

# NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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## Relationship between life and labor



by B. Ann Lastelle

As we entered the last hours of our 62-hour work week at Eckrich, exhausted by the intensity of our labor as well as its duration, I stood on the line thinking about why we were doing this. The answer seemed simple. If we could survive the last several weeks before the plant closed, we could receive our severance and vacation pay and would be able to claim our unemployment benefits without contest. If we quit or gave the company an excuse to fire us, we would get nothing.

I thought back to another work experience in 1984. I was then newly divorced, had few savings and had been unemployed for four months. I took a job at a wage that barely covered my expenses if I was very careful. After I had worked at that factory for one month, the company cut our working time back to four days per week.

I couldn't afford to live on what I was making, but I couldn't afford to quit, either, because I wouldn't get my unemployment benefits, at least not without a long delay. So I stayed on, borrowing money from friends, until I finally was laid off.

My thoughts turned also to the Introduction to the First Edition of Raya Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom*, where Dunayevskaya quoted a West Virginia miner who had listened to her talk about the ideas in her book:

*"I've listened to you discussing that fellow Marx," he said. "I can't word it like him, but I know exactly what he means. I lay there this morning about a quarter of six. I looked out the window. I said to myself, 'You just got to get up there and go down, whether you feel like it or not.' I didn't even speak it to my wife. I just said to myself, 'now you call that a free man?'"*

Marx wrote that the worker in capitalist society is "free" in two senses. First, the worker is "free" from ownership of, or any control over, the means of prod-

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## Black World

### Socialism debate in S. Africa



by Lou Turner

*"A corrupt state, of things is very frequently represented as an 'abuse'; it is taken for granted that the foundation was good—the system, the institution itself faultless—but that the passion, the subjective interest, in short, the arbitrary volition of men has made use of that which in itself was good to further its own selfish ends, and that all that is required to be done is to remove these adventitious elements. On this showing the institute in question escapes obloquy, and the evil that disfigures it appears something foreign to it. But when accidental abuse of a good thing really occurs, it is limited to particularity. A great and general corruption affecting a body of such large and comprehensive scope as a Church, is quite another thing. The corruption of the Church was a native growth."*

—Hegel, *Philosophy of History*

Last summer the South African Communist Party (SACP) made a great show of publicly unmasking leading SACP members holding key positions inside the ANC (African National Congress) and outside in trade union, youth, women's and township organizations. Some months before the surprising self-revelations, which included union militant Moses Mayekiso, Joe Slovo, the Stalinist doyen of the SACP, issued an ideological "confession" of the sins of Stalinism entitled, "Has Socialism Failed?"

Published under the imprimatur of the Party's quar-

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## On the Inside

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## Editorial Article: Stop Bush's Persian Gulf War!

# The "new world order" is U.S. drive for single world mastery



News & Letters photo

Anti-war protestors take to the streets in Chicago. Hundreds of thousands participated in protests nationwide.

by Olga Domanski

The utter barbarism which George Bush has unleashed with his genocidal war against Iraq has, in the first week, already reached nearly inconceivable depths. Despite the determination of the Pentagon to prevent the world from learning the truth of the most concentrated bombing in all of history, the refugees streaming out of the hell of Iraq are now reporting what one Egyptian, who had been among the harshest of Hussein's critics, called nothing short of "an annihilation of a people," as one after another described the death and destruction they had witnessed. The Pentagon's use of Hitler's vocabulary to call Bush's brand of terror an "all-out blitz" was apt indeed. It was echoed in Saddam Hussein's fascist mentality when, after striking terror in Israel with Scud missiles all had cause to fear were carrying chemical and/or biological weapons, he boasted he would turn Israel into a "crematorium!"

The videos of wave after wave of continued saturation bombing of Baghdad; the sight of TV journalists



U.S. bomb damage in downtown Baghdad. No estimate of civilian casualties has been released.

donning gas masks in Tel Aviv; the questions from the Palestinians in the West Bank, who were not given gas masks and wanted to know how the 400,000 in the refugee camps will "seal up" their tents; the interviews with Israeli generals hinting at the possibility of nuclear retaliation; and the knowledge that U.S. warships with their own nuclear weapons sit waiting in the Persian Gulf—all these nightmares bombarded the world within

## Anti-war protests, page 5

the very first days of the terrifying new stage Bush has opened in his drive to impose his "new world order." The bloodletting that will begin when the ground war starts is unimaginable.

Within the very first week it became clear that this will not be a short conflict. The only thing that worries Bush and the Pentagon about the slaughter a

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## WE NEED YOUR HELP!

At a moment when the horrors unleashed by the war in the Persian Gulf have manifested the total inhumanity of this racist, sexist, exploitative, class-ridden society, the drive of all the world rulers to smother the very Idea of Freedom challenges all of us to let our voices be heard. The ever-rising opposition to U.S. imperialism's war in the Middle East has brought forth a new anti-war movement that encompasses workers as well as students, Black and white, and that has reached youth as young as grade school. At the same time, in the face of an ever-deepening recession, the opposition to capitalism's wars at home can be seen in new labor struggles ranging from the Daily News strike in New York to the Delta Pride Catfish strike in Mississippi, where Black women fought racism, sexism and exploitation.

Only in *News & Letters* will you find all of these voices of revolt, together with the voices of freedom fighters from East Europe to South Africa, and from China to Latin America, unseparated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation without which we cannot bring a new world to reality.

\* \* \*

Never was there a greater need to ensure the continuity of a paper like *News & Letters* and to deepen our activity in all the ongoing freedom movements. An urgent part of that activity today is our publication of Raya Dunayevskaya's writings on the Middle East (see ad, p.5), which demonstrate—as unprecedented new events have erupted there—how urgent it is to hold fast both to the self-determination of the forces of revolt and to the self-determination of the Idea of Freedom, as the founder of Marxist-Humanism worked it out. No one put it better than Dunayevskaya herself: "When you witness some phenomenon that seems to have arisen clear out of the blue, don't despair. It isn't all that new. You will find one or another form of it in the Marxist-Humanist 'Archives'...In a word, it isn't history 'as such'; it is dialectics which is the method to judge the new."

That is why every issue of *News & Letters* carries a selection "From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya" which gives a political-philosophic direction for our actions today. Every issue presents analyses of ongoing world events from a Marxist-Humanist perspective together with the voices of revolt speaking for themselves,

nationally and internationally. Never was it more important to keep N&L going and help us reach new readers/writers.

\* \* \*

Rulers everywhere try to still any press they cannot control. The first building seized by Gorbachev's army and KGB in their attack on the Lithuanian independence movement was the printing press. Even though the media has quickly fallen in line with the Administration's attempt to bury the protests at home, the Pentagon is trying to impose censorship on their coverage of the war in the Middle East. When South Africa declared a state of emergency in 1986 it simply "banned" all papers dangerous to its apartheid regime—and N&L was proud to be among them.

There is another, very different way a paper like N&L could risk being "silenced." We, however, have no intention of missing any issues because of the ever-escalating cost of continuing the revolutionary journalism we began in 1955, and have kept going with the help of our readers. Although we have no paid staff, every increase in our rent, in the cost of our supplies, in our printing bill, in the postal rates such as those we have just suffered, is a serious blow. Once again, WE APPEAL TO YOU TO HELP US KEEP GOING. WE CANNOT CONTINUE WITHOUT YOUR HELP!

PLEASE — GIVE AS GENEROUSLY AS YOU CAN OF YOUR SUPPORT AND YOUR IDEAS!

NEWS & LETTERS, 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605

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## Woman as Reason

by Michelle Landau

Jan. 15, 1919 may seem far away from Jan. 15, 1991, the date George Bush chose to grant himself the power to begin the butchery of thousands of human lives. But remembrance of Jan. 15, 1919, can help open up a vista to the future, because although it was the date of the counter-revolution's murder of the unique and passionate revolutionary, Rosa Luxemburg, it is Luxemburg's life that January helps us remember.

Listen to Luxemburg, addressing working-class women in June 1911, in Koenigsberg, Germany: "It is you, you working women above all, who have had to economize your miserable incomes to meet the overwhelming rises of the cost of living. Meanwhile, our enemies are still telling us that woman's place is in the home....Why is it just now that the cost of living steadily mounts?...Comrades, we do have a plague...it is militarism! Not for schools, not for hospitals, not for the poor and the helpless will the millions be spent; but for cannon, for bunkers, for warships—there, the billions will be squandered."

Luxemburg's anti-militarism was inseparable from serious theoretic analysis of capitalism's extension into imperialism. Imprisoned during World War I, she wrote one of the greatest anti-war pamphlets, both seriously theoretical and passionately agitational. It is known by the pen name she chose, Junius:

"The 'civilized world' which looked on calmly while the same imperialism consigned tens of thousands of Hereros to the most horrible destruction, and filled the Kalahari desert with the mad cries of those perishing of thirst...while in Putamayo, in ten years 40,000 human beings were martyred by a gang of European industrial robber barons...while in Tripoli the Arabs were bowed to the yoke of capital with fire and sword, their culture and their dwellings alike razed to the ground—this 'civilized world' has only today become aware that the bite of the imperialist beast is fatal, that its breath is infamy."

### THE HOLOCAUST OF WAR

The outbreak of U.S. imperialism's foul and far-reaching Middle East war made me reflect on World War I, when Luxemburg confronted the war and the betrayal of the leadership of her own "Marxist" party, the German Social Democracy (SPD).

Two elements helped Luxemburg keep her spirit always reaching for the future. One was her experience of the 1905 revolution in Poland. There she had seen and breathed the dialectic of the creative spontaneity of masses in motion as they became "a land of boundless possibilities," uprooting the old and creating the new. Equally as critical was Marx's historical materialism, "our dialectical system that...is already realizing a revolution in the domain of thought."

Thus, in a 1916 letter from prison, Luxemburg wrote: "There will be many struggles, and much work to do. But I am absolutely not discouraged....[our] success...depends on the elemental deeply hidden coiled springs of history. And I know from historical experience, as well as from personal experience...that precisely when on the surface everything seems hopeless and miserable, a complete change is getting ready." That "complete change" came

## Women discuss racism

As we reported in the July 1990 News & Letters, racism split the National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) at their 12th annual conference in June when the Women of Color caucus walked out. The refusal of the administration of NWSA to reinstate the only woman of color in NWSA's national office, their refusal to create a Steering Committee to be at least 50% women of color or to address any of the grievances of the Women of Color Caucus was compounded by their refusal to inform the membership of NWSA of any of their decisions or problems regarding racism.

This confrontation shocked the rank-and-file membership and the repercussions have escalated. Thus, NWSA cancelled its 1991 national conference and the four women who made up NWSA's permanent staff, as well as Caryn McTighe Musil, Executive Director, have resigned. In Musil's goodbye article in NWSAction, she clearly shows herself as one whose vision of NWSA is that it should be a private enclave for women in academia—most of whom happen to be white—who want to make it big in the university.

Musil's attitude is revealed when she writes that "the singularly most positive decision made was to begin to hone NWSA's mission statement. For too long, we have sought unsuccessfully to be all things to all people and to end oppression in every form, everywhere, immediately." Her obvious relief that NWSA jettisoned its revolutionary mission is sickening. Yet how much Musil's attitude will prevail in NWSA is in question.

The most important ramification is that racism is being seriously discussed again by the Women's Liberation Movement. The Chicago Area Women's Studies Association has had two meetings to talk about events at NWSA. The first meeting was so heated and women had so much to say that a second meeting had to be scheduled and more are being planned. The Society for Women in Philosophy (SWIP) is also planning to discuss racism at their Midwest meeting.

Hopefully these continuing serious discussions, taking place in a society where both racism and sexism are escalating, can become part of a new beginning that the Women's Liberation Movement so desperately needs.

—Terry Moon

## Todayness of Luxemburg's anti-militarism

with the Russian Revolution of 1917. In 1918 the war ended and the German Revolution began.

But counter-revolution moved swiftly. Luxemburg warned, "Socialism or Barbarism"; and German capitalism degenerated into Nazism, while counter-revolution won out within a decade in Stalin's Russia.

### A 1991 VIEW

In 1991, we view Rosa Luxemburg from the expanse of 70 years of revolutions, counter-revolutions, wars, freedom movements, capitalism's degeneration to its vile "high-tech" depths; and the passion for a new way of life ever stirring in "the deeply hidden coiled springs of history." Raya Dunayevskaya, in *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*,\* examined the dualities as well as the highpoints in Luxemburg's heritage.

Although Luxemburg had critiqued the opportunism of the bureaucratic SPD leadership as early as 1910, their betrayal in 1914 didn't compel her to the



This photo, from the PBS series "Making Sense of the Sixties," shows a women's liberationist reading the 1970 N&L pamphlet, *Notes on Women's Liberation: We Speak in Many Voices*. This pamphlet and other documents from the period are available on microfilm in the *Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*. Guides to the collection are available from News and Letters, see literature ad, page 7.



Women-Worldwide

As we celebrated the 18th anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*, Jan. 22, the Supreme Court decision that recognized women's right to abortion, women remain in a desperate struggle to hang on to our long-fought-for gains. The Catholic Church continued its \$5 million public relations anti-abortion media blitz, while voters in heavily Roman Catholic Corpus Christi, Texas resoundingly defeated a city charter amendment, Jan. 19, that declared human life to begin at conception. A week later the Utah state legislature rushed through the toughest anti-abortion law in the U.S. strictly limiting abortions and making it a felony for a doctor to perform "illegal" abortions, or anyone to help a woman obtain one.

As Russian troops hunt down Latvian youth to force them into the military, the Latvian Women's League organized an extensive, widely supported underground network to hide 18-20 year olds from the occupying army. More than 8,000 have already "vanished" in Latvia, with another 8,000 in Estonia and 10,000 in Lithuania.

realization of how *totally* the course of "Marxism" had to be reversed to re-connect with *Marx's philosophy of masses in motion*. Theory remained Luxemburg's passion, but philosophy, to her, was abstract.

Today's harsh reality, of rising fascism and war, compels us to reach for philosophic new beginnings deeper than those reached in Luxemburg's age, even by Lenin, who did return to Marx's roots in Hegel when holocaust broke in 1914. In this effort, we in News and Letters Committees invite others to join us in our explorations of the legacy and challenge of Raya Dunayevskaya's Marxist-Humanism, in our upcoming class series where we will take up the relationship between Dunayevskaya's work *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* and her *Philosophy and Revolution* (see ad page 4).

There will be, as Luxemburg said, "many struggles and much work to do." It is only by working through the contradictions Luxemburg could not untangle in her age that we can today feel her amazing, undaunted—and much needed—presence here with us.

She represents a human being of another dimension from the gory, stunted creature of a George Bush or a Saddam Hussein. And we are determined that such monsters, and the system that breeds them, will not decide the fate of humanity.

\* See Raya Dunayevskaya's *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (Humanities Press, 1982), forthcoming this spring in a new expanded edition from University of Illinois Press, including a new Foreword by Adrienne Rich.

## Montreal Massacre recalled

*Montreal, Quebec, Canada*—There were memorial services and vigils held across Canada on Dec. 6 in commemoration of the 14 women engineering students who were gunned down a year ago in their University of Montreal classrooms by a man, Marc Lepine. He had separated the women from the men, yelled at the women, "You're all a bunch of feminists!" and opened fire. All the colleges and universities in Montreal and many churches held their own services, in addition to a vigil at the site of the massacre.

The atmosphere is strikingly similar to the U.S. Canada has seen a steep rise in domestic violence—largely homicides in which men kill their intimate women partners. Women's groups are deeply concerned.

Most feminists feel that we're in a period of backlash. This rise in violence against women in the aftermath of the massacre is accompanied by a poisoning of the intellectual and social atmosphere. For example, at Montreal's enormous Salon du Livre, an international French-language book fair, a well-known local journalist named Roch Cote launched a book entitled, *Confessions du salaud (The Confessions of a Rat)*. The book is an attack on feminists and what he sees as their exaggerated grievances against men.

It's easy to feel—on the eve of war—that the worst nightmares of patriarchy prevail. Still, I persist in hope. Tomorrow I begin registering new students in women's studies. The generation I teach today is not the same one I encountered in the seventies and the differences are in great part due to feminism.

—Women's Studies Professor

*New York, N.Y.*—For the anniversary of the Montreal Massacre the New York University Womyn's Center held an open forum. The discussion focused on attacks on feminism.

We discussed ideas about what feminism means, why it is so threatening to the status quo as an idea and as practice and what the 14 women massacred by Marc Lepine symbolized.

Every feminist and every woman was attacked in the Montreal Massacre. It was as if someone tried to symbolize in one gesture all the kinds of attacks on women. When it happened we did not allow ourselves to fully see the meaning of this inhumanity. Most people didn't want to hear Lepine saying, "I'm going to get all feminists."

Feminism can be so threatening or, to me, so exciting as a revolutionary concept. How could people feel so threatened by an idea? The word, feminism, gets tossed around too lightly. We miss its gravity and potential.

—New York University feminist

The political-philosophic ground needed to analyze today's events

## Selections from Raya Dunayevskaya's Writings on the Middle East

- Political-Philosophic Letters on the Arab-Israeli Conflict from the 1960s through the 1980s
- Essays on Iran: Revolution and Counter-Revolution, from the revolutionary overthrow of the Shah to the consolidation of Khomeini's counter-revolution.
- Analysis of the Palestinian Question, the Lebanese Civil War, the U.N. Resolution on Zionism, the U.S.-Russia superpower rivalry in the Middle East.

This News & Letters pamphlet was created from writings included in the Marxist-Humanist Archives of the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection. See literature ad page 7.

\$2.50 plus \$1 postage

News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren, Chicago, Ill. 60605

# A worker speaks: why fight this war?

**Chicago, Ill.**—Back in the late '60s when I was in my early teens my friends and I used to watch the numerous war movies that were on TV then. We would brag to each other about going to war and being great, fearless heroes who would never die and who would come back home and get any job that we wanted. Since we were living in a Chicago Housing Authority project we could only dream about the future.

At about the same time the Vietnam situation was beginning to escalate. Although we were still too young to be dragged into that war, some of us had older brothers who were draft age. My friend's older brother Karlos did get drafted. He was a proud, young Black man who was full of promise and energy and confident that we would have a successful future: "I'll be living on Lake Shore Drive."

Then one day we heard that Karlos had been seen with two government agents, being led from his house. When we asked his younger brother what was wrong, we found out that Karlos had been back for a while, but no one had known or had seen him.

## VIETNAM: LIVES LOST AND RUINED

When we asked why he hadn't come outside, his brother told us that the first day Karlos was in Vietnam he was sent out on patrol, and while on patrol his entire platoon was killed, and that he was the only survivor. He managed to get home, and once home he refused to go back. That was why the men came to get him, and that was why he would not come out. He was hiding. When Karlos was discharged, he came home and stayed in his room.

We had seen with our own eyes what that damn war had done to those young people over there long before the media had begun to talk about it. Lives lost and ruined, and for what? Freedom?

Now here we are in the '90s, and another war is underway, but unlike the Vietnam War, I, as well as thousands of others, know what this war is all about. The U.S. government and the oil companies are behind this war, with the U.S. and its allies wanting a permanent power base in the Persian Gulf and the oil companies wanting assurances that the flow of oil and profits will not be cut off.

When you read the papers or watch the news all you read and hear is that we have to free Kuwait from Iraqi control, and that we must stop Hussein so that the world will be a safer place. But have any of the media

or the government people bothered to find out what the youth, workers, women and others who actually have to fight this war have to say or think?

## NOTHING POSITIVE ABOUT WAR

Well if they did, they would find out that we have many questions and feelings about this war that would conflict with the "official" reasons. Like, yes, Saddam Hussein is a murdering pig who deserves to be wiped off the face of the earth, but what about the Iraqi workers? What will they gain in this war? Probably as much as the American workers. Nothing! From the factory to the battlefield and, with any luck, back to the factory. Is this freedom?

How about the women? Will they benefit? The women of the Middle East are treated like second-class citizens with little hope that their rulers will change their situation. And the women of the U.S., there are in a situation of "you can fight here, but you cannot drive a car," or cannot dress the way they want to. Or how about the women still at home who have to give up sons, husbands, sisters and daughters in a war that has nothing positive?

How about the rulers of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia? These are people who treat workers and women like dirt, so why should we help them? If anything we should be helping to overthrow these sheiks and kings, and let the people rule for themselves. But self-rule is not good for business as any capitalist would tell you, so here we are in a terrible situation where the same people that tell us to get to work are telling us to go fight.

So if you ask the masses, the working men and women, youth, the Blacks and Hispanics and others in the U.S., where opposition to the war is growing, and the Iraqi and Kuwaiti citizens, what they think about fighting in a war where there is nothing to gain and life to lose, they will tell you: Hell no, not me. How many Karloses will we have coming home from this war?

—Martin Almora

# Chinese hunger strike

**Los Angeles, Cal.**—Dozens of Chinese students have been staging a hunger strike in the Chinatown district of Los Angeles for the last two weeks. Their hunger strike, press conferences and speaking events have succeeded in thwarting the Chinese government's attempts to secretly prosecute those who were arrested after the 1989 Tiananmen mass protests.

The hunger strikers are well aware of the fact that the U.S. government gave the green light to the murderous Chinese rulers to renew the prosecutions. Their statement of "Hunger Strike Declaration" points out the "double-standard on human rights, freedom and democracy" and denounces treating the Tiananmen activists who were arrested as "bargain chips to attain certain political and diplomatic targets."

The area where the hunger strikers are staging their protests has been covered by banners and pictures of protesters imprisoned in China. The strikers bring their own sleeping bags, and late at night they can be found studying for school as well as reading and discussing ideas of freedom. I had a chance to speak with several about the significance for Marxist-Humanists of the 1989 Uprising and about how those heady days of May and June 1989 not only challenged the rulers in China and all over the world, but also challenged the initiators of the struggles.

The counter-revolution that struck on June 3 was fighting for its very existence. The mass movement that was exploding in China would have never stopped at cosmetic reforms of the old totalitarian regime. One young Chinese man I spoke with, Andrew, agreed enthusiastically that the Tiananmen participants need to examine more deeply the significance and ramifications of their own actions and the challenge in thought that they pose to all of us the world over.

The statement declaring their strike speaks of how "We can not forget those who shed their blood and tears in the '89 democratic movement...The great changes in Europe forced the Chinese government to refrain slightly from persecuting democratic activists, however with the Persian Gulf crisis the Communist government is provided with excellent chance of diverting the world's attention on its totalitarian rule."

Today as we fight in the U.S. in the numerous anti-war activities to stop the bloody hands of Bush, we can hardly afford to ignore the fate of the heroic Chinese youth. It was in their challenge to the Chinese rulers that they opened the gates to a new human society. Their thoughts and voices are much needed today by all of us.

—Cyrus Noveen

# Oscar Mayer coldly cuts

**Chicago, Ill.**—Oscar Mayer has already closed the Lunchables line. They've started taking that machinery out. We've lost two lines in the bacon department. In a couple of months we're supposed to lose two more, and by the end of the year, that's it. Bacon is going to a new plant they're building, I think in Missouri—non-union and probably \$6 or \$7 an hour. They claim that they're going to be doing some type of new process, and we can't do it at our plant.

If you have 30 years of service, you can take your severance pay and your pension and retire, no matter what your age. But if you don't have your 30 years, then they cut your pension to death, because they penalize you for leaving early. Those of us with between 20 and 30 years just have to stay and do the best we can.

Quite a few people have been in the bacon department for ten or 15 years. Where is the company going to put them? They're going to put them in department 146. That's slice-pack. The jobs over in slice-pack are so different that people are either going to be hurt trying to do the job, or they're going to be disqualified. If they can't do the job, they're laid off, no matter how much seniority.

Everybody's upset. It's depressing and rough. Real depressing. I have to work six more years for my 30 years. I don't know what I'm going to do but try to hang on and see what goes on. You know, after you get so old you can't be doing those hard-assed jobs. I don't know how a lot of us are going to fare.

—Black woman worker

# Workshop Talks

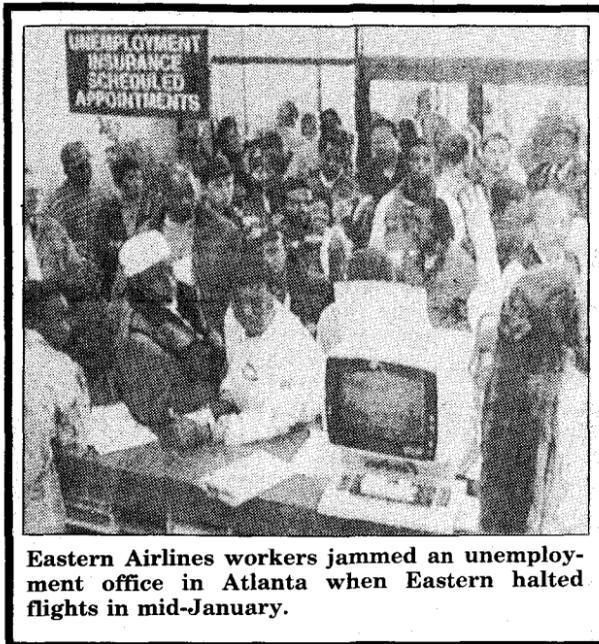
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uction—"free" from the land and "free" from the tools of her trade, which have now been combined into machines and gathered together in factories for mass production. Second, the worker is "free" to sell her labor-power, her capacity to work, to the highest bidder. A pretty limited form of "freedom," isn't it?

When Marx wrote about labor in capitalist society, he called it *alienated* or *forced* labor. That is because the worker's activity within the process of production is directed and controlled by someone else; it is not *self*activity. In addition, the worker's activity is simply the *means* to an end; it is not an end in itself.

I do not stand on that line packing hot dogs every day because it satisfies some deep, creative urge within me. I do it for the same reason that I have packed candy and cups and plastic bags—to earn the money to pay my rent, buy groceries and put gas in my car.

Marx, however, projected a vision of a new society with a totally different relationship between life and labor: a society where work expresses and develops the creativity and thought of the individual human being, not the drive of capitalism for more and more production, more and more profit. Doesn't that vision give us something to think about while our hands are busy on the production line?



Eastern Airlines workers jammed an unemployment office in Atlanta when Eastern halted flights in mid-January.

# Arco workers picket

**Carson, Cal.**—On Dec. 11, 80 workers picketed Arco's Los Angeles Refinery accompanied by workers from Mobil, Chevron and Golden West plants. We demanded parity with Chevron, where wages range from \$1 to \$3 more per hour.

The company's refusal to discuss the issue prompted us to march carrying signs announcing that Arco stands for "A Real Cheap Operation" and that the new emissions control gasolines "cost workers' lives." This is especially true after the many deaths caused by the explosion at Arco Chemical in Texas last June.

Two events immediately following the picket have been the source of constant conversation within the plant. The next day the local paper, *The Daily Breeze*, published a report including a not-so-veiled threat by a company spokesman that there had been 2500 applicants a few weeks before for 25 jobs. Then on Dec. 13 the company announced a special 5% bonus.

That so many people are looking for work is not lost on us, especially since in January the company took applications for another 25 jobs and over 17,000 people came in. An operator noted, "Just because the economy is bad doesn't mean we should settle for less. The cost of living is going up. And we're supposed to pay for it? Even with Arco's profits going up?"

The Rank-and-File Underground flyers have pointed out that a "Bone-Us" is not a raise; it doesn't affect our benefits and it isn't permanent. The letter announcing it said it was in recognition of our work over the last five years. These five years have seen a reorganization in which hundreds of our co-workers were retired early and not replaced, a staff of underpaid, underqualified contractors has taken jobs away from maintenance workers, and the company closed or sold off its East Coast operations.

The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union says we work in a "industry out of control." Just one hour in this huge time bomb makes you see the truth of that.

—OCAW Local 1-128 member

## HOW TO CONTACT NEWS & LETTERS

**CHICAGO:** 59 E. Van Buren, Rm. 707  
Chicago, IL 60605 (312-663-0839)  
Meetings held Sundays, 6:00 p.m.

**DETROIT:** P.O. Box 27205  
Detroit, MI 48227  
Thursdays, 7:00 P.M.-Central Methodist Church,  
Woodward and Adams

**OAKLAND:** P.O. Box 3345  
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# News & Letters

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

by Raya Dunayevskaya  
 Founder of Marxist-Humanism  
 Part I

*Editor's note: The following document, entitled by the author, "Marxist-Humanism, 1983: The Summation that is a New Beginning, Objectively and Subjectively," was delivered to an expanded meeting of the Resident Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees on Jan. 1, 1983. It represents Dunayevskaya's articulation of the "new moment of philosophic development" reached with the publication, some two months earlier, of the third work of her "trilogy of revolution"—Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. We publish this document now as part of the preparation for the new stage that will be reached this Spring, when the publication of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution in a new, expanded edition will mean her "trilogy of revolution" will again be in print. The Introduction and Part I of the presentation is published below; the rest of the document will be published in our March issue.*

### INTRODUCTION: WHERE AND HOW TO BEGIN ANEW?

The reason that we begin, not objectively as usual, but subjectively, is that the "here and now" demands a deeper probing into the creative mind of Marx.

The warp and woof of the Marxian dialectic, the unchained Hegelian dialectic, the dialectic of the revolutionary transformation is, after all, true objectively and subjectively. Yet Part III of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution begins the probing of Marx before he fully broke with bourgeois society, when he worked on his doctoral thesis on the "Difference between Democritus and Epicurus." Thus began his very first critique of Hegel, in 1841, as it appeared in the Notes that were known only to himself. What did appear in the doctoral thesis itself was what pervaded those Notes, i.e., the question: How to begin anew?

The reason that question reappears here is not to emphasize how it antedated Marx's discovery of a whole new continent of thought and revolution, but rather because it reappeared in its true profundity in Marx's own greatest work, Capital (I'm referring to the definitive French edition, 1875), as well as in the very last decade of his life, in what we now call Marx's "new moments" of discovery.

Let me rephrase this. The crucial truth is that the question: How to begin anew? informed the whole of his dialectic methodology—even after his discovery of a whole new continent of thought, even after the publication of the first edition of Capital as well as the 1875 edition, after the Paris Commune, when he took issue with Mikhailovsky who had written what turned out to be what all post-Marx Marxists likewise accepted as the climax of the work, that is, the "Historic Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation" as a universal. Marx, on the other hand, held that that summation of Western capitalist development was just that—the particular development of capitalism—which need not be the universal path of human development. Here we have the unique way Marx practiced summation as a new beginning.

The concept of totality as new beginning was true also on the organizational question: How to begin a new organization when it is to express a whole philosophy of revolution. Marx answered that question in his letter to Bracke, in which he enclosed what he modestly called "Marginal Notes" to the "Program of the German Workers Party." That was the letter in which he noted also that finally the French edition was out and he was sending it to Bracke. The fact that no post-Marx Marxists saw that inseparable relationship of organization to philosophy of revolution is the more remarkable when you consider that Marx's closest collaborator, Engels, was not only still alive but worked with Marx very closely in sending letters to the various so-called Marxist leaders as Marx tried to stop the unification of the Eisenachists and Lassalleans on the basis of the Gotha program. Beyond the peradventure of a doubt, the Critique of the Gotha Program formulated a totally different basis for the establishment of a Marxist "Party."

It becomes necessary once again to emphasize that year, 1875, as not only the year in which both the French edition of Capital was completed and the Critique of the Gotha Program was written. That year also predates by two years the letter Marx wrote on Mikhailovsky (but never sent), criticizing his concept of the "Historic Tendency" as a universal, insisting that it was the summation of capitalist development in Western Europe and that "the Russians" could "find a path of development for their country different from that which Western Europe pursued and still pursues"—and that, in fact, if Russia didn't find that different path "she will lose the finest chance ever offered by history to a people and undergo all the fatal vicissitudes of the capitalist regime."

Think again about the question of how faithful Engels was to the Gotha Program critique, not only in the letters written when Marx was alive, but in the fact that he kept at the German Social-Democrats for a full 15 years after the first Party did not publish that criticism, and only in 1891 did get it published.

The tragic truth is that it didn't make any difference when they did publish it. It didn't become ground for the new openly Social-Democratic organization. Nor was any parallel drawn by anyone, including Frederick Engels, that there was a parallel to be drawn between or-

ganization and Marx's whole philosophy, though, clearly, definitively, this was what Marx's Critique aimed at. And just as clearly, his covering letter warned against the unification because there was to be "no bargaining about principles." Quite the contrary, he "and Engels would make clear" that they had "nothing in common with it (the Gotha Program)."

In a word, it wasn't only the Eisenachists and Lassalleans who knew how to misuse the fact that Karl Marx and Frederick Engels didn't make public their break with the Gotha Program and the German Workers Party. The truth is that the German Social-Democrats, who did consider themselves "orthodox" under its leading "Marxist" theoretician, Karl Kautsky, did the very same thing later. This time the reason rested in the claim that, since they adhered to Marx's "theories," their Party was the organization of vanguard socialism. They succeeded in so twisting the very concept of vanguardism that they made "the Party" read "the vanguard Party." That was not Marx's concept, as we shall see in a moment as we turn to the third new moment in Marx on Organization. It is high time for Marxist-Humanists to concretize "Where and How to Begin Anew" for our age by looking at those "new moments" in Marx as the trail to the 1980s.

### I. THE FOUR NEW MOMENTS IN MARX THAT ARE THE 1980s TRAIL

The first new moment that was not grasped by the first post-Marx Marxist generation was due not merely to the fact that Engels had omitted the paragraph from the French edition of Capital, which had been definitively edited by Marx, when Engels transferred Marx's additions to the German. Marx's point in that omitted paragraph on further industrialization (as it covered the whole nation) and, with it, the predominance of foreign over internal trade, was that although the world market annexed "vast lands in the New World, in Asia, in Australia," that wouldn't abate the general crisis of capitalism. On the contrary. The new development in capitalism meant that the ten-year cycle he had originally cited as the crisis that regularly follows capitalism's growth would occur more often.

What wasn't grasped by a less creative mind than Marx's was that, far from the climactic "Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation" signifying universality for all technological development, it characterized only Western Europe while "the Russians" could choose a different path. Post-Marx Marxists failed to grasp this because they separated economic laws from the dialectics of revolution. For Marx, on the other hand, it was just this concept of revolution which changed everything, including economic laws. He rejected the fact of Western capitalist development as a universal for all, delved into the latest anthropological studies, and then wrote to Vera Zasulich stressing the possibility for revolution to erupt in a technologically backward country like Russia "ahead of the West." In this letter to Zasulich he had made direct reference to the "American" (he was referring to Henry Morgan's Ancient Society) whose studies of pre-capitalist societies, Marx thought, further proved that the peasant commune form of development could lead Russia, if the historic conditions

were ripe and it was working with West Europe, as well, to initiate revolution.

To make sure that none misunderstood his concept of revolution and the prediction of revolutions in the "East" ahead of the "West," he (this time with Engels) had written a new Introduction to the Russian edition of nothing less important than his Communist Manifesto. There he publicly spelled out that prediction. That was 1882!

This was not the only new moment Marx discovered which post-Marx Marxists didn't grasp. The second new moment again related to theory. This time it was a new interpretation of the dialectic itself in two crucial areas in the transformation of reality. Everyone knows the 1850 Address, which ended with the call for "revolution in permanence," though hardly anyone has related it to Marx's continuing concretization of the dialectic of negativity as the dialectics of revolution. None seem to have even begun to grapple with what it meant for Marx, as he was already completing economic analysis of capitalism (and pre-capitalist societies) in the Grundrisse in 1857, to have so fully integrated the dialectic and the economics as to articulate that the socialism that would follow the bourgeois form of production signified "the absolute movement of becoming." What an Hegelian expression to use to describe that full development of all the talents of the individual that would mark the new socialist society!

That the question of individual self-development and social, revolutionary, historical development would thus become one manifests itself in the Grundrisse. It is no accident that it was there where Marx stopped speaking of only three universal forms of human development—slave, feudal and capitalist—and included a fourth universal form: the "Asiatic mode of production." That post-Marx Marxists failed to have that as ground for working out the reality of their age and thus anticipate what we now call a whole Third World is exactly what this age is still suffering from.

The third new moment—that on organization—was not only not grasped, but actually rejected. Post-Marx Marxists were always "proving" that, because Marx had not worked out a "theory" of organization, while Lassalle knew how to build a mass party, he left them no model to practice. The First International, they said, had included so many contradictory tendencies that Karl Marx was forced to "consign it to die in the U.S." Indeed, all of them were quick to twist the whole concept of "vanguardism" as if it meant, simply and only, "the Party." Neither "Leninists" nor opponents of Lenin have been willing to acknowledge that the ground for What Is to Be Done? was, precisely, the ground of the German Social-Democracy. And that includes Rosa Luxemburg, despite all her great achievements on the actuality of spontaneity. While Lenin rejected any type of "half-way dialectic" on the National Question, he did not see that same type of "half-way dialectic" in himself

continued on page 11)

\* Marx was rereading Hegel's Logic as he worked on the Grundrisse and wrote to Engels that this chance rereading was a great help to him in creating a new form for presenting his economic studies. That "new form" of integrating dialectics and economics led Marx further to reworking the first draft, Grundrisse, into the final form, Capital.

News and Letters invites you to a series of classes on:

## MARXIST-HUMANISM: THE RE-CREATION OF MARX'S MARXISM FOR OUR AGE

The present moment of world crisis, from the outbreak of war in the Persian Gulf to the deepening economic breakdown in the U.S., Russia and the Third World, is inseparable from a profound crisis of the mind. As new struggles for freedom continue to emerge, manifesting a renewed search by masses of people for a total philosophy of liberation, we are faced with the persistent efforts of the world's rulers to convince us that today's alienating conditions of life and labor are our permanent future. In this battle for the mind of humanity, today's ideologues on both Left and Right speak of "the death of Marxism" and the "end of philosophy." Because Marx's Marxism could only be seen as a totality in our age, the question is: will the quest for the philosophy and actuality of human liberation make a new beginning

by rooting itself in that totality? Or will we instead be saddled with the ideological barrier of one more form of the economic determinism and political voluntarism that has characterized a century of post-Marx Marxism?

This class series seeks to address this by taking a journey of discovery into Marx's Marxism and its recreation in the post-World War II world as Marxist-Humanism, through a study of two works by Raya Dunayevskaya: *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao*, with its central category, "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning," and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, with its central category, "Post-Marx Marxism as Pejorative, beginning with Engels."

**Class I: Overview and Introduction: Absolute Negativity as New Beginning vs. Post-Marx Marxism**

**Class II: Marx's New Continent of Thought and of Revolution: from his Doctoral Thesis (1841) to his Ethnological Notebooks (1880-81)**

**Class III: Economic Reality and the Dialectics of Liberation**

**Class IV: Attitudes to Philosophy and Objectivity in Post-Marx Marxism: Leon Trotsky and Rosa Luxemburg**

**Class V: Beyond Lenin's Philosophic Ambivalence: or, Toward the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy**

Classes begin in Chicago, Feb. 10, in Detroit, Feb. 24, and in Los Angeles, New York, and San Francisco Bay Area in early March. See directory, page 3 to contact the local in your area.

# Protests sweep the U.S., challenging Persian Gulf war

*Editor's note: Across the whole USA people responded to Bush's drive for a "new world order" by protesting in the tens of thousands. Many cities experienced daily demonstrations and the breadth and depth of this new movement has not been seen for many years. Below we print only a few of the many reports we received. They are but a small fraction of the demonstrations that are continuing as we go to press. Send us your reports and your ideas.*

## San Francisco

In the biggest anti-war demonstration here since the Vietnam War, upwards of 100,000 people filled the streets on Jan. 19, protesting Bush's Persian Gulf war. Marchers packed a two-mile route from Dolores Park to downtown, thousands waiting their turn to walk an hour after the rally began in Civic Center.

Protesters came from all over the Northwest including Edmonton, Vancouver, British Columbia and from as far as Martha's Vineyard, Mass. They came from all walks of life: groups of high school and even grade school students, mathematicians in town for a conference, mothers of soldiers in the Middle East and those pushing baby carriages.

A crescendo of militant anti-war protests in the San Francisco Bay Area set the stage for the massive demonstration. Just a sampling were:

**Monday, Jan. 14**—A candlelight vigil on the steps of Sproul Hall at the University of California-Berkeley turned into a spontaneous mass anti-war demonstration



of 5,000. Some 800 participants then marched to Interstate Highway 80 which they blockaded.

**Tuesday, Jan. 15**—Over two thousand protesters ringed the Federal building at 6 a.m. Mainstream individuals, who had never demonstrated before, joined peace activists to block the doors. Mayor Art Agnos pledged police restraint that day, yet hundreds of protesters were arrested.

Among the speakers at the rally at the main entrance was a widow whose husband had died in Vietnam. "For years we lied that war was glorious. Worst of all, I lied to myself," she said. Holding up the folded flag that had draped her husband's casket, she declared, "There's nothing glorious about a purple heart. There's nothing glorious about this flag. And there's nothing glorious about war!" A large group broke away and sat down on Van Ness Avenue, snarling traffic. Many were arrested. Later, a group marched to the busy Bay bridge and blockaded it for several hours.

Berkeley High School students walked out of their third period classes and marched through the streets, inspiring many to leave offices and join them.

That night, 10,000 protesters answered the call to protest by "Roots Against War," a coalition of Blacks, Latinos and Asians. This rally and march took place in the Mission District and the Tenderloin, whose residents are people of color, to accent the fact that minorities stand to lose the most from war.

**Wednesday, Jan. 16**—When news broke of air attacks on Baghdad, some 10,000 angry protesters rallied at 5 p.m. at the Federal building and marched through downtown for hours. The demonstration ended at the Bay Bridge which was blockaded one more time. Other smaller, spontaneous demonstrations erupted, like those in San Jose and in Berkeley where 1,000 crowded the entrance to the BART rapid transit station.

**Thursday, Jan. 17**—Among many protests the day after hostilities began, protesters returned to close the Federal building. Some had not gone home from the previous night's demonstration. The atmosphere this time was more somber, as some two thousand war resisters attempted to sit in front of the doors. Others blocked traffic around the Pacific Stock Exchange a half-mile away.

In the city-island of Alameda, location of a major naval base, Alameda High School students walked out of classes and blockaded the drawbridge that links the community to the mainland.

When Saturday, Jan. 19 arrived, not alone Bush's war, but mass opposition occupied the headlines.

**Saturday, Jan. 26**—Up to 200,000 people marched down Market Street to a mass rally in Civic Center on "P-9 Proud" hats and local union banners underscored the heavy labor participation. Student contingents also predominated, like the two bus-loads from Missoula, Montana and the handful from Walla Walla, Washington.

The week between Jan. 19 and 26 saw continuous activity. Berkeley students and faculty organized a spirited day-long counter-teacher on Sproul Plaza while an all-white male panel selected by the administration held a forum on the Middle East. The coming weeks promise to hold more opposition.

—Jim Mills and Urszula Wislanka

## Washington, D.C.

Over 100,000 women, men and children demonstrated in Washington, D.C. on Jan. 26. There was a wide-range in age among the demonstrators and while most were white participants, there were contingents of Black, Hispanic and Middle Eastern participants as well. The colorful banners and picket signs were creatively displayed throughout the march sending out powerful opposition and demands: "Human beings aren't disposable commodities," "People of color and the poor should not have to fight a rich man's war," "Women against military madness." One woman proudly displayed her banner

throughout that read "One nation under Bush; indivisible, with tyranny and censorship for all."

I spoke with one young Black man from Clark College in Atlanta: "The war is another tool for European powers to try to keep control and the only way for them to have control is through the Middle East and Africa. Without them, there is no control; this is where the gold, diamonds and oil are. So as a result, people of color are catching hell. The fact is, military might does not win a war. Look at history for this. You can put your faith in military might today, but the people in the Middle East are a lot stronger than the military. In terms of the draft, I'll tell you now, I can't speak for all people of color but the truth is, a lot of brothers and sisters are not going."

I also spoke to a Black woman from New York: "This war is just a manifestation of imperialist mentality with a country that doesn't want any part of it. Why are we so quick to defend a country like Saudi Arabia that is against women? This war is without representation. There is so much mis-information in this country today and I am just furious that not one of the major news networks in the media even bothered to show up. There are so many areas that need concentration in this country and what about the disproportionate number of minorities in the army?"

—Diane Lee

It was Jan. 19, at the 40,000 strong anti-war protest in front of the White House. The young woman from North Carolina carried a hand-lettered sign: "I want my



Even before war broke out Berkeley High School students took to the streets as did thousands of other students across the country.

brother DJ home." She explained that her brother was in the Persian Gulf with the 82nd Airborne. He was writing letters home all the time just saying he wanted to come home, he hadn't joined for this, he did not want to kill or be killed. "He's really a very funny person," she said. She couldn't imagine him killing, either.

I questioned: how could a lifer in the 82nd Airborne, who enlisted eight years ago, not know it would come to this? She answered, "When my brother was in high school, he was very athletic but his grades weren't very good. There were a lot of mean people who kept telling him he'd never make it in college. So what kind of career was open to a very athletic person? You have to be in top shape to jump out of planes. Where else could he make \$18,000 a year? He might not even admit he joined the air force because of those mean people in high school, but that's the way I saw it. He just wants to come home."

This simple story of one human being and the war machine is yet another side of what happens in a society that is based on the separation of mental and manual labor, those who are told to think, and those who are told to do. Until we attack that division, we will never break out of this vicious cycle.

—John Marcotte

## Los Angeles

Anti-war demonstrations have included weekly rallies at the Westwood Federal building which have grown from 1,500 on Dec. 1 to over 8,000 on Jan. 19. These rallies and pickets have been scheduled to last two to three hours but regularly stretch to six and seven.

Most striking is the participation and searching of thousands of youth—high school, college and working. Listen to one youth speaking at the Jan. 19 rally: "When you think about this war and opposing it, you also have to think about the war right here. Just ask my father. He is a factory worker. His foreman will re-start the line and not even check if he is still working underneath it and could get hurt." One young woman said: "You hear a lot about linkage. Well the kind of linkage I am interested in is between the peace movement and stopping racism and sexism here."

On Jan. 15 literally hundreds of activities took place including walkouts at high schools throughout the area. Spontaneous demonstrations took place on college campuses, as well as a 12-hour rally at the downtown Federal building. The next day 300, many of them youth, were arrested for trying to shut down the Federal building.

The mass media, especially TV, attempt to paint anti-war protesters and the families of soldiers in the Gulf as enemies. The truth is that many of the most vocal pro-

testers are parents of young men and women in the war. MAMAS (Mothers and Others Against Military Action) both opposes the war and the U.S. government's treatment of its own soldiers.

The massive outpouring raises the question of where to now? What new types of thinking and activity can be worked out?

—Stu Quinn

## Detroit

On Jan. 12 over 300 participated in a "town meeting" called for Detroit's Black community by Congressman John Conyers. A variety of speakers brought out concern with conditions for Blacks at home and the hypocrisy of the U.S. opposing "aggression" against Kuwait. But the speaker who received a standing ovation was a Black woman who had resigned from the military. She explained, in tears, how she had to tell the armed forces that death for oil was not "all that she could be" to her five children, her other relatives and herself.

On Jan. 14 several hundred marched to honor Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in a "Student Call Against the War." Most were college students, though some were from high schools, and over half were Black.

"Students for Peace in the Middle East"—a group formed at the University of Michigan's Dearborn Campus, which has a large number of Arab-American students—held a rally and teach-in on Jan. 15. Their position paper states: "We deplore Iraq's invasion...we oppose the massive U.S. military action...while homelessness, poverty and other domestic issues continue to be ignored...We firmly oppose anti-Semitism against both Arabs and Jews...we denounce FBI actions and media propagated stereotypes which cast doubt upon the loyalties and intentions of Arab-Americans and which ignite anti-Arab sentiment..."

Questions remain for an anti-war movement now opposing actual war. How will the diverse elements—"Greens," peace groups, students and Left tendencies—continue to contribute to the richness of the movement? How will we convince others that the best support for the soldiers is to bring them home?

—Susan Van Gelder

## Chicago

On Jan. 14 by 7:30 a.m. in freezing weather, over 5,000 people converged on the Federal Plaza for a demonstration that had been planned well in advance by the Emergency Coalition for Peace in the Middle East. It was marked by the spirit of the youth who skipped school and came from all over the city and suburbs with hand-painted signs and banners. Black students from the Art Institute formed a drum circle and performed a chant which called for "Not one Black person, anywhere," to fight in a white supremacist war "on Arab soil." Soon a large crowd of Black and white youth were dancing together chanting, "Uhuru! Uhuru!" and "Freedom! Freedom!"

The pre-planned civil disobedience blockade of the Federal building, organized by the Pledge of Resistance, netted dozens of arrests for the police. What would have been an admirable attempt to disrupt the govern-



ment in another situation was on this day dwarfed by the action of thousands of protesters who, en masse, took over the street as soon as the police cleared an entrance to the building. The police were powerless to stop them. The people marched through the Loop to the Amoco building. Passersby, office workers in windows, and even people stuck in traffic cheered the march and waved peace signs. A participant described it as "the greatest show of human solidarity I've ever experienced at a rally."

On the afternoon of Jan. 15, crowds began gathering at the Federal Plaza again. Many of them were high school students who came directly from walkouts around the city. Three working women told me they had to come after seeing the demonstration on the news the day before because they had a brother, a son and a daughter stationed in Saudi Arabia. They were disgusted that the lives of their family were put at risk to defend a country that treated women so badly.

This rally too became a march of about 1,000 people. Expressway rush hour traffic was slowed to a crawl as the march continued over a mile on Lake Shore Drive.

The biggest outpouring occurred Jan. 17, when 10,000 converged on the Federal Plaza. Here too the path of the march was decided en route and marchers debated which way to go at intersections. This time we took over all four lanes of the expressway.

Back downtown word spread that Israel had been bombed and the streets became filled with loud boing and many had tears in their eyes.

For those of us who joined the movement in the Reagan/Bush age, this week of activity was unprecedented in momentum and spontaneity. Everyone who participated has a story to tell; and our struggle continues.

—Jim Guthrie

(continued on page 11)

## THE OPPOSITE OF WAR IS REVOLUTION

There has been ongoing discussion about this war and war in general at most if not all the job sites I know of. I work at Toys-R-Us, and on the day Congress voted to give the green light to the war one woman came up to us when we were putting toy guns on the shelves and said, "How can you display those guns at a time like this?" She then started talking about the deaths on all sides and the damage that will be done to the environment. Then when the U.S. attack on Iraq came, everyone slowed down and stopped working to listen to the news on the radio. After the boss got mad at us for that and defended the war, one young Black worker said, "Fight for this government? It is not my war because it is not my government, because it is the bosses who get all the wealth of this country."

These kinds of discussions raise deep questions that go far beyond the war and go to the root of this racist, sexist, exploitative society. As Raya Dunayevskaya put it in the October issue of N&L, "To the Barbarism of War We Pose the New Society." It is not just a question of anti-war, but what philosophy of liberation you are for.

David L. Anderson  
Chicago

The sign I liked the best at the San Francisco demonstration on Jan. 19 was this: **Smart Bombs and Stupid Leaders—Our Grossest National Product!**

Marcher  
San Francisco

The protest in Washington was clearly as large if not larger than the march on Washington I participated in, in 1963. It was such a huge crowd that even after we reached the assembly point, it took two hours after the first contingents led off for us to even start to march. I wish there had been more Afro-Americans marching with the protest, but if ever white Middle America let itself be heard it was here.

That so many came out in the middle of a cold winter means there were millions who shared our concerns but could not be there with us. It made you realize you were not alone, that you were part of an enormous section of this country. And it was so completely spontaneous—there were no bullhorns leading chants. It was incredible to see how deliberately an accurate report was kept out of the papers. Ever since the war started the government has been trying to impose thought-control on the whole nation. It is not only the news from the Gulf that has been completely censored. It is what is happening right here at home.

Peace Marcher  
Detroit

Where but Berkeley would you find such a wonderful picket sign as this: **George the Fourth—Beware the History of Ideas!**

Revolutionary  
Oakland, California

The news came out Thursday morning that the U.S. was bombing Iraq. The unions decided a few hours before the factories opened to call for a general strike. The workers walked from the factories outside of Milan to the center of the city as thousands of other people were doing in Milan. Other than the workers there were office workers, students, pensioners (elderly people), every social group was represented. People just kept arriving from all parts. It was a spontaneous demonstration of the people's desire for peace. The same thing happened in all of the principal cities in Italy. The next day the demonstrations continued, and the unions were very active in organizing demonstrations in the smaller towns. Yesterday the students made a huge demonstration in Rome to support the U.S. demonstration in Washington.

Correspondent  
Italy

In response to your December 1990 Editorial, "The time to stop Bush's drive to war is now!" we wish to commend you for your excellently written piece. It is noteworthy that there is little coverage of the quick response to Bush's war-drive from the capitalist media, with a paucity of coverage in any depth. The only such coverage is coming from the courageous voices of a

handful of left and radical papers and magazines. If one follows these, it is evident, as it is to Portland area activists, that there is a well-organized opposition to today's war-madness.

Portland's local capitalist paper, the *Portland Press Herald*, had only a tiny two-paragraph coverage of the well-attended anti-war rally here in Portland and the one in Copley Square, Boston attended by 10,000. Veterans, mothers of soldiers on active duty in the Persian Gulf conflict and members of the U.S. Middle-Eastern community spoke out against the madness of this build-up. Here in Portland a well-organized anti-war coalition has developed overnight reaching between 500 and 1,000 state activists. When it is realized that Portland, Maine's largest city, has less than 90,000 inhabitants, one begins to appreciate the significance of the response.

Subscriber  
Maine

All the articles written by N&L since the beginning of the crisis in the Persian Gulf describe very objectively the situation and plans of the warmongers in this complex region of the earth. The analysis made by N&L before and after the war started is the best description I have read from any source.

I am the father of three children, and I'm very worried about the consequences of this war. This is not a war that I want to offer to my children and other generations to come. We are tired of war and manipulation from the rulers. The rulers are just lying to us, as they test their sophisticated technology in preparation for World War III, which could bring the end of the human race.

Latino father  
California

There are a lot of Dominicans over in the Gulf—I heard there are about 3,000. We don't like that at all. The Latinos of Queens College are not divided into different national groups, but there are a lot of Dominicans and we are deeply concerned about our brothers and sisters over there. It's not their war. Once they come home again they'll have all the same problems. We're not the ones who will benefit. When these kids realize what's really going on, they're going to go crazy. The Dominicans who volunteer don't really know the issues—they're just trying to escape poverty. This is a war of the rich.

Dominican women  
Flushing, New York

I see too many anti-war activists skipping over the question of the needed American revolution, repudiating the dialectics of liberation. When a very important figure like Ron Kovic hides under a banner of patriotism, we cannot forget that the despotism of the Super Patriots is the very concept that hinders continuing mass mobilizations.

Young Black revolutionary  
Los Angeles, California

On deadline day PBS ran a special report on the so-called "smart" weapons the U.S. military is relying on to destroy Iraq, and it was every bit as chilling as they intended it to be. I came away with the feeling that the real reason for this war is to test those new weapons, and to train American troops for further wars not yet publicly announced. The smart bombs are unable to distinguish between friend and foe, but in a sense that doesn't really matter as this administration regards everyone as its foe.

Jan Kollwitz  
Chicago

The news reports of the war are downright one-sided. They act like it's some Fourth of July picnic. They don't mention the number of lives lost. The American government and media talk about Saddam Hussein's trip of a "holy war" and Muslim fundamentalism, but they're acting like what they're doing is their holy duty, no matter how many lives are lost. I'm really disgusted.

To me, the orgy to drum up war hysteria means that the rulers know that there is doubt in the people's minds. I do believe something is going to transpire, especially as more people

## Readers' Views

realize how the government is spending much-needed funds for destruction and murder. The military recruiters keep calling my house, for my teenage son. They're given the phone numbers from the school records. I used to be in the service myself, in 1973. I couldn't handle the jingoistic rap they fed us about "preserving freedom."

Black mother  
Inglewood, California

When war broke out, I re-read the 1990-91 Marxist-Humanist Perspectives Thesis, written last July, in which you stated "Nowhere is the threat of war more ominous than in the Middle East." And you linked that threat explicitly to the actions of Hussein in Iraq. It certainly seems the question of war has been "on the agenda" of N&L ever since.

Old Politico  
Chicago



PHILOSOPHY  
AND  
MIDDLE  
EASTERN  
REALITY

The new collection of Dunayevskaya's writings on the Middle East is of great assistance in understanding today's events in the Persian Gulf. Dunayevskaya's writings on Iraq's Ba'ath Party are especially illuminating in tracing its origins to the 1941 Rasheed Ali pro-fascist uprising, and in showing that its subsequent development had nothing in common with the genuine national liberation of the early Nassar or Qasim. It is pathetic that anyone can believe that Hussein, whose mentor, Michel Aflaq, was an admirer of the Lebanese Falange (which perpetrated the massacre of hundreds of Palestinians at Tel Zaatar in 1976), is any friend of "revolutionary Arab nationalism." Hussein was a counter-revolutionary from the very start of his bloody political career.

Peter Wermuth  
Chicago

What's unique in the new Middle East pamphlet is its structure. It is dialectical, not Kantian. By that I mean Raya gives not an external but an internal critique of the contradictions within the Middle East. She shows that Hussein's true beginnings were in trying to murder Qasim, leader of the 1958 Iraqi Revolution which tried to be independent of both Russia and the U.S. We thereby see the many opposing tendencies to Hussein's kind of counter-revolutionary politics that have existed right within Iraq.

Sociologist  
Indiana

Marxism is a partial, inadequate instrument with which to analyze the Middle East. Without understanding the power of Islamic belief, and without penetrating the deeply-rooted, regressive power of religion in general, one can go only so far. More than any region, the Middle East refutes Marx's "All history is the history of class struggle."

Physician,  
Los Angeles

It seems to me that the growth of Islam in the Middle East has less to do with culture and more to do with the philosophic void within the liberation movements.

Iranian Revolutionary  
Michigan

Editor's note: To order a copy of our new pamphlet, "Selections from Raya Dunayevskaya's Writings on the Middle East," see ad, p. 2.

## THE LIFE OF LABOR

I was on jury duty and this lawyer lectured us on how we should be glad to be there, because wouldn't it be terrible if injury cases were decided by "a panel of experts or calloused professionals who fixed a value for each type of

injury." I had to tell him what he described was the way labor law and compensation boards treat workers, and there are two systems of law in this country, one in general and one for workers. Workers' comp should be called boss's comp because it exists not to protect workers but to save the boss from lawsuits. If we had the right as workers to a jury of our peers, we'd convict the goddamn bosses.

John Marcotte  
New York

The unemployment insurance fund is going broke and it has never been harder to get unemployment. The Social Security office has half the staff of a year ago and a double work load. Already blind vendors in Federal and State office buildings have fewer customers.

Angry  
Detroit

It would appear that Canada's economy is quickly going down the "free trade" sewer. Thousands of jobs are moving ever southward and national unemployment rates are at 9.1%. Predictions say it can only get worse.

Dave  
Canada

## SHIFTING GLOBAL POLITICS



Gorbachev's now total reliance on the KGB-military apparatus to "restore order" should warn us against writing off the USSR as a superpower. A little over a year ago, many spoke as if Europe and Japan were now "replacing" the U.S. as the dominant superpower. But today the Gulf war has so succeeded in pushing the Europeans to the sidelines that those illusions have melted like a snowfall in July. Will we look back a year from now and ask whether there wasn't too quick a rush to write off Russia when it still has a powerful military apparatus and tens of thousands of nuclear weapons?

Student of History  
Wisconsin

In Germany, our opposition to the war is more intense than in other West European countries. There have been massive protests in most German cities such as Berlin, Frankfurt, Munich and even large numbers of people in smaller German cities such as Heidelberg. Since the crackdown in the Soviet Union began to intensify, the German protesters have been connecting the war in the Gulf and the civil war in the Soviet Union, seeing both as a reactivation of "superpower politics as usual."

We demand not only the end of the war in the Gulf, but the end of Soviet aggression in the Baltic states as well. The German establishment media has been uncharacteristically silent on what's been happening in the Baltics, but the German government is more worried about the situation in the Baltics than about the war in the Gulf. They really did not want the war to begin, and do not want to get involved in it. Still, they are supporting the war financially and with planes in Turkey.

Correspondent  
Munich, Germany

The U.S.'s war policy in the Gulf and Bush's formation of a U.S. empire has been completely supported by the European governments, especially by the Italian government. What European capitalism wants is greater political unity in the orbit of U.S. capital which means always more control of the Third World and the price of primary goods. There have been demonstrations here against the war, but only with pacifist slogans, certainly not as advanced as those in the U.S. I think Europeans feel guilty: the U.S. is acting in their interests (or at least they think so) and it is Americans, not Europeans, that are dying in a war.

Margaret Ellingham  
Italy

**THE OPPOSITE OF "SELF-LIMITING REVOLUTION" IS THE "CREATIVITY OF COGNITION"**

One of Dunayevskaya's ideas that has long interested me was her critique of the idea of a "self-limiting revolution," an idea that was first voiced during Poland's Solidarity movement and which has become widely taken up since. After eight years of Reagan and now with what Bush has unleashed in the Gulf, we seem to have reached the stage where the prevailing ideology is "there is no revolution." The effort to drum that into our heads has a lot to do with why the media has not bothered to cover the mass demonstrations. Is this where the idea of "self-limiting revolution" has brought us?

Ted Chicago

In Eastern Europe, the ideology of the "free market" took hold very quickly, mainly because it offered a ready-to-hand alternative to the utterly discredited state-capitalist regimes that had usurped the name of socialism. The quest for genuine socialism has been pushed to the sidelines for the time being, but is upheld by a minority. Disillusionment is already setting in, in the face of an uncontrolled rise in unemployment and the cost of living.

The most positive change is that a genuine Left can now organize and publish its ideas openly in what used to be the eastern bloc, and there is much greater freedom of movement for people and ideas. I believe that this will open up new opportunities to build the international organization of Marxist-Humanists that our times call for, as part of the movement to transform life, work and society in Europe and worldwide.

Richard Bunting England

Two things stand out to me from reading Dunayevskaya's writings in recent issues of N&L. First, she always seems to be addressing the question of why so many revolutions in this age have failed. This is a needed, often missing criticism that our activity must have. Second is her insistence on having "confidence in the masses." This is

much needed in El Salvador after so much war.

Salvadoran feminist California

Since the war began, we've had so many experiences—every day there has been at least one demonstration, there have been nightly meetings of the anti-war groups, and we've been on the phone trying to get people involved. With all this flood of activity I am beginning to appreciate what it meant that when World War I began Lenin went into the Bern library for six months to study Hegel's Science of Logic. He saw that it wasn't enough to attack the symptoms of war and betrayal, he had to dig into philosophy to see what compels that. We can learn from that.

Tom Parsons Evanston, IL

Both the spontaneous outbursts of masses of people opposing the war and the old Left's attempt to control that spontaneity makes concrete Raya Dunayevskaya's statement that "any division of Subject from Object...kills the emergent new society because it kills the creativity of Subject, of the endless movement, of what Hegel would call 'second negativity' and Marx 'the permanent revolution.'" (See "The Responsibility of Intellectuals," in December 1990 N&L.) When groups in the Left try to centralize spontaneously formed anti-war organizations, their efforts to put a lid on the "ineffective" mass organization in favor of small "efficient" groups result in recreating the old ills of the society we oppose, the division between mental and manual labor. Essentially they are trying to separate the new Subjects from the Object (organization). The movement we are beginning to experience now not only shows the concreteness of Marxist-Humanism, it challenges us to "project philosophy organizationally" when philosophy means you are for truly new human relations.

Julia Jones De Kalb, IL

Raya's column in the December issue on "The Responsibility of Intellectuals" shows how far she had developed from the position of the Johnson-Forest Tendency of the 1940s, where the emphasis was on intellectuals being "full fountain pens" recording the deeds of the masses. Her column amplifies her Marxism and Freedom, where she challenged the "movement from theory" to be as creative as today's movement from practice.

Andy Phillips Detroit

**REMEMBERING MARTIN LUTHER KING**



I've been thinking about Martin Luther King Jr., and re-reading some of Charles Denby's *Indignant Heart: a Black Worker's Journal*. It's sad that King is the only person who got recognition for what took place. I do think we should remember King, but Denby shows how the movement was a spontaneous revolution of masses. The schools don't teach that: they make it like it was King, one great man with a goal.

I'm waiting for spontaneity to break out today, because most people I know don't go along with the garbage Bush is telling us about the war. And now our new Governor in California, Wilson, says he wants to cut money for welfare programs, when poor people can't even make it on what there is now.

Welfare Mother Los Angeles

I heard the Black poet Maya Angelou on television discussing Martin Luther King Jr. (she knew him personally). She said that King always recognized his own place, as "leader," within the movement. He would tell the story of a

Black man in the South, running from one farm to another, asking everyone: "Have you seen a whole crowd of young people somewhere around here?" Finally someone said to him, "Why do you ask?" He replied: "Because I'm supposed to be leading them." Angelou also said that King's "charisma" came from the fact that King knew that when he spoke, there were thousands of people up there on stage with him—all those who had come before and the masses in the movement then. It was that invisible presence of thousands that King knew of, that gave him his "charisma."

Reader California

**STOP NUCLEAR TESTING**

Clearly, today's activists are recognizing the deepening crises in our "changed world," as seen in the protest of 4,000 at the Nevada nuclear test site on Jan. 4-5. Those representing issues as diverse as environmental conservation, human rights, animal rights, anti-U.S. intervention in the Middle East and Central America, came together to protest continued nuclear testing. Groups of Shoshone and Piute Indian protesters from Utah and Nevada represented an important anti-imperialist and civil rights dimension. Nuclear explosions are conducted regularly on Shoshone land taken over by the federal government, in preparation for future wars.

Included in the protest was a march through the Sahara Hotel-Casino, with protesters chanting "Don't gamble our lives for oil." Demonstrators later convened at the entrance gate of the testing site to hear speakers from New Zealand and the Tahitian Pacific Islands, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the Western Shoshone Nation. "Offstage," activists from Tennessee, Oregon, California, Germany, Japan, France and Canada were conducting their own dialogue on the condition of the world and our future. The majority of demonstrators were young people distressed by this world they did not create.

Participants Las Vegas

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## Haiti election of Fr. Aristide brings hope

**Port-au-Prince, Haiti**—General elections were held on Dec. 16. Of the three million people of voting age, only 200,000 participated. Foreign observers and the international press noted many irregularities: some voted under pressure from the voting bureau, not even knowing for whom they had voted. According to the Provisional Electoral Council, which organized the election, Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide won a victory over the other candidates Marc Bazin, Hubert de Ronceray, Sylvio Claude, Francois Latortue, etc.

Fr. Aristide, 37 years old, apostle of liberation theology, and a populist, has always taken positions against the national bourgeoisie, the Duvalierist sectors, and above all, American imperialism.

The Dec. 16 elections are the only successful elections after 30 years of dictatorship. In November 1987, the elections were aborted. In January 1988, another election was held, which brought to power Leslie Manigat, himself overthrown on June 19 of that same year.

Haiti is the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere. This means: an unemployment rate of 80%; 85% illiteracy; starvation incomes: \$48 to \$680 per year; cramped living space, located in an unsanitary environment; insufficient food: less than 1700 calories per day; high death rates: 30% of deaths are from tuberculosis; deficient sanitary conditions: less than 14 liters of clean water per day, less than 26 kilowatt hours of electricity per month, garbage collection almost nonexistent, open ditches for latrines.

This is the situation in Haiti, a country which experiences all the evils and plagues known to humanity. What then can the new government, which is to take office on Feb. 7, do? —Renan Hedouville

On Jan. 6, during the period before the scheduled inauguration on Feb. 7 of Haiti's newly elected President, the immensely popular radical priest Fr. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, one of the most reactionary sectors of the old Duvalierist system staged a brief coup. Tens of thousands of people came into the streets to support Aristide, making calls on conch shells, a tradition dating from the call for uprising during the anti-slavery revolution 200 years ago.

For 12 hours the army did nothing, but finally, under U.S. pressure, it retook the Presidential Palace, arresting former Tontons Macoutes leader Roger Lafontant. For the next two days, crowds attacked the remnants of Lafontant's groups.

The pro-Aristide crowds also attacked the capital's main Roman Catholic cathedral, burning it to the ground and menacing some high Vatican officials who were there. They were angered by the Church's earlier dismissal of Fr. Aristide from his Salesian Order in 1988 and by the Church's attempt to "assign" him to a post outside Haiti.

## Dialogue on Malcolm X

*Editor's note: We print the following excerpts of a letter from Abdul Alkalimat, convenor of the Malcolm X conference that Lou Turner discussed in the Dec. 1990 issue of News & Letters.*

It is important to keep our dialogue going, so your article "After Malcolm X What?" (N&L, Dec. 1990) has stimulated me to thank you for your contribution before, during, and, with this article, after our very successful conference...

The dominant line at the conference was nationalist, people were mainly interested in the liberation of Black people from all enemies, especially their main enemy who would be regarded by most as white people, especially ruling class males. However, a strong Black Marxist position was put forward in every session. In fact as far as conference presentations go this was one of the major gatherings of Black Marxists in a long time, especially to put forward their views from a common platform. This helped to prevent any session from degenerating completely into a narrow nationalist backward line, because a militant anti-imperialist activist line was also part of the discourse in every session.

The youth demanded action, just as most speakers called for action. We believed that the dialectical battle of ideas should not emerge full blown, and certainty not as antagonisms, in a conference of militant Black people because that would make the Black liberation movement weaker. The battle should be with the main enemy at this point with the full diversity of forces pointed at the common enemy, at least most of the time. Our concern is winning over middle forces, people new to the struggle. What is also important is that the conferences we need are for the summation of practice...

My summation is that the conference was a solid step toward developing a radicalized line and leadership for the Black liberation movement. The reform leadership is not so solidly in control in the Black community—increased violence in South Africa, the failure of elected officials to make a difference, and the threat of wars (Gulf, crack, and AIDS) have all shown the inability of current leadership to represent the masses (Jesse Jackson, Congressional Black Caucus, Ministers, Black academics and the Black media). Now is the time for radical Blacks to act with focus and with an understanding of how to advance a diverse but radical leadership in the context of the current mass rebirth of militant youth...

I am an optimist on the future development of the radical Black tradition. I don't believe the answer will be Marx, though I believe that Marx is a foundation stone, a source of education and inspiration...

In the days preceding Lafontant's coup, Haiti's top Church official, Archbishop Francois Ligonde, lashed out at the supposed danger of "authoritarianism" under an Aristide government, in what some thought may have been an actual signal for the coup attempt. Ligonde was long considered to be pro-Duvalier, and there have been many calls for his removal since the over-



Haitians protesting attempted coup on Jan. 6.

throw of the Duvalier regime in 1986.

The army, the native bourgeoisie and the U.S. government and capitalist interests are also extremely worried about Aristide's victory, and there are sure to be further, better-planned attempts to undermine or even overthrow him. —Kevin A. Berry

## Black/Red View

by John Alan

About a week before President Bush launched a high-tech air war over the Iraqi sky, the National Urban League called a press conference to announce the publication of its 16th annual report on the State of Black America. In a sense this report can be considered a limited response of Black America to the now ongoing war in the Persian Gulf.

At this press conference John E. Jacob, the President of the Urban League, wanted to know how could Bush "lead a moral crusade against aggression" when at the same moment he vetoes the 1990 Civil Rights Act? Jacob went on to say that more than half of the U.S. armed forces in the Persian Gulf region are Blacks, Hispanics and women: "Many of those fighters are in uniform because of poverty and discrimination and restricted civilian opportunities."

Are these people, Jacob said, who put their lives on the line, to be "refused a civil rights act that protects their rights once they re-enter civilian life?"

By directing these questions to Bush, Jacob has in effect stripped away Bush's flimsy "moral" basis for going to war to establish a new stage of American imperialism in the Middle East. At the same time, whether he is aware of it or not, Jacob has placed the American civilization on trial.

Indeed, that is what the 16th annual report on the State of Black America does objectively, especially the section written by David H. Swinton, Dean of the School of Business at Jackson State University in Mississippi. Dr. Swinton, using the statistics of the Census Bureau, showed that the current recession in the African-American community "is a permanent feature of the American economy." Blacks receive about three-fifths as much in income as white persons and are three times as likely to have incomes below the poverty line.

The report as a whole is a grim picture of the permanent depression among Black Americans. At one point the report concludes that the disproportionate number of Blacks in the military is a measure of the inequality and discrimination in this country.

But the objectivity of this report does not extend to the point where its analysis relates the high technology of the war in the Persian Gulf to its opposite, Black poverty. In other words, it does not show that the "smart weapons" in the Persian Gulf skies were developed by the retrogressive Reagan administration to fight Russia at the cost of an astronomical increase in the national debt and the brutal destruction of social programs which kept the poor and Black America slightly above the poverty line.

However, it is the very objectivity of the League's report that makes it only a limited Black response to imperialism. We don't hear voices of the living, thinking humanity who live at the very cutting edge of this reality and who can by their activity transform that reality. Because of the absence of these voices, the League's report finds its audience in the political arena of Congress, the government, and among sociologists who have made a profession out of the study of Black life. Thus, it ends in an attempt to resolve the crisis superficially in the realm of politics rather than in reality.

When Black intellectuals stay clear of the subjectivity of the Black masses, they continue that old historic barrier in Black thought—a barrier that has been broken down at least twice in this century by the self-movement of Black masses seeking new conditions of freedom. The first came after WWI with the Garvey movement and the other during the period that began with WWII and continued to the end of the Vietnam war.

## M. L. King Day march

**Oakland, Cal.**—San Francisco Bay Area celebrated Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday on Jan. 21 with a large peace march from Hunter's Point and a Freedom Train from San Jose to a rally at the Civic Center. Several thousand people started the march at Hunter's Point (a predominantly poor, Black area).

During the long trek to the train station I walked with a UC Berkeley "contingent." Some of them were members of the Cal marching band sent by the University to perform at the Copper Bowl in Arizona. They felt the least they could do after going to Arizona was to honor Dr. King on this day.

One student said that upon hearing the news that the football team was invited and the players decided to go, the band had many heated discussions on the pro's and con's of going. At first he was not going to go. Then he reconsidered—rather than conducting what seemed to be a "private" boycott of Arizona (after all, the University would only send someone else in his place) he decided to go, but wear a King button on his uniform. Many other members of the band did the same.

By the time the march from Hunter's Point was joined by the riders from the San Jose Freedom Train, the crowd swelled to 20,000 and proceeded to the Civic Center. About 8,000 filled the Auditorium and listened to the speeches. An unfortunate end to the rally came when a Black youth was shot to death by another.

When Rev. Cecil Williams introduced Mayor Art Agnos with words of praise putting him on almost equal footing with Dr. King, hundreds of people booed very loudly, no doubt remembering the brutal way Agnos treated the homeless during the previous winter. Even though Rev. Williams wanted to disassociate from the anti-war movement, the march had an overwhelmingly anti-war character. —Urszula Wislanka

## State of Black America

Each created, at the same time, renaissances and revolutions in Black American thought.

It is not an accident of history that these great Black mass movements appeared at critical moments in the history of American imperialism, when the contradiction between the idea of freedom and the actuality of poverty and racism became unbearable in the thinking of the masses of Black people.

Whether this war in the Persian Gulf is long or short, it will shake up class and race relations in this country. No one can predict when that process will begin, but we can be certain that the Black dimension in this country will assume a critical role in this process.

## Black anti-war teach-in

**Los Angeles, Cal.**—About 200-250 mainly Black youth participated in a "Black Unity Teach-In On The Persian Gulf," organized by the "Malcolm X Grassroots Movement" on Jan. 12.

This was an important meeting, a high-point, both because of the participation of the many Black youth who are eager to find a direction out of this war, and the fact that it was held in South Central Los Angeles where most of the participants live.

At the same time, the narrowness of the concept of "self-determination" projected by some Black Left and Nationalist tendencies was demonstrated by one woman who spoke from the All-African People's Revolutionary Party saying that as far as the discussion goes, "we will control the consciousness of the youth." This gives no credit to youth for their own original thought about this particular war, but ties it up in the radical tendencies of the past, the '60s movement. Something new is happening today among Black youth and it has something original to offer which we have to tap into.

Many youth that were there were interested in hearing about the history of the struggles in the '60s in the U.S. and in Africa. But they were also there to seek out information about how they can avoid any future initiation of the draft.

The attitude expressed from the podium was to focus all attention on anti-Zionism and anti-imperialism, as if that is all that the youth can understand. There was no critique of Saddam Hussein up-front, even though some would privately express a critique of him, but immediately followed that by "we need Black Unity." We raised the question about Saddam Hussein's treatment of the Kurdish national minority, and the Kurd's struggle for self-determination. That was when one speaker responded by stating the need to "control the mind of the youth."

This is an attempt to bring about a false unity, to "keep it as simple as possible" as if the youth are not mature enough to have thoughts of their own by which to go about stopping this war. It is a narrowing of the whole concept of self-determination by saying "we can't solve the whole problem of the Middle-East."

But at the same time there is no universal vision of freedom being projected, a concept that can self-develop. If we are for self-determination we have to be concerned about the self-determination of the Kurds, as well as the minds of the Black youth searching for pathways out of this war. —Gene Ford



# Black World

(continued from page 1)

terly journal Umsebenzi, Slovo's "discussion pamphlet," so the publishers tell us, "represents the first reflections of the author only." Since its publication in January, 1990, something of a debate has ensued in the pages of another South African journal, *Sapem*. In June, Pallo Jordan, member of the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) and its Information Secretary, provided a fraternal critique entitled, "Crisis of Conscience in the SACP: A Critical Review of Slovo's 'Has Socialism Failed?'" and in the August issue of *Sapem*, Professor Archie Mafeje responded with "The Bathos of Tendentious Historiography: A Review of Joe Slovo's 'Has Socialism Failed?'"

## IDEOLOGY AND THE PARTY

However, while both responses represent erudite critiques of Slovo's Stalinist "confession," neither makes any connection between his ideological campaign and the Party's revelations whose ground he meant to lay. Slovo's "confession" had the purely organizational aim of giving mass absolution of the sins of Stalinism to those Party members operating "undercover" in the leadership of the liberation movement, especially in the NEC of the ANC and in the trade unions.

While Slovo's critics missed the linkage of the ideological to the organizational, Slovo surely has not. Which is why his epistle was said to represent his reflections only. Historically, Slovo and the SACP know that an organizational statement of the kind Slovo issued as a "individual viewpoint" is only meaningful in the organizational context of the liquidation of the Communist Party. Because the pursuit of the Party's re-organization, not its liquidation, was the insidious aim of Slovo's "discussion paper," the SACP hoped to forestall readers drawing the logical organizational conclusion, viz., that the SACP has out lived its historical right to exist.

That is why we must expose from the outset the Stalinist obfuscation of history and reality in Slovo's commonplace assumption that "we must expect that, for a time, many in the effected countries [in East Europe] will be easy targets for those aiming to achieve a reversion to capitalism" (p. 1, my emphasis—LT). The economic reality of those "effected countries," who have experienced mass upsurges and revolutions—not of a single year, but throughout the whole post-war era—is the reality of state-capitalism calling itself "Communism."

Thus, no sooner does one accept Slovo's commonplace, "reversion to capitalism," as it seems his most erudite critic Pallo Jordan does, than Slovo's question, "has socialism failed?" appears so axiomatic as not to require proof. This flies in the face of a whole epoch of revolutions from under Stalinist totalitarianism, which was unseparated from a genuine search for a humanist Marxism, as the absolute opposite of Stalinism, in East Europe, as well as in Africa and the Third World. It is not socialism, but state-capitalism calling itself "socialism," which has failed.

## GREAT SHOW OF 'DEMOCRACY'

Only the Party faithful really "expect" Stalinism to make a miraculous "reversion" to democracy. Behind the great show of "democracy"—democracy for political parties, not for Black labor which can only "expect" further exploitation under the economic "Plan" and "free market mechanisms" of the Party and South African capital—can be seen how inseparable the social crisis is from the restlessness in the ranks of the movement over "negotiations." Behind Slovo's great show of democracy is apartheid economism.

"The way forward is through thorough-going democratic-socialism; a way which can only be charted by a party which wins its support through democratic persuasion and ideological contest and not as has too often happened up to now, by a claim of right" (p. 23), writes Slovo. Such beatific expressions cannot conceal their Stalinist distortions. For if "socialism cannot be introduced by a minority, party," as Lenin held, surely democracy cannot.

That the present debate over socialism and democracy arises at this historic moment in South Africa, a country which has experienced a decade-and-a-half of ongoing mass revolt and the unprecedented proliferation of democratic tendencies and structures among the masses of people outside the confines of political parties, is not accidental.

We will examine this phenomenon in the second part of this column, next issue, when we look at the critical responses of Pallo Jordan and Archie Mafeje in the debate over socialism and democracy in South Africa.

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# Voices of Black History are the Voice of Freedom

## Test yourself this Black History Month—

Identify all the sources of the following quotations from the Marxist-Humanist publication *American Civilization on Trial (ACOT)* and win a 2 year subscription to *News & Letters* plus a copy of *ACOT*. Send answers by March 1, 1990, to: *News & Letters*, 59 E. Van Buren, Rm. 707, Chicago, IL 60605. (Answers to be published in the March issue of *News & Letters*.)

1. "Two centuries ago, a former European colony decided to catch up with Europe. It succeeded so well that the United States of America became a monster..."
2. "Whereas at one time they [the American Communist Party] were all for stopping production because of Jim Crow employment policies, low pay or bad working conditions, they are now all-out for the Government's policy of no wartime strikes and have actually endorsed labor conscription, i.e., human slavery. Everything must be done to save Russia even if Negroes' rights have to go by the board."
3. "Too long have others spoken for us."
4. "I have just seen in the *Tribune* that there has been a fresh rising of slaves in Missouri, naturally suppressed. But the signal has now been given."

10. "My Colour will yet root some of you out of the very face of the earth!!! America is more our country, than it is the whites—we have enriched it with our blood and tears."

11. "When in 1920 the American government started to investigate and to suppress radical propaganda among Negroes, the small radical Negro groups in America retaliated by publishing the fact that the Socialists stood for the emancipation of the Negroes, and that reformist America could do nothing for them. Then, I think, for the first time in American history, the American Negroes found that Karl Marx had been interested in their emancipation, and had fought valiantly for it."

12. "O ye daughters of Africa, awake! awake! arise! no longer sleep nor slumber but distinguish yourselves. Show forth to the world that ye are en-



Black Union cavalrymen bring in Confederate prisoners during Civil War.

5. "A single Negro regiment would have a remarkable effect on Southern nerves...a war of this kind must be conducted along revolutionary lines..."
6. "...To visit workingmen in their homes and to join a labor union for only then could the needs and aspiration of the working class be really understood [since] books did not teach and educated man did not know reasons for workingmen's behavior."
7. "It was a grandiose and bombastic scheme, utterly impracticable as a whole, but it was sincere and had some practical features; and Garvey proved not only an astonishingly popular leader, but a master of propaganda. Within a few years, news of his movement, of his promises and plans, reached Europe and Asia, and penetrated every corner of Africa."
8. "American citizenship for the black man is a complete failure if he is proscribed from the workshops of the country."
9. "It must be admitted, truth compels me to admit, even here in the presence of the monument we have erected in his memory, Abraham Lincoln was not, in the fullest sense of the word, either our man or our model. In his interests, in his associations, in his habits of thought, and in his prejudices, he was a white man. He was pre-eminently the white man's President, entirely devoted to the welfare of white men."

dowed with noble and exalted faculties."

13. "I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject (slavery) I do not wish to think, speak or write with moderation. I am in earnest — I will not equivocate — I will not capitulate — I will not retreat a single inch— AND I WILL BE HEARD!"

14. "The science resulting from all human knowledge has no nationality. The ridiculous disputes about the origin of such and such a discovery do not interest us since they add nothing to the value of the discovery. It can therefore be said that African unity offers the world a new humanism essentially founded on the universal solidarity and cooperation between people without any racial and cultural antagonism and without narrow egoism and privilege."

15. "We are going to organize ourselves all over the world that when the white men say—any white man wants a black man to die in the future, they have to tell us what we are going to die for. (Applause). The first dying that is to be done by the black man in the future will be done to make himself free."

16. "The challenge of our times is not to machines, but to men. Intercontinental missiles can destroy mankind, they cannot solve its human relations. The creation of a new society remains the human endeavor. The totality of the crisis demands, and will create, a total solution. It can be nothing short of a New Humanism."

## Karl Armstrong (1950-1991)

We mourn the untimely death and reflect with love on the life of Karl Armstrong (Wayne Carter), a close comrade, wonderful human being and creative Marxist-Humanist, whose passion for life and freedom burned with a unity of joy, pain and determination, until his very final day.

Karl was one of the new generation of revolutionaries birthed in the 1960s protest decade. Active in Black and anti-Vietnam War struggles in high school and college, he joined and tested many tendencies in the liberation movement, but rejected each as limited.

He was searching for an organization with a vision as total as he expressed through his art: his paintings and etchings of the charged rush of human life, the complexity of human longings and relationships, the degradations of racism, the dehumanized fetishisms of capitalist society, the penetrating, probing, soaring human mind and heart.

He found *News and Letters* Committees in Los Ange-



les in 1981, through a flyer distributed at a demonstration for El Salvador, publicizing a class series on Raya Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution*. He remarked ever after that that concept—the unity of those seeming opposites, "philosophy and revolution"—gripped him immediately like a magnet. It was that unity that Karl worked at practicing from that day on.

No one in the Los Angeles local of *News and Letters* Committees was more active than Karl, or more known and respected by such a wide diversity of activists and revolutionaries—in Black community struggles, in the Free South Africa movement, in Central American solidarity work.

Karl wrote frequently for the pages of *News & Letters*, both penning articles himself, and searching out and eliciting the new voices for freedom. His very last article appeared in *News & Letters* in December, 1990, but one month before his death, written in his days of waning strength, as the deadly AIDS virus sapped his body but not his soul.

His topic was the relation between philosophy and activism, as he discussed Raya Dunayevskaya's writings on the young Marx and the problematic of "understand[ing] why all the schemes for a human society haven't brought one, and where to look for a totally new beginning."

Dear, dear Karl: we will continue to look and work for those new beginnings, missing you all the while, in our struggles and in our laughter. We promise to carry you with us in our hearts, through the difficult, historic days ahead, and into the new human society we are more determined than ever to help bring to birth.

—Michelle Landau

# The "new world order" is U.S. drive for single world mastery

(continued from page 1)

prolonged war guarantees is the opposition it will bring. That is why they have no intention of letting us see anything but their carefully sanitized version complete with all their Orwellian vocabulary that tries to make us believe "war is peace." It is nothing less than a drive toward the militarization of our minds.

While none can know the full ramifications of what Bush has now unleashed, two things are certain:

**One,** Bush—who dared to use Martin Luther King's birthday as the deadline for destruction—truly personifies the utter inhumanity of this racist, sexist, exploitative society, using Hussein's brutal invasion of Kuwait as his own excuse to impose U.S. domination in the Middle East on his way to the single world mastery that has motivated him from the start. The retrogressive global repercussions are already rampant.

**Two,** the new anti-war movement, that burst forth spontaneously everywhere with unprecedented speed and which has encompassed young and old, worker and student, Black and white, confronts a challenge deeper than that faced by any earlier generation—a veritable crisis of the mind—if it is to work out the total opposition needed, while there is still time.

## DRIVE FOR SINGLE WORLD MASTERY

As against the increasing opposition from below, the world's rulers have all been scurrying to line up behind Bush. They range from the spineless U.S. Congress at home, to the UN which gave authorization for the military action Bush was determined to take, to the so-called "alliance" of 28 nations—all under the sole control of the One who effectively became the "commander-in-chief" of all.

What gave the green light to Bush's new stage of barbaric militarism, first and foremost, was the collusion of Mikhail Gorbachev, who has so many crises at home (from the rebellious republics to an economy in shambles) that he was willing to agree to what Bush demanded, so long as he was assured some kind of future involvement in the Middle East. In return, Bush left him free to make a bloody crackdown on the thousands of Lithuanians who had come to defend the Parliament of their nationalist movement with their bodies. A week later the Latvians also felt the boot, while hundreds of thousands marched in Moscow to ask if they were to be next and to demand Gorbachev's ouster. (See "Our Life and Times," page 12.)

Though the implications of this superpower collusion were evident before Jan. 15, the actual outbreak of war has brought forth a whole new set of political realities in the Middle East. It is not only that the rulers of Egypt and Saudi Arabia, as well as Turkey, are totally supporting Bush's actions. It's also that Assad in Syria, long an ally of Russia in the Middle East, has seen what it means now that Gorbachev has given Bush the green light for this war that is intended to leave the U.S. master in the Middle East. Who would have believed we would hear one of his spokesmen, one week into the shooting war, say Israel has a right to retaliate for Iraq's bombing? And what does it mean that Israel—now ruled by the most reactionary regime in its entire existence and one which has surely never needed an excuse to bomb an Arab land—has, so far, not retaliated for the constant bombing they have suffered? All these regimes are now desperately tying themselves to the U.S.

The Arab rulers are pulling in a very different direction from the Arab masses. It is not that there has ever been any love for Saddam Hussein, who has been a fascist and butcher of his own people, from his very first beginnings with the Ba'ath Party in Iraq. It's that the masses have no intention of living under the boot heel of unrestrained U.S. imperialism.

At this moment in history the drive to militarize the minds of humanity has been pursued relentlessly. Bush's lying propaganda about "pinpoint bombing" has nothing to do with saving lives, about which Bush clearly cares nothing. He is instead sending a message to the world that the U.S. has the means and the determination to put a bomb anywhere it wants to, in order to establish its world domination. Has all the testing of new weapons meant something even more horrifying in store? Is it actually preparation for World War III?

There can be no doubt that the army generals in Moscow are watching everything that has happened since the war erupted more carefully than anyone. Gorbachev's current nearly total reliance on the army and the KGB (where Gorbachev began his climb to power) is rooted in the stage of state-capitalist degeneracy that began when his predecessor Yuri Andropov first elevated the KGB and the army to equal status with the Communist Party. It was Andropov who, on his deathbed, handpicked Gorbachev as his successor.<sup>1</sup>

Gorbachev's full return to the Right surely sounds a warning to any who were under the illusion that anything fundamental had been changed with "glasnost" and "perestroika." Whether Gorbachev now survives politically or not, there is no question that all the world rulers have a frightening future of ever greater horror and repression in mind for us. The question is how can we work out a freedom-filled future for humanity? How can we meet the challenge to the mind, where the retrogressionism of a full decade of Reagan and Bush has exacted its greatest toll? What does that challenge pose to the new, spontaneous anti-war movement that

is trying to arise? Indeed, what does it pose to all the freedom movements?

## "NO BLOOD FOR OIL"

When the slogan of the new anti-war movement, worldwide, became at once "No Blood for Oil," it captured the capitalist nature of Bush's cold-blooded imperialism vs. the humanism of the movement.

But as we have seen it isn't only oil that drives Bush, even when the oil he is interested in is not the gas for our cars but the oil capitalism needs for war. The logic



Homeless picket City Hall in Chicago on Martin Luther King Day.

of capitalism-imperialism is the drive for single world mastery that defined the struggle of the U.S. and Russia, the two nuclear superpowers, ever since World War II ended. What is new is that Bush now feels he can win.

It was when the Hitler-Stalin Pact gave the green light to that war that Raya Dunayevskaya worked out her analysis of the transformation of Russia, the first workers' state in history, into its opposite, a state-capitalist society under Stalin's brutal heel. She saw it as manifesting a new world stage of capitalism, rooting her analysis in the philosophic-economic categories of Marx's *Capital* and in his vision of a society based on truly new human relations, which he called "a new Humanism." Dunayevskaya singled out the forces of revolt who have been trying to find a pathway out of this new world stage of capitalism—rank-and-file workers, women, the Black dimension, youth. Their struggles have been integral to the development of the full philosophy of Marxist-Humanism that Dunayevskaya then worked out as a re-statement of Marx's Marxism for our age. From the beginning, she stressed the urgency of forging a new unity between "the movement from practice that is itself a form of theory and the movement from theory that is itself a form of philosophy and revolution."<sup>2</sup>

Never was such a unity more needed than today when the crises confronting us are so myriad and the retrogression so deep. It is not only in Russia that the economy is in crisis. So severe is the current recession in the U.S.—the worst since WWII—that even the "Dating Committee of the National Bureau of Economic Research" (who are supposed to make an official proclamation only after six or more months of what they call "proof") had to officially "declare a recession" on Jan. 8, ahead of their schedule, because, they said, the American people were already in an "uproar" about what all knew was a severe recession, as their conditions of life and labor worsened. The war in the Middle East which Bush declared a week later has given the administration a convenient way to shove the recession out of the headlines. But that war can only exacerbate all the horrors of our wars at home.

## STATE OF THE ECONOMY

While we are now told that the dollar costs to the U.S. people of the war in the Middle East will soar to \$86 billion (if the fighting lasts "more than a few months") and an outright war tax is being planned to finance all the death and destruction, here is what confronts us at home:

- There are already some three million homeless on any given night in this "richest land on earth." To show they had no intentions of letting the war wipe out their voices, the homeless in Chicago chose Martin Luther King's holiday to rally and march in the Loop.

- The unemployment rate is growing so rapidly (with half a million more added in just the last three months) that it is feared the unemployment insurance fund will not be adequate, even though only one third of the unemployed are now even eligible to claim it. That is because Reaganism's onslaught against labor was so successful that large numbers of workers were forced to work permanent part-time or as self-employed, doing "homework." This is especially true of women.

- What everyone has always known—that "the rich get richer while the poor get poorer"—has now been officially pronounced by the Census Bureau when they reported on Jan. 10 that wealth rose significantly in the 1980s for the top 20% of the population. But most revealing of all was that white households were shown, on the average, to have ten times as much wealth as Black households!

- What more appalling "statistics" can there be than those that reveal the U.S. has become Number One in the world in putting its people in prison—more than a million right now. It outdistances even apartheid South Africa in the proportion of the Black population it incarcerates: 3,109 for the U.S. vs. 729 for South Africa, for every 100,000 Black men in the population! And what more revealing statistic directly on the "state of

the economy" than that there are proportionately more than twice the number of Black men in the infantry in the Persian Gulf than in the American population as a whole.

Nearly the same is true for poor whites. The state of this country was eloquently spelled out by the Black woman who, when her co-workers were stunned to hear she had no less than five nephews in the Persian Gulf, said quietly, "We are a poor family."

## A STRUGGLE FOR THE MINDS OF HUMANITY

What reflects the depth of opposition to this war is the fact that no less than nine major unions, representing six million workers—from the National Education Association to the Communications Workers of America and the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union—have been in the struggle against Bush's war in the Gulf from the very beginning. Moreover, Black America is overwhelmingly opposed to this war, women are so decisively opposed that it is being called "the gender gulf," and youth, most of all, are so opposed that Bush felt it necessary to write to 460 college papers appealing for their support before he had released the first bomb.

All this is an important beginning for the new anti-war movement that marks a difference from the beginning of the anti-Vietnam War movement of the 1960s. But when we remember that the massive and creative movements of that decade, which challenged the whole "military-industrial complex," nevertheless insisted they could catch theory "en route" and failed to achieve the uprooting they wanted,<sup>3</sup> we must recognize that the failure to make philosophy and revolution inseparable is what opened the door to the retrogression that Reagan and Bush have brought to bear on the whole world.

The ramifications of the war in the Persian Gulf appear to be endless. There is a full military draft in clear sight, a backlash against Arab-Americans is already being shaped by the FBI interrogations, and everything from a recession deeper than any we have yet seen to out-and-out ecological catastrophe is threatening to engulf us. What is needed is a total vision of not only what we are fighting against, but what we are fighting for—i.e., a vision of a totally new, human society.

That idea of freedom is precisely what all the rulers are trying to find ways to smother today. That is why they dare to talk about "smart" bombs and refer to civilian deaths as "collateral damage," getting the whole bourgeois media to follow them in perpetrating such barbarism of language. For the barbarism of language leads directly to the barbarism of thought. The most difficult struggle of all that we are engaged in today is the struggle for the minds of humanity.

That is why we ask you to participate with us in all of our activities—in the crucially important anti-war movement and in all the freedom struggles, in writing for N&L and in searching into "Marxist-Humanism: The Re-Creation of Marx's Marxism for our Age," through our upcoming class series.<sup>4</sup> The objective-subjective situation we confront in the 1990s is not the same as what we faced three decades ago, but the principle we established in our Resolution on War and Peace in 1960 remains our banner today:

*"To the barbarism of the war we pose the new society. But the old radicals also say they are for a new society. Indeed, they would want it—IF you would give it to them on a silver platter on which all workers kneeled, asking 'to be led.' What they all forget is that a new society is THE human endeavor or it is nothing.*

*"To achieve a truly human life, we must not only be with the workers because they and only they oppose the war to the end, because they and only they are the future society, but also because we do not shift to the shoulders of the workers what is our task, the theoretic clearing of the ground for the reconstruction of society on new beginnings.*

*"The unfurling of the Marxist Humanist banner means the kind of organization of one's thinking from which action follows, action that will merge with the spontaneous self-activity of the masses to establish on this earth a society on truly human foundations where the population to a man, woman and child will run production and the state, and thus hold destiny in its own hands."*

—January 25, 1991

3. For a profound development of this, see Chapter 9 of Raya Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution*, "New Passions and New Forces—the Black Dimension, the Anti-Vietnam War Youth, Rank-and-File Labor, Women's Liberation."

4. See ad for our classes, page 4.

## News & Letters ongoing analysis of the U.S. war drive in the Persian Gulf

"Bush's imperial foray into Gulf threatens prolonged war" Editorial, Aug.-Sept. N&L

"Bush's drive for war in Persian Gulf demands total opposition" Editorial article, October N&L

"The time to stop Bush's drive to war is now!" Editorial, December N&L

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1. See Raya Dunayevskaya's *Political-Philosophic Letter*, "Andropov's Ascendancy Reflects Final Stage of State-Capitalism's Degeneracy," in N&L, December 1982.

2. See *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism*, for her original 1953 breakthrough on Hegel's Absolute Idea.

**Violent death on city streets**

**America is killing its youth at home**

by Sheila Fuller

"When I found out that my brother was killed I started crying. I felt that a part of me was just taken away and ripped out of my heart. My brother was like a budding flower. He too had a lot of unhappiness in his life. But he treated everyone the way he liked to be treated. He would never think about taking another person's life. The gang member who killed him must have had such little self-esteem and nothing to look forward to in life. He must have had no respect for his own life. Yes, he killed my brother, but he also ruined his own life. He is in jail now. But the prison system won't make him any better."

These are the words of a young Latina whose fifteen-year-old brother was just killed by a gang member in an inner city neighborhood of Chicago.

Not a day goes by without the murder, shooting, stabbing and rape of youth in the U.S. Youth, children and even infants in this country's inner cities are being killed in violent attacks by other youth. Many are dying in gang rivalries or drug deals. Some are being killed for wearing clothing of the wrong color, which mistakenly identifies them as members of a rival gang. Elementary school children and even infants in strollers are being killed by stray bullets or drive-by shootings. Young women are being raped by other youth.

These murders and violent attacks are taking place within and across all racial and ethnic groups: white, Black, Latino. They are a graphic manifestation of our war at home. The voices and angry screams of the youth who are experiencing these violent attacks in the U.S. inner cities are calling out for humanity's attention, human caring, human thought.

**HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS SPEAK OUT**

"In my school," a Latino student from Benito Juarez high school in Chicago notes, "students are being killed or wounded from gun shots or stab wounds. The response of the school administration is to do searches. They line up men and women in separate lines and search us with metal detectors. But that doesn't stop the gang warfare. My high school has 1,600 students and almost half of the students are in one gang or another."

For Black youth in America today, the leading cause of death is violent attack. According to Dr. Robert Froehlike, the author of a report by the Federal Centers

for Disease Control: "In some areas of the country it is now more likely for a Black male between his 15th and 25th birthday to die from homicide than it was for a United States soldier to be killed on a tour of duty in Vietnam."

The Benito Juarez student continued, "I think that some of us join gangs because we have so many problems at home that make us feel like we are nobodies. When you join a gang you feel that other gang members are with you. If someone beats you, they will support you. But I have seen that gang members don't really care if you end up in jail. They never go out of their way to help you."

"To me, the only way we can stop this is if we ask young people themselves what they want to do. The way things are now in school our classes are so boring. The teachers just ask you to take down notes and memorize them. They have no meaning for us. You feel that you have nothing to look forward to. We need to talk amongst ourselves about how we can change our own lives."

**THIS DEHUMANIZED SOCIETY**

What stands out in these words for me is the realization that the problem of youth violence is rooted in the existing human relations, the dehumanized relationships that exist in our society.

Today we are putting more youth in overcrowded jails. The Bush administration has mandated that teenagers who have committed violent crimes be prosecuted as adults. It supports police searches and drug testing in schools. It is promoting militaristic "solutions" at home just as it is promoting U.S. militarism abroad.

Over 100 years ago Karl Marx wrote that under capitalism, social relations between people "do not appear as direct social relations between persons in their work but rather as material relations between persons and social relations between things." For Marx, this thingification of people under capitalism was rooted in the division between mental and manual labor that has characterized all class divided societies.

Today, the horrible reality of gang murders and violent death among youth, manifests the utter dehumanization of all human relations, and the thingification of people under capitalism. Confronting this crisis demands that we battle the very mentality which dehumanizes people. This crisis makes it urgent for us to grapple with Marx's vision of a total uprooting of this society; his vision of what it means to be fully human.

**Iranian revolutionaries speak out against war**

As Iranian Marxist-Humanists we strongly oppose the war in the Gulf which is bringing such massive suffering and death to the civilians of Iraq as well as irrevocably destroying the region and its ecology. The American government has been directly responsible for its support of the brutal Ba'athist regime since it took power in Iraq in 1968. Throughout the eight year Iran-Iraq War, which left a million people dead, the U.S. supported Iraq as well as the equally reactionary government of the Islamic Republic. At the end of the war in 1984 when Saddam Hussein began the annihilation of the Kurdish people in Iraq through napalm and poison gas, the United States remained silent. Today American allies against Saddam are the equally reactionary governments of Syria and Saudi Arabia whose record on violations of human rights, especially institutionalized subjugation of women, is equally tragic.

Saddam Hussein, who so brutally destroyed Kuwait, had no mercy on the people of his own country who have continuously challenged his murderous regime. He now drops missiles on civilians in Tel Aviv and Riyadh. He cannot be allowed to present himself as the "liberator" of the Palestinian people whose genuine struggle for self-determination continues.

However many Palestinian leaders, such as Yasser Arafat, are continuing the same mistakes as the ones they committed in 1974-75 when in the midst of the Lebanese Civil War they sided with the invading Syrian army of Hafez al-Assad, rather than the Lebanese masses. After the 1979 Iranian revolution these same leaders sided with Khomeini against the genuine aspirations of Iranian revolutionaries including women's liberationists. Now they have sided with the occupier of Kuwait, who has given the much coveted chance to American imperialism to set up a military outpost in the Gulf region once again.

It is urgent for revolutionaries not to take sides against one or another repressive ruler. Instead we need to clear our heads about a philosophy of revolution that would re-examine the failed, aborted and transformed revolutions of the region in the last century, and begin anew on the foundations of Marx's humanism. Our hearts go out to the American families whose sons and daughters, faced with vast unemployment and economic recession, signed up for the military and now find themselves with the horrendous prospects of death and disability. Let us build the anti-war movement in this country, demand U.S. troops out of the Gulf, and call for a new human society in the Middle East.

—Anjoman Azadi

**From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya**

(continued from page 4)

on the question of the "vanguard party."

The whole truth is—and that is first and foremost—Marx never separated organization forms from his total philosophy of revolution. Indeed, as was shown when we kept stressing the year, 1875, Marx had worked out his whole theory of human development in *Capital*, and in the organizational document, *The Critique of the Gotha Program*—because his principle, a philosophy of revolution, was the ground also of organization. In a word, it was not only the state which Marx held must be destroyed, totally uprooted. He showed that the proletarian organization likewise changed form. Thus, the First International, Marx said, "was no longer realizable in its first historical form." (*Critique of the Gotha Program*)

This, history shows, was not understood by the first post-Marx Marxists. It would take nothing short of the German Social-Democracy's betrayal at the outbreak of WWI before Lenin totally broke with them, and first saw Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Program* as most relevant for his day. It was then also that he spelled out most concretely how revolutionaries could not just "take over" the bourgeois state machinery. That had to be smashed to smithereens. Lenin made that revolutionary message both more concrete and more comprehensive—a true concrete Universal—when he saw, as inseparable, Marx's theory of revolution and his theory of human development, concluding: "The whole theory of Marx is an application of the theory of development." Yet, as we know, Lenin still left the concept of the vanguard party in its old (though modified) form.

A new historic age was needed to work out all the ramifications. A new movement from practice as a form of theory had to emerge and be recognized before a new attitude could be worked out, and that meant, far from freeing the movement from theory of its responsibilities, the movement from practice was demanding that theory, too, undergo self-development so that it could concretize for a new age Marx's revolutionary dialectical philosophy, which he had called a "new Humanism." By the time, in 1956, that the Hungarian Revolution brought Marx's philosophy onto the historic stage, we had developed that new Humanism in the U.S. By 1960, the Third World theorist Frantz Fanon had developed his liberation philosophy and called it "a new Humanism." By the 1970s Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* were finally transcribed so that Marx's Marxism could be seen as a totality. It is this which Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation*, and Marx's *Philosophy of Revolution* is rooted in when it takes a new look at Marx's 1875 Critique. The new book devotes a whole chapter to the Critique, entitling that chapter: "The Philoso-

pher of Permanent Revolution Creates Ground for Organization." This sums up that third new moment in Karl Marx on Organization in his age and in ours.

The fourth new moment which opened with the *Ethnological Notebooks* (finally transcribed in the 1970s) reveals itself equally and even more urgently relevant to our age for Women's Liberation. It is this work which enables us to see with new eyes that Marx's 1844 concept of Man/Woman\*\*—far from being something that only the allegedly "utopian" young Marx had articulated—was deepened throughout his life.

Thus, in 1867, as he was preparing the first edition of *Capital* for the press, and Dr. Kugelmann had given him his Early Essays, Marx wrote to Engels: "We have nothing to be ashamed of." Marx also related these early essays to the 1867 debates around *Capital*, holding that "the feminist ferment" was inherent in revolutions throughout history.

From his activities in the Paris Commune, we know how Marx had laid the ground in establishing the Union des Femmes, following this through by making it a principle that the First International establish autonomous women's organizations. Finally, with his last work, the *Ethnological Notebooks*, he further enshrined this new attitude by showing the revolutionary presence of women throughout history, from the Iroquois women to the Irish women before British imperialism conquered Ireland.

Clearly, all four new moments, in theory and practice, in organization and spelling out "the new passions and new forces" for the reconstruction of society on new, Humanist beginnings—first naming the proletariat as Subject; then working out the revolutionary role of the peasantry, not only as in Engels' Peasant War in Germany but as in the peasant communal form in the 1880s; and always singling out youth and then women as Reason as well as forces of revolution—have laid new paths of revolution, a whole trail for the 1980s.

Surely, as Marxist-Humanists, now that we do have "three books, not one," as well as all the pamphlets on the new voices from below, worldwide as well as in the U.S.—ranging from *Workers Battle Automation*, *Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves* and *Afro-Asian Revolutions to People of Kenya Speak for Themselves* and *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought*—we can now measure up to Marx's second new moment, both as a possible new path of revolution as well as the dialectics of the "absolute movement of becoming"....

It is, indeed, the trail to the 1980s that we have been working out for three full decades.

\*\* One so-called independent Marxist, Hal Draper, dared to refer to these 1844 Essays as being no more than "the lucubrations of this new-fledged socialist."

**Anti-war protests**

(continued from page 5)

New York, N.Y.—One of the most exciting protests was on Jan. 14 organized by high school students. Over 1,000 people arrived at Times Square at noon; the majority were high school students participating in a student stay-away against Bush's war plans. After marching to Union Square and holding a rally, hundreds headed down Broadway towards Wall Street at a full run, dodging around police barricades on the way.

A Bronx student talked about how her godfather had been a victim of agent orange in Vietnam. Another stu-



dent, wrapped in an American flag, carried a sign that read, "I don't want to come home boxed in one of these." Students from LaGuardia High School, some of them members of S.O.S. Racism, talked about their anger over drastic budget cuts in city schools, demanding to know why the country is going to war instead of educating its young people.

The anti-war rally at noon on Jan. 15 at the United Nations commemorated Martin Luther King's birthday. Five to ten thousand, mostly Black youth, showed up to find that the police had barricaded streets and were keeping all but a few hundred away from the U.N. By the time the police allowed demonstrators in, everyone was talking about police repression.

One young woman told about her father dying in Vietnam, and her mother's struggle to raise a family on the pittance received from the government. Many talked about their brothers and sisters in the Gulf, and about poverty, racism—and the police. After a white woman in the crowd began loudly chanting, "We're here for peace, not to fight police," a young man took the mike to say, "We know what we're here for. We know we're here for peace...But you can't expect us to separate that from 500 years of oppression."

Angry outpourings greeted the news that war had begun. From Columbia University, over 1,000 students marched to Times Square—three miles—and joined 3-4,000 others there and at the U.N. The next night the numbers at the march swelled to nearly 10,000.

—Laurie Cashdan

## Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

In mid-January, in the dead of the Russian winter, as the rest of the world concentrated on the beginnings of the war in the Persian Gulf, Gorbachev's state hit out at the tiny Baltic lands. Gobbled up by Russia after the 1939 Hitler-Stalin Pact, they have persisted in their drive for independence. The first target was Lithuania, where on the night of Jan. 12-13, the Russian Army invaded and took over the central TV and radio broadcast center, using live ammunition and tanks.

As 14 unarmed defenders lay dead, a shadowy "Salvation Committee" announced that it had taken over Lithuania. Within hours thousands of Lithuanians mobilized to defend their elected parliament, while in Moscow itself, 4,000 paraded outside the Kremlin, denouncing the bloody military crackdown.

For a day, Gorbachev disappeared from view, and the talking was left to the sinister Boris Pugo, the new Interior Minister, a ministry combining what in the U.S. would be considered the FBI, the state police and the national guard. In classic Orwellian fashion, Pugo said that the violence was started by the unarmed Lithuanians. Pugo is the former KGB head in Latvia, part of a whole group of reactionary apparatchiks whom Gorbachev has appointed to high positions in recent weeks, ever since the dramatic December resignation of liberal Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who warned that "dictatorship is imminent."

By Jan. 16, hundreds of thousands marched in Lithuania to bury the martyrs, and in Moscow, 300 writers, artists and intellectuals called for massive protests on Jan. 20. Their call was answered by 300,000 marchers in Moscow, who jammed the snow-covered streets outside the Kremlin, carrying banners such as "Down with the Communist Party" and "Lithuania, We Are with You."

Within hours, the military/police/Party apparatus issued its response: Pugo's Interior Ministry "Black Beret" shock troops attacked a police station in Latvia, briefly occupying it and killing five people.

As 1991 began, Gorbachev's Russian Empire was fac-

## Baltics crackdown: Gorbachev unmasked



Lithuanians protest Russian invasion.

ing its deepest challenge yet: a choice between repression or possible dismemberment and revolution. Like all rulers, however "liberal," Gorbachev has turned to the most reactionary forces in order to curb "rebellion" and "chaos." Now on his side will be his former critics like Major General Viktor Filatov, editor of an army newspaper. Last year, Filatov published an excerpt from Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, and now he plans to publish the anti-Semitic fabrication "Protocols of the Elders of Zion."

The winds of freedom which blew in 1989-90 in Eastern Europe have now reached the Soviet Union. By this time, the contradictory character of the result of those movements is also visible in Eastern Europe, where those societies are sprouting new exploitative ruling classes, who are moving toward "free market" capitalism, layoffs, and economic austerity. (See N&L, December 1990.)

At the same time, the mass discontent grows deeper and deeper inside the Russian Empire. Not only the Baltic peoples, but all the other nationalities are demanding autonomy or independence. In Georgia, for example, 90% of the youth are evading the draft. All across the Soviet Union, working people have seen a decline in their conditions of life and labor, and, like the intellectuals and the youth, they are totally disillusioned with the system.

Russian state-capitalism seems to be reaching the point of total crisis. While the dying system still possesses much power, including nuclear weapons, it is doubtful that even severe repression will be able to put it back together again. But a long period of crisis and violence may be ahead.

## Turkey 'day of action'

On Jan. 3, close to a million workers in Turkey held a one-day general strike, staying home from work in a "day of action" that defied a government ban making strikes illegal. The workers struck for improvement in their dismal pay and an end to the crippling anti-labor laws passed after the 1980 coup.

The general strike was initiated by the 48,000 coal miners in Zonguldak who began a strike Nov. 30. One of their main demands is to substantially increase the miners' minimum daily wage of \$3.20.

To demonstrate their situation and their resolve, miners went to work barefoot, shaved off half of their moustaches, and initiated divorce proceedings in the courts saying they couldn't support their wives any longer. On the first day of the miners' strike, over 40,000 miners, wives and children demonstrated in Zonguldak.

Miners began to march from Zonguldak to the capital Ankara after the general strike. They were confronted by police several days later, who tried to block the road with water cannon and bulldozers. Protests have been mounted against the police for arresting striking miners in the march.

## In-person report on life in Germany after unification

*Editor's note: We are turning over a section of "Our Life and Times" to the following in-person reports from Germany and Czechoslovakia.*

**Frankfurt, Germany**—The situation in the "united" Germany has become very difficult. The unemployment rate in the eastern part is now 6.5% (90,000 people), 21% higher than one year ago. Nobody will invest one Deutschmark in the economy of the eastern part. It seems that the capitalists want to wait until everything is destroyed there.

Because of this, a lot of people from the eastern part are leaving their cities and coming to the big cities like Berlin, Frankfurt and Hamburg. Once there, the old problems become even harder: no work, no housing, no money to pay for the consumer products they want to have. The result: higher crime rates, more people who take drugs, more alcoholics, etc.

Then we have the old story: the people look for an enemy: not the social reality of capitalism as responsible for their situation. No, it is the foreigners. It is terrible to see that prejudice against foreigners is higher among

people from East Germany. The neo-Nazis pick up these irrational feelings and organize them. One part of these groups persecutes foreigners. Last December some of them fought against the police in Leipzig because their opinion is that the law protects the people of other countries and does nothing for them.

The Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) [the renamed Communist Party of East Germany—ed.] claims that its past is not a problem for its future. What they do is too easy. The real problems of the breakdown of the East German system and its dogmatic state-capitalist socialism are not part of their discussions.

They deal with "their" money just like Count Otto Lamsdorff from the Free Democratic Party and other politicians from the Christian Democratic union. The PDS fights for "its" money, regardless of the importance of the civil rights movements like New Forum and alliance '90. For example, Mr. Gysi [head of the PDS—ed.] had promised in June that the building now called "House of Democracy" in East Berlin would be given to New Forum and other groups. The owner is

the PDS. And now: nothing.

Additionally, because of the policies of the PDS it becomes more difficult for people like me who call themselves the "undogmatic Left" or "New Left." But we can criticize the reality of capitalism because capitalism destroys people here and exploits the Third World countries. My conclusion: the concrete utopia of human liberation is the practical critique of the actual unfreedom of human beings.

—Peter-Erwin Jansen  
*Editor's Note: Jansen is editor of Thinking Liberation, a Political Imperative: Materials on Herbert Marcuse (German edition, 1989)*

## Czech laws hurt workers

**Prague, Czechoslovakia**—Three important bills were presented in the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, the parliament, in the first week of December. All three of them concern important aspects of trade unions. The first was a law on unemployment, the second on collective bargaining, the third was an amendment of the labor code. As soon as the unions were told about the proposals on collective bargaining and the labor code they proclaimed a strike alert. They also met with members of the government and the Civic Forum MPs (members of Parliament) for discussions, the result of which seemed at first to be a compromise.

In its final form the law on employment stipulates the citizen's right to unemployment including free work mediation, requalification as well as unemployment benefits. This should not be lower than the poverty line.

The law on collective bargaining stipulates how labor relations between employees, represented by trade unions, and employers should be fixed when a collective contract is being negotiated. A strike is permitted only when there is a dispute on negotiations. The unions can call a strike only if at least 50% of the employees agree. No wages are paid during the strike. On the other hand—which is totally new in Czechoslovakia—the employers are permitted to use a lock-out during the dispute. Disputes arising out of the collective contract will be solved by arbitrators or courts.

The third law dealt a blow to any hope of workers taking part in management. All the unions could achieve was a stipulation that the employees are entitled to be informed on the management, development and control of the enterprise through their unions. The unions regarded this as insufficient and contrary to what they had negotiated with the government.

As far back as last spring the government had promised to put down a separate bill on the workers' share in management of enterprises, but so far it did not fulfill the promise and is now hardly willing to ever do so.

Union spokesman called the discussions in the parliament and their results—all three bills were approved thus becoming laws—"a stop to the historical development of workers' rights." At a time when the minister of strategic planning declares the price rise next year may reach 40% whereas real wages had to fall by 15% and unemployment would be around 6-7%, the adoption of these laws is indeed a defeat of the whole workers' movement.

—Correspondent

## Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

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

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

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

Dunayevskaya's philosophic comprehension of her creation and development of Marxist-Humanism, especially as expressed in her 1980s writings, presents the vantage point for re-creating her ideas anew. Seeking to grasp that vantage point for ourselves and make it available to all who struggle for freedom, we have published Dunayevskaya's original 1953 philosophic breakthrough and her final 1987 Presentation on the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy in *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* (1989), and have donated new supplementary volumes to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection. News and Letters Committees aims at developing and concretizing this body of ideas for our time.

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