch laws that go all the way back to the Civil War. It is 26 years since the March on Washington. We cannot afford another unfinished revolution.

John Marcotte
New York

SOLIDARITY WITH CHINA'S MASSES

前仆后继

The N&L articles on China have cleared up the questions I had about whether the Chinese students were fighting for capitalism. That's the impression you got from the American media. It seems that every time a movement breaks out somewhere, the American government and media want to say: "See—they want it just like we have here. Isn't that great!" N&L showed how much deeper the Chinese movement went.

U.S. student activist
California

Raya Dunayevskaya's 1981 writing on China, "Deng revises not so much Mao as Marx," (July 1989) N&L is exactly the weapon I was looking for to fight all of the supposedly radical Left parties who haven't been able to tell me any more than: "...we went to China with pre-formed notions about what was happening there that were proved correct after talking to a few people" (Nate Weinstein of *Socialist Action*).

After reading Raya's analysis of Deng's revision of Marx's Marxism, I started asking people I talked with, how can they be so blind to the fact that the Hegelian-Marxian dialectic refuses to let you go anywhere with pre-conceived notions, much less to revolutionary China?

Mitch Weerth
Los Angeles

I thought the readers of N&L would want to see this poem from a student in China.

I have been on hunger strike for seven days.

Mama, when I get hungry, China will get healthy.

The square is not made of stones and the people are not pigs.

Why did you give me a mouth to eat?

It's also to kiss my lover.

I love this country.

It's about to become a spirit.

Solidarity activist
Brooklyn

ANJOMAN AZADI

The current situation in Iran is so devastating that even the Iranian Left has for the first time in its history begun to engage in some self-critique. Though some blame the situation on the "cultural backwardness" of the Iranian society, there is a sizeable part of the Left trying to engage in self-critique. I believe the new Iranian publication of chapter 12 of Dunayevskaya's *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* by the Iranian Marxist-Humanist group Anjoman Azadi can contribute to this process of self-clarification.

Iranian revolutionary in exile
Chicago

ON C.L.R. JAMES

N&L continues to give good coverage on workers struggles the world over, and I know of no American paper that does as well. All the more ironic and lacking in vision was the omission of any news or tribute on the death of C.L.R. James. Whatever differences over the dialectic led to James' split with N&L, the many roles he played and actions that were historically correct at the time should not be dismissed.

Bob Bates
New Jersey

In reading "1953 as 'A New Divide Within Marxism,'" I saw the difference between James and Dunayevskaya in their attitude to working people. Both said it was important to record workers' voices, yet for James, his responsibility stopped there. Just taking down what workers say is not the full answer to the crisis in objective reality. That is taking something from working people and not giving anything back in return. Dunayevskaya's view of Subjects of revolution as Reason means developing a relation to live human beings and developing the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism.

Gene Ford
Los Angeles

I felt sad when C.L.R. James died, because once upon a time he really was a great Marxist revolutionary who reached seriously for an understanding of the Hegelian-Marxian dialectic. All the eulogists who limited James to his contributions to "culture" weren't so far off. In the last decades of his life everything was given over to the cultural sphere; he wandered very far from the dialectics of philosophy and revolution. As Raya once said of James: "Alas poor Yorick, I new him!"

Long-time revolutionary
Michigan

Editor's note: As part of our 1989 Pre-Plenum Discussion period, News and Letters Committees issued the bulletin "1953 as 'A New Divide Within Marxism,'" which contains a critique of Paul Buhle's biography of C.L.R. James, as well as several writings on James by Raya Dunayevskaya. To order a copy, send \$1.00 to N&L.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS

—BOOKS—

- Marxism and Freedom ...from 1776 until today**
1989 Columbia University Press edition. New 1980s introduction by author 381 pp.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$17.50 per copy
- Philosophy and Revolution from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao**
1989 edition. New introduction by author 372 pp.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$14.95 per copy
- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution** 234 pp.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future** 294 pp.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$15.95
- The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two Historic-Philosophic Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya.** Contains "Presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy of June 1, 1987," and 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes." 52 pp.
\$3.00 paperback, \$10.00 hardcover
- Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal**
1989 Wayne State University Press edition includes Afterword by Raya Dunayevskaya, "Charles Denby 1907-83" 303 pp.
by Charles Denby \$14.95

- Constitution of News & Letters Committees** 25¢ postage
- Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts**
Special bulletin on Marxist-Humanism as a body of ideas by Raya Dunayevskaya, Eugene Walker, Michael Connolly and Olga Domanski \$1 per copy
- The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.**
by Andy Phillips and Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
- 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.**
A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.50 per copy
- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard.**
Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucuses in the Unions" by Charles Denby \$2 per copy
- Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions**
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.25 per copy

—PAMPHLETS—

- Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought**, by Lou Turner and John Alan
New Expanded edition contains Introduction/Overview by Raya Dunayevskaya, Lou Turner and John Alan
Appendices by Rene Depestre and Ngugi wa Thiong'o \$3 per copy
- The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts**
by Ron Brokmeyer, Franklin Dmitryev, Raya Dunayevskaya \$1 per copy
- Working Women for Freedom**
by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes \$1 per copy
- Dos ensayos por Raya Dunayevskaya.**
Spanish language pamphlet
1989 edition \$2.00 per copy

—ARCHIVES—

- The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—A Half-Century of Its World Development**
A 12,000-page microfilm collection
on six reels \$120
- Guide and Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development**
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• News & Letters, as well as other Marxist-Humanist literature, is available on tape for the blind. For information, write to News & Letters.

Special Introduction to 1989 edition

*"New thoughts
on the Dialectics of
Organization and Philosophy"*

The Columbia University Press edition of *Philosophy and Revolution* contains a new Introduction by Raya Dunayevskaya. This Introduction consists of two writings of 1986: 1) new perceptions of Lenin's philosophic ambivalence; 2) dialectics of organization in Hegel's "Third Attitude of Thought to Objectivity: Immediate or Intuitive Knowledge."

Dunayevskaya considered these writings to be a new point of departure for working out a new relationship between philosophy and organization for our age.

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PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

*From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya
Marxist-Humanist Archives*

The "u

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

Editor's note: In announcing the new publication by Columbia University Press of the 1989 edition of Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao we publish excerpts of a letter by Raya Dunayevskaya which pinpoints the "uniqueness, originality, and difficulty" of that work—something that is as crucial to absorb in 1989 as when the book was first published in 1973. Dunayevskaya's letter of Feb. 1, 1972, was addressed to the National Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees and written just as she completed the final manuscript of the book. To obtain a copy of the new edition of Philosophy and Revolution, see ad, p. 1.

February 1, 1972

IT is finished! IT has been mailed off to the publishers! IT is time for us to become fully aware, now that the work is finished, of the uniqueness, originality, and difficulty of *Philosophy and Revolution*. It can under no circumstances be treated as if this was the week that was. It must under no circumstances be considered as the waiting period for it to be published. It must under all circumstances be recognized as not only this is the decade that is, but that this period between submission and publication is not a period of waiting, but a period of projection as well as internalization.

Let's begin with internalization....There are times when leadership must act like leaders, and especially so when this is not a question of giving a line, but internalizing a historic transition point. By historic...we mean not only—and that would be a very, very great leap if even it were only a "not only"—an attempt to fill the theoretic void since Lenin's death. It is something that is built on the heritage they left, but it is also "an assignment" that they gave us that they themselves did not carry out. With this, we feel we have carried out their assignment; history will be the final judge; or more precisely, if we make the history in our lifetime, that will be the realization of that philosophy which the young Marx defined as the idea of freedom becoming a reality on the basis that the needs have already been fulfilled, and the human power first then begins to be the end in itself.

Perhaps I should specify even more concretely the assignment: 1) in 1844, Marx stopped at a paragraph in the *Philosophy of Mind*. Hegel had just finished defining the Absolute, and Marx intended to "expose him." Since historical materialism that he had then discovered was something altogether too great to turn into an appendage of the arguments he was carrying on with Hegel, he cut off and proceeded with all the works we know. However, it constantly bothered him, and he kept repeating in the letters to Engels, that if sometime he



found time, he would like to put "in rational form" Hegel's contribution. As so much else that his heirs never understood, always violated and forever disregarded, German Social Democracy, at best, interpreted that mean "popularization." And they didn't even do it! But if they had done it, we would have had something else to live down, so it's as well, perhaps, that they hadn't. I've surely always been happy that Lenin didn't know the 1844 Essays, or at least did not know the section that would have inhibited him, and that is the Hegel's indication that the next book would be on the nature was the proof that Hegel was an idealist, had first to go to the "outside" (Hegel always defined Nature exteriority) after he had already supposedly reached the height of the Absolute—Absolute Knowledge in the *Phenomenology* and the Absolute Idea in the *Science of Logic*. In a word, Marx took Hegel's word at its value, and of course argued against the idea of first starting with reality, with what is, but instead making World Spirit and the Absolute Idea "manifest itself" in reality. And Marx was talking down to Hegel, telling

Louis Dupré's Preface to the Col

The book here presented in a new edition was Raya Dunayevskaya's most theoretical work. In it the Russian-American socialist attempted to save Marx from interpretations which, in the name of systems established through political revolutions, restrict the revolutionary significance of the philosophy behind his theory. That philosophy, the author claims, was, from the beginning to the end, Hegel's Logic. The Moscow based party had rejected such a leftist interpretation when early in this century, Lukacs and Korsch had proposed a similar, Hegelian reading. Yet a notable difference separates Raya Dunayevskaya's from those earlier positions. Their interpretation had limited the revolutionary impact of Hegel's philosophy to the socio-political order. Dunayevskaya aims at a total liberation of the human person—not only from the ills of a capitalist society but also from the equally oppressive State capitalism of established communist governments. She assumes within her theory of class struggle issues as diverse as feminism, black liberation, and even the new nationalism of third world countries. The theory turned into praxis in a movement that came to be named "Marxist Humanism."

Earlier that name had been appropriated by other interpreters—among them, Schaff, Fromm, and an assortment of French existentialists. They tended to focus almost exclusively on Marx's youthful writings, especially the Paris Manuscripts of 1844, centered around the concept of human alienation. In this isolating the young from the mature Marx they introduced a break (Althusser's famous coupure) between the early and the later works which, once the interest shifted to the later, would lead to the kind of antihumanist interpretation characteristic of structuralists of the left. Raya Dunayevskaya likewise traces the origins of Marx's humanist vision to the Paris Manuscripts. (She first translated into English the two essays, "Private Property and Communism" and "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic.") But in them she found the key for her reading of the entire Marx. As she states in *Marxism and Freedom* (p. 59), Marx's concern ultimately went not to communism but to humanism. Had he himself not heavily criticized "vulgar and nonthinking communism," precisely

because of its exclusive concentration on social-economic structures at the neglect of the person? A one-sided emphasis upon the issue of property could but distort the far more fundamental task of building a truly human society. The other insight the early writing brought to her understanding of the later Marx was the definitive impact of Hegel's dialectic. That dialectic, the author insists, was not a method "applied" to revolutionary activity. It constituted the very essence of the activity. Contrary to the position held by established party doctrine, the dialectic of revolution would not grind to a halt in any particular political or social system once capitalist structures had been abolished. As she read Marx, such a dialectic of the human subject would move beyond any social-economic change toward a continuing revolution.

WE RECOGNIZE A pattern of thought laid out by such Marxist "humanists" as Fromm and Marcuse. But while their interpretation remains based in the Paris Manuscripts, hers seeks its point of gravity in Capital. The humanist, Hegelian reading of Marx's most authoritative work constitutes her greatest contribution to our understanding of Marxist theory. Lenin's [Philosophic] Notebooks thereby served as an introductory—but by no means definitive—guideline. From them she learned how the dialectical negation defines the method and goals of the social revolution described in Marx's work. Yet in the end even Lenin failed to perceive the full import of his own discovery, limiting its significance almost entirely to social-economic structures. Unless Marxist dialectic be identified with a movement intrinsic in the human subject itself, it will inevitably yet in consistently be arrested in some particular post-capitalist structure.

Raya Dunayevskaya devoted the early period of her career to exposing the inadequacy of such a limited, insufficiently dialectical revolution for the liberation of the total person. In fact, she claims, it merely results in a new form of capitalism—State capitalism. As she explains in *Marxism and Freedom*, alienated labor, not planless production or multiple ownership, characterizes a capitalist society. But that clearly persists in the communist regimes of our time: socialist labor appears no

AS A CHALLENGE TO THE 1990s "uniqueness, originality, and difficulty" of Philosophy and Revolution

him that any child would know that first there is Nature, first there is life, first there is mama and papa and world, and then comes the Idea.

Lenin, on the other hand, since he wasn't breaking with Hegel, but first getting to know him, and since the people that he was breaking with were the "Marxist" leaders who had just betrayed, welcomed Hegel's "going to Nature" after he had finished the Absolute Idea, interpreting that to mean that Hegel was stretching out his hand to materialism. It isn't that Lenin didn't know that Hegel said the Idea comes first and then manifests itself, etc., etc., etc.; it is that he simply paid no attention to it. To him, what was important was that the movement from the Idea included practice, "ended" with practice, and that therefore regardless of what Hegel meant consciously to do, the objectivity of what he did, actually showed that the elements of historical materialism were in Hegel. Or, as he put it, "a guess of a genius."

Therefore, to him, what was important was to go from there somewhere else. And the "somewhere else" was that the dialectic should be carried through, or rather into: science, technique, and history of thought. It's the history of thought we carried through.

So, by analyzing all of Hegel's works (it is all, because the others that I do not consider are lectures, which carry out and concretize the ideas of the *Phenomenology*, the *Science of Logic* and *Philosophy of Mind*), following that through with the alternative, we have actually reached our own period by "knowing" everything in thought that Hegel summed up that preceded his: Hegel's great revolution in thought; Marx's, Lenin's; and then facing Existentialism as Marxist-Humanists of the epoch in which the masses from below with their new passions and force had begun a new movement to theory.

Not only have no Marxists ever considered the three final syllogisms of Hegel in the *Philosophy of Mind*, but neither have many of the academicians until most recently. There are very, very few in English; none of them are good; there is one in German that is far superior to anyone else, but it remains a theodicy. Which is exactly what Hegel did not do.

The three syllogisms that you must study by heart, over and over and over again will be explained in detail... and I will here merely list them:

First Syllogism: LOGIC—NATURE—MIND

Second Syllogism: NATURE—MIND—LOGIC

Third Syllogism: SELF-THINKING IDEA in above two manifestations

(Philosophical MEDIATION is, at one and the same time, OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE METHOD)

The first syllogism seems merely to list the order in

which the books were written by Hegel, but in fact this is the very one which, way back in 1953, I had stated meant that there was a movement from practice to theory, as well as vice versa. Outside of the maturity of the age, and that we were on the eve of the June 17, 1953 revolt in East Germany, the reason I drew that conclusion was due to the fact that the middle term is always the crucial one in Hegel; it is the middle out of which the whole is formed; it's the mediation; it is the method; it is the process; it is at one and the same time objective and subjective. Therefore, I concluded that if Nature=practice can turn either back to Logic or forward to Mind it means that we have reached the age that where, instead of being burdened down with the void in the movement since Lenin's death, we should look forward to something arising from praxis.

The second syllogism, the mediating force, is Mind itself, and that means not only theory, but philosophy, and means a great deal more than just the movement from theory to practice that would aim to unite with the movement from practice, because it's an actual philosophy of history and history of philosophy. And I question whether that didn't actually also take in the *Phenomenology of Mind*, which Marx had always considered the birth of the dialectic and Hegel's greatest work. Clearly it was not just phenomena, but the science, the philosophy of phenomena. So that the "experiences" of consciousness, through all its stages of alienation, ended with an absolute that was so absolute that it even killed off God: "the Golgotha of the Spirit." (That's how Hegel managed to put philosophy ahead of religion.)

The third syllogism is what materialists have always distrusted, and what theologians were very happy to meet, because Hegel thereby supposedly returned to the Absolute Spirit. But if that had been so, how explain the self-thinking of the Idea, which ever since the Science of Logic, he had defined as self-determination, self-development, the Subject?

...This is nothing you talk about off the top of your heads. This is something that requires ten-fold "seriousness, patience, suffering, labor of the negative," THE practice of the second negativity...It is something that makes us see how much more there is than there appears to be to that last part, especially the last chapter, of *Philosophy and Revolution*,* where we would all be swimming so elatedly with all other new passions and new forces that we never knew before, from whom we have elicited so much, and who will recognize themselves in us.

* Editor's note: The "last part" of *Philosophy and Revolution* refers to Part III, "Economic Reality and the Dialectics of Liberation"; the last chapter is entitled "New Passions and New Forces: The Black Dimension, the Anti-Vietnam War Youth, Rank-and-File Labor, Women's Liberation."

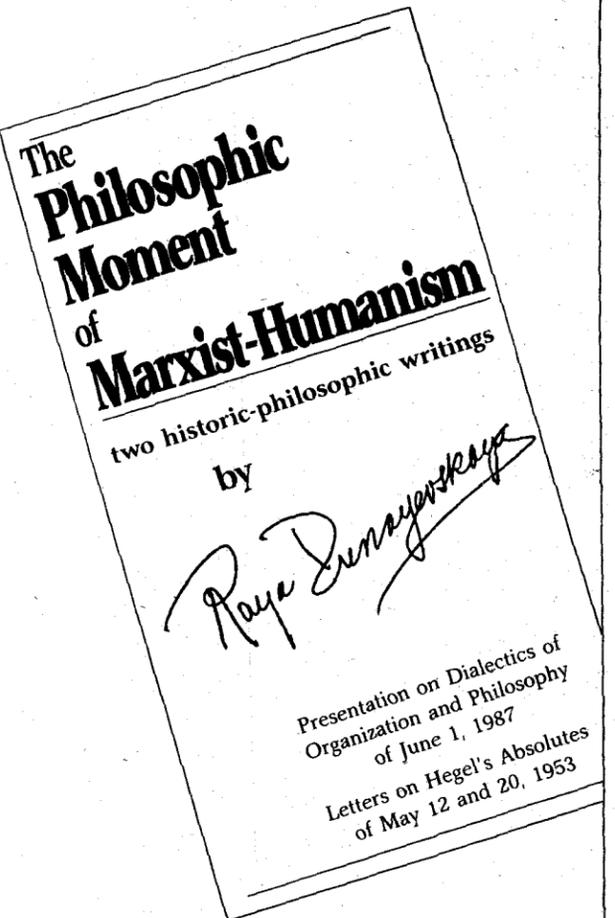
fact a new kind of Hegelian dialectic. Students of Hegel may be disinclined to accept the author's claim that Marx "deepened" or internalized a dialectic which Hegel had exclusively restricted to the cognitive realm. Her equation of revolutionary praxis with Hegel's absolute Idea remains dubious. Hegel himself identified the practical order with the Objective Spirit which leads to, but does not coincide with, the Absolute Spirit. Raya Dunayevskaya, with all Marxists, defends the ultimate priority of praxis over *theoria*, a position which decisively distinguishes them from Hegel's as well as from the well-nigh entire Western tradition. Their thesis entails not so much a different interpretation as a radical transformation.

Most remarkably, however, *Philosophy and Revolution* shows how these seemingly abstract disputes about the ultimate meaning of the dialectic bear directly upon utmost concrete issues. Dunayevskaya's thesis induced her to establish a monthly paper for socialist workers. As she states in her new introduction to the Columbia University re-edition of *Marxism and Freedom* (1958; 1989): "The concept of having theory and practice together dictated our refusal to put theoretical articles only in a theoretical journal. Our point was that the intellectual should not only read, but write for, a workers' newspaper like *News & Letters*." In the present book it led her to interpret the various East European revolts of recent decades in the light of her own dialectical humanism: Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland—all expressed an identical desire for a liberation beyond, and even against the socialist State. That State had failed, because of its ineradicable tendency to repress within its own establishment whatever powers of freedom the socialist movement had originally unleashed. Marx, in such a reading, points beyond communism. The negation of negation, that Hegelian lever of Marxist revolutions, is the first thing the objective Marxism of governing communist parties wants to eliminate. "What the Russians fear most is exactly what erupted in Hungary in 1956. In all the changes since then nothing truly fundamental has been altered. This is seen most clearly of all in the fact that it has always

less "alienated" than capitalist was. What Marx referred to as the fetishism of commodities does not consist in an particular economic abuse, but in the dominance of dead over living labor. In communist countries the fetishism of the State has succeeded the earlier fetishism of commodities....

Lenin, at least in his *Notebooks*, grasped some of the subjective and therefore ever changing nature of the revolutionary dialectic. While rereading the first chapter of *Capital* in the light of Hegel's *Logic*, he understood that the dialectic is not an objective scheme, definitively articulated, and then "applied" and adapted to a variety of situations. In the course of praxis the human subject constantly reinvents its revolutionary dialectic. Dunayevskaya concurs: the dialectic needs "to be situated in and for itself," not as a "method of thought" as even Rosa Luxemburg (and indeed Marx himself once in a note to Engels) had claimed. Historical materialism consists, for Dunayevskaya, in the "self-determination of the Idea" (Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation*, and *Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, 1982, p. 125). The very transition from theory to practice marks a philosophical move—not an abandonment of philosophy. Had the young Marx himself not written that "the practice of philosophy is itself theoretical. It is criticism which measures the individual existence against essence, particular actuality against the idea"? In the eyes of his radical commentator, Marx's position never changed. The publication of the preparatory notes for *Capital* (the so-called *Grundrisse*) showed how much the structure of that work's argument owed to Hegel's *Logic*.

DUNAYEVSKAYA'S INTERPRETATION may rest on a somewhat selective reading of Marx's texts. Yet the continued impact of Hegel appears, indeed, to be undeniable. She supports it by her own instructive analysis of the first chapter of *Capital* in her last work, *Rosa Luxemburg*. I doubt whether any commentator since Jean Hyppolite has succeeded better in a Hegelian reading of *Capital*. Nor does Marx's theory "imitate" Hegel's doctrine of the notion (as Lenin claimed). Quite the contrary: Marx's theory runs radically counter to Hegel's intentions and constitutes in



- *Presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy, June 1, 1987*
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Philosophic Dialogue

The "Philosophic Dialogue" column, commentary on the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya, will resume in the November issue. We invite our readers to send in their views of the new edition of *Philosophy and Revolution* as well as *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism*.

been the Single Party State that remained the all-dominant power" (R.D. in *Praxis International* 8, Oct. 1988, p. 366).

THE EMPHASIS GIVEN by the mature Marx to economic theory may easily eclipse his consistent humanism. To counteract that tendency Raya Dunayevskaya in recent years increasingly drew attention to Marx's study of precapitalist societies as reflected in the ethnological notebooks he wrote during his final years. Contrary to Engels (*The Origin of the Family*), Marx perceived those societies as independent nuclei of dialectical development—not as preparatory stages to a capitalist culture. "Marx was not hurrying to make easy generalizations, such as Engels' characterization of the future being just a 'higher state of primitive communism'" (Rosa Luxemburg, p. 186). The variety of the dialectical developments renders any hope of overcoming human alienation by merely changing the form of ownership illusory.

However the reader may in the end judge *Philosophy and Revolution*, he or she will undoubtedly become aware of the difficulties inherent in the traditional interpretations of Marx's theory, not only in official dialectical materialism, but even in the more genuinely dialectical ones of historical materialism. Nor will it henceforth be necessary to restrict a genuinely philosophical reading to the early works. Raya Dunayevskaya has restored the unsettled, restless, intrinsically dialectical quality of Marx's thought from the deadening systematization of official Marxism as well as from the "abolition" of philosophy perpetrated by her own mentors, Lenin and Trotsky, on the basis of some passages in Marx himself. To have done so renders her the liveliest, most fiercely independent theoretician of the far left wing in contemporary Marxism. Her interpretation reflects, besides penetrating, original insight, her own lively curiosity. Having enjoyed a long, thoroughly "dialectical" acquaintance with her, I now consider her remarkable ability to remain fully alert to the winds and currents of her own time, the social and historical as well as the intellectual, the main quality of that remarkably generous and intelligent mind.

Black World

(Continued from page 1)

unions. The Aug. 27-28 workers summit represented more than 2.5 million organized workers, and effectively unified the two federations around a strategy of civil disobedience which climaxed the month-long Defiance Campaign with a general strike on the eve of the national elections.

What the media was finally allowed to report, then, were mass protests and a passive resistance campaign being ostensibly tolerated by a new apartheid government broadly perceived in the West as a reform-minded and liberal agency of change in South Africa. However, because protest has always walked in the shadow of massacre in South Africa, the brutal reality of apartheid beneath de Klerk's rhetoric of reform glared forth as 25 unarmed people were massacred in the Lavender Hill section of Cape Town on election day.

Following the Lavender Hill massacre, Rev. Allan Boesak told a news conference: "I do not know how people can become vaguely excited about these elections when on the same night the man who calls for reform and a new South Africa, who has a 'new vision,' allowed this kind of massacre to take place. Mr. de Klerk's presidential seat is a pool of blood." What followed was one of the largest protest demonstrations in South Africa in the last 15 years, involving more than 20,000 people, and sanctioned by de Klerk who recognized the political necessity of temporarily lifting the ban on a demonstration led by the white mayor of Cape Town and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

IDEOLOGICAL RESTRUCTURING

The South African apartheid regime has sought to mask the visage of Hitler by making the architect the emperor with the election of an ideologue like de Klerk as new state-president with the full imperialist powers of a militarized state, armed to the teeth, lording over one-third of the African continent. Formulated in the most prosaic terms, the former education minister, who was responsible for suppressing the massive student movement which initiated the last decade and half of struggle in South Africa, has expressed the desire to dismantle apartheid in all its dimensions except one—white economic and political power protected by group area rights.

De Klerk's five-year "Plan of Action" actually projects the retrenchment of white group rights in terms more hegemonic than any articulated by previous heads of the apartheid state. Not since Verwoerd, the architect of South Africa's draconian Bantu education system in 1953, has an ideologue of white supremacy held the reins of power and presided over the ideological restructuring of the apartheid state and society. Having sought to paint de Klerk as a "moderate," if not "liberal," Pretoria hopes that his fraudulent call for "a democracy in which no group dominates, or is dominated" will allow South Africa to "re-enter" the international community.

This ideological restructuring of apartheid has brought a new challenge to the liberation movement. Despite the war-weary expectations of the ANC that

Racism resurges in Italy

The murder in late August of Jerry Essan, a 30-year-old South African immigrant, increases the already-prevalent stench of racism in Italy. Essan was shot in Villa Literno, near Naples, by a gang of armed men who raided the dwelling where he and some 30 other young Africans were sleeping. The robbers shouted racial epithets at the Black men while proceeding to steal several thousand dollars. When Essan tried to escape, he was mowed down by a hail of bullets in his back.

The vast majority of Africans in Italy now are undocumented immigrants. In Villa Literno, they are exploited working as low-paid pickers on local farms, or survive by hawking merchandise in tourist areas. Racist literature and verbal abuse was reported around Villa Literno before Essan was murdered. Ten Africans were found sleeping in a cemetery crypt because the town council refused to provide decent housing.

Other racist incidents have been reported throughout Italy, among them a driver who would not let Blacks board his bus; a town mayor who decreed that local cafes could not serve alcohol to "colored immigrants"; a vigilante group of shopkeepers set up to keep Africans from selling on tourist beaches.

In one resort on the Adriatic Sea, 500 Africans organized a march through town in August. They carried petitions and banners demanding "Stop racism now! Please let us work!" A coalition of politicians and intellectuals has begun to organize a group similar to the French anti-racist SOS-Racisme.

Italy used to "export" its workers to more industrially-advanced countries in Europe where they lived under discrimination and harsh conditions. Now it is experiencing a rise at home in the number of immigrant workers. While there are many less Africans and Asians than in Germany, France or Britain, the racism in Italy is becoming every bit as virulent.

The myth now being exploded is that Italy ever was a non-racist enclave within Western Europe. One need only look back some 50 years to the fascists' racist propaganda campaigns when Italy was attacking Ethiopia, to recall that racism is not a simple question of "current economics" but has its own putrid indigenous roots.

—Mary Holmes

S. Africa at crossroads

the Angola-Namibia accords, brokered by the two superpowers earlier this year, signalled a change in political direction in Pretoria, the apartheid regime has unleashed an all-out assault on all fronts. Nevertheless, on the eve of the national elections, the ANC took the unprecedented move toward political negotiations with Pretoria when it got the backing of the OAU (Organization of African Unity) for its guidelines for a negotiated settlement.

As Raya Dunayevskaya noted in 1976, at the time of the Angola crisis, "Clearly, the global struggle for world domination [has] entered the cockpit... The counter-revolution intrudes everywhere any revolutionary force emerges to truly shake the existing state powers."

We will return to this "ideological restructuring," both from within South Africa and from the superpowers, in the November "Black World" column.

SWAPO homecoming

Sam Nujoma, leader of the Black liberation group in Namibia, SWAPO (South-West Africa Peoples Organization), returned home, Sept. 14, to the cheers of large crowds, after years of exile. Nujoma, a former railway labor activist, fled into exile 30 years ago after leading protests in 1959 against the forced removal of Blacks from their homes in Windhoek, the capital, to the segregated township of Katakura.

In 1989 as in 1959, Namibia remains under South African rule. But the streets of Katakura on this September day were filled with thousands of celebrants. If the promised November elections under UN sponsorship are conducted without massive intimidation and manipulation by South Africa (which is highly unlikely), most observers agree that SWAPO would win by a landslide. To avoid just such an outcome, South Africa has orchestrated a secretive and violent campaign against SWAPO, while publicly claiming to cooperate with the UN-sponsored elections.

- On Sept. 12, just two days before Nujoma's return, the first white to join SWAPO, 37-year-old lawyer Anton Lubowski, was shot to death outside his home.

- Throughout the summer, the Koevoet ("crowbar"), a murderous white-led Black unit of the South African forces, has been going into villages on armored personnel carriers, and, while destroying homes and crops, has assembled villagers at gun-point to "advise" them not to vote for SWAPO.

- The lives of Sam Nujoma and other SWAPO activists are under daily death threats. They are not allowed to carry arms. When some SWAPO forces attempted peacefully to enter Namibia last April, keeping their arms for self-defense, 279 of them were murdered—most after having surrendered—by Koevoet and other South African forces. SWAPO forces are required to rely on a token UN force as their only protection.

—Kevin A. Barry

Black youth outrage

Los Angeles, Cal.—The mass protests that brought out more than 3,000 following the racially-motivated murder of Yusef Hawkins on Aug. 23 in Bensonhurst, a section of Brooklyn, and the confrontations between Black college students and the National Guard in Virginia Beach, Va. over the Labor Day weekend, demonstrate the ongoing struggle to end racism, the very basis of the U.S. system.

The outrage felt by Black youth at the ever-present racist attacks, whether by white youth gangs, such as the skinheads, or in the form of police brutality, is nothing short of a rejection of the society that we did not create, a society that acts—if not downright boasts—that it has no place for the self-empowerment of Black youth.

Director Spike Lee addresses this ongoing reality in his latest movie "Do the Right Thing," written in response to the controversial death of Michael Griffith in New York in 1985, who was chased by a group of white youth in Howard Beach and hit by a moving car. This deepening of discussion on the constant assaults on Black youth has many white liberals praising the movie, and separating it from the question asked by Black youth: how to combat racism and forge truly new human relations so as never to return to the nonsensical divisions apparent in racism.

Unfortunately, Spike Lee himself does not develop this question, claiming that he does not "have all the answers," nor does he "submit to dogma." What he fails to recognize is that Black youth are in accord with his views, and do understand that the answer to the question is not an easy one; however, the refusal to forthrightly grapple with the question of how do we end racism is totally unacceptable.

As one Black youth remarked to me: "I didn't get much out of the movie. It really didn't seem geared towards me because it didn't offer me anything I didn't already know."

Clearly "the right thing" is to fight racism with the very fire that it creates. Violence against the manufacturers of AK-47s, ICBMs, and Stealth Bombers is not the total solution, for the greatest weapon we have is our minds. This age proves the need to most meticulously trace our thought patterns and collect the gains of all who have come before us, so that we end racism and enter a new society.

—Maurice Miller

Haitian repression mounts



Haitian protest in Miami on 74th anniversary of U.S. occupation

Port-au-Prince, Haiti—September 17 marked one year since General Prosper Avril took power following a coup. In this year, Avril's government has been faced with many problems: strikes, protests, demonstrations, coup attempts.

Government repression is also escalating. This repression, orchestrated by police agents, hits the peasants in the countryside. In the city many people are being killed by death squads which operate with total impunity.

During this period, poverty has increased considerably. According to a document published by the Ministry of Social Affairs, it is estimated that 75% of the Haitian households have an income below the poverty line. Some indications of the absolute poverty in Haiti are:

Starvation income: \$48 to \$680 per year.

Chronic unemployment rate: 65 to 75%.

Insufficient food: less than 1700 calories/person/day.

High disease rate: 30% die from tuberculosis.

Massive rate of illiteracy: 40 to 60%.

Latrines: open ditches, which are not cleaned.

July 28 was the 74th anniversary of the landing by the American Marines in Haiti in 1915, a landing which symbolizes the shame of Haiti. On the occasion of this anniversary many activities were planned, among others a big anti-imperialist demonstration in the Place Charlemagne Peralte, Port-au-Prince.

The purpose of this demonstration was to say no to American imperialism, no to the selling of Haiti, no to the politics of dependence being advocated by the military government of Prosper Avril.

At 9:00 a.m. the demonstrators were already assembled. However, the police forcibly broke up the demonstration without giving any reason. The brutal attitude of the police was protested by many. Francois Pierre-Louis, one of the principle members of the National Popular Assembly (the organization which had called for the demonstration), sharply criticized the attitude of the Haitian Army which, according to him, remains "une armee restavek" (an army of servitude).

The National Federation of Haitian Students, in a press statement, recalled that the American intervention of 1915 was made possible by the complicity of the ruling classes of that time, notably the bourgeoisie. Some people fought against the American occupation of Haiti, among others, Rosalvo Bobo, Benoit Batraville, and Charlemagne Peralte, one of the great leaders of the resistance to the American occupation.

The Haitian people have understood well that the American occupation continues in 1989. It is time to organize ourselves to put an end to this imperialism, not only in Haiti, but also in all countries where American imperialism encourages barbarism, murder and exploitation of man by man.

—Renan Hedouville,
correspondent

NAACP march

Washington, D.C.—Despite attempts by both the Bush administration and the media to minimize discussion of the Supreme Court's recent retrogressive anti-Civil Rights decisions, no less than 38,000 people turned out on August 26, in Washington, D.C., to protest those decisions. That number, far exceeding organizers' expectations, is important because it shows that the Black community is seeing and responding to the backroom institutionalized racism that the system thinks it can get away with.

While the awareness and anger of this march were great, what still hung over it was the doubt about any real results. No one could ignore that 26 years after we pressured Congress to pass Civil Rights legislation, and faced with a Supreme Court that has stripped its protection to nothing, we are now asking that same Congress to protect us again.

The only way out of this vicious cycle is for the movement to look to more revolutionary ideas; what can this society deliver? One woman Civil Rights veteran also caught that now we're at a new stage; "Now, it's gonna be even harder for the young people than it was for us. Now they have racism and no jobs!"

With "racism and no jobs," can we afford to be satisfied with Benjamin Hooks' and Jesse Jackson's flaming anti-Bush sermons? Don't those exhortations only lead back to the liberals, whose promises to "restore social programs" still miss the limits of the government and the depth of change that is needed.

Instead, can't we listen to the open-mindedness of many of our youth, like some who came to the march from Virginia Beach. They responded to revolutionary ideas. "That's right!", they said, "complete reorganization of society sounds like what we need, because the whole way they're running things just isn't right!"

Such a vision among youth can give the movement the new direction it needs; away from Civil Rights on paper and toward full freedom in reality.

—Black Marxist-Humanist

Black opposition to racism puts American civilization on trial

(Continued from page 1)

was very wrong when he saw that the opposite of racism is for David Dinkins and Rudolph Giuliani to run a "clean, hard, issue-driven campaign."

What the advocates of a so-called issue-oriented campaign seem to want to forget—but Black Americans never forget—is that American society is deeply implicated in racism, and it was precisely for that reason that Dinkins received 94% of the Black vote.

The big media paid scant attention to Dinkins' massive Black vote, concentrating in their analysis of the election almost exclusively on the 29% of the white vote he got. There is no doubt that the white vote will be Dinkins' key to the Mayor's office, but it is important to understand that whites voted for Dinkins not for the same reason that Blacks did. In bourgeois elections there is no universal idea of freedom that disengages voters from their own particular interest. Thus *Time Magazine* credits Dinkins' white support to "his quiet conciliatory manner, which many voters hope can heal racial tension..."

Regardless of how Dinkins is going to conduct his campaign, Giuliani announced that he is going to launch a tough law and order campaign. He has charged Dinkins with being soft on crime, having a weak position on criminal justice and along with the Democratic leadership being "responsible for the overwhelming drug problems, deteriorating hospitals and social welfare system."

These charges are the usual right-wing ideological charges, all the code words are there: CRIME, WELFARE, understood to mean BLACK crime and BLACK welfare. Bush used this ideology effectively against Dukakis in his Presidential campaign, when he blatantly and cynically used an infamous TV spot to connect Dukakis to the crime of a Black rapist (Willie Horton). It is not an accident that Giuliani has added Bush's former political and media strategist, Roger Ailes, to his campaign staff.

VIRGINIA: 'GOING BEYOND RACE'?

The merging of anti-Black violence with retrogressive political racism, calling itself non-racist, is not an isolated phenomenon peculiar to New York City. Take for instance the gubernatorial race in Virginia between the Black Lieut. Gov. L. Douglas Wilder and the former Attorney General J. Marshal Coleman. Both of these men are engaged in a bitter personal campaign, and both have agreed to avoid the racial issue. Wilder has gone so far as to say that "Virginia has gone beyond race."

The consequences of going beyond race, in this instance, is to ignore the reality of racism, as in the case of the recent confrontation between Black students and police at Virginia Beach. Unlike Black leaders and eyewitnesses on the spot in Virginia Beach, Wilder doesn't condemn the heavy-handed brutality of the police as the cause for the racial confrontation, but the Black youth, the victims of calculated police harassment.

Mr. Wilder seems to have forgotten what the Kerner Commission Report singled out more than 20 years ago as the cause for the tension between Black youth and the police: the fundamental source of that tension was not law enforcement, but that the police represented a racist society from which Black youth were alienated.

CHICAGO: POLICE TERROR AND MURDER

Last month two Black youths had a terrifying experience in the Bridgeport section of Chicago, revealing the relationship of the police to growing forces of racism in Northern cities. They were picked up by two cops, verbally abused and then dumped into an area infested with racist white gangs. They were severely beaten; one was beaten unconscious and had to be hospitalized.

Also in Chicago last September an unarmed Black man, with open hands above his head, was shot and killed on the corner of 79th and Kingston. According to witnesses Leonard Bannister was "shot in cold blood" by Officer Lowell Hartfield.

Mayor Daley has maintained the shooting could not be considered an act of racism because Officer Hartfield is Black, but this was not the opinion of the 200 protesters that appeared on the scene shortly after the shooting. Blacks have long known that the police are an external force outside of the Black neighborhood—this includes Black policemen. Once inside, they are allowed to engage in the use of greater force and constant harassment of Black youth on the street corners. Black cops can be hated as much as white cops.

The incidents of racism cited here—which show that there are ever new waves of racism in this country, appearing both in its overt forms of physical assaults against Blacks and in its covert form of retrogressive political ideology—are not isolated events. Nor can the overt and covert forms of racism be separated from each other. This racism is far from being a geographical peculiarity; it is not just a problem of the old declining industrial centers of the East and Midwest, but is equally a problem of the aerospace, hi-tech and biotech centers of California.

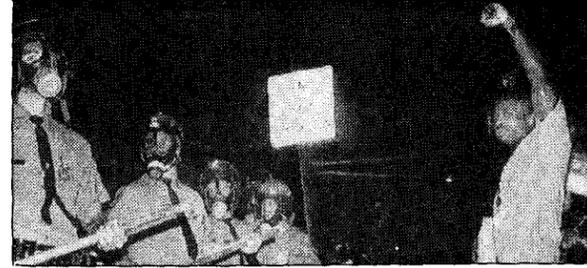
OAKLAND: BLACK POVERTY IN HIGH-TECH REGION

Take Oakland, Ca. It's a city that sits in the midst of high technology that is reaching towards Japan, China and Southeast Asia, ever seeking cheap labor and new technological development. It is also a city that has a Black mayor and the majority of the city council, as well as the Board of Education, is Black. Oakland's Representative in Congress is the left-liberal Ron Dellums. Still, East Oakland is a sprawling Black ghetto

with a plague of crime, drug abuse and a permanent army of Black unemployed workers.

On top of all this, East Oakland suffers from poor public service. For instance, Highland Hospital, the only public hospital in the area, is underfunded, understaffed and over-crowded. There exists features of Third World hospitals, a high rate of Black infant mortality and waiting eight hours for medical attention.

Undoubtedly Highland represents subtle racism in the form of deprivation of adequate medical care for the poor Black working class by the rich white taxpay-



Black youth faced cub-swinging state police in Virginia Beach, Va.

ers of Alameda County.

The fact that Huey Newton's funeral was held in East Oakland said a lot about racism in Oakland. The media missed the fundamental spirit of that funeral, the remembrance of things past. Many of the people that stood outside of the church came because they wanted to re-live the high point of Huey's life, when he was the bold representation of the birth of a new Black consciousness that wanted to transform America's racist society. The Black Panther Party (BPP) had expressed it in terms of Black self-defense against racist attacks and free breakfasts for ghetto children. Today this seems to be a minimal concept of mass activity, but in the late 1960s it was a major break within the Civil Rights Movement. It meant the direct involvement of Black urban masses in the process of self-liberation.

But outside of the Church, there was the also distinct feeling that nothing fundamentally has changed in the ghetto since that highpoint.

The BPP ceased to exist long before Huey was murdered by a drug dealer. It's not only that Hoover's FBI subverted much of the activity of the BPP, harassed its

Editorial

Glomp and Auschwitz

Anti-Semitism in the 1980s

The venomous anti-Semitic diatribe that spewed from the lips of Poland's Primate Jozef Cardinal Glomp on Aug. 26 as he defended the continued presence of a convent at Auschwitz despite Jewish protest worldwide—"Dear Jews, do not talk with us from the position of a people raised above all others and do not dictate conditions that are impossible to fulfill"—was most significant as to its timings and place of utterance. The time was the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the beginning of the Second World War, that "war to end fascism," and came more than four decades after Hitler's anti-Semitic terror had been defeated. The place was Poland, where the Nazi invasion which began the war took place shortly after the infamous Hitler-Stalin non-aggression pact, and Auschwitz—the killing ground for 2½ million Jews.

AUSCHWITZ AND WORLD WAR II "COMMEMORATIONS"

At Auschwitz, in the very building used to store Zyklon-B, the poison of the gas chambers, the Polish Catholic Church arranged for the establishment of a convent in 1984. The Communist government in Poland, which had declared military rule to break Solidarnosc's power, made no objection. The Vatican, whose silence during the wartime destruction of the Jews was deafening, said not a word. Only a worldwide protest by a number of Jewish groups kept this outrage from being an accepted fact.

Finally an agreement was made to remove the convent this year. It was when that agreement was ignored and more protests occurred that Glomp issued his vile statement and cancelled the agreement. Coming as it did in the midst of the commemoration of the beginning of World War II, it could not be ignored. The outcry was worldwide. Solidarnosc, now part of the Polish government, immediately ran an editorial in its paper condemning Glomp's remarks. But for weeks the Vatican had nothing to say—while in the U.S., the former director of communications in the Reagan White House, Pat Buchanan, issued an outright defense of the nuns' "right" to have a convent on the grounds of Auschwitz. Finally, Pope John Paul II was forced to issue a Vatican statement agreeing to abide by the arrangement to relocate the convent outside Auschwitz.

Not only the Vatican but all the ruling powers hope that the issue has been swept aside. After all, the purpose of the World War II "commemorations" we have witnessed in the 1980s—from Reagan's infamous 1985 visit to Bitburg cemetery where SS officers are buried, to the ceremonies this September—all attempted to show the vanquishing of fascism and in particular of anti-Semitism.

FROM BITBURG TO WALDHEIM TO LE PEN

Nothing could be further from the truth in these

leaders and planted a host of informers in its ranks. This type of external subversion will always be with us, short of a new society. However, another powerful force working against the BPP was an internal one, the attempt by the leadership to impose upon this new stage of Black cognition ready-made philosophies, first Maoism and finally Democratic Party liberalism. The BPP didn't listen to the impulses coming from below, to the actual form of theory coming from the Black mass urban revolts. In other words, the leadership never developed the idea of freedom emerging from those revolts, thus separating itself from the masses and creating its own particular dualism in the Black Movement.

If the BPP suffered from a retrogressive dualism, Black political leaders today, especially the Black mayors of large industrial cities, have made it a principle of their political operation. They are more concerned with capitalist economic growth than the decay of Black neighborhoods and the growth of the so-called Black underclass.

Black mayors have operated under the illusion that capital growth, i.e., capital accumulation, is the source of Black prosperity, when indeed it is capitalist accumulation that creates the growing Black underclass, both in the old industrial centers and in the new high-tech areas.

The truth is that the current wave of racism is the result of Reagan's attempt to solve the crisis of capital accumulation by mounting an ideological campaign against the rights of labor and Blacks. Black became the metaphor for social and anti-poverty programs of the federal government, and Black civil rights became a threat to white rights. The Supreme Court's weakening of affirmative action and President Bush's veto of an increase in the minimum wage has added fuel to racism.

At the same time there is a growing knowledge among the Black masses that there is no political solution to the intractable problems of race and poverty.

The tragic ending of Yusef Hawkins' young life is not just a footnote to New York's mayoral election, it is a moment that contains both the historic experience of what it means to be Black in America and the urgent need to complete the unfinished Black revolution, not in the narrow political limits, but in the profound sense of creating a new society in America with new human social relations.

1980s. Not only have we witnessed Reagan's concept of "reconciliation" at Bitburg in 1985, but we have seen former SS trooper Kurt Waldheim being elected President of Austria in 1986 after his role in Nazi atrocities had been exposed. A number of countries, including the U.S., had access to those files even as he headed the UN for two terms. In apartheid South Africa the visage of Hitler is not only four decades ago, but here and now. The issues of anti-Semitism and racism continue to be alive in the heart of Europe. In France the National Front headed by Jean-Marie Le Pen received over four million votes—over 14% of the total in the 1988 Presidential election—on a platform calling for the expulsion of immigrants. In Germany neo-Nazi parties likewise polled a significant percentage of the vote in local elections.

The degeneracy of anti-Semitism and racism, the threat of fullblown fascism, was not destroyed in the ashes of the Second World War. Once the war ended, not with the total social revolution that would create a new human world, but only with the realignment of the capitalist world, breathing space was given to new threats and new manifestations of fascism.

A national survey taken on the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II showed that over half of the Americans polled expect the outbreak of World War III to erupt within two decades and to escalate to an all-out nuclear war. Without the upheaval of social revolution, the threat of war and even nuclear holocaust remain an ever-present danger.

But such a needed social revolution cannot rise to maturity without being grounded in a philosophy of permanent revolution, Marx's Marxism recreated for our day.

When in 1985 Raya Dunayevskaya watched Reagan's counter-revolutionary trip to Bitburg, as well as the Spanish masses' outpouring of opposition to his visit to Spain ("Political-Philosophic Notes on Reagan's Visit to Bitburg," *News & Letters*, June, 1985) it made her recall the two worlds of revolution and counter-revolution that have characterized our post World War II world, and how she had challenged Marxist revolutionaries in Europe in the 1950s to work out revolutionary philosophy as the pathway toward their resolution in social revolution: "...These Marxists were unable to meet the challenge of the post-World War II age, either as the new movements from practice arising both in state-capitalist countries and in the colonial world, or as the rise of neo-fascism within Europe. Today, two decades later, we are still living under the consequences of this continuing theoretic-philosophic void in the Marxist movement."

The full grounding of social revolution in a philosophy of permanent revolution remains the absolute challenge of our era.

Wisconsin Indians protest theft of their treaty rights

Editor's note: Throughout the spring of 1989, northern Wisconsin was the scene of tension, demonstrations, violence and near-martial law over Indian fishing rights. Because the Indian side of that story was largely untold, News & Letters would like to bring it to our readers. The following are excerpts from an interview with an activist in that struggle, James Yellowbank, from the Indian Treaty Rights Committee in Chicago.

People are ignorant of Indians and don't know who they are, because they have never been allowed to understand. According to the Constitution of the U.S., treaties are the supreme law of the land. They cannot be changed unless by an Act of Congress or a Presidential order.

Treaties were made with our ancestors. They're like contracts signed by a corporation, our ancestors, our present generation and our future generations. They're a bill of sale which guarantee us certain rights that we have always had in exchange for land.

The treaties that were signed in the 1800s with the Chippewa nation are still in effect, and guarantee the right to hunt, fish and gather on or off the reservation. About 100 years ago, the state of Wisconsin made an illegal ruling that Chippewa people cannot fish according to their tradition, which is spearing. In 1983, there was the Voight decision saying Chippewa people do have the right to hunt, fish and gather in the 15 counties of northern Wisconsin.

People that are economically disadvantaged in northern Wisconsin needed someone to vent their anger and frustration on. In 1987, two groups called Protect American Rights and Resources (PARR) and Equal Rights for Everybody told their people to agitate and instigate violence against the Chippewa spear-fishers. There was a violent confrontation at Butternut Lake in 1987 and 1988, with some injuries and arrests.

This year, once again, Butternut Lake was the scene of violence. Boats would try to swamp the spearers' boats; there were rocks and bottles thrown from the shore; there were ball bearings fired from a high powered sling shot. Rifle shots would go off from the shore and from wooded areas around the lake. People would stand on the shore and cheer every time the shots would go off hoping they would hit somebody. They had signs like "Save our fish, spear a pregnant squaw" and "The north woods is for timber wolves, not timber ni---s."

No one did anything about it for the first five days—from April 26. From 700-1,000 PARR and STA (Stop Treaty Abuse) people would be out at the landings every night. There was something like 20-30 Indian supporters on shore among these screaming racists. There would be about 10-15 people in the boats spearing.

There are anywhere from 20-30 people that actually spear. That isn't because the majority of the tribe doesn't support them. The majority of the tribe either does not have access to boats, or a car, or a trailer, or they don't know how to spear, or they're working and don't have the time to.

Thousands flee E. Germany

Tens of thousands of East Germans, the vast majority youth, are fleeing their country by any means necessary. This summer they flooded into Hungary which had opened its border to West Europe. When their state-capitalist totalitarian government calling itself Communist stopped them from crossing the border to Hungary, they went by the thousands to Czechoslovakia, massing on the grounds of the West German Embassy there. Their numbers became so great that finally the East German government was forced to make a deal which allowed them to emigrate to West Germany. But when word spread of the agreement, thousands upon thousands more poured over the Czechoslovakian border, fought police in front of the East German Embassy and camped out to demand the right to travel to West Germany. They too have now been allowed to go to West Germany. The East German government simultaneously closed its border with Czechoslovakia.

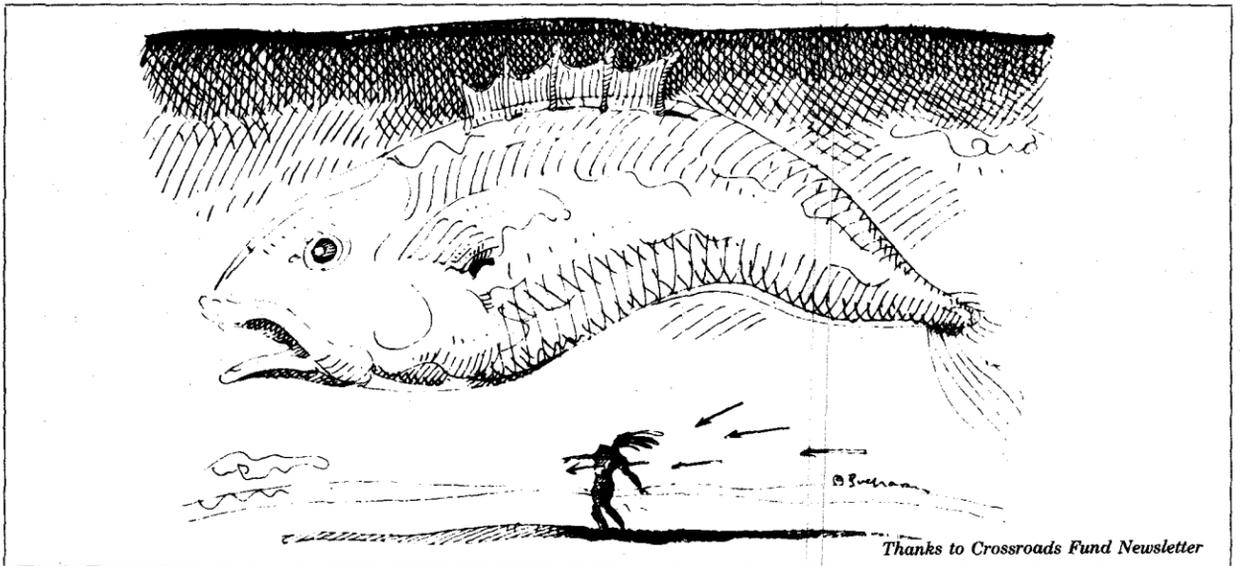
As trains carrying East German refugees moved from Czechoslovakia through East Germany on their way to West Germany, thousands more young East Germans within East Germany swarmed—at the train station in Dresden, at places where trains had to slow for curves, in the woods near the West German border where locomotives would be changed for the final part of the journey into West Germany—seeking to jump onto the refugee trains.

The East German response to this mass demand for exodus: the water cannon and the truncheon, beating dozens of youth.

Within East Germany—before the mass exodus began—came new demands for change from those who are not leaving, but fighting at home. Twenty thousand marched in Leipzig, in what has become weekly demonstrations. New organizations are springing up. One called "New Forum" has been branded "an enemy of the people" by East German leaders.

On this the 40th anniversary of the founding of the state-capitalist regime calling itself the German Democratic Republic, the fact that we see both a mass exodus and new demonstrations demanding a different life within East Germany, shows that the question today is not simply one of the lure of private capitalist or "social democratic" West Germany, as not only the capitalist press, but some of the Left press, would have us believe. The passage is not alone to escape West, but to uproot oppressive conditions of life and labor at home.

—Eugene Walker



Thanks to Crossroads Fund Newsletter

As the time went on and the support started growing, more and more people started showing up. The American Indian Movement (AIM) came in, as well as the National Organization for Women (NOW), Women Against Military Madness, the Greens, the National Council of Churches, people from all over started coming in to see what was happening.

The last day of the fishing season was on May 6, and 2,000 people went to Lac du Flambeau for a rally. About 1,500 went up to Butternut Lake that night. It's a story people will be talking about—the battle of Butternut Hill, we call it. When we got there, there were 700-800 anti-Indian protesters. They were doing their usual thing, hollering and screaming at a few of us because 25-30 of us had been separated from the rest of the caravan of 380 cars. Somehow they cut off the first 25 cars and blocked it off. It was mostly women that night in the first cars.

Finally after an hour, about 1,500 more Indian supporters came in. There was a small hill there that was literally covered with anti-Indian people. Within a half hour after AIM and supporters arrived, they took the

Iranian death squad kills Gholam Keshavarz

Editor's note: On Aug. 26, in Cyprus, Gholam Keshavarz, a founder of the Communist Party of Iran (an alliance of Persian and Kurdish Marxists) was assassinated by death squads of Iran's government. Keshavarz was the author of a perceptive essay last year on the suppression of the opposition to Stalin's institution of state-capitalism in Russia in the 1920s. His article projected a revolutionary view that is totally opposite to the current illusions being sown by Gorbachev, who is now openly embracing—and supplying an air force—to Rafsanjani's Iran. Below we print excerpts from a statement by Mahvash Charmchi, wife and comrade of Gholam Keshavarz.

Gholam Keshavarz was assassinated in Laranka, Cyprus, where he was to meet his mother after seven years. He was shot right in front of myself, his mother and brother, and fell in a pool of blood and died.

Gholam was from a poor and hardworking family, and had literally felt the pain and suffering of the filthy class society from his childhood. He became interested in politics from very early on, as a youth. His interest in politics was expressed by him when he would say "we must do something, find some way so that human beings can have a life worthy of human beings." Those who knew him closely, are aware that during 15 years of political struggles, Gholam was the live expression of "relentlessness"—hundreds of talks; numerous contacts with workers and political circles; debating and promoting in small or large gatherings; writing articles and fliers; arguing; scientific research; organizing; guiding actions and demonstrations, carrying communist papers and publications and many other works to all corners of Iran and the world.

The Islamic Republic killed Gholam in front of my eyes, but cannot take him from me. Wherever another stops bearing and starts revolting; wherever another dispossessed refuses to be satisfied with his share and wants equality; wherever workers organize and fight, there I see Gholam. Gholam's goal and his struggles were not limited to Iran. He wanted the emancipation of the whole of humanity and fought for the freedom of the workers of the world. I can see Gholam in every corner of the world. And in Iran, I can clearly see the day when, with the overthrow of the Islamic Republic, Gholam's name will reverberate in hundreds and thousands of councils, unions, and workers' organizations, just as I know that with every heart beat of a communist worker it is Gholam that continues to live.

The agents of the Islamic Republic intend to continue to assassinate Iranian political activists living overseas, by organizing death squads. I ask you Iranian refugees and all who are free minded, to protest widely, to organize and participate in demonstrations, sit-ins, to send solidarity messages, to collect signatures to condemn the Islamic republic, whatever way you can stop this terroristic policy of Iran's regime. We must not allow those who claim to value "democracy" and "human beings" to remain silent in the face of such a crime and to simply leave Iran's regime's hands open to continue its terror overseas.

We know for a fact that uranium, zinc, copper, timber and water are all resources that are in northern Wisconsin, and are wanted by big business. The issue is not fish, the issue is resources. Timber is a multi-billion dollar industry in northern Wisconsin. If they can chip away at those treaty rights, they can come in and cut the timber and make a huge profit—billions of dollars—and take the water. If these treaties are upheld, they will have to enter into a co-management program. They will have to share jurisdiction of this land with our people. And that's what they don't want to do.

Co-management means not only having the Indian people make their own decisions, but having the multinational corporations reinvest some of that money in the economic development of northern Wisconsin. If we had co-management, we could set up some sort of economically and ecologically safe timber program to build the community, Indian and non-Indian, that lives in northern Wisconsin.

Since May 6, the state of Wisconsin has been up to the old trick used by the white man called divide and conquer. They have called almost all the tribal councils to the negotiation table to talk about selling or leasing the treaty rights. This is as ridiculous to me as Martin Luther King, Jr. saying, "If you give me a million dollars, I'll let my people sit on the back of the bus." They've been very successful at it because you're talking about one of the poorest of the poor.

They offered every member of the Lac du Flambeau band \$1,400 a year for ten years cash in hand, no strings attached, and it wouldn't affect any other income they received. How many people are going to say no to that? For the money they would agree not to spearfish.

Now where are they going to get this \$45 million over ten years? For a state that's complaining about economics, where are they getting this money from?

At the end of September, the state of Wisconsin tried to push through a sellout agreement, approved only by the Lac du Flambeau tribal council. The voices of the Lac du Flambeau tribal members, and members of the other five Chippewa bands involved in the treaty, have so far been ignored. Indians from other reservations in northern Wisconsin plan a spearfishing weekend, Oct. 6-7, to protest this denial of their treaty rights.

Britain's fetish of Market

London, England—The ideological fetish of Margaret Thatcher's Britain is the Market. Market with a capital "M" to replace plan with a capital "P." When private enterprise and market forces are given free reign, everything is for the best in the best of all possible worlds. This is really the fetish of the Plan turned back to front. The Plan is now seen as the cause of all problems and crises, instead of the solution. What the Plan and the Market have in common is that both confront the majority of people as high forces outside their control, which play around with their lives.

In southern England, the cost of housing in rural areas has risen beyond the means of working people; the rural working class is disappearing to the extent that capitalist farmers in the Cotswolds now bus in agricultural workers from cities like Birmingham, and the countryside is left to the wealthy.

Under Thatcherite economics, the housing crisis goes from bad to worse. First there was rampant inflation in house prices; then a leap in interest rates jumping to 13.5 or 14%. As a result, 400,000 people are in arrears with their mortgages and there is the emergence of a new social category—the home-owning poor. There are 70,000 homeless in London.

No doubt about it, the ideological contagion of Thatcherism has spread to those who are supposed to be her political opponents. This year, the Labour Party completed its policy review, openly announcing that what they understood by socialism was "making capitalism work better," and promising to keep Britain's nuclear weapons for the time being, so a Labour Britain can remain a player in nuclear diplomacy.

Many critics and supporters of the Labour Party take the view that its rightward course is a response to the opinion polls, an attempt to keep in touch with majority views. If that were so, they could withdraw the British Army from Northern Ireland.

—Richard Bunting

Youth

'Search for New Beginnings': in China, S. Africa, the U.S.

by Sheila Fuller

Last month, Marxist-Humanist youth from across the country, held a national meeting in Chicago. We had a very lively discussion on the meaning of today's youth struggles and Marxist-Humanism as a philosophy of liberation that speaks to youth today. I would like to share excerpts from my report to that meeting with you. The full report as well as articles by other young Marxist-Humanists have been published in our new discussion bulletin: "The Search For New Beginnings."

YOUTH REVOLT IN CHINA

The most historic youth revolt this year has been taking place in China. That revolt against a state-capitalist regime is by no means over. Indeed, the depth of that movement is expressed in a statement of Chinese

Youth in Revolt

by Franklin Dmitreyev



In New Delhi, India, bonded children rallied in September to demand an end to the practice of bonded labor (child slavery). An estimated 75 million children in South Asia are sent by impoverished parents to work in horrible slave labor conditions.

At the University of Texas in Austin, Labor Day found the words "Roots of KKK—fight racism now!" painted on the monument to Jefferson Davis (president of the Confederacy). While the administration has not seen fit to remove the four campus statues honoring the slaveholders' Confederacy, it has shown little enthusiasm in helping a group begun by Black students to create a statue of Martin Luther King, Jr.

Student unions are now the main sources in Ireland of information about abortions, and many plan to defy an expected court ban this fall on giving out the information. They are being sued by the same anti-abortion group that got the courts to close the only two pregnancy counseling services in Ireland that would give out such information.

The anti-Apartheid Coalition of Tennessee tore down a shantytown they had built at the Univ. of Tennessee to protest the school's investments in companies that do business with apartheid South Africa. The action came this summer after reactionaries firebombed the shanties twice and once plowed through it with a truck.

Marxist-Humanist youth groups on campuses

The Marxist-Humanist Club
Earl Hall, Columbia University
New York, NY 10027

News & Letters Youth Committee-NYU
Box 84, 21 Washington Place
New York University
New York, NY 10003

Forum for Marxist-Humanist Thought
Holmes Student Center
Northern Illinois University
DeKalb, IL 60115

The Marxist-Humanist Forum at Loyola
Loyola University of Chicago
Centennial Forum
6525 North Sheridan Road
Chicago, IL 60626

CSULA News & Letters
c/o Associated Students
Cal State Univ.—Los Angeles
5151 State University Drive
Los Angeles, CA 90032

youth: "You cannot massacre an idea." The young freedom fighters called for a global freedom movement. They put the idea of freedom on the agenda, front and center. It was the vision of a Paris Commune type of democracy which emerged from within this movement, and which Marxist-Humanism heard and singled out as a beacon for the future.

And yet the freedom movement in China has been facing contradictions. While it has been attacked on all fronts by the fascistic police state of its state-capitalist rulers, it is also facing a bi-polar world dominated by ambitions on the part of both the U.S. and Russian state-capitalism to gain world mastery. At a recent conference of the Chinese Students' Association in Chicago, one could not possibly avoid seeing the contradictions. Many youth there were interested in a dialogue on what is genuine democracy and genuine Marxism. But the conference organizers adopted a constitution based on the U.S. Constitution which the Bush administration was trying to impose on them.

When some within the Chinese freedom movement fall prey to the pull of the Bush administration, it cannot be because of the "economic underdevelopment of China." It has to do with the lack of clarity about the idea of freedom within the movement: the underdevelopment of the idea of freedom.

BLACK YOUTH STRUGGLES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Look at another freedom movement: The Black struggle in South Africa in which youth have been in the forefront. Today South African youth are continuing to challenge the apartheid regime, now headed by the ex-minister of education, F.W. de Klerk, who is notorious for his attacks on Black youths' education. In August, youth at several schools in Capetown set up barricades near their schools and called for boycotting the parliamentary elections. Now the protests in Capetown, Johannesburg and other parts of South Africa are intensifying daily. They have involved mixed race and white youth, workers and women.

The direct reports that we get from South Africa tell us about the contradictions that plague that movement too. Just recently, we received a letter from Durban from a young revolutionary who had been organizing political education classes to "curb internecine violence that seems to destroy our political initiative." He wrote: "We have organized political education classes because we have felt this problem might be caused by poverty of a very coherent, flexible political philosophy and theory." That is why he requested Marxist-Humanist literature for their street committee.

— Young workers on the line —

Alienation in the Information Age

DeKalb, IL—I work at a social science research facility as a telephone interviewer. One of my bosses said that the human "interface" (that is what we are called in this business) was the weakest link, because our mission is to act as a speech synthesis and recognition system for the computer. What he fails to see is that we are the only link, thus making us the most important element of the study.

Never before have workers been so alienated from the products of their labor; we don't even know what it is we are producing. The purpose of and reasons for the study are not disclosed to us because it may "bias" the results—but as I told a fellow worker, the truth is that they're afraid we might un-bias the study.

The company has also started a new form of speed-up. The bosses post charts showing how long it takes each interviewer to complete the survey and how many people each worker has gotten to do the survey. Then there is a board where the "Top 4 Interviewers of the Month" are posted. This is all done with the assumption that there is a raise or a promotion attached to it (but you can't get a raise until you've worked 900 hours which takes over 1 year). This is an attempt to divide the workers by making them compete against themselves, bringing down long-distance telephone costs for the company who is the real winner.

While I was discussing this with a fellow worker, my supervisor quickly came over and told me to "shut up and dial." When the supervisor walked away, the worker said, "I see what you mean." Later when I was explaining how calling back people who have refused to do the survey alienates us from others, my supervisor again came over to tell me I talk too much. She then told me that her job was to motivate us and I told her that I know what a slave-driver is.

Last week, during a pre-shift meeting, the payroll supervisor was telling us that the university wants to lower our wages because we get paid more than other student workers, and we suggested that they raise everyone else's pay instead. When she told us they weren't about to do that, a few people jokingly suggested we protest or go on strike to get their wages raised, to which the supervisor freaked out, demanding that we never say anything like that at work again.

Karl Marx caught the truth of work in the 20th century when he wrote in the 19th century:

"In our days everything seems pregnant with its contrary. Machinery, gifted with the wonderful power of shortening and fructifying human labor, we behold

YOUTH IN THE U.S.

Let's look at ourselves: Youth in the U.S. We have suffered through Reagan's retrogressionism which is now being carried on by Bush, and his continuing attacks on the minimum wage, on education, on Black and Latino youth, on women's right to an abortion. The murder of a 16-year-old Black youth, Yusef Hawkins, by a lynch mob of white youth in Bensonhurst, NY is part of the continuing outburst of ever-present racism that has been brought to a new height by a decade of retrogressionism. We have yet to see the full ramifications of the brewing revolt among Black youth who are putting American civilization on trial.

We have seen a continuing presence of younger, high school and junior high school youth at anti-war and abortion rights demonstrations. And yet, contradictions are plaguing our youth movement here too. Why are some of the new activist youth still falling for Maoism, when the revolt in China has shown the very nature of Maoism as an ideology of unfreedom?

This is why I think this year's Call for the Plenum of News and Letters Committees declared that "The two most significant events of 1989 thus far have been the struggle of the Chinese masses against their state-capitalist regime...and our publication of *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two Historic-Philosophic Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya (TPMMH)*."

Indeed one of the greatest events for youth this year was the Chicago book party for TPMMH which had a mostly youth audience. To me, this book party proved that the most difficult, seemingly abstract problems, the challenge of Raya Dunayevskaya's 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes, and her final June 1, 1987 presentation on "Dialectics of Philosophy and Organization," are concrete to youth, because this book spells out the idea of freedom.

In the second part of this report I asked how a 1986-87 view of Dunayevskaya's 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes can enable us to explore the Marxist-Humanist concept of youth and of youth organizations. I invite you to order a copy of our new youth discussion bulletin, and join us in this dialogue.

A Marxist-Humanist Youth Bulletin:

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Chicago, IL 60605

starving and overworking it. The new-fangled sources of wealth, by some weird spell, are turned into sources of want... All our invention and progress seem to result in endowing material forces with intellectual life and in stultifying human life into a material force."

Computer technology, which once promised us machines that could think like humans, quickly transformed into its opposite, attempting to produce humans that think like machines. Whether a data entry specialist or telephone interviewer, the worker is reduced to a mere periphery of the computer.

—Joe

In a blood plasma lab

Glendale, Cal.—A few months ago I started a new job as a production operator in the Fractionation Department at Baxter-Hyland. I was working with 4,000-6,000-liter tanks of blood plasma, centrifuges for which you need a motorized hoist to remove the lid, 1,000-liter blowtanks full of alcohol and buffer, and hundreds of feet of Tygon (plastic) tubing.

All this in huge freezer rooms kept at 0 degrees Celsius, and one room kept at -25 degrees Celsius.

I ran plasma through various chemical processes and centrifuging, separating out various parts used to aid shock victims and hemophilia patients.

Two-and-a-half weeks after I started the job, I was nearly ready to go off shift, and the working leader and training supervisor noticed a problem with one of my processes. A line from the tank to the centrifuge had frozen up. The training supervisor felt that since it was near the end of the shift, we'd take a shortcut.

We turned off the centrifuge and pump and disconnected the line and heated it. Since we disconnected the line, we had to pump blood plasma into the centrifuge through an open line. Here came the problem—this is unsafe both to the operator and to a product which must be pure.

When I switched the pumps back on, I sprayed blood plasma all over my face and uniform. I'll admit to a half-second error, in remembering pump switch order, but what we were doing was unsafe—the lines should not have been open.

Both my working leader and training supervisor told me I didn't have to report the accident, and I didn't right then. I turned over my processes to the next shift, left the plant, and didn't go back.

When I reported the accident, the company offered me free, long-term HIV and hepatitis testing. If you think about it, that's pretty scary. As a young worker, I know that the \$7.50 an hour they paid me was a good wage, relative to the minimum. It sure as hell isn't worth it.

—Stuart Quinn

Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Oct. 1 brought the anniversary of 40 years of rule by the Chinese Communist Party (CP), ever since the 1949 Revolution. At the same time, in cities around the world, thousands of students demonstrated against "the Deng/Li/Yang reactionary clique," a reference to the ultra-Stalinist leaders Deng Xiaoping, Li Peng and Yang Shangkun. Also denounced was CP head Jiang Zemin.

Quietly and inexorably, the wheels of murder, torture and imprisonment grind down on student, worker and peasant activists. No one knows the number of deaths, but they are surely in the thousands, with most executed in secret.

In September, China's rulers even declared Genghis Khan to be "a national hero, a great statesman, an outstanding strategist, and a splendid thinker".

Hundreds of thousands of people are facing long prison terms or exile in the countryside. In Beijing No. 1 Prison, political prisoners are kept in total isolation, with not even guards permitted to speak to them. It has been reported that Wang Dan, a key Beijing student leader recently captured, has been imprisoned and brutally beaten. Others have been tortured. A captured woman student activist who was wounded in the massacre, was then sent to a prison farm, where she was raped three times in the first week.

El Salvador 'peace' talks

Representatives of the ultra-right Arena Party government of El Salvador and from the guerrilla rebels of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) concluded a preliminary set of discussions, held in Mexico in mid-September. They agreed to meet again a month later in Costa Rica, saying "the theme of discussion will be the cessation of hostilities" in the decade-long civil war that has claimed over 10,000 lives.

An end to the civil war which has been borne overwhelmingly by the Salvadoran masses will hardly end the deep social and class divisions. FMLN military commander Joaquin Villalobos underlined this after the Mexico meeting: "This war has causes and the problem is not one of (the FMLN) handing over arms but of ending the reasons that have led to taking up arms and maintaining the war."

Since coming to power in widely-boycotted elections earlier this year, the Arena Party—founded by the ex-military death squad leader Roberto d'Aubuisson—has put a number of repressive measures on its agenda. High on the list is driving the last nail into the coffin of what was from the outset (when it was imposed in 1980) a very mild program of agrarian reform.

Following the oligarchy's version of land reform, President Cristiani in July turned over titles of land for tiny farms to some 8,000 landless peasants. This aspect of the program has involved peasants obtaining poor land which is soon exhausted.

At the same time, the Salvadoran judicial system, long controlled by the right, has accelerated the break-up of cooperative farms. The cooperatives are based on the expropriation of large land holdings, and they are now being forced to give back the land to the former owners. The Salvadoran Supreme Court has already ruled in five cases that cooperative lands were seized "illegally" and must be returned. Another 21 cases are pending, and the former owners are expected to win.

The Bush administration, identical with Reagan's imperialist policies in Central America, continues to underwrite the Arena-military rulers in El Salvador with millions of dollars in aid to the government. The U.S. has given carte blanche support to Cristiani in the present talks with the FMLN. But the course of events in El Salvador remains to be seen.

India in deep crisis

In recent weeks, opposition groups in India have formed a coalition ranging from the Rightist and ultra-Hindu Bharatiya Janata Party to the two Communist Parties. Their aim is to defeat Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's Congress Party in upcoming elections.

India today is in deep crisis, seen most graphically in the poorest regions such as Bihar and Rajasthan. Drought-ridden Rajasthan has an overall literacy rate of only 24%, which drops to 5% for women. Child labor and child marriage are rampant.

What Raya Dunayevskaya once discussed in her November, 1963 N&L column entitled "The Standstill of Nehru's India," where "no fundamental change in human relations followed independence," is even truer of India today under Nehru's corrupt successors, who have stopped even discussing changes in human relations.

Today, millions are flocking to the opposition rallies. On Sept. 25, up to 500,000 people demonstrated in the capital, calling for the defeat of the ruling Congress Party. Earlier, on Aug. 30, millions heeded an opposition call for a general strike despite severe government repression, resulting in 11 deaths and 100,000 arrests.

Yet the official opposition coalition is hardly interested in working with India's discontented majority for needed revolutionary change. Instead, the opposition aims for the spoils of office plus, at most, some mild anti-corruption reforms. Grassroots Left activists have been critical of the two Stalinist Communist Parties for forming opportunistic alliances with the Right.

On the 40th anniversary

China's revolt—the struggle continues

Song Ping, the Politburo member in charge of reorganizing (i.e. purging) the CP, has announced that tens of thousands of students will be sent to the countryside to do agricultural labor for years, in a policy reminiscent of Mao's Cultural Revolution. Freshmen showing up for classes in Beijing are to be sent instead for a year of military training.

Never since the Chiang Kai-shek era has a regime been so unpopular. Secretly and openly, resistance and disaffection continue on a massive scale. An underground is clearly still functioning. One hundred days after the massacre, leading dissident journalist Su Xiaokang surfaced in Hong Kong, the 55th key activist to escape. That same day, Sept. 12, electricity was cut off at Beijing University for ten minutes. When lights were restored, parts of the campus were covered with white flowers and fake paper money, traditional Chinese tributes to the dead.

The activity of underground worker groups is far less known, but the repression there is still more severe, judging by all the young workers publicly executed. Yet one workers' group in Beijing did take the incredible risk of meeting with a U.S. reporter, telling her that their activities still continued and that "each of them has been writing essays on democracy and posting them." (New York Times, Aug. 14, 1989.)

One student Marxist, Jin Xiaochang, stated recently that while "the Western media tries to portray the democracy movement in China as a sort of pro-capitalist, pro-liberal movement, in fact "there is also a tendency that I call 'true Marxism.' " Jin added that the "famous dissident" Wang Xizhe, still in jail, was his "hero." Wang "is a typical Marxist. He wants real working class control over the means of production. This is exactly what Marx wanted." (Against the Current, September-October, 1989.)

For their part, after shedding the briefest of crocodile tears, the superpowers have almost tripped over each other in a rush to cozy up to the regime. On July 31, Gorbachev's Foreign Minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, met with Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qun for cordial discussions in Paris, during the international conference on Cambodia. Not to be outdone, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker met with the Chinese Foreign Minister the very next day, after which the U.S. released a statement that "considerable agreement" was found in their discussions.

As Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in *Philosophy and Revolution*, "the Maos fear their youth" since "the dreams and energies of youth are the stuff revolutions are made of, totalitarianisms undermined, Maos overthrown." (pp. 185, 175) So too with the Mao-Deng system of today.



Striking Peugeot workers from Mulhouse in Eastern France marched on the company's Paris headquarters, Sept. 18, demanding higher wages.

Khmer Rouge in Cambodia

The U.S., Thailand and above all China share complicity for the survival, continuation and frightening ascendancy of the genocidal Khmer Rouge, who are today poised to launch a war for control of Cambodia now that the Vietnamese troops have left. Richard Solomon, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, stated openly in a recent speech that the "inclusion" of the Khmer Rouge in the government "holds out some prospect that the struggle can be contained within a political process." Removing the diplomatic obfuscation, that means that the U.S. agrees with Deng's China that the Khmer Rouge "deserve" a place in the government.

Ever since Russian-backed Vietnam invaded Cambodia in 1978 and drove out Pol Pot, U.S. imperialism has quietly aligned itself not only with the non-Communist opposition of Prince Norodom Sihanouk and Son Sann, but also with the Khmer Rouge, on the "principle" that any enemy of Russia deserves support. Deng's China, in full continuity with Mao's earlier policy, gave massive military and political support to the Khmer Rouge, including having invaded Vietnam in 1978 to "teach it a lesson" (Deng's words) for having toppled Pol Pot.

For their part, the Khmer Rouge have never hid their special debt to "Mao Zedong Thought," whose anti-worker, anti-urban, anti-intellectual theory of a rural-based Communism inspired their own insane effort to drive the entire urban population into the countryside, a policy which contributed to the deaths of two million, either starved or murdered, between 1975 and 1978 under Pol Pot's rule.

But Deng alone could not have succeeded in propping up Pol Pot so successfully since 1978 were it not for the fact that Thailand, a virtual U.S. protectorate, allowed and continues to allow those Chinese arms and supplies to go through its territory. After all, China does not border Cambodia, and Thailand does not make such moves without U.S. approval. Plenty of U.S. aid also found its way directly to Pol Pot. Nor could Pol Pot have maintained his well-armed force of more than 20,000 without the complicity of Prince Sihanouk, whose narrow nationalism has not excluded alliance with the same Pol Pot who, when in power, imprisoned him and killed his family.

Nor could Pol Pot have maintained himself without the paternalistic and corrupt rule of the Vietnamese since 1978. While Vietnam's role can hardly be com-

pared to that of Pol Pot, neither is it true that driving him out in 1978 led to the liberation of Cambodia.

Despite their hard-fought victories against U.S. imperialism in 1975 and Pol Pot in 1978, the Vietnamese Communists have not created a new human society either in Cambodia or in Vietnam, but rather a single party Stalinist dictatorship of the state-capitalist type. In that sense, no real alternative was offered, leaving the initiative in the region today to the sinister, murderous forces of Deng's China, U.S. imperialism and, above all, Pol Pot.

Russian miners' alliance

Coal miners across Russia are watching for the results of promises Gorbachev made to end their historic July general strike. Strike committee representatives from coal fields in the Ukraine, Central Asia, and Vorkuta above the Arctic Circle took part in the September meeting in Moscow of the official coal workers' union central committee.

There, the miners established an independent alliance and negotiated with the union officials to call a national coal miners' congress for next March, where they intend to wrest control of the union away from state control, write a new union constitution, and break away from the Communist Party-dominated trade union federation.

But it is at the local level, in the mines, where the state continues to be challenged most directly. Only weeks after the July strikes ended, miners from 11 sites in Vorkuta went out on strike again until they were sent written documentation of Gorbachev's concessions.

Across many coal fields, the miners have converted their strike committees into permanent workers' committees to monitor agreements with the state, and in many cases they have taken over from the despised official union bureaucrats. The critical miners' demand for control of production has hardly been taken up.

In the Kuzbass coal region of Siberia where the July strikes first erupted, miners in Keremova struck for several hours because local officials had not halted work on a hydroelectric project. The miners had made scrapping the project a strike demand because it would pollute water in the area.

While a number of strike leaders have made their own promises to halt work stoppages in the coal fields until the March miners' congress convenes, the miners on the job are following their own agenda. Yet to be seen, is the effect of Gorbachev's recently-enacted ban on strikes.