

Theory/ Practice News & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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25¢

It's no game
to workers—
why compete?



by B. Ann Lastelle

The plant manager informed us recently that our main competition was not with other companies, but with another company plant which produces at a lower cost. The message was clear: to save our jobs, we must work harder. Of course, the company will continue to dictate what we produce and how.

The plant manager also said that in order to give most of us 40 hours of work per week (we have been working four days), the company would have to let some people go. Twelve people were laid off at the end of the week. We need 40 hours to pay our bills, but we need those people at work, too, and they need their jobs.

During a discussion in the lunchroom afterward, someone suggested that if we didn't lose our jobs, the workers at the other plant might. One woman responded, "Our plant has already closed down several other plants."

An earlier meeting of our department and the supervisor over excess overtime degenerated into a discussion among some workers about who could best fill which slots on the lines. Out on the factory floor, each worker is judged according to one standard: how well she meets the demands that the machine places on her. Under pressure for ever more production, individual differences in strength, speed and dexterity—and in attitude—become a source of strain and resentment between workers. That is what I think was reflected at our meeting.

The capitalists create products, design machines and plan production processes without concerning themselves about the people who will do the work. Karl Marx showed in his book *Capital* that, with the historic development of machinery and the factory system, the work process was no longer adapted to the human being.

Instead, Marx wrote, "the process as a whole is examined objectively...without regard to the question of its execution by human hands..." (my emphasis). The worker becomes "a mere appendage" to the machine, which "makes use of him...it is the movement of the machine that he must follow." Workers are subordinated "to the uniform motion of the instruments of labor."

Relations among workers, on the shop floor and on a broader scale, are profoundly affected, even determined, by the rule of capital. Changing those relations is not a matter of individual good will, of treating one another

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Life and labor in China one year after Tiananmen massacre



Police guard Tiananmen Square to prevent demonstrations Spring, 1990

by Mary Holmes

The recollection of mass freedom demonstrations across China and their bloody suppression are so fresh in people's minds, one year later, that the Communist Party rulers along with the army and police warned citizens against even coming to Tiananmen Square at any time between April 1 and June 4.

Despite virtual occupation of the Square by squads of army units and riot police, one protester was able to briefly put out a wreath inscribed to the "heroes who died for democracy and freedom" before he was arrested. "Judging by the security forces surrounding the Square," a Beijing student said, "it's now the party leaders who are afraid. They can't sleep at night but we now sleep very well. We're saving our strength for the right moment."

RULE BY BAYONET AND SLOGAN

Party rulers more than ever are relying on the Army, which so brutally crushed the freedom struggles last year. And for ideological support to underpin their power, they have had to dip back into Mao's slogans from the Cultural Revolution so painstakingly "discredited" by Deng Xiaoping as obstacles to the campaign for so-called "modernization."

Thus, university students are being told to "emulate Lei Feng," the Maoist model soldier, and education authorities have set up a new plan for producing graduates who are "both red and expert." One student commenting on the Lei Feng campaign said using a line that "asked soldiers to 'serve the people' is a return to the past and it shows the party can't come up with anything new."

None of the moves by China's Party-Army rulers,

however, have quelled the discontent within China, whether that be among students, non-Chinese nationalities, workers or the unemployed. Thus, while China was trumpeting the lifting of martial law it had installed in Tibet after protests there a year ago—and under which China used Tibet as a "laboratory" for torture techniques, according to human rights groups—armed clashes took place in the far western province of Xinjiang on the Russian border between security forces and Uygur and Kirghiz protesters.

The Chinese authorities accused the rebels of aiming to set up an independent "Islamic state"; it is true that



Tiananmen Square during mass protests of Spring, 1989

hatred against Chinese domination has been building ever since the last major eruption in Xinjiang which took place in 1981. This time the immediate spark of fighting was a government order to stop construction of a mosque and to close a number of Islamic schools.

Both China and Russia have exploited the peoples of central Asia as "border encampments." Chinese settlers began arriving in Xinjiang in significant numbers as part of state policy in the early 1950s, taking the best jobs and government positions. The non-Chinese minorities in the province were especially persecuted during the Cultural Revolution.

Under Communist Party administration of farm collectivization, the deserts of Xinjiang have spread. Nuclear testing has contaminated other areas. Dissidents have compared the "Autonomous Region" to a colony

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Black World

The "Black World" column will return next month.

Black/Red View

by John Alan

The second degree murder conviction of Joseph Fama and the shocking acquittal of Keith Mondello—the white youth who led the white mob that murdered 16-year-old Yusuf Hawkins—on May 18 and 19 is neither the first nor the last chapter of the current wave of racial conflict in New York City. A few years back, we had the ugly racist murder of Michael Griffith in Howard Beach by a gang of whites, and the subsequent conviction of the perpetrators. This did little to relieve the racial tension in a city that its first Black Mayor, David Dinkins, calls a "beautiful mosaic of religious and ethnic cultures."

And now, at the moment of "justice" in the Hawkins case, we find David Dinkins confronted with deepening racial crises as a Black boycott of Korean-owned grocery stores sparked by the maltreatment of a Black woman customer turned violent, and as renewed confrontations between protesting Blacks and jeering racist residents in Bensonhurst intensify.

EMPTINESS OF DINKINS' 'NEUTRALITY'

The irony of Dinkins' present political crisis is that it was the murder of Yusuf Hawkins which gave him the edge over both of his political rivals in the Mayor's race. He was perceived as the candidate that could heal the sores of racial conflict in New York City.

The contradiction inherent in that political perception is now emerging. It is emerging not alone because Rev. Al Sharpton and Robert "Sonny" Carson are using the reality of the myriad social frustrations and widespread poverty existing in the Black community to advance their own personal agendas, but because Dinkins' very notion of an "impartial mayor for all of the people" is nothing more than a bourgeois political abstraction.

New York's racial crisis at breaking point

White liberal New Yorkers, in this racially divided city, may accept the illusion of political neutrality as the solution to the underlying causes of racism. However, Black masses have long rejected it because of its utter emptiness, its lack of reality. Dinkins does not seem to understand this as he maneuvers to keep a shaky political coalition together.

We find him dancing around the issue of the four-month-old Black boycott of two Korean stores, calling it an unnecessary action that should end. It may be quite true that the mistreatment of a Black woman in a Korean store is only an isolated incident. However, it is also true that such incidents cannot be taken out of the context of the class relationship between poor people and a merchant class, including Black merchants, operating in their community. When the merchant class happens to be an outside ethnic group, it is easy for this antagonism to spill over into sharp racial conflict.

Dinkins, as a New Yorker, should be well aware of the nature of this kind of antagonism. He should know historically that many of the early Black urban mass revolts were directed at curbing the exploitation of the Black community by landlords and merchants, and that this is still a fact of Black life that has not vanished in today's New York.

The media has used the term "racial crisis" to describe the conflict between the small minority of Korean merchants and Blacks as if it was a serious threat to racial harmony in New York City. Mayor Dinkins has acted as if indeed it is by calling it an act of racial hatred, and by requesting time on prime-time television to deplore the "horrendous growth of racism among Blacks," after a violent clash between Blacks and Viet-

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Feminists respond to 'the search for new beginnings'

Editor's note: In the April, 1990 issue of News & Letters, we printed an Essay Article titled, "A Look at 20 years: Women's Liberation and the search for new beginnings," by Olga Domanski. Below we print responses we have begun to receive to that article, and invite you to share your ideas with us, as well.

From Gloria Joseph

April 30, 1990

Dear Olga Domanski,

I am formally retired from the "hallowed halls of academia," but naturally I cannot divorce myself from politics because to do so would be to divorce myself from life. However, every so often an event or occurrence makes me wish that I had the university as a format for my political outrage.

Sunday's April 15, 1990, New York Times magazine section was the catalyst for my very heightened annoyance. On the cover was a picture of five very pleased, proud and smug looking white women with the caption, "WHO SAYS WE HAVEN'T MADE A REVOLUTION?" The author was Vivian Gornick, a white author who has written widely on the contemporary American feminist movement. I carefully read the article searching for the mentioning or inclusion of Black women. (When I use the term Black women I am including all non-white women.) Not a single solitary mentioning of Black women. It was as if Black women had absolutely no part in the current Women's Liberation Movement (WLM), nor were they part of the past! We were rendered totally invisible!

The five women included Kate Millet and Phyllis Chesler. I could not recognize any of the others by name. Now wouldn't you think that one of those women would have spoken out against and refused to be a part of such a misleading and misguided article and historically incorrect article?

I was/am thoroughly and sorely disgusted with the lot of them. Had I been back in the university I would have called a meeting of the Women's Studies group and vehemently urged the white faculty to contact the author and the "major five" and take them to task. I say white faculty because for over a decade now, Black feminists and Black women writers have been informing the WLM of the critical need to include ALL women in the movement. Apparently all to little avail. Toward the end, the article states, "Feminists of my generation are in a privileged position: we are not alone. We have ourselves and we have each other..." By "ourselves" Vivian Gornick is stating a truth. "Ourselves" being white, privileged, published women. Certainly she was not including working class women, or Black women, rather an elite "private enclave."

And then came my N&L paper and your article with words from Raya [Dunayevskaya]. It was a balm to my justifiable anger and disappointment and disgust with the WWLM. The double "W" is not an error. It stands for White Women's Liberation Movement.

Your article's title in itself bears comment—"A look at 20 years, and the search for new beginnings." The new beginnings should have been an active part of the WLM 20 years ago. From the onset of the 2nd wave of feminism it was obvious that the direction of the movement was designed to exclude certain women. For the past 20 years Black women and a scattering of white women have been crying out for the need to examine the role of working class and Black women in history, in order to write philosophy for the present.

When you critique so astutely the works of Catherine MacKinnon and Sheila Rowbotham it brings to mind two of my essays. In 1981, Lydia Sargeant edited a book, *Women and Revolution, a Discussion of the Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism*. My essay was entitled, "The Incompatible Menage a Trois: Marxism, Feminism and Racism." In that essay I spoke of

the need for the inclusion of the Black Differential. In my response I specifically focused on racism as a dimension that must be directly confronted in the process of theorizing about Marxism and feminism. I also speak of the need to "think" beyond the Marxist world view of the mid-1880s.

In writing *Common Differences; Conflicts in Black and White Feminist Perspectives*, again in 1981, I clearly point out the shortcomings of the writings of popular white authors, in particular Nancy Friday and Nancy Chodorow, on the mother-daughter question. Granted, in both of my writings my primary focus is the Black dimension, but in both of our writings we are noting the serious shortcomings in the historical analysis of the so-called leading feminist scholars. Raya spoke of Sojourner Truth's phrase, "short-minded" as a concept, one that was a new language of thought for those who would impose a limitation to freedom. Similarly, today's white women spokeswomen for the WLM are short-minded in the sense that they are putting limitations on just who the movement is for, who gains from it and therefore who remains exploited in the process of others being liberated.

So indeed I deeply appreciated your article. The vast, vast majority of WLM scholars are so caught up with their myopic, racist, classist visions, so filled with their narrow-minded interpretations and analysis of world history, their intellectual arrogance and cultural imperialism that they are blind to the theory and practice of Afro-centric conceptual thought (the Black dimension), ignorant of the role of women from all sectors of life in the struggle for freedom, reluctant to include working class women as their peers, and make very little attempt to include youth in their high minded march toward their fantasy of liberation.

My best to you and continued success.

Gloria Joseph

From Vivian Gornick

May 10, 1990

Dear Olga Domanski,

I've read your piece on women's liberation in the April issue of *News & Letters*, and I would love to comment on it but I can't because I cannot make head or tail of what you are talking about. Was the piece written to prove that feminist theorists either distort Marx or fall short of addressing Marx properly and therefore are either useless or demonstrably responsible for the failure of activism in 1990? Is that it? I mean, what is your purpose in writing this immensely "theoretical" piece? Is it to show that if feminists understood Marx better their own movement would be prospering? That is, they'd take their proper place in the Marxist-Humanist Revolution and then they could make a contribution?

You must surely realize that you and I stand at polar opposites on the relation between Marxism and feminism. I did in fact once meet Raya Dunayevskaya and we had an hours-long wrangle on the subject; to no avail, of course.

Let me state the case briefly and as clearly as I can: women will achieve social and political equality in this world—or any world, for that matter—only through the efforts of their own movement. No socialist movement will provide women with the equality we now struggle for. No socialist movement will make men and women real to each other. Only feminism can do that. Our aims—yours and mine—are not in opposition to each other. They are simply travelling along parallel but separated lines. We must do our job and you must do yours. And someday we will meet up—in that utopian never never land of achieved social change.

Good luck.

Vivian Gornick

From a Women's Studies student

May 22, 1990

Dear Olga Domanski,

What was important to me in your essay was your juxtaposition of the two most prevalent strains of feminist thought—those who reject Marxism and those who embrace it. What this revealed was that although Sheila Rowbotham and Catherine MacKinnon would be positioned at opposite ends of the spectrum of feminist theory, they are united in their fantastic and erroneous equation of Marx and Engels as one.

Socialist-feminists, far from attempting to unearth genuine Marxism, are bent only on revising post-Marx Marxism by adding to it the separate but equal oppression of women under patriarchy. In effect, they call themselves Marxists in opposing class oppression, feminists in fighting for women's liberation, and some even get so far as calling themselves socialist feminists because they are fighting against a patriarchal capitalism.

What is lacking in this ridiculous dissecting of patriarchy from capitalism and consequently the separation of Marxism from feminism? Precisely the question you posed in your essay, and Raya Dunayevskaya spent a whole lifetime studying: what is Marx's Marxism. It was only by digging into the Hegelian dialectic that Marx was able to see women's oppression not as a world historic defeat as Engels saw it, but as something co-extensive with the division between chiefs and ranks in pre-capitalist societies which itself is manifest of the divisions between mental and manual labor. In modern capitalism, this division between mental and manual labor has developed into a division between the workers and intellectuals. This division associated women only with the body and men with the mind.

Although Dunayevskaya held capitalism to be as sexist and racist as it is class-ridden, she also developed the feminism of Marxism. She developed the category of Woman as Reason as well as revolutionary force.

Maya Morrison



Women-
Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey



More than 900 registered nurses walked out, May 13, at two Kaiser Permanente Hospitals in Hollywood and Inglewood, Cal. They are demanding better wages and fighting against the creation of a two-tier wage system that would pay less money to newer workers doing the same jobs. This is the second time in two months that Kaiser employees in Southern California have struck the nation's largest health maintenance organization.

* * *

Women Living Under Muslim Laws and Algerian women's organizations are protesting the vicious attacks on women in Algeria by religious extremists during the month of Ramadan. Focusing on single women not living with their families, these fanatics trashed and burned the apartments of divorced women and widows, and harassed and beat women students and their visitors in university hostels in numerous cities. Messages of solidarity to these women can be sent to: *Association pour Egalite' Devant la Loi entre les Hommes et les Femmes, chez Madame la Présidente de Association Khaleda Messaoudi, Cite' Baranés, Appartement 40, Alger, Algeria.*

* * *

The National Abortion Campaign in London, England has launched a new campaign opposing the censorship of information on abortion in Ireland. They are planning to get signatures from people and organizations worldwide to publish with their protest in national press in Britain and Ireland. Abortion is unconstitutional in Ireland, and right-wing terrorists have closed down counseling services and banned any mention of abortion on radio, TV, or in magazines or welfare handbooks.

—Information from Troops Out

SPECIAL OFFER

Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

"Today's Women's Liberation Movement has introduced new and unique aspects, previously raised neither by non-Marxists nor Marxists. But the very fact that the task remains unfinished points to the need to study further Luxemburg's works both as feminist and as revolutionary. And that means grappling with Marx's works, not just as 'writings' but as a philosophy of revolution. To do anything short of that impedes the development of the Women's Liberation Movement to its full potential as Reason as well as force."

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Miners continue Decker Coal strike

Chicago, Ill.—We will have been on strike against Decker Coal Company in Montana for three years in October. There were originally 320 workers in that mine; 52 crossed the picket line, and the company has hired others to fill in. We came to Chicago to join other labor and community groups protesting Commonwealth Edison's rate hikes and purchase of scab coal.

When the mine opened about 19 years ago, the company brought in its own union, the Progressive Mine Workers of America. When United Mine Workers Local 1972 came in, the big shots said they would never sign a contract, but we got one for one year. It's been downhill ever since. They have refused to sign any more contracts and wanted to bring in a non-union subcontractor.

When you're union, you go to the same job every day. The company wants to change your job every day. There are pay differences between the jobs, and the company will subcontract the higher-paid jobs. Then, if they don't need you as a laborer, they'll tell you to stay home. The subcontracting will begin with dirt hauling and mechanical work.

Our home town is Sheridan, Wyoming, about 40 miles from the mine. People there don't support us, because the company donates money to town projects to keep people on their side. When we first went on strike, people said: "What are you striking for? You already make more money than anyone in town." We weren't striking for money. We were striking for our jobs, but we never could get that across to the local people.

We maintained a picket line for over a year, then volunteered to return to work under the old contract, but the company refused. A lot of people had to go out and find other jobs. But we are all sticking together. We have a union meeting every two weeks and rallies in different parts of the state. Quite a few miners went to Virginia and supported the Pittston strikers.

We have had National Labor Relations Board rulings

Union ignores job hazards

Los Angeles, Cal.—The aluminum extrusion plant where I work, Ketema, really does epitomize the type of conditions we, as workers, face today from both the companies and the unions. In April, a Black worker in the anodizing department had to discard some ammonia. He was told by his foreman to pour it into a nearby unmarked metal drum. He did that only to find there was acid in the bottom of the drum which exploded all over his face. When he regained consciousness, the same foreman, literally adding insult to injury, asked him if he should call an ambulance!

Our union, the Steelworkers, has done nothing to protest this injury or insult, much less publicize it among the workers. We, nevertheless, have discussed it among ourselves. The union's inaction is not surprising, though. Consider that during a contract negotiation in the mid-1980s the local voted a strike at a Saturday meeting. The company protested, saying that since many workers were working overtime that day, it was an invalid vote. The union agreed! The local then held a meeting at the plant which voted down the strike.

Or consider the three-tier wage structure negotiated in the last contract. If you were hired before October, 1988 you got \$9.00 an hour and a 25¢ raise per month until you reached your rate (depending on the job, between \$9.50 and \$11.50). Those hired before October, 1989 got \$7.49 with a 25¢ raise each month. Now new-hires are paid \$6.00 an hour with a 50¢ raise every six months. It means that, rather than the year or so to get to your rate, it now takes five years!

What is very clear to me and some of the other workers in our discussions is that the conditions and wages forced on us by the company and accepted by the union are unacceptable.

—Stu Quinn

Haitians strike at NY Shop

New York, N.Y.—A contingent of 50 Haitian women and men on strike against Domsey Trading Corporation, a Brooklyn company that sells used clothes in poor African countries, joined a demonstration of 400 striking Greyhound and Eastern Airlines workers.

Throughout the more than two-hour-long rally and march the Domsey workers shouted "No Contract, No Work" and chanted their Creole call-and-response song, "We're not going to let Domsey suck our blood." On strike since the end of January, when co-workers were fired for union activity, Domsey's 200-plus workers are seeking representation from the ILGWU (International Ladies Garment Workers Union). The company has replaced them with scabs.

One Domsey striker, who spoke with me through a translator, said she made \$3.75 an hour sorting piles of used clothing. "The working conditions are no good, and we have no insurance."

Pulling a badge out of her handbag, she said, "We had to wear this. They called us by our badge number, not our name. If you lost your badge, you needed to pay \$5 to get a new one—and up to \$7 on Thursdays. We didn't like this. It takes away from our human dignity." She reached into her handbag again. "This is a bathroom pass. We couldn't even go to the bathroom unless we got a bathroom pass first."

"When we went on strike, the boss hired scabs, and they're working for higher pay than we were. But the owner is going crazy, because he thought we would give up."

A. Anielewicz

in our favor, but the company ignores them. You are dependent on one person, a judge, to rule what's going on with your life. Why should it take so long? You wait for a guy you've never met, a guy you've never seen in your life, to see if you can go back to work.

There are many non-union mines in the area, and miners there are hoping we'll win our strike. We are the only mine within 1,000 miles keeping wages up. We are the lowest-paid in the area, \$1 under other mines. That's how the other mines keep the union out. They are going to four 10-hour days and three 12-hour days in other mines. That will be the end of the eight-hour day.

—Striking Decker Coal Miners

May Day in Prague

Prague, Czechoslovakia—This year's May Day celebrations in Czechoslovakia, especially those in Prague, were very unusual indeed. While every year after the 1948 Communist coup—1968 included—these celebrations were centrally planned and organized, this year meant a break with the "tradition." Some of the political parties as well as the trade unions arranged festivities—nothing like the half-day processions of the past—with a few speeches only, oriented rather to a popular entertainment.

The Prague groups of the political left—the CP excluded, which is not seen as a genuine left organization—beginning with the Left Alternative to Obroda (Revival), a convention of former CP members excluded after 1968, to Czech Democratic Forum, the party of mostly CP members who left the CP at the end of last year, the Czech anarchists and the Independent Left—gathered on an island of the Vltava river near the National Theater.

A few hundred members and sympathizers unfurled a couple of red banners and listened to declarations and speeches of their representatives. Some of them—indeed the first one being the well-known human rights activist Petr Uhl—were acclaimed by the crowd. They mostly pointed out both the depressing legacy of the past Communist regime and the obstacles the people and the Left have to face now. All age groups were represented, the younger ones prevailed, however. Although small as far as numbers are concerned and the only one of its kind, the meeting may be a promise for the future—both for the people and for the Left.

Let me note: President Havel rushed through. A brief moment—and he left. Probably also because he does not like the Left, as he proved recently when he said that Marx's system was built out of Marx's vanity. A remark neither true nor worthy of a man like Vaclav Havel.

—Czech correspondent

Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

in a "kinder, gentler" manner. In my view, only a movement of workers that aims to wrest control of the production process from the capitalists can create new and different relations.

At our first meeting one woman asked a key question—Are we going to get some more people on this shift?—but never received an answer. Isn't that a question that the workers should have the right to answer? Don't we need to create a society where the people who do the work control their own labor?—a new society where the worth of a human being never is measured by whether she can keep up with a machine.

Unionizing Silicon Valley

San Jose, Cal.—Workers at Versatec Corp. here became the first to have a union in this pocket of the high technology industry known as Silicon Valley. Xerox, the parent company of Versatec, agreed in March to recognize the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), after the majority of workers signed union authorization cards. ACTWU and Xerox probably brokered the recognition, since ACTWU has contracts at other Xerox plants in the U.S.

Nevertheless, the significance of the campaign lies in the way workers struggled to win majority status for the union. All but a few of the cards were distributed inside the plant, signed and then collected secretly.

The diversity of ethnic backgrounds of the employees—Asian, Black and European—did not turn out to be the barrier traditionally used to thwart organizing in Silicon Valley. When they found out their wages and benefits fell far below those at the company's unionized plants, most felt indignant, no matter what nationality.

And in order to suppress even non-union wages, Versatec maintained a large "temporary" pool of workers, some of whom had years on the job, yet earned less than the regulars and were often treated like dirt by supervisors.

There simply were no unions in Silicon Valley as it grew in the past two decades into a manufacturing center for computer and communications products. ACTWU's commitment to spread union organization in Silicon Valley is yet to be seen—other unions have backed away. But the internal drive to begin organizing is already there and growing—inside the rank and file.

—Labor activist

Attitudes to Greyhound strike Rank-and-file support

New York, N.Y.—Striking workers from Greyhound, Eastern Airlines and Domsey rallied at the New York Port Authority Bus Terminal on May 3, and marched to Rockefeller Center in an afternoon rush-hour demonstration. They were joined by workers from NYNEX Company, from CBS and from the New York Daily News, which is also involved in a labor dispute. One Black mechanic on strike against Greyhound told News & Letters this at the rally:

"After 26 years on the job at Greyhound and Trailways, I'm making \$9.75 an hour. I used to work at Trailways, they were the same way; they don't appreciate anything. That's why we're out here—if they appreciated us, they'd give us a fair deal.

"People who are struggling need to all walk off the job for just 24 hours, to support one another. After that the boss wouldn't treat you like dirt, but treat you like a human being. You're the one that's making them money, how come you get nothing?"

"Greyhound boosts ticket prices every time the cost of living goes up, but it doesn't give us anything. They promise you this, promise you that, but when the contract comes, they B.S. you. In 1983 we gave back 25%, in 1987 we gave back another 15%; now there's nothing left to give back. I'm fed up and I'm fired up. I hope the strike goes on forever, I really do.

"A Port Authority cop threatened to bust me for asking people to walk around the picket line instead of cutting through. And I did get taken away when I layed down in front of a scab's car. But I'm against violence. If you're strong, you can win without violence. That's why there hasn't been any violence in New York."

Union misleaders' betrayal

Los Angeles, Cal.—On Saturday, May 12, striking Greyhound workers went to L.A. International Airport to walk with Eastern workers on their picket line, and then together they went downtown to picket the Greyhound station. A month before that, when the workers at Kaiser Hospital struck for a week, Greyhound drivers walked the Kaiser line and the Kaiser workers solidarized with Greyhound workers. One Greyhound driver told me, "The only way to stop management and government from busting unions is for all of labor to bring this country to a standstill when one group of workers and their union is targeted for extinction."

Unfortunately our union, the United Transportation Union (UTU), which is supposed to represent 5,000 Southern California Rapid Transit District (RTD) drivers, has done its best to ignore the strike. I have not heard of any of our locals discussing it at a meeting. As if that wasn't bad enough—and it is because it means that not a penny of the hundreds of thousands of dollars the UTU takes in every month is going into a much-needed strike fund—they posted on a union bulletin board in our West Hollywood division a notice to all drivers telling us not to get involved in any way with the Greyhound strike.

The worst part of all this is that the UTU seems to be getting away with their mean tactics. This is seen in the fact that only a few RTD drivers have gone and walked the picket line with Greyhound workers.

Another driver at our layover said to me: "With all the tricks our management must be learning from [Greyhound's owner] Fred Currey right now we're in for a long battle next year when our contract is up."

The problem is we have a widespread feeling that as rank-and-filers we don't have a say in anything because we're getting stepped on from all sides. Management keeps shoving more rules down our throats that aren't in our contract and the union makes decisions "for" us behind our backs.

How is all this going to change? Despite our union's complacency we need to be taking them to task for trying to ignore a strike that we know is our fight too.

—RTD Driver

Picket's life is nothing

Oakland, Cal.—The things Greyhound owner Fred Currey is doing to sway public opinion away from us are really pathetic. When a scab driver killed a striker who was picketing in Redding, Cal. the scab didn't even get a fine and Currey never even called up the striker's family to apologize. This was a driver who had given 30 years of his life to the company. But when a scab got shot in the arm Currey flew out to appear on television to make a formal apology and denounce the violence.

—Striking Greyhound driver

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From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya Marxist-Humanist Archives

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

*Editor's Note: The letter printed below forms part of an extensive correspondence between Raya Dunayevskaya and Jonathan Spence in 1961-62. Spence is now a prominent China scholar and author of the just-published book, *The Search for Modern China*.**

*Two days after this letter was written, copies were sent to members of News and Letters Committees as an accompanying document to Dunayevskaya's June 3, 1961 "Brief Outline of the New Book" — the work which was finally published in 1973 as *Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao*. The June, 1961 outline, and this letter to Spence, were the first written overview of her early conception of that book. Dunayevskaya's labors on the book in the period September, 1960 to June, 1961 included summaries of Hegel's major works, correspondence on freedom struggles in Africa and on science and Marxism, and dialogue with Herbert Marcuse on Hegel's Absolutes. Many of these writings are included in *Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection Vol. 14, #13759-13853*.*

June 1, 1961

Dear Jonathan:

I hope that I will receive from you before you depart for vacation abroad that chapter on China I was especially interested in. Meanwhile, I felt you should know more about the context in which I intend to put in, both the political and philosophic context. I trust you have followed the additions to the British edition of my pamphlet on Afro-Asian Revolutions, but actually as the Afro-Asian pamphlet was in its 1959 framework, I put sufficiently on "the China Road," to show how I mean to counterpose the self-activity of the African revolutionaries to the administrative and actual exploitative shackles of state capitalism plus the misnamed "commune" militarized forced labor. This, expanded greatly, will be my first part of the new book on Marxist Humanism and the underdeveloped economics within, however, the struggle for world power between the U.S. and USSR context.

Now then heretofore I concentrated on *Phenomenology of Mind* in my letters to you in getting that "haughty vassal," Mao, set right as the new type of bureaucrat who has "sacrificed" for the state, and doesn't appreciate that the people equate his "absolute freedom" to anything but "absolute terror." I may have also told you that I had asked another friend of mine who was working on Vietnam as to the allegedly backward peasants who nevertheless recognized the bureaucrat in that tender visage of Ho Chi Minh and fled south, though north was a much more likeable "anti-imperialist."

IT IS TIME to go straight to the most "abstract" part, essence, of Hegelian philosophy, "The Absolute Idea" of his *Science of Logic*, to show how we live in the age of absolutes, and that the "subject" (Man, though he is "dehumanized" in Hegel as mere thought) has already absorbed all "objectivity" (science, world stage of technology, past history) and now the new society depends on all his "subjectivity" (not petty-bourgeois ego, but what Hegel calls "the individual, purified of all that interferes with his universality," and Marx calls "the social individual" who, however, is the only proof of the freedom of all, so that never again are we to counterpose "society" to the "individual" since he "is the social entity.")

Follow through that last chapter [J&S, Vol. II, 466-486; M824-844],** the most exciting 20 pages in all the world's literature, philosophical or real:

Hegel begins by saying that we have reached the Absolute Idea (from now I'll just refer to it as A.I.) which "has turned out to be the identity of the Theoretical and the Practical Idea" and that this can be seen in the fact that "The Notion is only Seele [Soul] but also is free and subjective Notion, which is for itself and therefore has personality" [J&S466; M824].

Now many have stopped here and therefore I must warn you against that word "personality," so popular a word now both with African leaders and De Gaulle. In that very same paragraph, nay, sentence, Hegel goes on to explain that this personality "is not exclusive individuality, but is, for itself, universality and cognition, and in its Other has its own objectivity for object." The key word is "Other." It will turn out to be "its own Other" for otherwise we would once again be confronted with a subject and its "other" (or opposite) as object whereas the whole of the Logic depends on doing away with the opposition of subject and object, and the greatness of Hegel is that, although he worked only with thought, he got that "other" worked out not as a "have" a possession, an object, but as an "is," that is a dimension of the human being. Until we do reach that point, and we

still have 19 pages to go, the "personality" is not much higher than Fichte's Absolute Ego. The key word, "Other," then will turn out to be the universality of the individual and until that moment we are barely on the threshold of the new society (that is what Absolute Idea is, you know).

Next he equates Logic to the "self-movement of the Absolute Idea.... The self-determination therefore in which alone the Idea is, is to hear itself speak" [J&S467; M825].

The identity of history with logic so that the whole of the development has merely been the unfoldment of this Absolute sounded as the pinnacle of idealism in the 19th century. Indeed, were it not for the fact that Marx turned Hegel right side up and we could see that it wasn't "God" who "posited" himself on earth and the



G.W.F. Hegel

freedom of man came as a consequence, but, vice versa, that the struggles of man for freedom changing with each method of production to be on a higher level, finally created the material foundations for total freedom and a new society via the class struggle, (those two absolute opposites, labor and capital, that thus get resolved through abolition of the one) — until Marx, in a word, Hegel couldn't tear himself out of theology, despite the fact that in his philosophy Religion takes a back seat to Philosophy.

By the beginning of the 20th century "Self-Determination" became much more famous as self-determination of people, rather than ideas. But this shouldn't mean, either that action "takes the place of" ideas, or that anything less than the unity of theory and practice can "evolve into" a new society. If all we'll hear is Castro's voice, and not the people speaking, we do not get either the self-determination of the Cubans as people or the Cubans as thinkers who have finally overcome that most monstrous fact of alienated labor that Marx showed got its apogee in the division between mental and manual labor.

It is because thought is so close to life that Hegel could, in isolating thought but carrying its development through to its logical conclusion, come to the conclusion that it is all a question of method. The Second International was fast on the trigger, and tried to isolate method as a tool that could be "used" by anyone, and therefore could never create or, more precisely, have the proletariat create a dialectic of its own, but retreated to Kantianism and "men of good will" solving contradictions — and ended by sending worker to shoot worker across battle lines drawn up by their bourgeoisie. Hegel here stresses that because logic is self-movement, that therefore "the logical Idea has itself as infinite form for content." In a word, you cannot abolish difference between content and form unless this self-activity is its content." Only then, does content "as such" vanish and the "universal element of its form" is "the method" [J&S467; M825].

And only then can Hegel draw the conclusion: "The method therefore is both soul and substance, and nothing is either conceived or known in its truth except insofar as it is completely subject to method; it is the peculiar method of each individual fact because its activity is the Notion" [J&S468; M826].

Activity, self-activity; determination, self-determination; movement, self-movement; method that is movement, source and action, thought and practice thus become Absolute Method, not in heaven, but among the earth people struggling for total freedom.

Now let's break this Absolute Method down to see how it is subject, method and object, and not a mere tool "to be used." Hegel says that, while we "must begin from the beginning," [J&S469; M827] the beginning is nothing as simple as is usually imagined for it must be both simple and universal, and not just "abstract universality" but be "concrete universal," "that is, that which is in itself the concrete totality, but not as posited or for itself" [J&S471; M829], for "It is the Absolute only in its completion" [J&S472; M829].

To reach completion we therefore begin with an immediate that has been mediated but still is one-sided. You can call it first negation or analytic but you know

Self-determination of the Idea of Philosophy and Revolution

that to be objectively universal it must also be synthetic. It is in the unity of the two moments that we will reach the "dialectic moment," and it is here too, that we will first meet "Other" as "its own Other," thus:

"This equally synthetic and analytic moment of the Judgement, by which the original universal determines itself out of itself to be its own Other, may rightly be called the dialectic moment" [J&S473; M831].

It is at this point that Lenin, you will recall from the *Philosophic Notebooks* at the end of *Marxism and Freedom*, bursts into the definition of dialectic, singling out no less than 16 elements — objectivity, manifold relations, development, tendencies, unity of opposites, struggles (including contradictions and impulses), unity of synthesis and analysis, summation, totality, the singular and the universal, each and the whole, transitions, new sides, deepening appearance and essence, causality and universality, content and form, negation of negation, only to sum up the whole at end as "simply" doctrine of opposites.

When something is as rich as the dialectic, it is indeed hard to define it as any one thing, or as 16 things, because for each age it is different, that is to say, it is all the things and more, but the one element that gets singled out as having gained by contact with the present can only be proven in life. Hegel himself, for example, to stress the primacy of Thought singles out its unity with Being: "The object in its existence without thought and Notion is an image or a name; it is what it is in the determinations of thought and Notion" [J&S475; M833].

FOR MARX it was the 3 volumes of his *Capital* plus the Paris Commune. For Lenin it was "the transformation [into] opposite" of both capital (into monopoly or imperialism) and labor (into aristocracy of labor) which finally however get resolved ("negation of negation") in the Soviet, or Russian Revolution, plus "State and Revolution." For our age it is the unity of theory and practice, or the answer to the question of "what happens after," plus the subjectivity that has objectivity in it. So let's get to that stage:

First here we will have to watch the second negation; all the difference between revolutionaries and compromisers, which means those who regress in the end to the old, not forward to the new, lies in the distinction between first and second negation, that is to say, it is not just the abolition of the old, or the revolution, but the transcendence to what Marx [*Marxism and Freedom*, original 1958 edition, pp. 319-320] called "positive Humanism, beginning from itself," not stalling at the first negation, or transcendence, such as communism, or atheism, for "Only by the transcendence of this mediation, which is nevertheless a necessary supposition, does there arise positive Humanism beginning from itself." Marx insisted that "communism, as such, is not the goal of human development, the form of human society" [Ibid., p. 303].

O.K. let's get to that second negation as Hegel sums it up: "The negativity which has just been considered is the turning point of the movement of the Notion. It is the simple point of negative self-relation, the innermost source of all activity, of living and spiritual self-movement, the dialectic soul which all truth has in it and through which it alone is truth; for the transcendence of the opposition between the Notion and Reality, and that unity which is the truth, rest upon this subjectivity alone" [J&S477; M835].

We have reached the point in the A.I. which no other age could quite see it in all its concreteness as we do when we look at the African Revolutions that have truly nought of "material foundation" and yet are so far advanced as to fight for freedom without a single look backward, and while Mao's China's shortcuts may entice their leaders, it certainly doesn't them who know that abolition of opposition of Notion and Reality does in truth rest upon them alone, and because it does "rest upon this subjectivity alone" little Guinea dared say "No" to empire-builder De Gaulle.

Another reason that only our age can see is that no
(continued on page 11)

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*Dunayevskaya's exchange of letters with Spence, then a graduate student in Chinese history at Yale University, did not separate discussions of the rise of Mao Zedong from explorations of Hegel's *Phenomenology of Mind and Science of Logic*. Much of the Dunayevskaya-Spence correspondence has been included in Vol. 14, *Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, microfilm #12789-12820.

**All references to Hegel's *Science of Logic* are to Volume II of the Johnston and Struthers translation (New York: MacMillan, 1929). The first page reference is to this edition and is hereafter designated "J&S"; the second page citation is to the Miller translation (London: Allen & Unwin, 1969) and hereafter designated "M."

Editorial

Crime, race and punishment in America

The execution of three death row inmates on May 17 and 18 in the states of Missouri, Texas and Louisiana brings to 128 the number of state-sponsored murders in the U.S. since the Supreme Court cleared the way in 1977 for capital punishment. The last words of the young Black Texas man, Johnny Ray Anderson, are a compelling indictment of this country's criminal justice system: "You people out there don't understand any of this either because you don't care enough to check, or you will have to wait until you're the one on the table getting killed [Anderson was killed by lethal injection]. Then as always it will be too late. Then you will understand how unfair this system really is for all parties involved."

Who are those "people out there" whom this young Black man's last words indict if not those politicians now stampeding for the "law and order" vote by posturing as "tough" advocates of the death penalty. Who if not those liberals who now travel the same ideological ground of crime, race and punishment that got George Bush elected President. Those like former aide to Dr. Martin Luther King, Andrew Young, now running for governor of Georgia, who tell white voters that the state has the right to execute "mad dogs."

With more than 2,200 inmates awaiting execution on death row in the U.S., with Black and other minorities facing a greater likelihood of execution than whites charged for similar crimes, it is necessary to look at those prison hellholes in which the death penalty becomes the logical inhuman conclusion of the penal system.

1 IN EVERY 4 YOUNG BLACKS JAILED

The report released by the Sentencing Project at the end of February found that one of every four of this country's young Black men in their 20s are incarcerated, on parole or probation. As against the 436,000 young Black men in college, there are 609,690 "under the control" of the criminal justice system. And the rate of increase of young Black women being incarcerated is greater still.

In Cook County, Illinois, which runs the third largest jail system in the country and the nation's largest single-site jail facility, overcrowding is so extensive that the John Howard Association, a prison reform group, succeeded in obtaining a court order to alleviate the inhuman crowding of defendants.

The Los Angeles County jail complex, the largest in the nation, has a rated capacity of 13,464 but currently



holds more than 22,000 inmates. Not surprisingly, Los Angeles has been the scene of the most widespread crackdown on the Black and Latino communities in the so-called "war on drugs." New York's City jail population has tripled in the last decade due to the stepped up drug war.

MAXIMUM SECURITY TINDERBOXES

However, the systematic de-humanization of men and women, which is at the core of this country's penal system, has itself bred an inner circle of violence and coercion, exposing the lie of any administrative intent to rehabilitate inmates. This country's maximum security prisons have become armed camps governed by fierce gang loyalties, compressed into an overcrowded tinderbox waiting to explode. And those politicians and officials who administer this system of canned rage are as much the authors of the low-intensity warfare that takes place there as the desperate men they keep caged and turned against each other.

There is absolutely no way such a system can "rehabilitate," for as Marx observed, "A penal theory which at the same time sees in the criminal the man can do so only in abstraction, in imagination, precisely because

punishment, coercion, is contrary to human conduct."

Behind the gray statistics and brooding prison walls can be heard the irrepressible voice of those who resist the de-humanization:

"I've been imprisoned for almost 18 years, all of this in maximum security prisons, primarily Joliet, Pontiac, and Stateville. Looking back over the past three years or so, the primary factor affecting the quality of life is the overcrowding.

"Life is cheap. I was in Pontiac in the 1970s during the rebellion there. I transferred to Stateville in the 1980s and actually find it difficult to keep track of all the murders, assaults, etc. that have taken place. In the wake of the guard murdered here last July, we are now in a permanent semi-lockdown.

As we go to press Stateville Prison has been placed under total lockdown, following a prison disturbance, on May 20, in which guards killed two inmates and injured three inmates.

"For many prisoners, especially younger ones, there seems to be a denial that says I refuse to accept that my life is over at 22. There are over 200 men here with natural life sentences, many of whom are under 30. That denial can result in a retreat into drugs (which are always plentiful), the displaced and misplaced aggression of inter-cine gang warfare, or simple suicide.

As much as 85% of Illinois prisoners are gang members. The gang leadership today is much more regressive and reactionary than those of the past (some of them at any rate), and represent the single most important obstacle to a collective approach to problem solving. Therefore, apathy, demoralization, and defeatist attitudes are widespread. This is not to say that isolated pockets of resistance do not exist."

The implication is clear. The desire for new human beginnings goes beyond rehabilitation simply because it has become a matter of individual self-determination, creativity and organization, not as a result of the prison system but in spite of it.

Life and labor in China after Tiananmen massacre

(continued from page 1)

because of the policy of sending Xinjiang's raw materials to China's factories in the east.

The official Chinese press made public news of the April 5-6 fighting in Xinjiang during Prime Minister Li Peng's trip to Moscow in late April. Despite the "disagreements" held by China's rulers over Gorbachev's so-called reform policies in Russia, both sets of rulers could collaborate on maintaining a "stable" border. The governor of Xinjiang accompanied Li Peng to Moscow, reportedly to confer with Russian counterparts on how to control unrest.

COOPERATION AMONG RULERS

Li Peng's trip to Moscow came a year after Gorbachev went to China to attempt ending the 30 years of Sino-Soviet conflict. In the year since, Russia has strictly refrained from any criticism of the way China brutally put down freedom demonstrators. Indeed, Russia was itself engaged in crushing dissent during the past year, in Tbilisi and elsewhere. However, over 1,000 students did hold a demonstration in Moscow with signs demanding, "Bloody Butcher Li Peng, Go Away!"

What came out of Li's visit was a pact between the two state-capitalist powers which focused primarily on

economic and technical cooperation, but also included provisions for de-escalating the huge numbers of troops on the border. The fact that the agreement covers the period up to the year 2000 indicates that despite any apparent differences over each other's policies, and despite the past Sino-Soviet conflict, now both need Sino-Soviet cooperation because each is experiencing such deep unrest and turmoil at home.

The U.S. is showing its own class-ridden affinity with China's rulers. For its part, the Bush administration has treated Chinese students in the U.S. with extreme callousness. After June 4, President Bush refused to grant indefinite visas to the students. And it was only in April of this year that he finally and reluctantly signed an executive order banning the deportation of Chinese students.

However, the administration's earlier position was only to deal with students present in the U.S. on June 5, 1989, and some lawyers reported that U.S. Immigration agents had arrested, detained and deported a number of Chinese who had supported the mass demonstrations but came to the U.S. seeking asylum after June 5.

BUSH'S MEDDLING

Bush, the ex-CIA director who was once Ambassador to China and therefore considers himself an expert, has gone out of his way to ridicule those who criticize his policies, saying they "know nothing" about China. His administration has been funneling money and "expertise" to segments within the Chinese exile dissident community who have stated a kinship for the view that Western-style "democracy" is triumphant over "Communism" and that is the direction China should follow.

Despite the news that several U.S. companies terminated their operations in China, after the June 3-4 government massacre of protesters, the U.S. is still China's biggest trade partner, doing \$18 billion worth of business annually. Bush has now extended China "most-favored-nation" trade benefits.

The Bush administration has done everything possible not to damage its relations with China's rulers. This is especially true in the period since Russia and China began to end their conflict and build new ties.

INTENSIFIED CRISIS

The pervasive crisis in China that erupted in the mass demonstrations which the counter-revolution so brutally crushed underlined the failure of the Party's so-called economic reforms. The Western ideologues of private capitalism who are vulgarly defining the upheavals in Eastern Europe as a drive to establish "market economies," and are equating that with "democracy," have their counterparts in China.

There the ideologues of state-capitalism have drawn back from "market-driven" economics, once hailed as a "modernization," and instead are back to defining "genuine socialism" as a centralized and planned economy tightly controlled by the Party. Of course, neither "definition" has anything to do with the actual crisis which is being borne by the workers in both East Europe and China.

A year-and-a-half ago, China's leaders instituted austerity measures in an attempt to gain some control over the last decade's explosive economic restructuring, which produced inflation and an increasing disparity in

wealth. The government ordered over one million rural industrial collectives to shut down and forced some 2.2 million privately-run enterprises to close.

RUNAWAY UNEMPLOYMENT

Now, for the first time in a decade, there has been a decline in industrial production. One result has been reduced working hours or outright plant closings, on top of the lay-offs and plant closings that a decade of economic restructuring produced. In the first two months of 1990, 1.5 million more urban workers in China lost their jobs!

The situation is even worse in the countryside. Since the government's austerity plans went into effect, it is estimated that China's unemployed army has been swelled by over 20 million jobless peasants. Tens of thousands stream into the cities looking for work and food. Even in tightly-controlled Beijing, an estimated 800,000 jobless peasants have come to the city looking for work.

Even those who are working must struggle with rising prices, especially of food. Some reports describe prices of staples, especially vegetables, the highest that anyone can remember. Out of fear of unrest in the large cities, the government has made food available in its stores, and kept the prices relatively low. However, these subsidies are at the expense of the rest of the country.

Overall, it is estimated that there are now 100 million people unemployed in China, with half of them on the move looking for work. "We all know at least someone whose brother, or sister, or cousin is out of a job or underemployed," a young worker said. "We know the economy is in dire straits." The authorities are obviously concerned about what they call the "floating" population in Beijing, Shanghai, Chengdu and other large cities. Many of them took part in the mass demonstrations last year.

China's recent release of 211 political prisoners who were arrested for participating in last year's demonstrations was widely interpreted as a "gesture" to improve ties with the West, especially the U.S. While a number of prominent intellectuals were among those released, the whereabouts of others is not clear, and the number and fate of the workers arrested in the crackdown is virtually unknown.

What China's rulers fear is the genuine revolutionary expression of freedom which made itself heard in China a year ago, not so much in the "Goddess of Democracy" as in the call for a "Paris Commune-type of democracy." The struggle for freedom in China, in people's lives and in ideas, is still very much open.

Echoes From Tiananmen

June 1990 Edition

On the first anniversary of June 4th, 1989

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CHINA IN REVOLT AND
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Editorial, News & Letters, July 1989

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YOUNG STUDENTS, YOUNG WORKERS, IN TODAY'S WORLD

The Lead story on Youth in the May N&L made me think that every day is supposed to be the best day of our lives, but from the time we start school and are programmed to "prepare for the harsh cruel world," we learn to hate society as a whole. When we graduate (if we get that far), we face the corporate world—which, even if we have a college diploma, still wants us to start in the mail room and "work our way to the top." Then we have to deal with prejudice just because of our color or nationality.

G. Radlez
Los Angeles

Students will pick up the baton of SNCC, CORE, SCLC and other youth organizations that influenced civil rights legislation of the '60s by marching on Washington, D.C. on June 17 to bring an African-American agenda to the national forefront. Increases in racially-motivated incidents, rising tuitions, economic constraints and the roll back of civil rights legislation set the stage for us to once again demand equity and justice. The National Collegiate Black Caucus in coalition with other youth, labor, civil rights and church organizations is issuing a student call to revitalize the movement. Everything must change!

NCBC
PO Box 70424
Washington, DC 20024

In the student strike for faculty and student diversity here, 80% of the students did not come to campus. The two-day strike was organized in one week but the university is still not bargaining in good faith. Faculty diversity is the issue; it's 90% white. We're also demanding a review of the whole tenure process. One thing that was really new was that ethnic and gay and lesbian organizations joined together into a United Front Coalition. But they refused to let another group, "Women of Color" set up a table at the picket line during the strike.

Black woman
Berkeley

When you printed my letter on anti-militarism in the May issue, something got dropped from my last sentence. It reads: "We can't limit the fight to an equal right to be killed." But I had written "... to kill or be killed." What is even more offensive to me is that I might be called on to kill someone else.

Young worker
Chicago

It was good to get N&L and see what is not being told in the bourgeois media. I was very interested in what students are doing in the U.S. The problems seem the same as when I was there. Here it's been disappointing to see how little the Red-Green coalition of the Democratic Socialists and the Greens have done, despite all they said they would. Here, as in most of the "first" world, even on the Left, people don't believe in revolution. Only the Third World seems to do that. But history holds many surprises.

American student
West Germany

As I was reading the last few issues of N&L, I thought about Shakespeare's Hamlet, in that this tragic play is about the conflict between thought and action. Hamlet is guilty of falling into reveries of thought that do not help him organize a mode of action. Instead the only action that ensues from his orgy with the mind is destructive. On the other extreme there is Laertes, who is all action and no thought (like a lot of radicals I know) and his actions are also destructive. So Shakespeare almost sets the two up as polar extremes—thought on one side and action on the other. I think it's marvelous that Raya and the Marxist-Humanists are attempting to unite the two.

Student
Chicago

At our school, Oak Park High School, there is a lot of racism, sexism and class divisions. No one is willing to address the sexism and verbal and physical abuse of young women. Men students pick up their girl friends and hit

them against lockers or insult them. Men teachers boast about calling themselves male chauvinists, and try to sexually abuse us. But some women students at my school have been passing out leaflets which say: "Teenage women: you deserve respect." We are trying to create support groups for women who are sexually abused and are for abortion rights. We have also been protesting against U.S. aid to El Salvador. It's hard to do this because the school administration regulates our flyers and makes it hard for us to have meetings. We want to get the idea through that everyone is a human being and deserves respect.

Two women students
Illinois

There is a lot of talk these days about the need to teach critical thinking skills, by which our educators do not mean creative human thought. A case in point: A group of high school students recently failed miserably on a history exam. One reason they failed was their inability to properly identify U.S. foreign policy after World War I as "isolationist." So how did these stupid American students categorize U.S. policy? They called it "imperialist." Maybe the Education Emperor needs a new wardrobe.

Stupid American
Chicago



WOMEN'S LIBERATION

I find it very curious that the way Catherine MacKinnon, whom you critiqued in the April N&L, discredits Marxism is by posing it as against the individual. This is the same line we get in grade school from U.S. capitalists!

Women's liberationist
California

Vivian Gornick's article "Who Says We Haven't Made a Revolution?" in the April 15 NYT reduced the idea of revolution to a few elite white women saying the "f" word (feminism) in public. One ten minute session with my co-workers talking about their husbands would set her straight. One of them is nearing the end of a third pregnancy, each one the result of a different kind of failed birth-control. Her husband refuses a vasectomy, so she is investigating having her tubes tied (at five times the cost and risk). He is just beginning

Yugoslav student
Pennsylvania

The confusion over what Communism really is, is a world confusion. In Poland the people believe their poverty is due to communism and are newly dancing to the tune of the capitalist. Solidarnosc is an adventure that will pass. The question is what to do after that adventure? Inflation is terrible, wages are low. The dollar is like a diamond, the "American dream" is filling people's

'STUNTING HUMAN MINDS AND BODIES'

I like the way the April issues of N&L took up child labor, the green light given to homework, and similar violations by Toys-R-Us. All of these articles reveal the current attacks on workers' collectivity. I have a cousin who is painting auto parts at home. You can imagine the effects of those paint fumes on her children. Those doing "homework" have a hard time following up on information guaranteed by "right-to-know" laws. Human minds and bodies are stunted both by the chemicals and the isolation. That's why I see these attacks as really against labor's recognition of its own power.

Health worker
Detroit

The other day, a dead bird dropped out of the sky, onto the ground in front of me. I thought to myself: that should tell us all something about how polluted the air is, what it is doing to us. And I don't separate the way the rulers pollute the environment from the way they are polluting our minds with drugs. Exxon and these other big corporations are the ones that sell chemicals to the cocaine manufacturers. And then our government turns around and puts the little guy, the user, in prison.

Angry worker
Los Angeles

Southern California's beaches were decimated several months ago not only by an oil spill but by an intentional dumping of eight million gallons of raw sewage into Santa Monica Bay ("most heavy solids were removed," an official

Readers' Views

to help her with her other two kids. Who says we have made a revolution?

Women's liberationist
De Kalb, Ill.

I'm a social worker, and attend many pro-choice rallies and other feminist-oriented events, especially those where I can be active with other women of color. At too many of these events, especially those for Latin American solidarity, we rely only on the tragic aspects of what is going on in order to attract more people to the struggle. We need to be talking more about what we're fighting for, what this is all about. Your paper has been a great help to me in starting to talk to more people about this.

Puerto Rican feminist
California

EAST EUROPE IN CHANGE

The political and human rights turn-over from Communism to Democracy in East Europe is only decorative. From "Democracy vs. Communism" the concentration has moved to "Nation A vs. Nation B." Western governments support the changes because they are protecting their entrepreneurs. The socialist governments finally did what they were expected to do—offer new markets with cheap investments, cheap labor power, and fast profit.

Such "support" is between governments, not between people. Example: the Yugoslav government tries to beat high inflation by tying Yugoslav currency (dinars) to the German mark. That opens free currency trade to Yugoslav banks but the banks have to put 90% of their foreign currency wealth in Western banks. Meanwhile, the people will suffer even more than before, while non-nationalist political opposition groups—environmentalists, feminists, peace movements, anarchists—will see more oppression.

Yugoslav student
Pennsylvania

The confusion over what Communism really is, is a world confusion. In Poland the people believe their poverty is due to communism and are newly dancing to the tune of the capitalist. Solidarnosc is an adventure that will pass. The question is what to do after that adventure? Inflation is terrible, wages are low. The dollar is like a diamond, the "American dream" is filling people's

heads.

Some are now saying that their living conditions were better before, under a so-called communist government. Some are saying that there is no difference between the Solidarnosc government and that one. The people who were misusing the word "communism" have made everything worse for the people.

The working class was given vodka for a reason and you can walk the streets and find men lying drunk. It is the women of the working class I am proud of. It is sad to see the minds of people being controlled. I think the rude attitude to Blacks here is because the people believe their problems are caused by our studying in their country. I am more and more proud of being African and even more of being Black, though the racism here makes some Africans refuse their nationality. Here is a confused society.

African woman
Poland

THE HOMELESS



I listen a lot to the talk shows on the radio (while I work, during the day, cleaning peoples' houses), and calls often discuss the homeless, but so many of them say that they are sick and tired of seeing homeless people. The articles on the homeless in the May N&L make you ask questions: How did it happen that there are so many people homeless? What do they think and feel, and what can we do?

Working woman
Los Angeles

I became homeless last year after losing my job, but have a PO Box now and would like to start up my sub to N&L again. I had to defend myself when I became homeless against discrimination in employment and in being able to use the equal opportunity agencies. Homeless and poor people often encounter prejudice and wrongful regard as being mentally ill/disabled/handicapped. When they refuse mandatory classification evaluation in this way they are denied vital services.

Homeless
New Mexico

THE BRITISH SCENE

The Anglo-Afghan Circle is the only Anglo-Afghan outfit in Britain—and we may need to stay in business another two years or more. The Russians are still deeply involved. What an appalling tragedy! There has been a near-nil response in the UK because Moscow was involved. The "fixers" fixed this as they fixed Biafra and for the same reason. Still, the news from Eastern Europe has been great. May it go on being so! I think that Moscow is only at the beginning of its troubles.

Peter Cadogan
England

The Nelson Mandela Concert in Wembley Stadium, attended by 72,000 people and followed by many more on TV and radio, was an inspiring event, showing what feeling there is in Britain about the freedom struggle in South Africa. Probably not since Garibaldi has a leader of a liberation movement been welcomed to Britain with such enthusiasm. The reactionary friends of apartheid are furious.

What an irony that Mandela's triumphal visit to Britain should coincide with gruesome reports from former Umkhonto we Sizwe guerrillas of torture by their own organization in Angola. Mandela must have been shocked. To his credit he issued a statement that torture did take place and those responsible had been disciplined. But the matter cannot be left there. It presents a challenge to everyone concerned with the freedom movement to think about how such degeneracy was allowed to set in—that is, to re-examine theory, practice and forms of organization.

Richard Bunting
Oxford

Cynthia
Los Angeles

'STATE-CAPITALISM AND THE BUREAUCRATS'

What is so clear from Dunayevskaya's article on "State-Capitalism and the bureaucrats" (May N&L) is that "bureaucracy" doesn't come out of thin air. The kind she is talking about emerges out of our state-capitalist age. If you miss that connection, you miss the whole point of how this article was really the underpinning of the pamphlet **Workers Battle Automation**. That pamphlet by Charles Denby should be read alongside this article to get its full impact.

Sociology teacher
Chicago

The timeliness of Raya Dunayevskaya's article (May N&L) may be obscured by the date it was originally written—1959. But what has been happening in the years since then has both deepened and confirmed the accuracy of that analysis of the dangers of the bureaucratic, administrative mentality that characterizes this age of state-capitalism. The timeliness is especially crucial in light of the hot-house developments in Eastern Europe, and nowhere more than in Poland. The concept of "self-limiting revolution" will not only not minimize the retrogressive bureaucratic developments, it will guarantee their destructive ascendancy. That is why the article has such literal life and death implications not only for East Europe but for Africa and South America and the whole Third World as well as the so-called "advanced" industrial nations.

Andy Phillips
Detroit

I've heard a lot of abstract intellectual attacks on "bureaucracy" but none of them saw any solution to the problem because none of them saw the problem the way workers see it. The "great divide" between workers and intellectuals that Dunayevskaya shone a spotlight on seems to have gotten bigger and bigger since she wrote about it in 1959.

Student
De Kalb

Dunayevskaya's philosophy has developed the specificity of our age, the post-

World War II world. Tracing the emergence of a worldwide state-capitalist bureaucracy—in the intellectuals and in the labor bureaucracy out to control the worker at the very point of production—she shows the emergence of two worlds, the Planners on the one hand, be that Russian or American, and the struggling, fighting workers on the other. What characterizes Dunayevskaya's Marxist-Humanism is that she saw and practiced the need for each age to recreate the dialectic anew.

Ginny Adams
Los Angeles

After Jay Lovestone's recent death I hunted up Raya's early "Two Worlds" column in the May 1962 N&L on this Communist Party bureaucrat turned union bureaucrat and "professional anti-communist." Raya tells us that these opposites in Lovestone's life were opposite sides of the same coin—his disdain for the masses was constant throughout. Doesn't this also shed light on the quick and easy "transformations" taking place at the top in Eastern Europe now?

A. Anieliwicz
New York

AFRICA AND AMERICA

That was a most unusual piece you published in the April issue on "An African-American in Africa" by Robert Reed. I agree with him that "as long as we exist as a people, we will always have two homes, one in America and one in Africa." But the masses of Black people in this country have to take action on their own to open those lines of communication between the U.S. and Africa, because our rulers are not doing this. They are all talking of investing in East Europe, but Africa is ignored. For them, Africa has fallen off the map.

Black youth
Chicago

The "Letter from a South African revolutionary" hit home because, although I am overjoyed that Mandela has been released, it has already been determined that he is not really "free." I agree with Phyllis Ntantala that his

release has been exploited to pacify the people. We think in terms of Total Freedom and not that "he's out" and is going to be our Messiah and save us all.

Young revolutionary
Los Angeles



LATIN AMERICA AND A THEORY OF LIBERATION

In the Central American solidarity movement it's common to hear people say that it's too difficult to work out what true Marxian theory of liberation is. This is because there is so much poverty, and when so many people are struggling just to survive, so it is said, too few people can devote themselves to reading and discussing such things. I used to think that too but now I'm seeing it a little differently. We don't need a "negotiated settlement" so we can work during some "peace and quiet" on how to make a new society. That's just an abstraction. The very necessity Central Americans have to change things is what gives them the ability to understand what Marx was talking about.

Salvadoran student
Cal State-L.A.

WORKERS AND INTELLECTUALS

Your page where you look over the world's events has always been unique—neither what you would get from the daily press, nor "class-angled" the way the old radicals always press everything into a mold. (You know the old story, I'm sure, about the writer who was given an item about a fender-bender between a Cadillac and a Ford and was told to "class-angle it.") In a paper where you have serious theoretical pieces side by side with workers and women and minorities and youth speaking for themselves, a page like "Our Life and Times" is one more welcome expression of the uniqueness of Marxist-Humanism.

Old politico
Philadelphia

I find the living voice of the working class absent recently from "Our Life and Times." In the May issue of N&L we find information about the history of Lithuania's 20th century anti-Communist bourgeois governments, orders to Soviet troops (carried out by automations, I suppose) and the superpower-politics implications. If workers wanted to read this kind of analysis we'd read **Time** and **Fortune**... I read Kevin A. Barry's Essay Article in the same issue to see how his views of the dialectic are deformed by this tendency to abstract philosophy and history from the real relations of real people, real classes. Can he really grasp Hegel's Absolutes when unable to portray the ceaseless self-movement of the Lithuanian masses at this stage of their struggle?

Boeing machinist
Seattle

You give the ordinary workers a voice and a space in which to speak, and don't try to do it for them. Here is my donation to help keep you going!

Black woman
New York

THANKS FROM ADAM KELLER

During my month in Athlit Military Prison I received hundreds of letters from all over the world expressing solidarity and support. I'm sure this massive flow helped convince the military authorities to treat me with respect. I want to thank everyone for their endeavors on my behalf. It is good to have so many friends!

Adam Keller
The Other Israel
Tel-Aviv

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Women, war and struggle in Mozambique

by Terry Moon

And Still They Dance: Women, War, and the Struggle for Change in Mozambique by Stephanie Urdang (Monthly Review Press, New York, 1989), 256 pages, \$12.00.

Stephanie Urdang has written an impassioned book about the prolonged struggle of the people of Mozambique for freedom. As moving and eloquent as this book is, however, I do not believe it is the one Urdang wanted to write. I think she wanted to write of women who fought against what she called the "particular brutality" of the Portuguese colonialists and won; she wanted to show women after revolution, working to realize their dreams, developing their creativity in building a new Mozambique; she wanted to document what it would finally mean for women to be free. But the savage reality of apartheid South Africa has put its deadly hands on the lives and dreams of the people of Mozambique.

Urdang shows us women leaping to fill the spaces the revolution against the Portuguese opened up with their creativity. Women not only fought the Portuguese for their freedom, but they were the ones most determined to make the revolution mean something in their lives—they wanted changes in all human relationships. Thus women worked in factories, drove tractors, fought the age-old customs of polygamy and lobolo (bride price), flocked to schools to educate themselves and were active in the revolutionary committees—particularly the women's organization, OMM.

WOMEN'S FIGHT CALLED DIVISIVE

One of Urdang's strengths is that she doesn't shirk from a deep critique of the revolutionary leadership for not pursuing what she calls "gender struggles," that is, women's oppression, their subordination to men, their lower status in society, the fact that women's worth is measured by how many children they bear, that they are subjected to arranged marriages. They are literally bought by their husbands who view them as property. They can be divorced or abandoned, and polygamy thrives even though women oppose it. A single woman—a woman without a man—is seen as a whore.

Urdang makes her critique clear in describing an Extraordinary Conference on Women where she reports that the general resolution of the conference "called for women to commit themselves to solving the broader crises of the nation, and not to take up the fight for liberation as such....In the end, what was absent from the conference's agenda and remains absent from the overall agenda is a program for women's struggle. While class struggle is called for as a constructive force, women's struggle is seen as divisive."

What speaks sharply to the power of the Idea of freedom is that women continue to fight for women's liberation while their country is under attack by one of the most degenerate, bloodthirsty, terrorist groups in existence—RENAMO. RENAMO, with an endless supply of arms, money and technology—mostly from South Africa—does not try to win the hearts and minds of the people—they just murder women, children and men.

RENAMO ATROCITIES

There is not space here to document how RENAMO's war against the people has devastated the country, destroyed the infrastructure and caused the deaths of thousands of people, most of them children. What must be reported is what RENAMO has done to the youth. When they invade a village, they force the children to murder a villager, sometimes their own mother or father. They force children to witness the rapes and mutilations that they carry out and they tell the children that they can never go home because they have killed someone and it is they—the children—who are responsible for the deaths and destruction they have been forced to witness and participate in. No child is spared. Girls are raped and killed and boys are made to watch and participate in the slaughter.

What Stephanie Urdang's book reveals is the Idea of freedom still in Mozambique, where women—even now—are fighting against lobolo and polygamy and

for new human relations. Listen to the words of an OMM district leader who said: "We have related many stories. But...we have forgotten to say that women had no voice. Where matters of importance were being discussed, there were no women. Men said women could not think. But after we got our independence [from the Portuguese], this changed. In the past days we never had a chance to have a hall full of women talking about our lives. But today we can be together from morning to night discussing our problems....A woman can be somebody." That development of mind, of the knowledge that I can think, that my thoughts make a difference, can never be taken away.

Urdang may, as I think, have wanted to write a book that showed women realizing their full potential after a revolution. Instead, what the brutality of a changed world forced from her pen is the story of a people who have so internalized the Idea of freedom that even the savage actions of RENAMO have not destroyed it. But there can be no doubt that RENAMO must be stopped so that the women can continue their revolution against all who would limit them and thus, finally, their dance can become a celebration of full freedom.

N.Y. melting pot boils

New York, N.Y.—Shock and anger pervade New York City in the aftermath of the split verdict in the trial of two white youths, Joseph Fama and Keith Mondello, for the murder of Yusuf Hawkins, a 16-year old Black man who "crossed the line" when he went to Bensonhurst, Brooklyn last summer in response to an ad for a used car. (See "Black-Red," page 1.) He was attacked by a mob of up to 50 whites for no reason except his color.

The trial was crippled by a lack of eyewitnesses to the event, obviously the result of a conspiracy of silence. A demonstration by 400 Blacks, including Hawkins' mother, before the verdict, saw whites spitting and shouting "not guilty," "go home," and obscenities.

In addition to the murder trial, there is the on-going boycott of two Korean-owned stores in the Black neighborhood of Flatbush, Brooklyn, because a Haitian customer was beaten during a dispute over her bill. The boycott was effective until some whites and Blacks made it a point to cross the picket line.

The call by one Black organization for a boycott of all Korean-owned stores brought out anti-Asian racism. This was followed by an attack by a group of Black youths on three Vietnamese whom they thought were Koreans. But with all the media hype about Black racism, it is impossible to know if the attack was racially motivated or not.

The following letter was written by a Flatbush resident to the Black teacher at Erasmus Hall High School in Flatbush who took his students to the Korean grocery boycott in order to cross the picket line:

"You have failed to address the issue at hand. The issue is the economics of the situation. We never would have known what the Red Apple Market grosses had the boycott not taken place. Have you asked yourself where this money goes? Maybe you do not care, but other people who are concerned about what is happening to the Flatbush community with regard to redevelopment are concerned. Black people are a proud people, they work hard for what they want to achieve, and very rarely are things given to them without a struggle.

"Boycotts opened the door for blacks to obtain the right to an education, they gave you the right to vote, express yourself, and believe it or not, boycotts, protests and marches gave you the opportunity to teach. This is exactly why it is a necessity to address what is at hand. By no means should you deter our children from addressing issues that will affect them educationally, judicially, economically and financially. Economically speaking, they must understand that without an equal opportunity to become employed by those who reap the benefits of entrepreneurship in Black communities, they will never be able to compete successfully. We must implore our children and students to become active in choosing their destiny."

—Anne Jaclard

L.A. anti-racism protest

Los Angeles, Cal.—In late April the Los Angeles Student Coalition held a protest march in Beverly Hills from the South African Consulate to the L.A. Country Club. This was because we found out the country club had never had one Black member. The march was called: "No to Racism, from South Africa to L.A." About 150, mostly high school youth, showed up.

We tried to have a non-violent demonstration in front of the country club. But without any word of warning, riot squads rushed us.

The trouble started when they arrested Don Jackson. Jackson is a Black ex-cop who quit the force because as he says: "They just wanted me to make war against my own community." Now he participates in all the anti-racism activities around town. He had asked the security guards if he as a Black man would be admitted to membership in the club. They told him to come in and talk to the management. But as soon as he set foot on the property they arrested him for trespassing.

The youth were so upset that they blocked the squad car with Jackson in the back seat, demanding to know why he was arrested. The squad car backed up and escaped through another exit. We decided to continue picketing.

Then, about 50 riot cops in helmets, face masks and riot sticks appeared in the driveway. They didn't say anything, just stared at us. All of a sudden six of them ran at us and surrounded us. One youth had been pretty vocal with a bullhorn. The cops grabbed him and threw him into a paddy-wagon.

Holding their night-sticks with both hands, they continued rushing us until they herded us across the street. They backed off for a few minutes, but then made one final violent rush, picking off individuals one by one including a small 14-year-old girl they knocked down. They kept this up, arresting people until the rest of us ran for our lives.

This won't stop us from protesting again, in fact we did have another march at the same place on Mothers' Day. This march didn't have any trouble; maybe because the media was there from the beginning. At the first march they didn't show until the end.

—Struggling City College student

Black/Red View

(continued from page 1)

nameless took place in Brooklyn. Even the Mayor's own police force has doubts that the melee was racially motivated.

THE MANY OBSTACLES TO FREEDOM

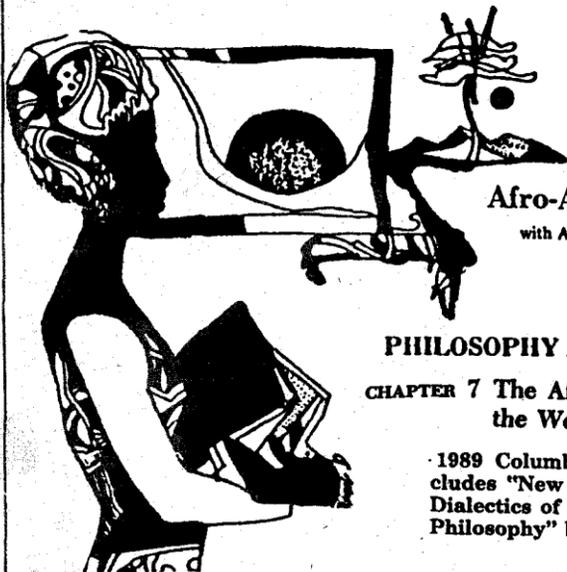
This, at the same time, gives ammunition to Black demagogues, as well as ideological support to that chorus of whites, including the New York Times, who find the root cause of every major social problem within the wretchedness of the Black community. None of them raised the issue of "racial crisis" when Yusuf Hawkins was gunned down in Bensonhurst last year.

The historic and ongoing crisis in New York's Black community, as in other Black urban communities in the U.S., are inescapable. They are the problems, of job discrimination, lack of decent housing, poor health care, as well as government indifference to these problems. The New England Journal of Medicine recently reported that both the public health facilities in Harlem and the life expectancy of Black men is close to that in Bangladesh. The Journal emphasized that this had nothing to do with drug or alcohol abuse, but with poverty and neglect.

The racial crisis in New York City reveals a fundamental crisis in Black leadership by sharpening the contradiction between those Blacks that have managed to gain some political power within the administration of a city that is at the very center of world capitalism, and those Blacks who live in near Third World conditions. Old opportunists like Sharpton and Carson recognize this contradiction and have exploited it for what it is worth.

New York City's racial crisis has shown the limits of Black political power as a pathway to bring about true human freedom and new social relations. Black political freedom was a great achievement of the Civil Rights Movement. However, the past decade of Reagan-Bush has pushed much of that aside. Thus, the real question now is not political power, but how to move forward to real "human power which is its own end."

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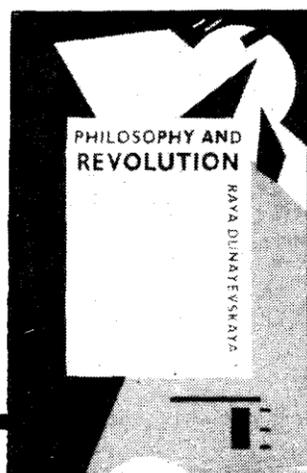
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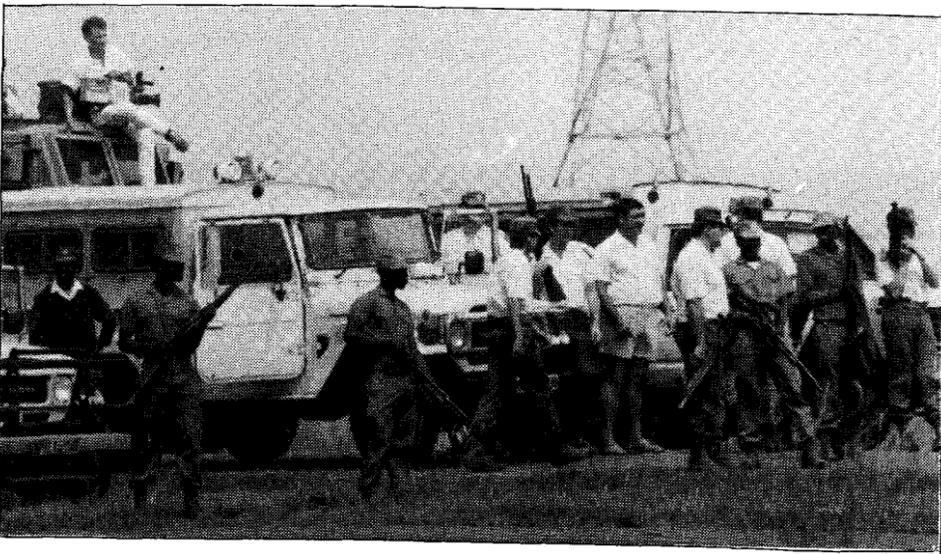
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Sebokeng, South Africa—From early on Monday morning people began to congregate at Mphathalatsane Hall in Zone 14, Sebokeng. Members of the crowd protested that they had stayed away from work to participate in the march, and that they would march whether permission had been granted or not. Police in the meantime tried to form a barricade on the bridge near the administration offices, but the crowd did not give them time to assemble properly, so they withdrew to a spot further down the road, near the Sondela Brewery.



Direct from South Africa:



The crowd came to a halt about 70 meters from the police vehicles. Our delegation waited while Colonel Mazibuko, South African Police station commander at Sebokeng, made his way through the crowd in his police vehicle to join the waiting police contingent. He undertook to receive the memorandum the delegation wished to bring to the attention of the Department of Education and Training and pleaded with them to tell the people to go back as the memorandum had now been handed over. The delegation then returned to the crowd, which was peaceful, with those in the front actually seated listening to the members of the delegation.

Exclusive photo-essay— Massacre at Sebokeng

All of a sudden there was a burst of shots and then there was chaos. I ran for cover and carried on taking photographs. After the shooting stopped, the crowd scattered. Red Cross helpers started attending to the wounds of the 450 injured. The bodies of the people killed were loaded onto a truck and then to a hospital where five were certified dead on arrival.



After the shooting, police stayed at the same spot for a long time before departing, laughing. An official police statement that day stated that the marchers were armed with an assortment of weapons, stones, sticks, knob-berries, and iron pipes.

Aftermath

A crowd of about 50,000 at Zone 7 stadium in Sebokeng, on Sunday, April 8, mourned the victims who were shot dead by the police on March 26. The total number of dead was 17. Only four were buried on Sunday, some were buried during the week, while others were buried in Natal.

The coffins of the four were carried above. This time it was a movement of silence...after the memorandum had been handed to Colonel Mazibuko, the crowd began singing, shouting and threatened to attack the police.



Essay Article

by Victor Hart

This May the Philippines and the U.S. began exploratory talks on the future of U.S. military installations in the Philippines, particularly Clark Air Base and Subic Bay Naval Station. As the talks were about to open two American servicemen were shot and killed near Clark Air Base, an indication of the rising opposition to continued U.S. military presence in the Philippines, particularly from a widespread guerrilla movement on the Left that has been active for two decades. At the same time the Aquino government is a hostage of the bases. Without American military intervention, the sixth and most serious Rightist military coup attempt in four years of Aquino rule would have overthrown the government.

But the question of "what direction for the Philippines" transcends the immediacy of these negotiations. No matter what deal is finally struck on the bases, the massive revolt from below in the Philippines is bound to continue into the 1990s.

We need to examine the dialectic of events, not only of today, but reaching back to the period of the Hukbalahap Revolt in the midst of World War II, indigenous movements in opposition to the Marcos dictatorship, as well as to the influence of Maoism in the Philippines, especially with regard to the founding of the New People's Army (NPA). Where many in the Philippines are today looking for how to begin anew after the overthrow of Marcos, an examination of movements for national self-determination as well as surrounding ideological battles can help us give meaning to the current struggles.

THE 1940s: THE HUKBALAHAP, A REVOLUTIONARY PEASANT DIMENSION

The Hukbalahap was a self-organized peasant movement which grew from around 2,700 armed resistance fighters in 1942 to around 12,000 by September, 1944.



Huk insurgents at a training camp in central Luzon.

They destroyed the Japanese occupation.

At the moment of the Japanese invasion, December, 1941, peasant resistance began. From the rural barrios small groups of peasants formed, salvaged arms left by fleeing members of the United States Armed Forces of the Far East (USAFFE), and confronted police and collaborators alike, disarmed them, and collected their weapons for the resistance.

A decisive moment of the Hukbalahap resistance was the March, 1942 ambush of the Japanese led by guerrilla commander Felipa Culala, known as Dayang-Dayang. The 130 guerrillas under her command killed 40 Japanese soldiers and 68 collaborating police, and captured 38 enemy arms. The events electrified the countryside, leaving little doubt about the depth of Philippine resistance to the fascist occupation.

The Hukbalahap was an organization with varying political tendencies, including peasant activists, socialists and Communists. Most importantly, Hukbalahap was taken by the peasant masses as the name for the spirit of resistance among them to oppression, which had already been well developed by the 1930s. They did not separate the armed struggle from their quest to create an alternative way of life. Occupation of land, abandoned by the capitalist owners, most of whom had fled the countryside to Manila in the first weeks of the invasion, was a vital part of the movement.

The Hukbalahap, besides beginning the armed struggle which would inflict about 20,000 casualties on the Japanese and their collaborators, published with peasant participation a weekly newspaper, *Redemption of the Nation*, from a mountain hideout, organized a communication network of codes and secret couriers, and administered justice based on the widely circulated document, *Fundamental Spirit*. This integrality of activity and thought was surely the highpoint of the Philippine freedom struggle.

When the U.S. military invaded the Philippines in late 1944 and the beginning of 1945, the Hukbalahap was intensifying its attacks. In many cases Hukbalahap guerrillas liberated areas and all the Americans did was to take over. Yet, at liberation the American policy was to disarm the Hukbalahap. The USAFFE forces attempted to do just that. In one notorious case—the Malolos Massacre of early 1945—Huk squadron 77 was seized by American and Filipino military police in Bulacan. The guerrillas were thrown into jail, then forced to dig a mass grave where they were buried after all 109 were shot. The collaborating Filipino police leader, Adonais Maclang, was subsequently appointed mayor of Malolos by the Americans, while Huk leaders were jailed for preventing the region "from returning to a normal way of life."

During World War II, Mao had not yet gained state power in China. The Philippine Communist Party (PKP) was, in effect, following Stalin's line, though

there was no small amount of Maoist influence already.¹ Within the Hukbalahap, the Party followed a zig-zag course. First it was a policy of "Anti-Japanese Above All," which included being with big landlords in a popular front. In 1943, after the Huks suffered some military setbacks, the PKP called for a "Retreat for Defense" strategy wherein all Huk political organizations were to go underground. The Huk guerrillas were to go to the mountains, hide out, and not engage the Japanese except as necessary for defense.

As the war ended in 1945-6, the PKP followed an electoral strategy while many of the peasant masses continued their armed struggle against the returning landlords, the Philippine constabulary, and the U.S. military. Two years later, the PKP suddenly declared a revolutionary situation and attempted to mass peasants and workers into conventional military formations, which would confront the government forces directly, rather than through guerrilla tactics.

In one swoop, nearly the entire leadership of the PKP was arrested in Manila. This caused immense disorientation, opening the door to the eventual decimation of the guerrilla fighters, who had formed the Hukbong Magpapalayang Bayan or People's Liberation Army. The goal of the self-organized masses had been to transform the anti-imperialist war against the Japanese occupation forces into a civil war against national rulers and collaborators and American forces. But two decades would pass before a new movement incorporating both urban and rural areas would again arise.

THE 1960s AND '70s: INDIGENOUS REVOLT VS. THE MAOIST ALTERNATIVE

In the 1960s Jose Maria Sison, a leading young member of the PKP, wrote a critique of the party's history, including its role in the defeat of the Hukbalahap and its aftermath. The assignment had come from the party leadership in response to activists who demanded a document on the party's history. Both the leadership and Sison thought the outcome would be a strengthening of the existing party.

However what emerged in 1968, "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party," became instead the foundation for a new party—the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). Only later would Sison declare that this party was governed by "Marxism-Leninist-Mao Tse Tung Thought." The following year the New People's Army, a product of Sison's followers and a number of surviving Huk activists, was established.

In his writings, including *Philippine Society and Revolution* (1971) and *Specific Characteristics of Our Peoples War* (1974), Sison looked at the Huk rebellion and what he felt was its confinement to Central Luzon in a country which included other vast areas from the Visayas, or middle islands, to Mindanao in the south.

But it was not so much the Movement that was confined to central Luzon during the Hukbalahap revolt as it was the Party. Far from northern Luzon being isolated from resistance and social revolution, even Sison's own investigation showed that it was this area of the country which inflicted a crucial blow against the Japanese occupation when the "heaviest concentration of troops, reaching up to 150,000, was wiped out by the guerrilla forces."²

Sison personally led a "social investigation" into mountainous Northern Luzon, home of several cultural minorities, such as the Bontok, Kalinga, Tinguan and Ifugao tribal groups. The goal of the CPP became to establish a central base area, much as Mao had done in Hunan. They would then build from there a national guerrilla army.

The people in these rural areas were not, as in Mao's concept of revolution, "poor and blank," and thus in need of the party's vanguard role. Just the opposite, the tribal minorities took the lead of the rural revolt. Thus, in the 1970s the party found itself not in the vanguard but rather following the lead of the minority groups as they fought first the mining companies, then the timber companies, followed by an epic struggle against the state-capitalist regime itself in the Battle for the Chico River.

1. Mao represented no fundamental break with Stalinism, but only offered an original way to state power—the peasant army and guerrilla war. There is less mystery than might be supposed in how quickly the dominant party of the 1940s and 1950s had its place taken by the Maoists in the 1960s. Raya Dunayevskaya as early as her 1957 *Marxism and Freedom*, critiqued Mao's speech, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," which had just reached the outside world: "[Mao] reduced the struggle of class against class to a contradiction among 'the people' while he became the champion at one and the same time of the philosophy of a hundred flowers blooming and one and only one Party, the Chinese Communist Party, ruling. Outside of the exploitative class relations themselves, nothing so clearly exposes the new Chinese ruling class as their threadbare philosophy."

2. This occurred virtually simultaneously with the American atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August, 1945. Stanley Karnow, who has just won the Pulitzer Prize in history for his book, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines*, doesn't uncover this indigenous activity from northern Luzon against the Japanese forces. Instead, he emphasizes actions by U.S. bombers there, "in the biggest napalm raid of the Pacific war." This is in keeping with his writing of history where, despite insertion of some alternating phrases of appreciation and deprecation of the Huks and of the general Filipino population (who fed American prisoners-of-war at the risk of immediate execution were they caught by the Japanese Army, and then liberated them from concentration camp-style prisons), Karnow sees as central to the entire period the agony of defeat and the exhilaration of victory as experienced by the Americans in the Philippines. However, he does note that after Warsaw, Manila became the most devastated of all Allied cities. And while eight thousand Americans died, "the final fight to liberate Manila killed at least a hundred thousand civilians in a holocaust of savage Japanese atrocities and furious U.S. artillery bombardments."

On one level the whole period of Marcos-imposed martial law was a decade of struggle of national minorities, who gave perhaps the deepest meaning to "cause-oriented" as opposed to party-centered organization. This was true from the southern-most part of Mindanao to the northern reaches of Luzon.

• In northern Luzon indigenous people created the Bodong, or Peace Pact, which offered resistance to outside oppressors and furthered internal self-determination based on non-capitalist, communal relations.

• In 1974, when the martial law government invited foreign-owned mining companies into the mountain provinces, the Bontok tribal peoples began protesting the pollution of the rivers, the killing of the fish and other food resources and the destruction of the forest. Women took the initiative, attacking mining company camps, driving them off the land.

• In the battle for the Chico River a series of four dams was planned which would have uprooted 100,000 Bontok and Kalinga tribal peoples from their ancestral lands. This huge hydroelectric project was conceived as a means of harnessing the power of the Chico River to provide for the energy needs of the mines and the urban centers like Manila with their new foreign-dominated corporations, gearing up for what was hoped to be the next "economic miracle" in Asia. The Bontok and Kalinga organized actions against the National Power Corporation reaching out to other anti-government forces. By 1981, a year after the murder of Macliing Dulag, the indigenous leader of the Kalinga, Marcos was forced to announce he was abandoning the project.



Macliing Dulag, Kalinga tribal leader who led the struggle against the Chico River Dam project and was murdered by the military on April 24, 1980.

We can see that the movement in the Philippines cannot be equated with a single party, or a sole guerrilla movement. There were many indigenous forms of struggle that came forth in the post World War II period. However, the indigenous form—no matter how profoundly it has been developed—versus the party-form does not exhaust the question of dialectics of liberation, that is, what is necessary to create a new society.

OVERTHROW OF MARCOS, BUT NEW RETROGRESSION

Within the Philippines there was not alone a heightened level of anti-Marcos activity following the assassination of Benigno Aquino in August of 1983. There were as well, creative forms of theoretical dialogue both before and after the assassination. A series of lectures and open discussions at the University of the Philippines, in honor of the Marx Centenary, had lecturers challenged from the floor on the question of the Humanism of Marx, the elitism of the party-form of organization in Philippine history, as well as the elitism of some of the speakers, and on questions of women's liberation and revolutionary movements globally.

The new stage in the movement after Aquino's assassination led to the February, 1986 overthrow of Marcos. Yet far from meaning a new beginning for the Filipino people, four years of deepening counter-revolution have followed.

In November, 1986, Rolando Olalia, a grass roots labor leader, was assassinated. In January, 1987 came the horrendous massacre of Mendiola peasants who had been demonstrating in front of Malacanang Palace in Manila. This was followed by other assassinations including Leandro Alejandro, head of a coalition of "cause-oriented" groups. There were attempts against the life of Nemesio Prudente, head of the Polytechnic U. of the Philippines.

This whole period has included some of the most massive human dislocations since World War II, peaking last summer with Corazon Aquino's policy of "total war" against the struggles of the national minorities and the New People's Army.

In the period since the overthrow of Marcos we need to raise the question of how the self-determination of peoples and nations can continue. What is the relationship between that self-determination and the self-development of the idea of freedom?

This is not alone a question for the Philippines. The Marxist-Humanist philosopher Raya Dunayevskaya wrote of Karl Marx's new beginnings as a revolutionary thinker/activist being rooted in his perception of two totally different totalities—reality and ideas. Their dialectical tension was what first impelled Marx to find his own voice vis-a-vis Hegel in the early 1840s. In the last decade of his life Marx wrote of these totalities of reality and ideas in the context of organization in his *Cri-*

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Youth

Kent and Jackson State

by Jim Guthrie

On May 3-6, people came from across the country to Kent State in Ohio to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the National Guard killing of four students at Kent on May 4, 1970, and the police killing of two students at Jackson State in Mississippi on May 14, 1970.

A contingent of radical youth from DeKalb, Ill., organized by the Forum for Marxist Humanist Thought, came to commemorate the killings and to participate in the weekend conference sponsored by the Progressive Student Network (PSN).

A lot of our friends were enthusiastic about going to Kent, especially the high school students, many of whom could not go because their parents wouldn't allow it. This made me wonder what the Kent State and Jackson State shootings mean to the youth of today.

I was only in kindergarten on May 4, 1970, but I definitely remember growing up knowing that the killings had happened. I remember arguing against the war in Vietnam with my friends when I was in second grade, and I knew then that the Kent students had been killed for protesting that same war that I despised. Whenever one of our school teachers told us we lived in a free country, I would think of that famous photo of the young woman screaming in horror as she knelt over Jeffrey Miller's dead body.

For me the Kent and Jackson State killings have always symbolized what it means to be a youth in this society: both our unfreedom right here in the U.S.A., and our determination to stand up for freedom. Yet to look at the killings only as a symbol does not get us any closer to working out a path for today's freedom movement.

One participant at the conference was a Black woman who was active in the Black liberation struggle of the 1960s, who spoke about the history of Kent and Jackson State and a number of other incidents where the state power resorted to brutally killing people to suppress the movement.

From all this historic detail she concluded that the people in power value private property more than they value human life. True, but how far does this analysis get us in working out a new revolutionary perspective for today? When a young woman asked if we could ever attain a revolution in permanence, the response was, "No, because the powers that be will always fight back."

HISTORIC DETAIL OR HISTORIC REASON?

It is not simply a matter of knowing the facts about the history of the struggle, so we "won't make the same mistakes again." If youth are determined to let the revolution live, then we have to raise the question of what is the absolute opposite of the capitalist bosses and their gun thugs. The rulers certainly will "always fight back" as long as we allow them to exist, and since they don't impose limits on their counter-revolutionary activity, why should we impose limits on our revolutionary perspectives?

Unfortunately the self-appointed leadership of the PSN constantly attempts to impose limits on the perspectives of radical student youth. One PSN spokesperson gave a speech about "the road forward" for the student movement, and didn't even mention theory. We asked her what the role of theory was in the movement, and we got the stock reply: "We say, 'unity in action.' We get together in the actions we do and find our unity there, and develop our theory out of that, so we can learn from what we do."

This attitude, which is pervasive in the student movement, reflects the Maoist notion that practice is higher than theory—and the New Left view that we can "pick up theory en route." Both are seriously lacking because we never philosophically comprehend our experience.

RELATION TO SUBJECTS OF REVOLUTION

Without this philosophic comprehension, history is at best a recitation of contingent events which allows us to see the mass action of oppressed people throughout the



Students and friends marched to commemorate the killing of students at Kent and Jackson State Universities.

world merely as a form of political force. It does not allow us to fully grasp the emergence of today's subjects of revolution. Only by philosophically understanding history can we see that this self activity of the masses is not only a political force, but that their practice is also a form of theory as well.

The inability to see masses as Reason can lead us to a lot of confusion about what our own role in the movement is. The bureaucratic-mark of our age is that everyone is ready to lead; no one to listen.

It is the PSN's unphilosophic relationship to the history of their own struggle—the youth movement here in the U.S.—that was so in evidence at this conference. The speakers invited from the old Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) were precisely those who had rejected any concept of theory, or who had substituted Maoism for serious revolutionary thought. Only the speakers from the Black Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s could truly tell the experience of a movement where masses were reason. A number did so powerfully.

Without a revolutionary philosophic ground you only end up seeing the oppressed people of the world as an abstract Other which you can only "stand in solidarity with," but never as Revolutionary Reason as well as Force with whom you can have a critical dialogue to work out a new beginning.

If our view of history remains uncritical and undialectical, then the movement of the 1960s gets reduced to a faulty model to be followed or not followed, and the murdered Kent and Jackson State students get reduced to empty symbols.

Youth in Revolt

by Franklin Dmitryev

A series of student protests erupted at the Univ. of Texas at Austin in April after one fraternity passed out racist T-shirts and another painted racist slogans on a car and destroyed it. Nearly 1,000 students shouted down a speech by the university's president, accusing him of giving them lip service, and a group of athletes held their own march against racism to counter administration attempts to depict the athletes as being on their side.

* * *

An international day of fasting was observed on May 13, first anniversary of the beginning of Chinese students' hunger strike in Tiananmen Square. Students took part on 50 campuses, from Russia's Moscow State to Harvard University. In Leningrad, the hunger strike also became a show of support for Lithuanian independence.

* * *

Over 50,000 youths demonstrated in Vilnius, Lithuania, in April, demanding independence. The previous week, students from several of the USSR's non-Russian republics gathered in Vilnius and adopted an appeal to all students of the world to "stop their studies and demonstrate if the USSR uses military force against the will of the people of Lithuania, or if attempts are made to force citizens of the Baltic republics to serve in the army of the occupiers."

* * *

In April and May, students have been holding sit-ins and rallies at the City University of New York to protest proposed budget cuts and the lack of Black and Latino faculty, compared to a student body that is two-thirds Black and Latino. Students are now demanding the resignation of several officials of John Jay College of Criminal Justice, since they ordered police to drive 200 students out of a building there; in the process, at least five students were injured.

* * *

After an impassioned struggle by women students against the Mills College Administration's decision to become a co-ed school solely for the purpose of making more money, women students forced the college administration to rescind its decision. One of the leaders in the student protest, Caitlin Halloran, declared, "I think we've begun the women's movement of this generation." Another student, Rachel Logan, stated, "I feel glad I'm part of this historic class."

S.F. Earth Day march

San Francisco, Cal.—Protesting the corporate takeover of Earth Day through "green marketing campaigns," environmental activists attempted to shut down the Pacific Coast Stock Exchange April 23, the day after Earth Day. Forty-nine people were arrested blockading the stock exchange doors and hindering police in the streets surrounding it.

The blockade and arrests started at 6 a.m. For three hours, protesters skirmished with police who were kept busy dragging big potted trees back onto the sidewalks where protesters dragged them from. Many of the protesters arrested got roughed up.

Among the 300 to 500 demonstrators were college students and workers. A skilled construction worker said he recently visited up north near Mendocino where the confrontation over lumbering has received national attention. In fact it has just two sides, he said—the milling and logging companies versus everyone else, including the lumber workers who recognize the companies' greed.

While the protest's human energy and purpose was a big step forward, the Earth Day Action Coalition's flyer for the protest signalled a potential barrier. While demanding "an end to corporate boards making decisions about the earth's future in closed meetings with no real public input" is a solid beginning, it omitted solidarity with East European student and worker activists who face the collapse of the environment there, not through corporate greed, but through the state, run in the name of the people.

—Participant

Writings of Dunayevskaya

(continued from page 4)

one previously, not even Lenin, could think of stopping to emphasize this passage and its paean to "personal and free": "The second negative...is no more the activity of an external reflection than the contradiction is: it is the innermost and most objective moment of Life and Spirit by virtue of which a subject is personal and free" [J&S477-78; M835-36]. And again: "The beginning was the universal; the result is the individual, the concrete, and the subject; what the former is in itself, the latter now is equally for itself" [J&S479; M837].

Now is there any longer a difference between inner and outer: "Each new stage of exteriorization (that is, of further determination) is also an interiorization, and greater extension is also higher intensity" [J&S483; M840-41].

Finally, since "the pure Idea of Cognition is enclosed in subjectivity, and therefore is an impulse to transcend the latter; and, as last result, pure truth becomes the beginning of another sphere and science" (read: another society). THEREFORE, transition is no longer "a perfected becoming" but "is an absolute liberation.... Consequently there is no transition in this freedom" [J&S485; M843].

ALL THE REST of that last paragraph sings of freedom as RELEASE ("the Idea freely releases itself" [J&S486; M843], and "By reason of this freedom the form of its determinateness is utterly free—the external-ity of space and time which is absolutely for itself and without subjectivity." Because having absorbed objectivity it no longer exists "as mere objectivity," but "arises to perfect its self-liberation in the Philosophy of Spirit" [J&S486; M844].

It is most important, for our age, to understand why, instead of going on with the paragraph on liberation, Lenin had stopped at the very first sentence in it, which read: "For the Idea posits itself as the absolute unity of the pure Notion and its Reality, and thus gathers itself into the immediacy of Being; and in doing so, as totality in this form, it is Nature" [J&S485; M843]. Lenin disregards the rest of the paragraph, stressing that the "Smaller Logic" indeed ends with this sentence, and then remarks "Stretches a hand to materialism." Further: "It is remarkable: in the whole chapter on 'The Absolute Idea' there is almost not a single word on God (scarcely a 'godly notion' slips out even accidentally) and moreover—this NB—the chapter almost does not contain idealism specifically, but its main object is the dialectic method. The sum and summation, the last word and gist of the Logic of Hegel is the dialectic method—that is extremely remarkable. And another thing: in the most idealistic work of Hegel there is most materialism. 'Contradictory' but a fact!"

That is true, but is not the whole truth, or, to be precise, it is not the whole truth for our epoch. We needn't prove the materialism of Hegel, but rather the idealism (materialistic idealism, but idealism nevertheless) of Marx which has been so perverted by the Stalins, Maos and Khrushchevs. When the "what happens after" the revolution's success has become that monstrous opposite, state capitalism, it is "freedom," the "release," "the personal and free," the truth which rests upon "subjectivity alone" that comes to the forefront, and all else are but first negation which must again be transcended and "only by transcendence of this...does there arise positive Humanism, beginning from itself." Our task is to concretize this, just this Marxist Humanism.

Jonathan, I trust this will help sharpen up the points of Mao's China as no solution whatever either for itself or for the road on which Africa must embark.

Do you think you can find time to make copies of this letter for me? I would like to use it as basis for my actual writing of that chapter on the Absolute Idea in my book....

Yours, Raya

The Philippines today

(continued from page 10)

tique of the Gotha Program, which broke through old concepts of a "national party." Dunayevskaya writes that in doing so Marx "contrasted the difference between a national party and the International which he headed and which resulted in starting a new form of organization, the Paris Commune...He asked the Marxists to go deeper and lower into the proletariat, as well as the oppressed in general, whether they be peasants or minorities like Jews, while he went searching for pre-capitalist social forces and passions that we now call the Third World. The result was his very last work, the *Ethnological Notebooks*..."

What needs more discussion is the universal character of these "new beginnings" in philosophy and revolution for our age. A Filipina activist recently wrote: "In the Philippines we thought we already had the answer to everything...But as I reflected I realized it was not the total war which was the aim of life, but the totality I saw in the writings of Dunayevskaya...It is for us now who found this kind of direction to read it, listen to it, write it ourselves and return it back to the masses and thereby enable them to grasp the meaning of their revolts."

Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

In April and May, worker and student protests against the authoritarian government of Roh Tae Woo in South Korea broke out on a truly massive scale. The new stage of revolt began on April 28, when a small army of 13,000 riot police attacked a shipyard which had been occupied by several thousand striking workers. The Ulsan shipyard, the world's largest, employs 24,000 people and is owned by Hyundai Motor Company. A few days earlier, the shipyard's workers had walked out to protest the jailings of four of their union leaders.

Police acted with brutality, employing bulldozers, tear gas grenades and clubs to attack the workers. The workers fought back by erecting barricades and throwing Molotov cocktails and other projectiles. The battle, involving tens of thousands of people, spilled into the city streets of Ulsan. Over 600 workers were arrested.

Sympathy actions soon spread throughout the country. More than 27,000 auto workers at Hyundai's Ulsan plant walked out in a two-day sympathy strike ending on May Day. Students attacked police headquarters in Taegu. Thousands of workers and students came into the streets of Seoul to demonstrate and were in turn attacked by police. A nationwide strike called for May 1 by the National Consultative Council of Labor Unions did not, however, succeed in paralyzing industry nationwide, as movement activists had hoped.

Yet it did set the stage for a new round of student protests, the largest since the 1987 revolt which brought

down military dictator Chon Doo Hwan. On May 9, 1990, nearly 100,000 students and their supporters demonstrated nationwide against the government. At least 40,000 students and workers took over the streets of downtown Seoul and, failing to reach a government building, instead burned the nearby United States Information Service (USIS) building. The USIS and Ambassador Donald Gregg, a former CIA agent, are hated symbols of decades of U.S. support for South Korea's totalitarian rulers. The demonstrations continued through the month of May, which was the tenth anniversary of the Kwangju massacre of 1980, when hundreds of protesters were slain by Chon's troops.

While Chon had to resign in 1987, his hand-picked



successor, Roh Tae Woo, still rules. Despite some limited democratic reforms, Amnesty International reported early this year that the human rights situation had moved back to pre-1987 conditions. Amnesty wrote that since April, 1989 at least 800 political and union activists had been jailed by the government. That same government moved in January to create a large center-right Liberal Democratic party involving the merger of two of the three main opposition parties with the ruling, pro-military party. This grand coalition threatens to set up a single party system!

The living standards of the masses have plunged as housing and other living costs have skyrocketed way ahead of wage increases. A recent opinion poll showed that support for the government has dropped to 14%. By 1990, the Peoples Alliance, a dissident umbrella group including many of the radical student groups, gave some indication of focusing once again on conditions of life and labor inside South Korea rather than on the issue of reunification alone.

Since 1988, much of the energy of the radical student movement has centered around, at best, a naive effort to "reunite" the two Koreas, without, challenging the single party state-capitalist system in power in North Korea, which calls itself Communist. Korea remains a tragically divided land ever since World War II and then the Korean War, launched in 1950 by Russia, the U.S. and later drawing in China. Visits and even letters are forbidden between the two Koreas. This is the doing of both superpowers plus China and the two Korean regimes, each of them dictatorial and anti-worker.

Massacre of Palestinians in Israel

The May 20 execution-style massacre of eight Arabs by a mentally-deranged Israeli ex-soldier was yet another proof of the slide toward barbarism by Israel ever since the Palestinian intifada uprising began in December, 1987. That this massacre was no isolated act, but rather flowed out of the years of occupation since 1967 of the West Bank and Gaza, was shown when in the two days following the massacre, when Israeli troops killed more Arabs and wounded over 700.

A total Arab general strike has now gripped the land. Riots have spread not only in the occupied territories, as before, but also into the 650,000-strong Arab community within Israel's pre-1967 borders, who hold Israeli citizenship.

Vast crowds of Palestinians have also taken to the streets of Jordan, meeting with repression by King Hussein's police and military. The Palestinian movement has rarely shown so well its massive, grassroots, indigenous character. Such revolutionary mass actions are the

opposite of isolated acts of terror such as the attack on a tourist bus by a Palestinian in Jordan. Never before has the intifada so easily crossed the border into Jordan.

A foretaste of this new internationalism was shown a week earlier when on May 14, the 42nd anniversary of the partition of British-ruled Palestine into the states of Israel and Jordan, 20,000 Palestinian Arabs demonstrated outside Jordan to support the intifada. As they approached the Allenby Bridge leading to the West Bank, 2,500 demonstrators tried to cross over.

At this point, Jordanian police and soldiers clubbed the demonstrators, lobbed tear gas, and fired their machine guns into the air, driving them back from the bridge. Jordan's King Hussein proved once again that it is not only the Israeli regime, but also the Arab rulers such as himself and Syria's Hafez al-Assad, who oppose and prevent self-determination for the Palestinians.

Racist attacks in France

The depraved, shocking, barbaric and Nazi-inspired desecration of three Jewish cemeteries has shocked the world. At a cemetery in the town of Carpentras, 34 graves were vandalized, and the body of an 81-year-old man was dug up, mutilated and impaled on an umbrella. This act did not come out of a vacuum, but flowed from the entire retrogressive decade of the 1980s.

For the past decade, racist attacks, mainly against Arabs, have multiplied, resulting in dozens of deaths. During the same period the neo-fascist National Front of Jean-Marie Le Pen has grown to where it now commands 17% support in opinion polls. Le Pen regularly calls for the deportation of France's 3.4 million Arab immigrants, and attacks the 700,000-member French Jewish community as holding too much power.

At his party's May Day rally this year, Le Pen, a

former colonial paratrooper during the Algerian war who personally tortured African revolutionaries, proclaimed to his followers: "Racism in France today means patriotism." As one 1990 anti-racist protester, a young French woman married to an Arab, put it: "I always said that Le Pen started with the Arabs in order to finish with the Jews."

On May 14, nearly 200,000 solemn protesters filled the streets of Paris to protest and mourn the Carpentras desecration. Banners at the head of the march were limited to two slogans: "No to racism! No to anti-Semitism!" Called by the Representative Council of French Jewish Institutions, the rally drew Jews and non-Jews, workers and intellectuals, radical youth and elderly concentration camp survivors. Perhaps the most moving evidence of internationalist, inter-ethnic solidarity, however, was the presence of tens of thousands of immigrants.

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

The new visions of the future that Dunayevskaya left us in her work from the 1940s to the 1980s are rooted in her rediscovery of Marx's Marxism in its original form as a "new Humanism" and in her 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.

Strike in Nicaragua

From May 11-17, 60,000 government workers went on strike and occupied many government buildings, in the first serious post-election challenge to the new U.S.-backed government of Violeta Barrios de Chamorro. Workers demanded a 200% raise to bring their monthly salaries up to \$150, to keep pace with raging inflation.

The strike escalated after Chamorro threatened to fire all who did not return to work immediately, with workers chanting "Not one step back." Transport, communications and banking were completely shut down.

Chamorro then appealed to Bush for \$40 million in emergency aid, but he said he didn't have any money! Apparently the U.S. was still smarting over her ignoring of Washington's "advice" by allowing Sandinista Humberto Ortega to continue to command the military, and would like her to move faster than she wants to dismantle the gains of the revolution.

With no support coming from Washington, Chamorro quickly back-tracked, negotiating a compromise of a 100% wage increase and no firings of strikers. While hardly the great victory the Sandinista press boasted of, the strike did show that elements of a stand-off exist today in Nicaragua.

Liberia government shaky

The U.S.-backed military government of General Samuel K. Doe in Liberia is on the ropes. Rebels, led by former cabinet minister Charles Taylor, are nearing the capital. Based in Nimba province, the rebels' support has only grown larger after months of massacre and a scorched earth policy by Doe's troops. More than 140,000 refugees have fled to neighboring countries.

Doe has ruled mainly through his minority Krahn ethnic group which comprises only 4% of the population, shutting out major groups such as the Gio. Over the past decade, the U.S. has provided Doe with \$500 million in aid and loans, including military assistance and "advisors."

Italian elections report

Milan, Italy—The results of the Italian provincial and city elections of May 6-7 have shown how profoundly Italy is divided. In fact, by now the mafia in southern Italy has so much power as to be considered a state within the state. Ten candidates were murdered before the elections by the mafia. The city councils in the South tend to function as administrative boards for the mafia.

Another notable political event that preceded the elections was that the Communist Party, in the wake of the East European rebellions, decided to change its name, renouncing its ideological foundations and becoming a liberal-socialist party.

A new phenomenon on the political scene is the rise of the leagues in the North. They propose regional autonomy from Rome saying that the tax money of the wealthy industrialized North is mostly used for the development of the South; they want their money for their own development. Racism is part of the leagues' program: Southerners back to the South, Africans back to Africa. In Lombardia, where Milan is the principal city, the Lega Lombarda won 20% of the votes; in Veneto the league won 5%.

The Christian Democratic party won 33% of the total votes, a loss of 1½% compared to the last regional elections. The Communists, with 24% of the total votes, showed an even loss of around 6% in all of the regions. All experts agree that the losses were caused by Communists, deluded by their party's choice, that decided not to vote.

—Margaret Ellingham