

The military victory George Bush has now won against Iraq is but the first battle in a drive for single world mastery, for which the Middle East is but the starting point. By the time Bush finally called a temporary halt to his murderous onslaught against Iraq, tens of thousands of its people lay dead and both Iraq and Kuwait were reduced to cratered wastelands. For seven months Bush permitted nothing to slow his merciless drive to crush Iraq—from his rush to send hundreds of thousands of troops to the Gulf in August, the fastest mobilization in history; to the merciless bombing unleashed in January, the most concentrated in all of history; to the ground attack launched one week ago, the most massive since World War II.

The collapse of the Iraqi Army in face of this onslaught also reflects the fact that the Iraqi masses felt no desire to die for the sake of their brutal dictator, Saddam Hussein. Whether Hussein remains on the scene or not, however, the U.S. intends on keeping a huge military force in the area for months if not years to come. Bush is determined that no revolutionary pole of opposition emerge in the area in the aftermath of Hussein's defeat.

It is not alone a question of the Middle East. Since

the very start of this crisis, Bush has used his conflict with Hussein to engage in such total militarization as to smother the very idea of revolution. The intensity of this battle for the minds of humanity, which will only escalate in the weeks and months to come, means that far from entering any new era of "peace and stability," the world is now facing the most dangerous period of retrogression since the advent of nuclear weapons.

Iraq became a testing ground for a whole array of new military technology—Patriot missiles, Tomahawk cruise missiles, the M1-A1 battle tank, laser-guided "smart bombs," and the cluster bombs that Pentagon spokesmen called "steel rain." Reporters marveled over the "kill boxes" assigned to Air Force pilots—grid coordinates for air attacks on computer-generated targets.

And while the justified fears that Saddam Hussein would use chemical weapons never materialized, ignored by the media is the fact that the most barbaric weapons yet used in this war, including chemical weapons, were employed by the U.S. In the days leading up to the invasion, U.S. warplanes not only sprayed napalm on Iraqi forward positions, but "tested" a new type of chemical weapon—"fuel-air explosives." This hideous bomb

disperses fuel droplets over an area larger than a city block, then ignites them, suffocating all beneath from lack of oxygen and blowing them up with the force of the concussion. Forgotten, as it lay hidden by the Pentagon military jargon about high-tech weaponry, was the human dimension.

AMERICA'S HIGH-TECH MY LAI

For a fleeting moment, there was worldwide revulsion at the ongoing carnage, when—at 4:30 AM Feb. 13—two laser-guided "smart bombs" found the ventilation duct on the roof of a Baghdad air-raid shelter, penetrated it, and incinerated more than 300 civilians, nearly all women and children. It was America's high-tech My Lai massacre.

The human dimension was seen in the faces of the Iraqis frantically trying to rescue the victims, and in those who searched for relatives among bodies burned nearly beyond recognition. It was seen in the mass demonstrations the next day in the Middle East, North Africa, and India, as millions rejected the Pentagon's lies that the shelter had been a "command and control center," and refused to reduce mass murder of civilians to

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NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

Vol. 36 — No. 2

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25¢

Capitalist war and production



by Felix Martin
Labor Editor

In this war in the Persian Gulf the soldiers, sailors and marines on both sides are the victims of George Bush and Saddam Hussein. They are the ones dying, and they are the ones who, if they live, will face the point of production after the war. In Iraq it will mean the labor of rebuilding from the terrible destruction that the bombs are raining down.

Here in the U.S. the soldiers will return to plant closings and unemployment as well as to the assembly line. I survived two wars, World War II and Korea, only to come home and go to work to produce for the next war to be fought by the next generation, my sons and daughters.

I worked for many years as a blue-collar worker at General Motors (GM), and what goes through my mind when I see and read about this war is the assembly

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Black World

Debate over socialism in S. Africa



by Lou Turner

"Africa will not be free through the mechanical development of material forces, but it is the hand of the African and his brain that will set into motion and implement the dialectics of the liberation of the continent."

—Frantz Fanon

In the year since the release of Nelson Mandela, the political life of the liberation movement in South Africa has at once entered a period of heightened self-confidence and sought to suppress the revolutionary democracy the Black masses have created over a decade and a half of uninterrupted struggle. A period of dissolution has set in, in South Africa.

RESPONSES TO SLOVO DISCUSSION

Into this process of dissolution enters South African Communist Party (SACP) chief, Joe Slovo, with his Stalinist "confession"—"Has Socialism Failed?" As noted in this column last month, two critical responses to Slovo's "discussion pamphlet" have appeared in the South African theoretical journal *Sapem* by Pallo Jordan, Information Secretary of the ANC (African National Congress) and a member of its National Executive Committee, and Prof. Archie Mafeje.

In his critique of Slovo, "Crisis of Conscience in the SACP: A Critical Review of Slovo's 'Has Socialism Failed?'" (*Sapem*, June 1990), Pallo Jordan's erudite tracing of the history of the Russian Revolution, the vi-

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Black America: The war abroad and the war at home

by John Alan

"The war in the Persian Gulf is wrong, unnecessary, unprincipled, and dirty...in violation of all standards of fundamental human rights," declared the over 100 Black civic and religious leaders who gathered in what was called a "National Afro-American Summit" in Harlem on Feb. 15 to call for an emergency UN assembly and to demand that George Bush declare an unconditional and immediate cease-fire to his "immoral and racist" war.

The meeting, primarily made up of Black religious leaders such as Rev. Calvin Butts of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, where the Summit was held, and Rev. Joseph Lowery of SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Council), was a reflection of the overwhelming mood of Black America. Indeed, in contrast to Bush's barbarism in the Persian Gulf, the whole celebration of African-American History Month this year has opened a debate on "should Black Americans fight in the Gulf war?" This was not a formal debate, but only a public expression of Blacks on how they felt about the war. The *Oakland Tribune* and other newspapers carried this question into the Black neighborhoods and found that most Black Americans were saying NO!

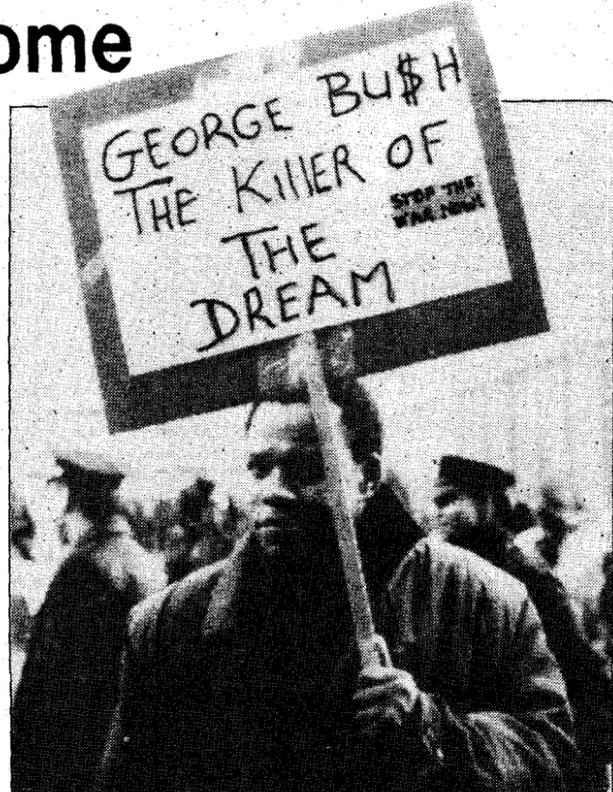
Brad Brown, the news editor of the *Oakland Tribune*, put this negative answer in the context of the deterioration of Black life in the inner cities, that in many instances is approaching Third World conditions. Brown wrote: "And on top of all this abuse, hate crimes against us are increasing, and are increasingly violent." Brown agreed with Bush that there are issues worth fighting for. "But for Black people those issues are right here at home."

"THE STATE OF BLACK AMERICA," 1991

What more damning evidence of what needs to be fought here at home than the fact that the Black infant mortality rate is twice that of whites and in some depressed areas even higher! Along with this high infant mortality rate has appeared the worsening phenomenon of poverty-stricken Black children. According to a recent study by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies nearly half of the nation's Black children live in poverty and "if current trends hold, for these children it will be increasingly hard to overcome the burdens imposed by poverty." The report pinpointed that the tremendous deepening of poverty among Black children began after 1979.

After a great deal of outrage and agitation for the administration to do something about the unconscionably high rate of infant mortality, Bush has finally sent to Congress a plan through Louis Sullivan, his Secretary of Health and Human Services. What Bush proposes to do is to simply take \$58 million from the existing programs that serve pregnant women, poor children and the homeless and redirect it to ten cities that have the highest rate of infant mortality.

Above all, the "State of Black America" is revealed in the fact that the current severe recession in the Black community "is a permanent feature of the American economy," as David Swinton, Dean of the School of Business at Jackson State University put it in the Urban League's annual report, using the latest Census Bu-



reau data to make his point. Blacks receive only three-fifths as much in income as whites and are three times more likely to fall below the poverty line.

When nationwide unemployment (of those who are still counted!) jumped to 6.2% at the beginning of the year and was seen as undeniable proof of the ongoing recession, Urban League president John Jacob said that rate would look like "full employment" to the Black community, where unemployment had jumped to 12.4%—and has been in double digits for a full decade. For Black teenagers it is 35.2%—officially.

In the face of this reality, Black Americans can only reject the total sham of a president who talks about freedom and self-determination for Kuwaitis at the same time that he vetoes a mild civil rights act on the false ground that it would set up a quota system in employment; sends out his hatchet man, William Bennett, to tell racists that the gutting of affirmative action is the president's top priority; and then shamelessly has one of his Black officials try to kill scholarships for minority students.

With a new version of the Civil Rights Act before him, Bush is as recalcitrant toward it as he was to the bill he vetoed at the end of last year. "The closest thing to quotas that I've seen is the disproportionate representation of African-Americans in the armed services," charged Michigan Congressman John Conyers. It is, nevertheless, one of the emergent contradictions of Black political leadership that even Conyers, a "left social democrat," voted for the House resolution authorizing Bush's use of military force in the Persian Gulf.

The word "quota" is one of Bush's code words. It is the political adhesive which binds right-wing racists to

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On International Women's Day, 1991

we are proud to announce a new, expanded edition of

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

to be published in late Spring by the University of Illinois Press

For the first time since this book was originally published in 1982, all three of Raya Dunayevskaya's major works—*Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution, and Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*—will be in print. At the same time, documents pertaining to the writing of those books, as well as Dunayevskaya's writings during the last year of her life, 1986-87, are available to the public in her Archives. (See page 4) Two unpublished documents from the Archives will be included in this edition as a new introduction.

FROM THE NEW FOREWORD BY ADRIENNE RICH:

In Luxemburg, Dunayevskaya portrays a brilliant, brave, and independent woman, passionately internationalist and anti-war, a believer in the people's "spontaneity" in the cause of freedom; a woman who saw herself as Marx's philosophical heir....But the biography does not stop here....Luxemburg's life and thought became a kind of jumping-off point into the present and the future—what she saw and didn't see, her limitations as well as her understanding.



Raya Dunayevskaya

FROM THE NEW INTRODUCTION BY RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA:

In Part Two on the Women's Liberation Movement...the point I chose to elaborate was...the conception of Women's Liberation not just as force but as Reason. The new here, however, was that the "proof" came from history itself—February 23, 1917. This was for purposes of showing that the women were the ones who initiated that [Russian] revolution. Even now I am not sure that we totally understand that that, in turn, depends on women

practicing the immediate problems inseparable from the philosophic context.

FROM ROSA LUXEMBURG, WOMEN'S LIBERATION, AND MARX'S PHILOSOPHY OF REVOLUTION:

The tremendous movement of women active in the illegal antiwar work was not limited to Germany; it was international throughout the war....With the beheading of the German Revolution, the women's movement was likewise stifled. The fact that the women had participated massively in revolutionary antiwar work did not assure a totally different stage for women once the revolution was beheaded....For precisely this reason we must turn to Marx—the whole of Marx. Without his philosophy of revolution, neither Women's Liberationists nor the whole of humanity will have discovered the ground that will assure the success of the revolution.

...not a single one of the post-Marx Marxists, beginning with Engels and continuing with Luxemburg, Zetkin, Lenin and Trotsky, all the way into our age with Mao, worked on the ground Marx had laid out, either on pre-capitalist societies or on the question of Women's Liberation. That is the ground that our age has dug out....That isn't because we are "smarter" than any of these great revolutionaries. It is because we, who have been struggling under the whip of the many counter-revolutions, do have one advantage—the maturity of our age. Ours is the age that has witnessed a movement from practice, the emergence of a whole new Third World...as well as Women's Liberation....



Women- Worldwide

by Mary Joe Grey

Women's right to abortion remains under siege:

- In Maryland, a law was passed Feb. 18, granting women unrestricted access to abortions up to the time a fetus is able to survive outside the womb, but requiring parental notification for underage women.
- In Michigan, the state appeals court struck down, Feb. 22, a ban on state-paid abortions for poor women, saying it violated women's rights to equal protection. The suit involved a 15-year-old denied a Medicaid-funded abortion after being gang-raped.
- In Chicago, Illinois Masonic Hospital "sold its soul" to the Catholic Church by agreeing to stop performing abortions in exchange for the right to buy church property. Protests have fallen on deaf ears. Also Cook County Hospital—most of whose patients are poor—is being petitioned by two Catholic nuns to resume abortion services banned by the county board in 1980. In advocating a woman's right to choose, the nuns said: "Every woman and every man has a free will and this is a gift from God."

Under the banner "Women of the World Say No to War," 500 German women demonstrated in a strike for peace, Jan. 23, in Cologne and Hamburg, and appealed to all women to strike every Wednesday. They said: "Neither the forceful occupation of Kuwait by the Iraq government, nor the rich countries' interest for cheap oil justify a war that will be a catastrophe for mankind and particularly for the 'Third World' and the environment." Women from Mexico announced similar strikes.

—From Women Living Under Muslim Laws

The Fourth National Conference of Women took place recently in Kerala, South India. This was the next conference after the one in Bihar two years ago. The main division was between autonomous women's groups and women's sections of Left parties. Even the government of Kerala, which is the CPM—meaning Communist Party-Marxist—was very much against the conference. Most of the working women in Kerala had been organized by the CPM and maybe they saw the conference as a threat. It was decided that in the whole country we will take Communalism as the issue—not only for International Women's Day on March 8, but for the whole year.

—From Pila
Bihar, India

On International Women's Day

Stop the militarization of our minds

by Terry Moon

That hundreds of people—most of them women and children—were massacred by George Bush's 2,000-pound bombs while they huddled in a clearly marked air raid shelter in residential Baghdad, shines a white-hot light on the necessity of international solidarity. Our celebration of International Women's Day on March 8 is infused with rage that the lives of our Arab sisters mean so little to this U.S. government that it snuffs out hundreds by simply pressing a button that directs a bomb to fall.

While U.S. officials repeat that it is "not United States policy to inflict civilian casualties," we know that is a lie. We need only mention the names Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Dresden, My Lai, to know that U.S. policy has never been concerned for the lives of civilians. That is only one reason that women have always—always—opposed wars of imperialism, of conquest, of a supposed "new world order" that is simply another way of saying imperialism.

Women have a proud and passionate history of anti-militarism from Jeanette Rankin to Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin to Jane Addams. Today women have come out in great numbers against Bush's imperial war as participants in all the demonstrations and as women—from protests in Detroit to 200 women staff and faculty at the conservative University of Chicago who wrote an open letter declaring, "We refuse a war that may result in the death of untold thousands."

Women in the military have bravely gone public in their opposition. One is Yolanda Huet-Vaughn who went AWOL and said in a news conference, "I am refusing orders to be an accomplice in what I consider an immoral, inhumane and unconstitutional act." Undoubtedly there are many more in the military quietly doing everything possible to keep from participating in Bush's bloody ambitions. (See page 11.)

But even though the anti-militarist movement has a strong women's dimension, this war is different. It is not only that women are serving in the military in greater numbers than ever before; it is, above all, that we are witnessing serious disorientation within the women's movement itself.

CRISIS OF THE MIND

Thus the National Organization for Women, despite opposing this war, stupidly argues that women should be drafted as well as men and that women should be equal in the U.S. military, in this blood-for-oil war machine that has killed Iraqi civilians by the thousands.

More telling is what women wrote who are in the col-

lective that publishes off our backs (oob), a feminist paper publishing for over 20 years. What seemed to unite most of their separate statements on the war, in their February issue, was a feeling of helplessness, of being "so horror-stricken that I want only to weep," coupled with a blaming of U.S. women for the war.

One oob writer says women "believe Bush because they want to believe Bush, they want to be citizens of an imperial power." A second actually supports the war while a third pontificates that, "It is stumbling yet again on the blindness, on the stupidity and crudeness of North Americans that horrifies me about this situation."

While there is no question that many women do support Bush's war, it is fantastic to blame U.S. women for it. Isn't this attitude a capitulation to Bush's "drive toward the militarization of our minds" that Olga Domanski wrote about in last month's *News & Letters*? In that lead article she wrote, "the new anti-war movement...confronts a challenge deeper than that faced by any earlier generation—a veritable crisis of the mind..." One oob writer personifies this "crisis of the mind" when she writes that ever since she heard of the bombing of Iraq, "I've felt heavy, blocked, like my skull was being scraped from the inside by a dull blade."

This same politically active feminist can express such a feeling and say at the same time, "We are stupid, crude, ignoble; we cannot think, but instead grab onto what we are told is power." This blaming of the masses is a sorry result of suffering through an age of counter-revolution, of failed revolutions, and of revolutions transformed into their opposites and ten years of a brutal Reagan retrogression. What we must fight is that, as Domanski put it, "At this moment in history the drive to militarize the minds of humanity has been pursued relentlessly."

A VISION OF FREEDOM

Blaming the masses for this war, or calling U.S. women backwards or power-hungry, is not the answer to Bush's aim to make us think that revolution—a new human society—is impossible. To counter Bush's inhuman view of our future we need "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." We cannot let Bush smother the very idea of freedom.

It is freedom after all—the necessity of it for women, for all of us, to live full, productive human lives—that has to be the basis of our international solidarity and our anti-militarism this International Women's Day.

Women's silent protest



Detroit, Mich.—Over 300 women took part in "Women's Silent Anti-War Protest" Feb. 6 in downtown Detroit. Organized by women from Wayne State University, the march included feminists and students, Arab, Jewish, Black. Their statement read:

"We are women of varied ethnic heritage, in opposition to the war on Iraq. We demand an immediate cease fire. We wear black in the spirit of the Women in Black of Israel and Palestine who are calling for a dialogue to restore the human rights of the Palestinian people. By disregarding divisive boundaries imposed by empires that wage war, we unite as women of the earth against the war mentality..."

"We reject the values of societies arranged by relations of dominance as the Western world's war against Native and 'Third World' peoples....As mothers, sisters and daughters, we wish to replace hierarchy with community and the value of power with that of mutual respect."

—Women in Unity Against the War

Have a revolutionary
International Woman's Day

Layoffs, unemployment in every sphere

from the factory...

Chicago, Ill.—In the same month of November, 1990 that the U.S. economy lost 200,000 manufacturing jobs, the Swift-Eckrich meatpacking plant in Chicago closed its doors. My co-workers and I have been looking for factory work since the beginning of this year, but have found nothing. One woman described it as "trying to find a needle in a haystack. You don't know where to go. You don't know who's hiring."

That same woman and her friend, each of whom have more than 20 years' factory experience, go out in the morning and drive from factory to factory. They rarely find more than one that is taking applications. One morning the only place they found was a Jewel warehouse. The receptionist started laughing when she heard where they had worked before, because so many Eckrich people already had been there.

I have submitted more than 25 applications, but have received only one call from an employer, a large candy manufacturer. That company requires a high school diploma (which my friends do not have) and conducts an extensive interview and testing process. A woman taking one test with me exclaimed, "We have to know all this just to pack candy bars?" Of ten people who survived, I was the only one with factory experience.

We would start as "temporary associates," which means: wages that are about \$3 per hour less than those earned by permanent employees; no benefits; and a maximum of 1,000 hours (about six months) of work within a 12-month period. After two months of searching, this is all I could find! The AFL-CIO says that there are about 5.4 million workers who are working part-time because they cannot find full-time work.

Even though I have passed all of their tests, including the physical examination and the drug test, I still am not working! I suppose the company is waiting to see how the recession affects candy sales. I keep looking for another job, but not every day anymore. I just can't get up every morning and force myself to do something so futile.

—Former Eckrich worker

...to the office

Los Angeles, Cal.—The ruling class has given us their "Happy New Year" greeting card by starting an inhuman war in the Middle East and by massive layoffs in industry after industry, including the banking industry where I am employed. I have witnessed the layoffs

No raise, what bonus?

Carson, Cal.—Workers at ARCO's Los Angeles Refinery are demanding parity with Chevron where wages are \$1 to \$3 higher. Mobil workers just received a \$1.98 raise as part of their struggle for parity. What we ARCO workers got instead was a vague bonus program.

The production, quality and safety norms the bonus program is based on weren't published until the day after we voted it in. One clause gives management the right to change the goals, exclude any individual employee or even stop the program without consultation with the union, which, one woman operator said, "is just as good as a blank check to bust the union." The company isn't even telling us what size bonus they're talking about!

The company spends a lot of time congratulating us on 1½ million work hours without a "lost workday injury," but doesn't correct unsafe working conditions. They pass out flyers telling us all about good housekeeping on the job and that "all accidents are avoidable." Some workers concerned about safety have started to keep a log of "unreported" accidents.

The company and the union have been holding meetings called "Partners in Change," more commonly called "Partners in Crime" or even "Partners in Concessions" by the workers. This is where the company first presented the bonus program. Despite what the union is doing, a lot of people are not letting go of demands for parity and safe working conditions.

—Member, OCAW Local 1-128

of more than 3,000 co-workers and friends from my place of employment.

Employees who had been working for more than 15 or 25 years were given only a two- or three-day notice to leave the premises. I saw employees crying with frustration and disappointment when they received their parting "package deal." These are people who have families, houses and many other obligations that have been imposed by this capitalist society. Many of these people will never find another job in this catastrophic economic crisis or will be forced to accept a job for lower pay.

When the rulers have prosperity, they take the glory for themselves. When things are going into bankruptcy, they blame the disaster on the workers. The rulers always look at the workers as an expense, but they are the real expense, since the workers produce all the wealth of every capitalist nation.

In those departments not touched by the layoffs, the speed-up, policing and harassment have increased tremendously, similar to an assembly line. No one is secure. Many workers are so nervous they are unable to sleep. Everyone awaits the news from the managers, to know who will be the next unfortunate ones to receive a "package deal."

—Manolo Tavares

Korean workers sue U.S. multinational

Editor's note: Three Korean workers, Ms. Yoo Jum Soon, Ms. Lee Yeon Ree and Mr. Kang Young Hyo spoke in Chicago about their fight against the multinational Pico Products, manufacturer of electronic cable TV components, headquartered in Liverpool, N.Y. Pico Products fled Korea with no notice in February 1989, owing 300 workers back wages and compensation. Support can be sent to: "Pico Workers Support Committee," Jinsoo Kim, Center for Constitutional Rights, 666 Broadway, 7th Floor, New York, NY 10012. We print excerpts from their talks below.

Our people's struggle began in February 1989 with the incident where the company president, Bernard Hitchcock, fled after having profited from the company. Since 1989 we tried everything we could possibly do, including demonstrating in front of the American Embassy in Seoul. When we came to the U.S. in April 1990, we demonstrated in front of the Pico Company which is located in Syracuse, N.Y., and we visited the State Department.

As a last resort we decided to bring a lawsuit against the Pico Company. Federal District Judge Thomas McAvoy upheld the court's jurisdiction on Oct. 9, 1990. We are told this decision will set a precedent, because there has never been a case where a company that has run away from another country was actually going to face a trial in the U.S.

We don't see the Pico case as simply a confrontation between South Korean workers versus one American company president who fled Korea. We believe it has much more implication and significance in that it is challenging the multinational corporations who are in constant search for lower wages in Third World countries. I believe that causes a lot of interest among the workers in the U.S. because they are the ones who suffer from the consequences of such behavior.

I would like to briefly talk about the labor conditions. The ventilation system in the factory was very bad. After working about an hour what you have is smoke with lead in it. When you go home you bleed and cough.

The majority of the workers are women. We have to wake up early in the morning to make sure our children go to school. After that we go to work and then by the time we get back it's usually around 11 or 12 at night. The perception about Korean workers, and especially women workers, is that they are very docile. Because of that preconceived notion a lot of multinational companies come into Korea and hire women workers.

The wage is very low in South Korea. If you were to work eight or nine hours a day for 30 days in a month, your wage would be \$160 for the month. The management, many times, broke their promise to raise our wages. Also our work was tripled by the fact that a lot of women left so that one person was actually doing the work of three people. Because of that a lot of women's anger was channeled into the organizing effort.

When I was in Korea, I had often heard of the importance of international solidarity. However, I never really realized until I came to the U.S. what it means to have solidarity. Another thing that I realized is that workers, regardless of where we are, whether we are in the first world or Third World, we all share the same thing. And I do strongly believe that true liberation for workers can come about.

Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

line. It seems like war and production are produced in the same way. There are the officers and/or foremen on the one side, and in both places—the war zone and the factory—on the other side are the workers, the "grunts," doing the suffering and doing the dying.

I read an article where it said that the U.S. soldiers had not yet worked themselves into a "fever of hate." It said that "enemy is a word used by the officers, not always by the grunts." When I read about a marine major talking about "hurting the enemy" and trying to make his men feel the same, I see him having a lot in common with the foreman on the line and his drive to always have "production greater today than yesterday."

When the soldiers come back from this war, it isn't only that they will face the drive for "production greater today than yesterday," but many will not be able to find any job in production. For Bush's war in the Persian Gulf is happening at the same time we are in continuous recession.

In the 1980s GM closed a lot of its plants, moving overseas in search of cheap labor. Other workers lost their jobs to automation. And GM isn't the only capitalist corporation in trouble.

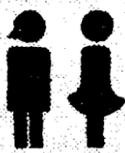
Sears Roebuck announced it was eliminating an additional 9,000 jobs to cut expenses, which will bring the number of U.S. workers cut to 30,000 by the end of this year. U.S. Air will lay off over 3,500 workers. On the West Coast the biggest department store chain, Carter Hawley-Hale, has just filed for bankruptcy under Chapter 11, which is how this large capitalist corporation can continue to operate without its capitalist creditors seizing its assets.

War and production in a capitalist system. How much longer can we allow this to keep going? The government uses our young to fight wars. The ones that come back are used in the mines, mills and factories to produce wealth to fight the next war, with the next generation of youths being under the orders of that next President acting as commander-in-chief.

Dow hot, jobs not



Up 71 Dow leaps past 2,900
Page 31



9,000 more jobs cut at Sears
Page 31



8,200 new layoffs at airlines
Page 33

This graphic illustration of the state of the U.S. economy appeared on the front page of the Feb. 12, 1991 *Chicago Sun-Times*.

A community destroyed

Poletown: Community Betrayed by Jeannie Wylie (University of Illinois Press, 1989)

Poletown: Community Betrayed documents the struggle of an integrated working-class Detroit neighborhood against demolition in 1980-81 for construction of General Motors' Detroit-Hamtramck Assembly Center. Forty-two hundred people were ultimately displaced. The plant opened in 1985, two years late, with 1,500 employees instead of the promised 6,000.

Wylie, a reporter and participant, describes the determination and creativity of the community. Demonstrations, legal challenges and letter-writing were all in vain. Finally, in May of 1981, up to 40 people occupied their beloved Immaculate Conception Church until it was torn down in a round-the-clock operation in July. Wylie's extensive quotes from the participants and David C. Turnley's moving photographs make their story come to life.

Equally vivid are descriptions of the forces and moves against the neighborhood effort. The 1980 Michigan Uniform Condemnation Act permits "quick take"—no waiting for the resolution of legal challenges—of property when new construction is deemed to serve a public purpose. The Catholic Church hierarchy refused all appeals by the community, supporting the rationale of the city that the desperate need for jobs overruled all other needs. Father Joe Karasiewicz of Immaculate Conception Church, however, was a focus of the resistance: "These people are worse than the Communists in Poland...this property was taken away from the people against their will." Wylie documents the political collusion of Detroit Mayor Coleman A. Young with General Motors' corporate interest.

Even though Wylie's book tells of a defeat, it is important for activists and revolutionaries who want to continue the struggle. From this viewpoint, its lack of analysis, conclusions and opinions is a weakness. Wylie mentions, but does not emphasize, a relationship both to Solidarnosc and its fate in Poland and to the liberation theology struggles in Latin America. She does not speculate on the possible different outcome had the community forged genuine and massive links to rank-and-file labor. (The UAW kept very quiet.)

Wylie stops short of an indictment of capitalism, state-capitalism, as the system which allows these kinds of things to occur. More discussion of these ideas would have given direction to the next phase of the struggle. But as a documentary and advocate of the people, **Poletown** is worth-while reading.

—Susan Van Gelder

News & Letters

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From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya Marxist-Humanist Archives

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

Part II

Editor's note: The following consists of excerpts of Parts II, III and IV of "Marxist-Humanism, 1983: The Summation that is a New Beginning, Objectively and Subjectively," a speech delivered on Jan. 1, 1983; the Introduction and Part I were published in our January-February, 1991 issue. We publish this articulation of "the new moment of philosophic development" reached with the publication in 1982 of the third work of Dunayevskaya's "trilogy of revolution" as part of our preparation for the new stage that will be reached this Spring, when a new edition of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution will be published by the University of Illinois Press. All footnotes were added by the editors.

II. THE UNCHAINED DIALECTIC IN MARX, 1843-1883, AND IN MARXIST-HUMANISM, 1953-1983

It was Marx who unchained the Hegelian dialectic by demystifying the "negation of negation," designating it as a "new Humanism" in 1844, and as "revolution in permanence" in 1850, while in 1857 recreating Hegel's "absolute movement of becoming" as integral to what would follow capitalism when revolutionary socialism came to full bloom. Nor did Marx stop in 1867 when he finished his greatest work, *Capital*, where he re-created the dialectic as "new passions and new forces." In the last decade of his life the creative nature of the mind of Marx, founder of a whole new continent of thought and of revolution, was still discovering "new moments."

These new revolutionary moments of human development became ground for organization. So integral were organizational forms and revolutionary principles that, as we have seen, he concluded that the form of the First International which he had headed was "no longer realisable in its first historical form after the fall of the Paris Commune." The point was not to "bargain about principles." Only the "all-around development of the individual" would prove that humanity reached the end of the division between mental and manual labor. Then the new society could operate on the new principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need." In a word, both the destruction of the State and the end of the division between mental and manual labor must be achieved for the principle of "the absolute movement of becoming" to become reality—when practiced as the "all-around development of the individual." Nothing less than that could be called Communism.

When the Russian Revolution did not succeed in extending itself internationally, when world capitalism regained life and Stalin was victorious in a new form of state-capitalism, post-Marx Marxists proved incapable of following Marx's Promethean vision. This failure created a theoretic void: inability to face the new reality of

the post-Marx age. Even those who did balk at any support of WWII, refusing to use the rationale of that "Left" which explained its class-collaborationism with the claim that they were not really supporting an imperialist war, but supporting anti-Nazi activities—and Trotsky and the American Trotskyites certainly did oppose the imperialist war—nevertheless ended by tail-ending Stalinism.

We who did fully break with Trotskyism and felt compelled to analyze the new reality of state-capitalism—and the Johnson-Forest Tendency did represent a great theoretical advance in that respect—nevertheless failed to work out what the Tendency was for instead of only what it was against. In a word, it had not reached Marxist-Humanism except in the merest embryo form—rejection of state-capitalism and looking with new eyes at labor's creativity in working out new forms of revolt. Nevertheless, were we to skip over the State-Capitalist Tendency's challenge to Trotskyism, we would leave an



historic loophole on the quintessential relationship between philosophy and revolution, between theory and practice, not to mention the search for the link to the absolutely indispensable creative mind of Marx. The historic link must be re-established if we are serious about revolution in our age. That new beginning came before establishment of organization—*News and Letters Committees*, 1955.

Before the establishment of the Committees we had, when still a part of the State-Capitalist Tendency, broken through philosophically on the Absolute Idea. That happened in 1953.¹ It is this, just this, catching of the new in our age that laid the ground for seeing the link of continuity with Marx. It becomes necessary to stay a little longer on those two years, 1953 to 1955, to work out, in full, our own contributions, not just as against Trotskyism but also against Johnsonism.²

Here, again, we need to return to what Hegel called "The Three Attitudes to Objectivity." Actually it is four attitudes, but the fourth, the Dialectic, being the whole, is not given a number since it occupies all the works of Hegel, and is Hegel and Marx. It is the "attitude" that

1. Dunayevskaya's 1953 breakthrough on the Absolute Idea, contained in her *Letters* of May 12 and 20, 1953, are available in *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism*.

2. "Johnsonism" refers to the tendency associated with C.L.R. James; "J. R. Johnson" was his pseudonym during the 1940s and 1950s.

The Marxist-Humanist Archives

"Our theoretic contributions for the past three decades not only parallel the 30-year movement from practice, but anticipate the future in the present"

—Raya Dunayevskaya, 1983

• Dunayevskaya's confrontation with Hegel on the creativity of cognition, on philosophy's power to transform the future:

"Whatever Hegel said, and meant, about the Owl of Minerva spreading its wings only at dusk simply does not follow from the objectivity of the drive, the summation in which the advance is immanent in the present.... When subjected to the dialectic method from which, according to Hegel, no truth can escape, the conclusion turns out to be a

new beginning. There is no trap in thought. Though it is finite, it breaks through the barriers of the given, reaches out, if not to infinity, surely beyond the historic moment."

—Raya Dunayevskaya, "Hegel's Absolute as New Beginning," 1974

• Marxist-Humanism's projection of the inseparability of the 1955-56 Montgomery Bus Boycott from the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, which anticipated the decades of new Black struggles which followed:

"There is the forceful voice of the Alabama Negroes who have taken the matter of freedom into their own hands and have never let go in all these months. Because the spontaneity of the walkout and the organization of their forces to keep up the boycott was a simultaneous action, it is here that

we can see what is truly historic and contains our future.... The greatest thing of all in this Montgomery, Alabama, spontaneous organization was its own working existence."—Raya Dunayevskaya, *Marxism and Freedom*, 1957

• Dunayevskaya's 1986-87 articulation of a new, deadly stage of global retrogression in life and in thought which she characterized as a "changed world":

"The changed world I've been talking so much about since Reagan's bombing of Libya actually began at the end of 1983 with the invasion of Grenada. It meant the Caribbean and Central America. It meant "peaceful co-existence" with Khomeini's Iran... [T]he counter-revolution began from

within Grenada which paved the way for Reagan...."

—Raya Dunayevskaya, "What Is Marxist-Humanism? How to Project It At Momentous Historic Moments?" 1987

Today we face not only George Bush's bloodthirsty war against Iraq and the objectivity of U.S. imperialism's present drive for single world domination, but the profound disorientation of the Left. Precisely because the power of a philosophy of liberation is needed now to help transform this murderous reality and anticipate a new human future, we invite you to join with us in studying the Marxist-Humanist Archives. To obtain the Archives and the Guides to the collection, see ad page 7.

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Marxist-Humanism: Its Summation as New Beginning

is most relevant here. It is the relationship of subjectivity to objectivity when that subjectivity is not mere Ego, but the historic-philosophic subjectivity which, in place of stopping at first negation or mere reaction, goes on to second negation—i.e., absolute negativity which alone reveals totality by developing it as a new beginning. That new beginning relates all the four new moments in Marx to the question of philosophy of revolution as ground of organization.

Let's catch our breath right here because the "new Humanism" for our age that we represent must not be "taken for granted." It is the re-creation of Marx's new Humanism at a time when. But this "when" means both a "before" and "after," that is to say, it is the "when" that is our age. It signifies the stage of human development which was brought onto the historic stage of today by actual revolutions in East Europe, in the Middle East, in Africa, in the West; and in multi-colors of Black, Yellow and Brown and Red; with a whole new generation of Youth and of Women's Liberationists—as well as by a movement from theory that, though not from the same origins or as total as ours was nevertheless as philosophic as Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth*. Far from being taken for granted, our "new Humanism" must be so fully internalized as to become a second negativity type of "instinct"—that is, reappear at all historic turning points spontaneously.

This being so, we have to take a deeper look at our break from Johnsonism and see that far from taking it for granted it happened "by no accident whatever." The break was not only because we were the opposite of the Johnsonism to which C.L.R. James tried to reduce the Johnson-Forest Tendency, but because the Marxist-Humanism we became is so new that the Great Divide in Marxism that Lenin represents in history became a point for further theoretic departure. Note that I say this not in the sense of a single issue as I did when I considered how wrong is Lenin's concept of the vanguard party for our age. This time the point of reference is to philosophy itself, which Lenin did finally see as "dialectic proper" but nevertheless stopped his *Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic* half a paragraph short of the end of the Absolute Idea. It is on that point that I first took issue with his *Abstract* in the *Philosophic Notebooks*. It is true that I explained my "daring" as being necessitated by the objective situation which followed his death, so that whereas he saw Stalinism only in embryo, we had to suffer through a whole quarter-century of it. But that had not stopped me from refusing to remain only on the "political" scene. Instead I went on my own to *Philosophy of Mind*, and afterward discovered that I had also gone past where Marx broke off in his "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic."

Marx, unlike Lenin, had, naturally, not dismissed the rest as inconsequential. The totality of the Hegelian dialectic "in and for itself" had not only been fully inwardized, but Marx had re-created it in the fact that by then he had discovered a whole new continent of thought and of revolution which has remained the ground for Marxists, and will continue to be our ground until we have finally and totally uprooted capitalism.

Nevertheless, it is a fact that our age had to return to Hegel in order to work out that which Marx had not "translated." What had not become concrete for the other age had become imperative and urgent for ours. For our age, however, that philosophical mediation became alive as forces of revolution as Reason rather than needing any further abstract development as that middle which first creates from itself a whole. I'm referring not to the general question of absolute negativity, which Marx had fully worked out as revolution in permanence, but to the specifics of the final three Syllogisms that Hegel himself had worked out only the year before his death. Even more specifically I'm limiting myself to the final paragraph (#577) of Hegel's *Philosophy of Mind*, which states "it is the nature of the fact, the Notion, which causes the movement and development, yet this same movement is equally the action of cognition." We worked this out after we rejected Lenin's stopping on the Absolute Idea before that final paragraph of the *Science of Logic*, which warned the readers that the "Absolute" has not finished its journey which must still be tested in the *Philosophy of Nature* and *Philosophy of Mind*. It was when we turned to the latter that we broke through on the Absolute Idea not only as both not being in the stratosphere and signifying a new unity of theory and practice, but also as disregarding the Party and instead facing the new society. By seeing the new unity as a new relationship—which demanded that the new beginning must rest in the movement from practice that is itself a form of theory, so that theory must first then work out how to reach the heights of philosophy and depth of actual revolution—we succeeded not only in the breakthrough on the Hegelian Absolute, but in reconnecting with Marx's "revolution in permanence."

This meeting of the spontaneous outburst of the masses and hearing the voices from below as one form of theory occurred six weeks before the actual revolt in East Germany on June 17, 1953—the first ever from under totalitarian Communism which found its voice once the incubus of Stalinism was removed from its head by Stalin's death. First, let's review briefly what happened in the movement from practice and how the breakthrough on the Absolute Idea helped free us from Johnsonism.

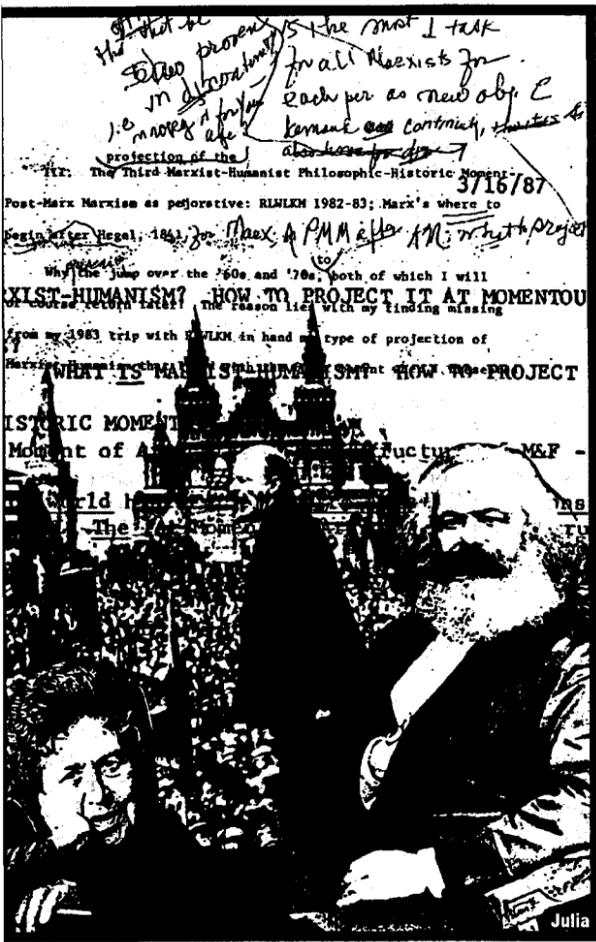
(continued on page 9)

Philosophic Dialogue

by Peter Wermuth

Editor's note: We print below excerpts from a presentation given at an ongoing series of classes, "Marxist-Humanism: The Re-creation of Marx's Marxism for Age." We write you to participate in these classes, both by sharing our thoughts on the following document and by attending the classes. See notice below.

Today's global reality, as seen most of all in the barbarous war in the Persian Gulf, involves not only a crisis of bombs and bullets, but most of all a crisis of the mind. From the very beginning Bush has used his war with Saddam Hussein to try to choke off the very



research for new pathways to liberation by militarizing the minds of humanity. As against his mind-forged manacles which seek to deny us the very idea of a freedom-filled future, not tomorrow but today is the time to participate in the process of working out philosophic new beginnings.

In one of her last writings entitled "What is Marxist-Humanism?" (March 16, 1987), Raya Dunayevskaya spoke to this in posing what she called "the most difficult task" facing each generation of Marxists: to work out what Marx's Marxism means for today.¹ It involves, she said, achieving the kind of "continuity" with Marx that "is proven in discontinuity, i.e., in working it out for your age." Let us explore what it takes to actualize his dialectic of continuity-discontinuity, by jamming together two of Marxist-Humanism's unique philosophic categories—"Absolute Negativity as New Beginning," found in Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution*, and "Post-Marx Marxism as Pejorative," found in her *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.

HEGEL'S REACHING FOR THE FUTURE

In Chapter 1 of *Philosophy and Revolution*, Dunayevskaya says Hegel's "concept of philosophy" was that it must meet "the challenge of the times" by "absorb[ing] past philosophies and yet be a historic continuity that [is] totally new." (p. 18) This concept of philosophy is especially seen in Hegel's *Phenomenology of Mind* (1807).

To Dunayevskaya, "History [is] the innermost core of all of Hegel's philosophic categories." (p. 9) Hegel, she says, "did not displace reality when he entered the realm of 'pure thought.'" (p. 4) For Hegel's *Phenomenology* presents the journey of consciousness through its many stages of development as proceeding through the dialectic of negativity. Thereby, as Marx said in 1844, the *Phenomenology* presents, in abstract form, the actual movement of 2,500 years of human history.

But "the crucial point" to Dunayevskaya is not only that each stage in the development of thought is a corresponding historic stage, but that thought "molds its experiences in such a manner that it will never again be possible to keep these two opposites in separate realms." (p. 9) We most fully encounter his active role of Thought "molding" its experiences in the *Phenomenology's* final chapter, *Absolute Knowledge*, which Marx called the "summation and quintessence" of the whole work.

Hegel here stresses the *Recollection* of all prior stages of development, drawing from it the method permeating the whole work. This method consists not only of the negation of what is, but also of the negation of the negation. This double negation, or absolute negativity, is no "nullity": "The positive is contained in the

1. Dunayevskaya's March 16, 1987 "What is Marxist-Humanism?" can be found in the Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, microfilm #10869-76.

Can our age transcend the limits of post-Marx Marxism?

negative, which is the path to a new beginning." (p. 13)

So infused with absolute negativity is "the simple mediating activity of thinking" in the last chapter of the *Phenomenology* that we become swept up into a ceaseless movement of becoming. At no point does this ceaseless movement of Thought "molding" its experiences "kill off" reality: History instead remains integral to all stages of the Absolute. Nevertheless, we do encounter a difficulty in the last paragraph of the work, where Hegel seems to shut the door to all reality as he brings in his crucial category of "Science" and writes, "Both together, or History (intellectually) comprehended, form at once the *Recollection* and the *Golgotha* of *Absolute Spirit*."

The difficulty is that the "new world" Hegel says emerges from this unity of History and Science is "nothing tangible." But this cannot obscure the fact that *Absolute Knowledge* was not, after all, the end.

For it is right here (p. 18), as Dunayevskaya sums up the very end of the *Phenomenology*, that she hits us with the real shocker: "The 'ultimate' turns out to be, not the *Absolute*, which has just suffered its *Golgotha*, but a new beginning, a new point of departure." The attainment of *Absolute Knowledge* in the philosophic comprehension of History becomes the jumping off point for a new beginning!

Thus, once the "simple mediating activity of thinking" becomes infused with the power of absolute negativity, the philosophic comprehension of History becomes, not so much a remembrance of things past, as much as the kind of *Recollection* that attains continuity with the course of human development by working out a totally new beginning from the Absolute.

Dunayevskaya shows that Hegel's *Phenomenology*, as well as his *Science of Logic* and *Philosophy of Mind*, rooted philosophy so deeply in History and tied thought so fully to the "creative power" of absolute negativity, that each stage of internalizing the past released a leap to the future, despite Hegel's own view that the "owl of Minerva spreads its wings only with the setting of dusk."

LENIN AND THE SHOCK OF RECOGNITION

This dialectic of continuity-discontinuity can in turn reveal what has been missing in even the greatest post-Marx Marxist revolutionaries—Engels, Lenin, Luxemburg, Trotsky. Let's explore this by looking briefly at Lenin—the one Marxist revolutionary who did return to Marx's roots in the Hegelian dialectic in his 1914 "Abstract of Hegel's *Science of Logic*," in which he broke with his vulgar materialist past.

To do so, let's turn to Dunayevskaya's discussion of Hegel's *Science of Logic* in Chapter 1 of *Philosophy and Revolution*, where she singles out second negativity as the "absolute creativity, the motive force" for all forward movement. After quoting Hegel's statement, "holding fast the positive in the negative" is the "most important part" of rational cognition, she writes, "No simple 'remembrance of things past' this. *Recollection* here must include what Herman Melville called 'the shock of recognition.'" (p. 26)

We get a sense of the "shock of recognition" that must hit us when we confront absolute negativity several pages later, when Dunayevskaya says the final chapter of the *Logic*, the *Absolute Idea*, is "not just about previous forms of cognition" but projects a "new stage"—the unity of theory and practice. She then says, "It is the shock of this recognition" that made Lenin see the first half of the last paragraph of the *Logic*—where Hegel presents the movement from *Logic* to *Nature*—as "stretching a hand to materialism." (p. 32)

It thus appears that the "shock of recognition" that must hit us in the Absolute is realization that the power of absolute negativity is so "awesome" that *Recollection* includes not only a "remembrance of things past," but also a movement towards a new realm, a totally new beginning.

And yet it is precisely on this question of catching the dialectical drive to the future enclosed in absolute negativity that Lenin also stopped short. This can be seen from Dunayevskaya's critique of Lenin in her Letter of May 12, 1953, in which she called attention to Lenin's 16-point definition of dialectic, contained in his 1914 commentary on Hegel's *Logic*.² In this 16-point definition of dialectic—written as part of his commentary on the final chapter of the *Logic*, the *Absolute Idea*—Lenin stressed transformation into opposite, transition, and thought reflecting reality. But earlier in his commentary on the *Logic*, she says, Lenin had gone

2. Dunayevskaya's May 12 and 20, 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes," which marked the philosophic birth of Marxist-Humanism, are available in *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism*.

further, writing "cognition not only reflects the objective world, but creates it."

Indeed, that Lenin didn't develop this "creativity of cognition" when he got to the *Absolute Idea* is seen in his characterization of the "negation of the negation" in his 16-point definition as only "the apparent return to the old."

This is a long way from seeing the "awesome power" of absolute negativity as ceaselessly striving for ever-new beginnings! Though Lenin did single out the forward movement from *Logic* to *Nature*, he did not single out the movement from *Nature* to *Mind*, nor did he project the dialectic of absolute negativity in the *Logic's* last paragraph as the motive force for a new beginning.

Perhaps this is why in her "What is Marxist-Humanism?" Dunayevskaya says Lenin did not catch "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning." It isn't that Lenin didn't work out a new beginning in Marxism. The 1917 Russian Revolution surely was a new beginning. But despite his crucial 1914 encounter with Hegel, he never explicitly projected the need for a new beginning in Marxism to also be in philosophy.

MARX'S RE-CREATION OF THE HEGELIAN DIALECTIC

When we return to Marx's writings from the vantage point of "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning," we can discover how Marx, as against post-Marx Marxists, did concretize the dialectic of continuity-discontinuity that is lodged within the Hegelian dialectic.

Take but one illustration of this here, which concerns what Marx did in his last decade after completing *Capital*. As Dunayevskaya shows in her Letter of May 12, 1953, Marx based one of the most important chapters of *Capital*—"The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation"—on Hegel's *Absolute Idea*, by posing the concentration and centralization of capital at one pole and the revolt of the workers at the other. But Marx does not stop with this Absolute. After the defeat of the Paris Commune in 1871, Marx was looking to see if a new dialectic of revolution could emerge in Russia and the Third World. He thus concluded that the "Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation" projected in *Capital* is not a Universal. As Dunayevskaya put it, "so open was [Marx] to all new beginnings" that "he didn't stop at any historic stage as the ultimate."³

Now doesn't that bring to mind the "shocker" we confronted at the end of Dunayevskaya's analysis of Hegel's *Phenomenology*, when she wrote, "the ultimate turns out to be, not the Absolute, which has just suffered its *Golgotha*, but a new beginning, a new point of departure"? Marx was forever working out new beginnings from the Absolute. As Dunayevskaya later put it, "Marx reached, at every historic turning point, for a concluding point, not as an end but as a new jumping off point, a new beginning, a new vision."⁴

In a word, Marx appropriated the whole of the Hegelian dialectic, not as something "applied" to a new set of realities, but as what he re-created for the new era of proletarian revolution. As Dunayevskaya wrote in "What is Marxist-Humanism?" "It is not only a new beginning, it is as new beginning, that Marx clung to Hegel after he discovered his own new continent of thought—that was the new beginning. Why did no one see it?"

This indicates that attaining continuity with Marx's Marxism is not so simple as just "agreeing" with Marx's

(continued on page 9)

3. This statement is from Dunayevskaya's Summation to the 1981 Plenum of News and Letters Committees and will appear as part of the new Introduction to the 1991 edition of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (see ad page 2).

4. This statement is from a paragraph added to *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* on Marx and the Black world, which will appear as part of the new Introduction to its 1991 edition.

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WHO WILL WIN THE BATTLE FOR THE MINDS OF HUMANITY?

I am shocked and angry at the silence of the American people—including anti-war activists—after Bush's cold, calculated murder of hundreds of Iraqi women and children as they tried to take refuge in an air raid shelter from the continuous U.S. bombing that has been raining down on them for more than a month. It reminds me of 1988 when another barbarous U.S. attack in the Persian Gulf—the shooting down of an Iranian airliner killing 290 civilians—was met with a similar deadly silence. Has Reagan/Bush's decade of militarism so dehumanized some people that they only think the loss of American lives is worth mourning?

**Anti-war activist
Illinois**

The rising patriotism we see today is giving dangerous voice to reactionaries in this country. It's very suppressive to any voices that challenge authority. The rulers are attempting to lock in our thoughts; Reason is not given ground to breathe. It's very important that Dunayevskaya's "What is philosophy? What is revolution?" is included in the new collection of her writings on the Middle East. It helps us work out as Marxist-Humanists what does it mean that the concept of philosophy is our ground, and to work out the relationship of the Idea to reality.

**Gene Ford
Los Angeles**

Bush's insistence on continuing the war isn't only to send a message to Saddam Hussein or even to the various little powers in the Middle East. It's to send a message to the whole world.

**Andy Phillips
Detroit**

Bush has aimed at creating a lynch mob mentality with this war. The bombing is totally racist, like Iraqis are not human beings. Where is it written that one Iraqi life is worth less than one American life? I remember during WWII, we used to ask each other: How could the Germans allow such horrors to go on in their name? Now I see how that happened, because I see it in this country right now.

**Black American woman
California**

On Jan. 27, one day after more than 100,000 protesters flocked to Washington, D.C. to protest the war in the Middle East, about 1,000 people of all ages packed the halls of Friends High School here to meet to discuss how to stop this brutal war.

Though time was short (most people could only stay four hours) and a number of the Left groups were vying against each other for their position at the head of the movement, regional alliances were formed with solid plans for follow-through. Most exciting, however, were ideas expressed by people at the literature tables and in the hallways, who see that this decrepit system is responsible for the war. Many people were there looking to broaden their perspective of the movement, uniting their anti-war struggle with their fight against problems at home.

**Julia Jones
De Kalb, Ill.**

There is no anti-war movement here worth mentioning. The problems are severe for people when the price increases effective since Jan. 1 make it a headache just go buy food, and the problem of the war does not seem to concern them. The Czechoslovak force in Saudi Arabia consists of 150 soldiers in an anti-chemical unit. Most of all, the public is poisoned by the pro-America propaganda pouring out of all the media. When there seems to be a clear contrast between "democracy" (the American way) and "totalitarian dictatorship" (Saddam Hussein)—as well as the remembrance here of Munich 1938—it is easy for the war alliance to deceive people.

**Correspondent
Czechoslovakia**

In India the anti-war movement is very strong. I am surprised to read daily in the papers that even in small places there are demonstrations and other activities against war. Most of the

people are supporting Saddam Hussein out of fear that if America wins this war, the hegemony and imperialism of America won't be challenged by anyone in the developing countries.

**Feminist activist
India**

Here in Israel we have gotten used to the situation. Whenever we hear an alarm (about once every day) we automatically shut off the heaters or the air conditioners, go to our sealed room, close it, and wear our gas masks. I'm so used to it now that I find it difficult to remember how it felt when the situation was different.

**Naomi
Tel Aviv, Israel**

Over 200 people braved a windchill of 16 degrees below zero on Saturday, Feb. 16 to protest the way the Persian Gulf war is being covered by the media, along with the nearly total absence of coverage of opposition to this war. One woman's sign, "Now we know how all those Germans blindly followed Hitler," chillingly reminded everyone that the U.S. needs no state-run television when the media are such willing accomplices to censorship.

But there is another story which likewise should not go unrecorded. After telling us we would be marching to several media headquarters, the very first stop we made was at the Israeli Embassy, where the organizers started chanting "Hey! Hey! Ho! Ho! Zionism has got to go!" I was just infuriated and immediately responded with "Hey! Hey! Ho! Ho! Anti-Semitism has got to go." Several people instantly joined me, saying this is not what they represent and that they felt very used by the organizers of this march.

**Furious
Chicago**



During the televised McCarthy hearings way back in the 1950s, the cameras caught the real character of a sinister McCarthy plotting with his slimy aide, Roy Cohn, in a devastating way. Don't you think the photographer who took this shot of Cheney caught his character perfectly, too?

**Old radical
Pennsylvania**

The media is presenting the "collapse" of the Iraqi Army as something negative about Iraq and its people, and even some Palestinians feel the same way, though for different reasons. Instead, I think it shows the humanism of these thousands of rank-and-file soldiers, who chose to live rather than die in Bush and Saddam's wars. History shows us many examples where the collapse of an army led to upheaval and revolution at home: France 1871, Russia 1905 and 1917, Germany 1918. Bush's drive deep into Iraq is not only to topple Hussein. It is also to have a strong force on hand to make sure that, if the Iraq masses rise up against Saddam's fascist regime, the U.S. will be there to prevent a genuine social revolution.

**Observer
Chicago**

Marx's writing in 1844 that the extent to which man is alienated from himself is expressed in his relations to woman comes to mind when reading Dunayevskaya's writing on "Marxist-Humanism: Its summation as New Beginning." (see N&L Jan.-Feb., 1991) Raya writes that Marx never strayed organizationally from his philosophy of "revolution in permanence" and, in particular, in his organizational relation to women. Unlike many so-called Marxists of today who try to convince us that the struggle for women's liberation is and should be separate from the anti-war struggle, Marx recognized that "the feminist-fem-

Readers' Views

ment' was inherent in revolutions throughout history."

If we want to see how far Post-Marx Marxism has strayed from its origins in Marx's philosophy and its essence, freedom, one could look at the still present sexism in the Left. The pulls to separate dialectics from revolution are strong, and the question remains: how to begin anew in our present struggles within newly formed anti-war coalitions.

**Student of Marxism
Connecticut**

Eight years of Reagan was bad enough, but never did I imagine we'd live through such total militarism. It's appalling to see how easy it has been for Bush to sweep aside every barrier to attaining his goals. It makes me wonder whether any opposition has a chance in this era if it isn't rooted in a total philosophy of freedom.

**Experienced revolutionary
Chicago**



HAITI'S HOPE FOR CHANGE

I am glad to see in the pages of N&L an article describing the struggles and political events occurring in the Republic of Haiti. Haiti was the first Black republic to obtain independence from its European rulers, and the Haitian people have been struggling for years to obtain their genuine freedom. As a Dominican national, I have seen the suffering, discrimination and exploitation that the Haitian workers experience in my country as well as here in the U.S., especially in Miami, where they suffer great racial and job discrimination and persecution by the INS. Perhaps as in the past, the Haitian peoples' struggle for freedom will inspire other nationals in all of Latin America as they continue the struggle against the U.S. that does not want any country in the world to have self-determination, the struggle to interfere with the American "new world order" of single world mastery.

**Dominican-American
California**

BLACK AMERICA

I was shocked to hear that one of my favorite neighbors, an 18-year-old Black youth who was offered several college scholarships, was joining the Air Force. When we talked, I found out he was avoiding the draft and had real questions about the war. "They tell us it's about naked aggression. What about when they bombed Iran for eight years?" "Besides, we don't even know if they are telling us the truth," his 14-year-old friend added. The Air Force recruiter has a real "Big Brother" relationship with both boys. He takes them bowling and takes more interest in them than their non-functioning fathers. It is a cruel joke to support these boys to be "all that they can be"—until that comes to mean cannon fodder. Too bad society doesn't ensure that college recruiters, civilian males, or even fathers can play the same role.

**Susan Van Gelder
Detroit**

My brother is in the service in Saudi Arabia. I think the military has caused him to lose his mind. The last time I talked to him, he was talking only military language, not like a human being. He enlisted in the service because we were very poor, and he was trying to make something of his life. He didn't want to end up on the streets. Other than through the military, he had no chances for college or anything. This is what poor Blacks face now: either a life on the streets or in the military. If you go in the military, you will have to kill and maybe die, and if you survive, you may have lost your mind.

**Young Black woman
California**

In your January-February issue Abdul Alkalimat, a convenor of the Malcolm X conference, writes that "We believe that the dialectical battle of ideas should not emerge full blown, and certainly not as antagonisms, in a conference of militant Black people because that would make the Black liberation movement weaker." Who, I wonder, is this "we"? It certainly couldn't be the Black women who spoke so eloquently in your December issue. One conference participant said, "I hope this is the last conference I have to come to and hear my brothers get up and talk about how Malcolm gave them their manhood." Where are women, she asked, in that view?"

You reported that Maxine Alexander "asked why Malcolm's criticisms of sexual exploitation in the Nation of Islam had been swept aside. 'If our movement cannot stand the truth,' she said, 'then our truth will have no movement.'" Black women wouldn't shut up in the 1960s and not in the 1990s either.

**Women's Liberationist
Chicago**



DIALOGUE WITH READERS' VIEWS

I always find the comments in the Readers' Views section very thoughtful and challenging, but a few from your last issue really stick out for me. First, I appreciate Peter Wermuth's about the fascist/counter-revolutionary/terrorist origins of Hussein and his Ba'ath Party. It is this history and in fact much of the history of the region that the news media is hiding. One way to prevent the kind of "self-limiting revolution" that Ted from Chicago spoke of in his Readers' Views is to expose every lie and hypocrisy provided by the powers-that-be and their "experts." Second, the comments of Julia Jones are very important, because the concept and practice of organization has always been the swamp in the path for revolutionaries. It will be so again if we don't grapple with that issue in the anti-war movement. Finally, I would like to thank John Marcotte of New York for his letter about workers' compensation, which is something I'm having to deal with right now for the first time. He's absolutely correct that workers' compensation legislation was enacted to prevent bosses from legal liability, not to help the workers.

**Dan B.
Florida**

HELP US CONTINUE NEWS & LETTERS!

Enclosed with my check for a subscription renewal is \$10 in response to your appeal. I hope it gets some more issues of N&L out to those in Africa who have been asking for them!

**Mitch
California**

I can't really afford this, but I feel I can't afford not to dig deep when absolutely no one but N&L is talking about human freedom. So enclosed is \$200 to your Appeal.

**Office worker
Illinois**

The Bush/Major/Mulroney, etc. mass disinformation plan with the Orwellian complicity of most of the media has not achieved its objective of sanitizing mass murder and destruction or of silencing protest! Enclosed is a contribution to the essential work of N&L

**Subscriber
Canada**

Editor's note: We wish to thank those readers who have responded to our Appeal for funds. Please send whatever you can to News & Letters.

THE CONCRETENESS OF PHILOSOPHY

After many years of serving as an activist with organizations affiliated with the United Democratic Front and the African National Congress, I am one of the so-called "young lions" extremely disillusioned with the politics and "struggle" of the ANC. I was very fortunate to come across a comrade who introduced me to your material and I am interested in corresponding. It would be my great pleasure to receive *News & Letters* as an urgent necessity. We realize that our zeal, interest and enthusiasm is doomed to fail if we are not theoretically sound.

New subscriber
South Africa

In the first of our series of classes on "Marxist-Humanism: The Re-creation of Marx's Marxism for Our Age," Peter Wermuth developed a statement from page 18 of Raya Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution*: "Hegel's concept of philosophy as 'the thought of its time' involved...a meeting of the challenge of the times in a way which would absorb past philosophies and yet be a historic continuity that was totally new..." He then asked: Can we absorb the high points in activity and thought in such a way as to release a new beginning?

Thinking of Marx in that historic context, as a "high point," made me see why the category, "post-Marx Marxism as perjorative," is so important. It is not only a critique aimed at other Leftists, but something for us to do, that is, to peel away the layers of misinterpretation and misrepresentation that pass for Marxism in order to discover Marx in and for himself.

B. Ann Lastelle
Chicago, Ill.

I feel privileged to be reading Raya Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution*. It's a dangerous book! When I read it, I get such a full sense of the movement of the Idea of Freedom, that I begin to feel free.

New Student of Marxist-Humanism
Los Angeles

In preparing for our first class, I was

interested in following out Dunayevskaya's concept of a "single dialectic in thought and in action," and in what happens when your view of dialectics gets short-circuited. In her notes of March 8, 1987, she critiques C.L.R. James for transforming the theory of state-capitalism into a universal. Then on March 16, 1987, when she says Lenin emphasized the dialectic as a "theory of knowledge," and dialectics ends up being "burdened by materialism."

She seems to be saying post-Marx Marxists have not only turned theory into a universal, but reduced Marx's universal—his philosophy of revolution—to mere theory. Marx did not view dialectics as a theory of knowledge. In rejecting that view, he created not a new theory but a new philosophy.

Jan Kollwitz
Chicago

Browsing through a used bookstore in Lexington, I ran across a copy of "The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism" and am interested in the work published both by N&L and Raya Dunayevskaya. Any information you can give me as to past and current theoretical work and labor history will be appreciated.

New Reader
Lexington, Ky.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

I appreciated the articles on the Montreal massacre. That killing of women reflects the madness of this society. When the Women's Liberation Movement arose, it raised the whole question of creating new human relationships. I want to add that many men are also driving for that, and we need more discussion of how men can become part of this process as well.

Black man
California

The way Terry Moon's column, "The Montreal Massacre one year later," (see

N&L, December 1990) went from the massacre to the situation in the Persian Gulf and back to the massacre again made me realize how violence against women and the situation of women in general is so ignored by the mainstream press and the government. Suddenly we are sending billions of dollars to save Kuwait, yet the massacre of these 14 women didn't make the front page of most papers.

Women's liberationist
New York City



PRISONERS SPEAK OUT

Yes, I am one of those people here in Amerika who desires drastic change and overthrow of the current system. However, I am not sure what should be established to supplant the current system. Nonetheless, I do know that "capitalism" is not the solution for oppressed people. I guess you could say that I am in search of a philosophy.

Prisoner
Pontiac, Ill.

We are concerned about the way we live behind these walls and the overall struggles of the poor people of America. However, because of the system-made ignorance of both prisoners behind these walls, white and Black, we seem to have a very hard time teaching them who the real enemy is and stopping them from fighting each other. The prisoners here not only don't trust each other but really do act as if they don't like each other. The reason for this is because they are really being used without knowing how or who is really doing it. I'm asking for support from any group or organization outside of these walls who can help us in our struggle.

Mary Cummins
PO Box 2604
Country Club Hills, Ill.

N&L gives me Left news that I could never obtain anywhere else, and on a

worldwide basis. It also gives me an unorthodox interpretation of Marxism that may be fruitful for the future.

Prisoner
Pennsylvania

REMEMBERING KARL

I have been devastated over Karl Armstrong's illness and death. He was one of the first Americans I met in this country after I escaped persecution as a union organizer in El Salvador two years ago. I was drawn to him at an event where he was selling literature. I wondered what a Black man had to say about Marxism. I was struck by his positive attitude, his sincerity, his basic humanity. There is so much truth in the words of Raya Dunayevskaya that they helped me see the vanguardist, non-democratic attitudes and practice of the Communist Party. It seems that Raya's Marxism is true Marxism. Karl was a true comrade.

Salvadoran friend
Los Angeles

I'd like to share with N&L readers a poem by Michael Parks that our comrade Karl greatly appreciated:

I sit on Sunday
not meditating on people
clapping, shouting
the meek shall inherit
the earth
but meditating
freedom
I will not die a natural
death
but fighting.

Maurice
Los Angeles

A CORRECTION

In the January-February 1991 issue of *News & Letters* we reported that the anti-war demonstration in Chicago on Jan. 14 was planned by the Emergency Coalition for Peace in the Middle East. It was actually organized by the Pledge of Resistance. We regret the error.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS

—BOOKS—

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

- Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal**
1989 Wayne State University Press edition includes Afterword by Raya Dunayevskaya, "Charles Denby 1907-83" 303 pp.
by Charles Denby \$14.95

• *News & Letters* is available on microfilm from University Microfilms International, 300 Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.
• *News & Letters*, as well as other Marxist-Humanist literature, is available on tape for the blind. For information, write to *News & Letters*.

—PAMPHLETS—

- Constitution of News & Letters Committees** 29¢ postage
- Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts**
Special bulletin on Marxist-Humanism as a body of ideas by Raya Dunayevskaya, Eugene Walker, Michael Connolly and Olga Domanski \$1 per copy
- The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.**
by Andy Phillips and Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
- 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments by Raya Dunayevskaya** \$1.50 per copy
- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard.**
Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucuses in the Unions" by Charles Denby \$2 per copy
- Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions**
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.25 per copy
- Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought**, by Lou Turner and John Alan
New Expanded edition contains Introduction/Overview by Raya Dunayevskaya, Lou Turner and John Alan
Appendices by Rene Depestre and Ngugi wa Thiong'o \$3 per copy
- The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts**
by Ron Brokmeyer, Franklin Dmitryev, Raya Dunayevskaya \$1 per copy
- Working Women for Freedom**
by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes \$1 per copy
- Dos ensayos por Raya Dunayevskaya. Spanish language pamphlet**
1989 edition \$2.00 per copy

—ARCHIVES—

- The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—A Half-Century of Its World Development**
A 15,000-page microfilm collection on eight reels \$160
- Guide and Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development**
Full description of 15,000-page microfilm collection \$4.50

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Black America: The war abroad and the war at home

(continued from page 1)

his party. Since the "Desert Shield" operation the word "quota" has even become the justification for the disproportionate number of minorities in the armed forces. General Colin Powell, Bush's chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, is "proud of the fact that African-Americans have seen fit to volunteer to join the armed forces even if it is at a higher percentage" than their representation in the population. Powell said the only way to prevent this in a volunteer force meant placing a limit, "...I won't say quota, on the number of Blacks allowed to enlist."

A close look at this supposed "non-quota" military force shows that the disproportionate number of Blacks in its ranks is directly related to the rate of poverty in the Black community. Indeed, the "colorization of today's armed forces," which the Urban League's report documents, is the very measure of the racism of American society. The military has become a major hatch through which Black men and women try to escape the harsh realities of unemployment and the lack of educational opportunities. Today, 28.9% of the men and women in the armed forces are Black. In the army the figure is a whopping 32%. Most revealing of all, Black women are the fastest growing segment of enlisted women, representing no less than 48.7% of all the women in the U.S. armed forces. This percentage of Black women in the armed forces reflects how greatly poverty has been feminized in the Black community.

The fact that Black youth have no other economic alternative is the immediate reason for much of Black opposition to Bush's war. No wonder Martin Luther King III hit such a chord with Black America when he declared at the birthday celebration for his father in Chicago: "Every Black soldier ought to say, 'I am not going to fight. This is not my war.'"

And no wonder there is such opposition to the incessant drive of military recruiters in the public schools. Jamillah Muhammad, Chicago director of the Youth and Militarism Program of Clergy and Laity Concerned (a group formed by Martin Luther King, Jr. during the Vietnam War), spoke for many when she recently declared, "Once and for all, Black women are saying we're not sending our sons anymore." She was especially critical of the lies the recruiters spin, giving youth—who are hungry for a good education to prepare them for more than dead-end jobs—a rosy picture of learning high-tech computer skills in the army. "The only involvement they may have with computers is unloading them off a truck," she said.

IS THE LONG HISTORY OF BLACK ANTI-IMPERIALISM IN JEOPARDY?

Historically, American Black liberation movements have always contained a strong element of anti-imperialism as a dimension of Black consciousness rooted in the experience and knowledge that the U.S. foreign policy is inseparable from its racist domestic practice. That anti-imperialism was a manifestation of the very "vanguard nature of the Black dimension." From the U.S.'s earliest plunge into imperialism in 1898 with the Spanish-American War, Black Americans were the first force in the world, outside of Latin America itself, to organize an Anti-Imperialist League which "castigated the war as unjust, and linked it to their own struggle with the demand that America should put itself in order at home before expanding overseas." (See "Imperialism and Racism" in *American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard*.)

The Black dimension continues to expose the hollowness of American civilization, but it is not without its discontinuity. Bush's demagogic use of Black History Month to praise Black military heroes, living and dead—climaxed with his ostentatious hugging of his Black militarist clone, Colin Powell—was surely designed to divert the liberal critics of his civil rights bill veto and the poverty conscription of Blacks. But the greatest threat of such demagogery was its blatant appeal to the forces within Black America. Where the officer corps in the Vietnam War was overwhelmingly white, the Gulf forces include the largest Black officer corps in U.S. military history. It, too, reflects aspects of the contradictions within the Black community.

At the same time, the Black working class, youth and women's opposition has become sharper. As one 13-year-old Black youth, quoted by the *Wall Street Journal*, put it: "Why are they letting the Black folks fight and the whites fly the airplanes?" When his friend insisted he would go "defend my country," this youth shot back: "Man, what's this country done for you lately?"

A BUDGET FOR POVERTY AND DEATH

Clearly, Black Americans have no illusion that Bush's militarization is any answer to the permanent nature of Black poverty. Bush spent \$2.1 billion of his \$298.9 billion military budget on recruiting in fiscal year 1990 and only \$709 million on the federal summer youth employment program along with only \$700 million on youth job training programs.

In the budget compromise worked out by Congress and the Bush administration on Oct. 1, 1990 it was decided that now there should be no limits placed on the cost of the Persian Gulf war. According to conservative estimates, the war cost a billion dollars a day, excluding the cost of replacing the high-tech weapons and munitions expended in the fighting.

Bush's proposed 1992 budget is, in concept and content, a Cold War budget, which makes only phantom cuts in military spending, while cutting what has been left of government social programs, after eight years of

Reagan, to the marrow of the bone. Although Bush proposes cuts in the Pentagon budget, it would increase the budget for "scientific research" by \$8 billion to a total of \$76 billion, with \$43 billion of it going for "defense." Bush is also asking for a \$1.68 billion increase to \$4.58 billion for the "re-focussing" of the Star Wars program. Clearly, the President's budget reflects the U.S.'s military drive toward single world domination. And, at the same time, the budget contains a warning to Gorbachev that the Cold War has only entered a new stage.

CHALLENGE TO THOUGHT AND REALITY

Bush objectively expresses the deepening crisis within U.S. and world capitalism. It is this ongoing crisis of capitalism on the domestic front that has produced the economy of poverty in the American Black community as well as the widespread opposition to that poverty.

When in the 1960s, President Johnson felt confident that he had won the "hearts and minds" of Black America with civil rights acts and the "war on poverty"—which was hardly even a skirmish with poverty—the thought and activity of the Black masses gave a new revolutionary dimension to the anti-war movement.

Black World

(continued from page 1)

cissitudes of its aftermath, as well as various Left alternatives in Europe, suffers from three insufficiencies.

First, he is not at all concerned with the organizational objectives which compelled the Stalinist "confessions" of Joe Slovo. For instance, he ignores Slovo's antedating the supposed "reform" of the SACP, which Slovo was at pains to distinguish from Gorbachevism. "In our case," Slovo emphasizes, "the shift which has taken place in our conception of 'vanguard' is by no means a post-Gorbachev phenomenon. The wording on this question in our new programme is taken almost verbatim from our Central Committee's 1970 report on organization." (p. 25) It is the rewriting of the Stalinist history of the SACP for the new counter-revolutionary role it is to play in the national liberation movement, not some obscurantist analysis of the collapse of Soviet power in East Europe, which is the actual purpose behind what Jordan calls "Slovo's otherwise very useful pamphlet."

Secondly, the conceptual framework of Jordan's account of how socialism failed contains serious problems. A case in point is what Hegel called the "barbarous procedure" of accepting a category at face value, which is what Jordan does with "primitive socialist accumulation" (sic!). Because space won't permit a full treatment of the problem of the conceptual framework for analyzing the transformation of the Russian Revolution into its opposite, a state-capitalist society, Raya Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom* should be consulted for a comprehensive analysis of the question.

The third limitation of Jordan's critique is the most problematic. Jordan never bothers to address the question of revolution, let alone socialism, in the context of the national liberation struggle in South Africa. Historically, the ANC has never succeeded in sinking deep roots in the Black revolutionary proletariat, whose aspirations and national consciousness have been shaped by its resistance to capitalism and apartheid racism.

When the first Black industrial trade union movement arose in South Africa—the ICU (Industrial and Commercial Workers Union)—its very mass proletarian

So profoundly did Martin Luther King, Jr. see this country's imperialist war as a crisis of the American mind that he sought to put its challenge to the movement in philosophic terms. Thus, when much of the Black civil rights leadership had distanced itself from the anti-Vietnam War movement, King warned, in his famous anti-war speech at New York's Riverside Church on April 4, 1967:

"...if we are to get on the right side of the world revolution, we as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values. We must rapidly begin the shift from a 'thing-oriented' society to a 'person-oriented' society. When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, materialism, militarism are incapable of being conquered."

The challenge today comes from the notion and reality that all wars represent the battle for the minds of humanity, which means that the "world revolution" must take place in thought if it is to take place in reality. Will the new anti-war stirrings in the Black community become such a beginning?

character was enough to challenge the petty bourgeois parliamentarianism of the early ANC. In the recent period, the mass trade union movement reached its high-point in 1986-87, when the apartheid regime effectively suppressed the political space in which the political organizations operated with bannings, detentions and a media "white out." This ushered in the ascendancy of the trade union movement into the leadership of the liberation movement. The militant proletarian politics that have emerged over the last decade, in and outside established trade unions, have been one of the powerful forces responsible for the revolutionary democratic structures that have sprung up among the masses.

While Prof. Archie Mafeje's critique, in the August 1990 issue of *Sapem*, is less disposed to see any usefulness in Slovo's "confession," it is more problematic. Mafeje's perception of the "big lie" in Slovo's "discussion pamphlet" ends up substituting the subjective motivations of "big men" like Slovo for the pull of objective developments which compelled the "big lie."

It is at once objective and discernible in Slovo's "confession" that, as Raya Dunayevskaya presciently observed, in 1982, of the new Stalinist stage reached with the ascendancy of former KGB chief Yuri Andropov, "The 'newness' of the present stage of state-capitalism, its full degeneracy, lies, not in its foreign relations, but strictly in the internal conflict."

It is this new objective stage of Stalinist degeneracy, in which the powers of the party, the army, the internal security apparatus and ideological posts are combined into a single structure or office, not Slovo's subjective motives, that impel his "big lie." Palo Jordan was himself a victim of this new stage of Stalinism within the ANC when he was detained in 1983 for criticizing the excesses of the Congress' security organ *Mbokodo*.

Unfortunately, the really crippling problematic is that so bereft of dialectics is the "debate over socialism" in South Africa that at the present moment of political dissolution, it reveals the crossroads the movement has reached, and at which it now marks time.

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 re-creation of that philosophy for our age as "Marxist-Humanism." The development of the Marxist-Humanism of Dunayevskaya is recorded in the documents on microfilm and open to all under the title *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half Century of its World Development*, on deposit at the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs in Detroit, Michigan.

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*.

Review: Dunayevskaya on the Middle East

by Eugene Walker

From the Marxist-Humanist Archives: Selections from Raya Dunayevskaya's Writings on the Middle East, News and Letters Committees, 1991, \$2.50.

When you examine the Middle East today in the midst of war, each country—from Iraq to Iran, from Egypt to Israel, from Lebanon to Syria, plus all the sheikdoms and kingdoms—is caught in deep reaction and retrogression. This is not to say that the war alone brought about this regressive movement. The ground was laid throughout the decades of our post-World War II world. Yet in this same period, the peoples of the Middle East have striven for freedom—fought and died for it. No other region has been trapped more deeply in the grave contradictions that occur once the activity of fighting for freedom becomes separated from the Idea of freedom as vision of the future.

Raya Dunayevskaya's writings on the Middle East can help us grasp these grave contradictions in the life and thought of the freedom movements in that region.

In these writings by Dunayevskaya—which range from the Arab-Israeli collision in the 1960s to the Iranian Revolution/Counter-Revolution of 1979 and from Lebanon's Civil War of the mid-1970s to the Middle East in the Changed World of the 1980s—one sees that the Middle East of the post-World War II period has had a rich history of human struggles for freedom. And yet this same Middle East has had in embryo, and full-blown, all the contradictions that have plagued the freedom movements of our age. It is this development of movements for freedom and ideas of freedom—including contradictions—that is the subject of Dunayevskaya's writings.

In a 1969 writing, "U.S. and Russia Enter Middle East Cockpit," Dunayevskaya discussed Iraq—not Hussein's Iraq, but the Iraqi revolution of 1958, which not only challenged imperialism, but refused to follow either Nasserism in Egypt or the bastard socialism of the Ba'th Party in Syria. Dunayevskaya was determined to write about a Middle East where "a dimension other than oil, a new human dimension—freedom—enters..." But she did so critically, tracing the dialectic of ideas unseparated from events to show the incompleteness of that Iraqi revolution.

Dunayevskaya examined the pull of anti-Semitism on all the Arab revolutions. Her overline to this 1969 writing, "Anti-Semitism, Anti-revolution, Anti-philosophy," showed that it was precisely when revolution got separated from a philosophy of revolution that anti-Semitism came to the fore—when leaders wished not to deepen a revolution but to halt it.

CONTRADICTIONS IN REVOLUTIONS

The contradictions within the revolution can be clearly seen in a country like Egypt, which today has sent 30,000 troops to join in Bush's war. Dunayevskaya traced Nasser's attitude to Israel at the time of the armistice agreement after the first Arab-Israeli war, where Nasser was more interested in how Israel won its fight against British imperialism than in being anti-Israel.

Then, quoting from Nasser's book, *Philosophy of Revolution*, she showed the limitation of Nasser's concept of revolution—particularly his concept of the masses as "divided and disordered." Nasser's revolution, she noted, could only be a political revolution, not a social revolution: "It was only when this political revolution didn't solve problems that only a social revolution can overcome...that Nasser decided finally to lead the fight for 'extinction of Israel.'"

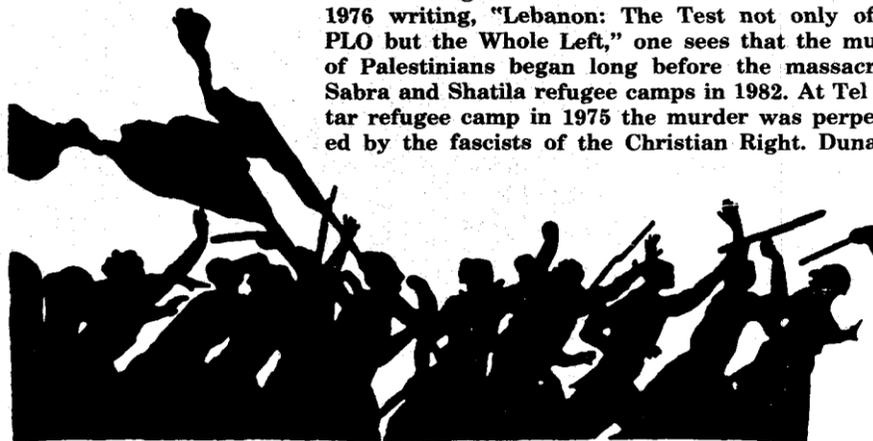
Thus it was when one became against revolution in one's own country that one turned to anti-Semitism. The incompleteness of a social revolution, rooted in the refusal to work out a philosophy of revolution, led one down the path of anti-Semitism.

When Dunayevskaya discussed Israel, what was important was to grasp the specific historic moment: what was Zionism before Nazism and what did it mean after the Holocaust; what was Israel's fight against British imperialism at a time when there were few other anti-imperialist fights in the region; what was Israel at the time of the 1967 war vs. what was Israel after it became an occupier of the West Bank and Gaza; what was Isra-

el at the time of the invasion of Lebanon.

This historic concreteness was not only against supra-historical conceptions of those who saw Israel, from day one, as the creation of Western imperialism, or a Menachem Begin who wished to trace Israel's origin to biblical times; it was to work out a revolutionary dialectic for the present and future independent of superpowers and regional powers. The depth of Israel's retrogression by the 1980s was summed up in Dunayevskaya's title to a 1982 Political-Philosophic Letter, "Begin's Israel Moves Further and Further Backward to His Reactionary, Terrorist Beginnings." This letter is not in the collection but is listed in the pamphlet's bibliography of over 50 of Dunayevskaya's writings on the Middle East. They are available in *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*. (See ad, page 4.)

The retrogression was not Israel's alone. In her 1976 writing, "Lebanon: The Test not only of the PLO but the Whole Left," one sees that the murder of Palestinians began long before the massacre at Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in 1982. At Tel Zaatar refugee camp in 1975 the murder was perpetrated by the fascists of the Christian Right. Dunayev-



skaya's concentration here was also on Syria's counter-revolutionary actions and on Yassir Arafat's ambivalent role in Lebanon's Civil War.

In this 1976 essay Dunayevskaya wrote: "When history and theory get into each other's way, and philosophy and revolution get separated, there is no exit from counter-revolutionary consequences." The 15 years of Lebanon's dismemberment that followed were not a question of Dunayevskaya having a crystal ball. Rather, it is a question of dialectics. Dunayevskaya's dialectical methodology grasped the counter-revolutionary consequences of the separation of a struggle for freedom from the working out of a philosophy of revolution.

There was nothing that Dunayevskaya wrote more about in the late 1970s and early 1980s than the Iranian Revolution. She saw that revolution as showing more forcefully than at any time in the post-World War II period that revolution, not oil, could be—and must be—the determinant in the Middle East.

From the start of the revolution its contradictions were clear to her. Her Political-Philosophic Letter, "Unfoldment of, and Contradictions in, Revolution," not only singled out forces of revolution that she saw opening chapter two of that revolution—women re-

Can our age transcend post-Marx Marxism?

(continued from page 5)

conclusions, let alone "updating" them. Achieving continuity with Marx's Marxism instead entails working out the Absolute of our era as new beginning. There simply is no way to achieve continuity with Marx other than by working out a historic continuity that proves itself in discontinuity, i.e., in face of the new that will emerge in our era, precisely because this is the dialectical method Marx forever practiced himself.

To sum up: working out a philosophic new beginning has to begin by absorbing the highpoints of past freedom struggles and thoughts. For History, we have seen, is integral to each of Hegel's Absolutes. And History consists not only of humanity's deeds but also of its thoughts, such as the philosophies of Hegel, Marx and Marxist-Humanism. The Idea too, has a "History," which each one of us has the responsibility of absorbing.

As Hegel once put it, "Within the short span of man and woman's own life an individual must learn the whole long journey of humanity. This is possible only because the universal mind is operative in every individual mind and is the very substance of it." Hegel is telling us that each of us can personify this power of Recollection—it is not something dependent simply upon erudition. It was personified by great revolutionaries like Sojourner Truth, of whom it was once said, "Her memory is a vast storehouse of knowledge, the shelves of which contain a history of the revolutions, progressions and culmination of the great ideas which have been a part of her life purpose."

Having Recollection become part of our life purpose is no simple matter of reducing philosophy to a mere mirror of History. For when Recollection catches the highest expression of philosophy—its own philosophic self-comprehension—that is when truly new beginnings can be worked out.

In *Philosophy and Revolution*, Dunayevskaya takes Hegel's philosophic comprehension of his Absolute Idea—the Absolute Method—as her vantage point from which to view each of Hegel's Absolutes. When Thought roots itself in this universal form assumed by the Idea—the "self-moving, self-active, self-transcending method of absolute negativity"—Thought truly assumes an "awesome power." For when that happens, cognition not only reflects what is, but creates something new.

sisting Khomeini's demand to wear the chador, workers' creation of councils, the Kurds' demand for self-determination—but caught Khomeini's counter-revolutionary use of the idea of anti-imperialism.

To Dunayevskaya what was missing was theoretic/philosophic preparation for revolution. How could anti-imperialism be so quickly taken up by the mullahs and transformed into counter-revolution? It could only be done because the genuine revolutionaries were so ideologically, theoretically, philosophically unarmed and thus easily disarmed. Philosophy, to them, wasn't the concrete need of the moment, and thus religious fundamentalism became the ideological weapon which defeated the genuine revolutionaries.

THE REVOLUTIONARY DIALECTIC

One of the most powerful writings in this pamphlet is "What is Philosophy? What is Revolution?" written in the midst of the Iranian Revolution. It seems it is not about the Iranian Revolution as it discusses the revolutionary dialectic in Hegel, Marx and Lenin at moments of revolution/counter-revolution. But in Dunayevskaya's hands that revolutionary dialectic transcended the historic moment in which it was practiced to become the pathway for transforming reality in our era.

This collection begins with Dunayevskaya's writing on the "Changed World." Her discussion takes up Ronald Reagan's imperial foray into the Gulf of Sidra as well as Star Wars and maneuvers vis-a-vis Russia. Do not today's conflagration in the Persian Gulf and Gorbachev's military actions in Lithuania and throughout the republics make concrete precisely the kind of Changed World that Reagan, Bush and Gorbachev have had in mind since the mid-1980s?

How can the masses worldwide—and nowhere more so than in the Middle East—arm themselves against the retrogressive, unfree Changed World that our present-day rulers are in the midst of imposing on us? Dunayevskaya's writings speak powerfully to this question. Her topic is not so much each specific country, but revolution/counter-revolution, philosophy and revolution, the single dialectic of the Idea of freedom and the historic struggles for freedom, concretized in particular countries of the Middle East at specific historic moments. Dunayevskaya's body of ideas is the much needed theoretic-philosophic ground to challenge "the new world order" George Bush wishes to impose on us.

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Thereby the "creativity of cognition" liberates the power of Recollection. Which is why the new beginning needed today must be in philosophy. And philosophy is not something handed down from generation to generation like an heirloom.

On the contrary, each generation must undertake the task of philosophy with new strength and in its own way, if the restatement of genuine Marxism is to be.

What serves as the biggest barrier to that restatement today is what weighs on the mind of the living—the legacy of post-Marx Marxism as Pejorative. It is a category which includes not only Marxists but all non-Marxist alternatives to Marx's Marxism. Even the greatest post-Marx Marxists, in different ways, kept their distance from fully embracing absolute negativity, as if to do so were to "annul" objectivity and historical materialism.⁵ But as Dunayevskaya insisted, "there is nothing abstract about philosophy." Avoiding the pull of 150 years of "post-Marx Marxism as pejorative" depends on how deeply we embrace philosophy, not as an abstraction, but as that power of Thought so imbued with the dialectic of absolute negativity that we "mold" the Recollection of past high points of freedom struggle and thought into an altogether new beginning.

To meet that challenge means resisting the pull of reducing dialectics to a "tool" to be applied. Dialectics is not an applied science, and the dialectic of negativity cannot be reduced to a tool. As Marx said of Ferdinand Lassalle, it is one thing to "bring a science by criticism to the point where it can be dialectically presented" and quite another to "apply an abstract ready-made system of logic to mere inklings of such a system."

Precisely because the dialectic cannot be treated as a tool, but must instead be re-created in face of ever new realities, the creation of genuine new beginnings in Marxism is so very difficult. Yet that only makes it all the more urgent that each of us begin the task, not tomorrow, not later, but now. Thus, rather than pretending to provide "answers" or formulas for how to restate Marx's Marxism for our day, we are holding these classes in "Marxist-Humanism: The Re-creation of Marx's Marxism for our Age" as part of the process of working the matter out.

5. For a critique of Georg Lukacs in terms of this, see my essay "Paths to Internalizing the Idea of Freedom" in N&L, Jan.-Feb. 1990.

Editorial

(continued from page 1)

the Orwellian language of "collateral damage."

But the moment was truly a fleeting one. What helped Bush get the air-raid shelter massacre out of the world's headlines and consciousness in less than 48 hours was the fact that Saddam Hussein seized the moment to launch a "peace plan"—which was at once rejected by Bush as "nothing new." In fact, none of the peace plans which followed in the next seven days could stay Bush's bloody hand. For the truth is, as War Secretary Richard Cheney dared to boast the day the ground war began, the precise date and even hour of that invasion had been determined a full two weeks earlier, on Feb. 11. Bush clearly had no intention of letting any events in the intervening days change anything.

Hours before the ground invasion, an old man interviewed in Baghdad by CNN asked: "Iraq offered to surrender; why are they still bombing us?" Why indeed? It wasn't only a matter of the fate of Saddam Hussein, who was considered a U.S. "friend" only seven months ago. Even less was it a matter of the "conditions" under which the withdrawal from Kuwait would take place. Rather, what was involved is the same drive that saw Harry Truman drop nuclear weapons on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 and annihilate hundreds of thousands of civilians in one blinding flash, after he knew that Japan was trying to surrender. To this day, that was the true "day of infamy" humanity can never forget! The aim then, as now, is the drive for single world mastery that has dominated both superpowers from the day World War II ended and the road to World War III began.

NEW STAGE OF GLOBAL CONFLICT

Although it was Mikhail Gorbachev who gave the green light last August for Bush to assemble his military machine in the Persian Gulf, that green light did not signify any surrendering of Russia's global ambitions, much less its position as a superpower. Russia's repeated attempts to mediate between the U.S. and Iraq in the week before the ground invasion were driven precisely by that. Both the U.S. and Russia are very

much aware that Gorbachev still has 20,000 nuclear warheads at his command. Bush's first response, in his speech to Patriot missile factory workers on Feb. 15, was to resurrect Reagan's maniacal "Star Wars" plans, now "refined" as a U.S. priority for the 1990s.

Yet, so ineffectual was Gorbachev's attempt to intervene that it only added to Bush's adventurism, and undoubtedly strengthened the already predominant hands of the Army and the KGB within the Russian ruling class.

A whole new stage of global militarist conflict, including between the superpowers, is now in the offing. It will not be put off by Russia's present economic troubles; such trifles have never concerned Stalinist military planners. Nor will Bush be deterred by any argument over "guns or butter"; the Gulf war is already estimated to cost a recession-ridden U.S. economy some \$80 billion. Out of the hot war against Iraq is emerging the re-creation of a new, and far more dangerous, Cold War between the superpowers.

Mad as Bush's total militarism is, his all-consuming love of war is not the mark of a madman. Bush wanted the Gulf war to go on for as long as possible, because his aim is militarize the very minds of humanity. Nothing, not even the fragile present detente with Russia, will be allowed to stand in the way of that objective. The most crucial battlefield for the rulers is the ideological one, whether in the Middle East, in Europe, or here at home.

BATTLE FOR THE MINDS OF HUMANITY

Now that Bush has his military "victory," he will push for a large-scale, permanent, U.S. military presence in the Gulf region. The planned trip of Secretary of State James Baker to several Arab nations is to help secure it. But can that possibly control the bottomless hatred of the masses there for Western imperialism, their disdain for the cowardice of Arab rulers, and the



unquenchable thirst for freedom that exists, not only in the Middle East, but throughout the Third World?

At the same time we cannot act as though these impulses sound the death-knell for capitalist barbarism and mark the harbinger of a new, human world. There have been too many unfinished revolutions, too many revolutions turned into their opposite, for that illusion to flourish. Mere "anti-imperialism" has too often been perverted as a cover for neo-fascist counter-revolutionaries like Saddam Hussein and Ayatollah Khomeini to launch pre-emptive strikes against genuine revolutionary forces at home.

Instead, we need to soberly face the truth about the depths of the present world stage of retrogression. Rulers have long used actual war to militarize the minds of humanity. But what is new in 1991, and makes the present moment far more dangerous, is the objective and ideological context in which the militarization is taking place.

In the mid-1980s, Raya Dunayevskaya never stopped calling our attention to what she called "the changed world" which began with counter-revolution from within the revolution in Grenada, which opened the door for Reagan's invasion. By 1986, that "changed world" allowed Reagan to launch his foray against Libya in the Gulf of Sidra, and later with the bombing of Tripoli. This became the ground for the outright barbarism Bush has brought to fruition in the Middle East today.

Dunayevskaya insisted that her analysis of the objectively "changed world" could not be separated from the philosophic category she articulated with the 1982 publication of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*—"post-Marx Marxism as a pejorative." She saw a wide and growing gap between the Marxism of Marx, and that of all post-Marx Marxists, even the greatest of revolutionaries.

What is new in 1991 is the effort to smother any vision of a different, human future. Whether that effort comes from the rulers' drive to "militarize the mind" or from within the Left itself—which has moved from a concept of a "self-limiting revolution" to one of "instead of revolution"—it must be opposed. As Dunayevskaya put it in 1987: "Such a deep retrogression demands that, along with the economic and political tasks facing us, we look for philosophic new beginnings." That perspective has never been more urgent than it is today.

From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya

(continued from page 4)

III. WHY, THEN, ARE THERE STILL BREAKDOWNS BETWEEN THEORY AND PRACTICE, BETWEEN PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION?

The historically new in our age which it became imperative to generalize was that movement from practice which is itself a form of theory, which had emerged in the 1950s but which C.L.R. James still saw as only "proving" state-capitalism. It was that imperative which transformed what had been "Marxism and State-Capitalism" into *Marxism and Freedom*. What we didn't acknowledge in full even though we had practiced it was that *Marxism and Freedom* not only brought out the American roots, brought out Marx's Humanism internationally, and structured the whole work as a movement from practice, be it from the year 1776 to 1789, or Marx's 1843, or ourselves in the 1950s—but also developed new points of theoretic departures for our age.

For News and Letters Committees, *Marxism and Freedom* did become ground both for creating a forum for all the new voices from below—be it in *Workers Battle Automation*, *Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves*, or the *Free Speech Movement* pamphlet. At the same time, we practiced the concretization of theory, be it in *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions* or *American Civilization on Trial*. But not all, even in our Committees, were fully aware that these mass pamphlets that flowed from us during the turbulent 1960s were not products of the movement from below, that they could come only from so great a philosophic breakthrough as was represented, first in the Letters on the Absolute Idea, and then followed through in *Marxism and Freedom*, which covered a period of 200 years.

Every time a new historic Turning Point is reached objectively but not worked out subjectively, the impulse is to separate on some "simple, concrete" turn in the road to take. The integrality of Theory/Practice gets pulled asunder. The details of the "simple" get so fragmented that what appears as "skipping over" the generalization, the theory, is in fact a turn backward. Which is why Hegel made the Third Attitude to Objectivity not the dialectic, which is never in a straight line in any case, but retrogression. Whether that is called Jacobi or a return to the old, the point is that retrogressionism, counter-revolution from within revolution, is what follows. It is why we totally reject this, not only as counter-revolution, but even as tailending.

After Fanon's death there was no such affinity of ideas as we had hoped would result in *Philosophy and Revolution* being a collective work. All that was revealed in the trips to West Europe, to Africa, to Hong Kong and to Japan, was that not a single independent Marxist theoretician was ready to collaborate on a work that would challenge post-Marx Marxism.

There can be no successful revolution without having labored at the theoretic preparation for revolution. We refused, however, to stop theory short of philosophy. Which is precisely why, instead of giving in to a temptation to start *Philosophy and Revolution* with Chapter 9, the work begins with "Why Hegel? Why Now?,"

which goes through Marx and Lenin after grappling with Hegel "in and for himself"—with eyes of today. In that way we reached beyond anything done by any other Marxist. It is this, just this, which, at one and the same time, led us to discover an affinity of ideas with the greatest Third World theorist, Frantz Fanon, and theoretical collaboration with East European revolutionaries.

Philosophy and Revolution, nevertheless, was worked out by us alone; while the independent Japanese Marxists continued to operate on the level only of state-capitalism, we were enabled—after 1968, in the 1970s when Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* were finally published—to see there his "new moments" and thus catch the historic continuity with Marx's Marxism. This prepared the ground for *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* by critically looking at the revolutionary Marxists at the highest historic turning points—Lenin in the Russian Revolution and Luxemburg in the German Revolution of 1919—as well as the new in our own age, including the newest revolutionary force as Reason, *Women's Liberation*, not only as an Idea whose time has come but as it has itself become a Movement.

Our slogan this year—"three books, not one"—demands that we look at *Marxism and Freedom* and *Philosophy and Revolution* not just as a recapitulation of what it meant in the respective historic period, but as that which makes them and the new work a single totality. One of the critical new points in Marxist-Humanism reached with the new book reiterates the point that our theoretic contributions for the past three decades not only parallel the 30-year movement from practice but anticipate the future in the present. It is seen also in the manner in which we reject the party-to-lead concept. We do not stop at rejecting the party-to-lead and accepting the committee-form for a new relationship of theory to practice. It is true that this means we go beyond Luxemburg also, who did raise the quintessential point of socialist democracy after the conquest of power but who still adhered to the Party.

But what is totally new is that we place philosophy of revolution and not just committee-form as ground for organization. In a word, we do not stop, as she did, with full appreciation of the genius of the masses in action. Rather, we deepen that with such a philosophic penetration of that action of the masses that we call their attitude not just force but Reason, and Reason means the totality and new unification with the movement from theory.

The fact is that many of us experienced the "pull"—objective and subjective—for underlining the little pronoun, "its," whenever we spoke of the new relationship of theory to practice, beginning with its new Reason—that is, the form of Reason we attributed to practice. Thereby, we left out the over-riding significance of the new meaning of practice as a form of theory, which the movement from theory had attributed to it. A revolutionary philosopher-organizer is no philosopher-king. And anyone who fights on that ground contributes to the breakdown between theory and practice all over again. Which is exactly why this time we accompanied the words "individual responsibility" with the phrase

"for the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism."

Take this Summation as new beginning... It does mean that each one must look at him or herself in the historic mirror of Marxist-Humanism rather than reducing it all to the "lowest common denominator." There is no "lowest common denominator" when each looks in the historic mirror, because what is immediate in activity and what is universal and historic is the future in the present. It is that which we must draw out in full, precisely at this urgent nuclear moment when civilization itself is threatened with extinction, while the idiocies of the capitalist ideologues are reflected in *Time* magazine's choice of a robot as their annual "Man of the Year."...

IV. THE FUTURE IN THE PRESENT

...Our theoretical contributions are by no means simply a parallel to the movement from practice. Just as the N&L analysis of the Andropov phenomenon pointed to that truth, so is it true of each of the three books and the pamphlets that succeeded each other. In each decade, the book moved beyond the "au courant"—that is to say, it anticipated the future in the present, once the movement from practice emerged as a form of theory itself. Thus, the new in *Marxism and Freedom* was not just state-capitalism but Marxist-Humanism. In a word, it delved further into what was new and developed it theoretically to the point of philosophy. It is high time for us to project that, just that. Until we do so, the elitists will have it over us by sticking to the Party towering over philosophy because supposedly action is not within philosophy's province but is the Party's province which thereby entitles one to "leadership" over the masses.

Now that we have the *Ethnological Notebooks* of Marx and see Marx as a totality, our activities as well as writings prove themselves over three decades as the basis for our challenge to all post-Marx Marxists. Because we caught the link of historic continuity with Marx's Marxism while participating in the events of 30 years which marked our age's turning point in history, "three books, not one" does not mean merely longevity. Rather, any new adherents coming to Marxist-Humanism only now are likewise on that ground floor of *Marx's Marxism* which is challenging all post-Marx Marxists...

As against the way the attitude of *Correspondence*³ to theory was shown in deepening the division between theory and practice—not only continuing the attacks on the "Beria analysis" that appeared in the first issue for many a further issue, but also, in the end, trying to split *Correspondence* Committees themselves between worker/intellectual/Black—*News & Letters* deepened that unique unity of worker and intellectual by having as editors Charles Denby as well as Johnny Zupan. That great forward step notwithstanding, we found that N&L, too, until after *Marxism and Freedom* was finally published, often manifested ambivalence on that unity of Theory/Practice. It is important, therefore, in studying how N&L itself developed with each new theoretical work to see this both in the paper and in the self-development of the members and the growth of the organization. The new book, with its challenge to post-Marxist Marxists, will give a still newer, deeper and more historic character to this development...

3. "Correspondence" was the publication of Correspondence Committees from 1963-55, of which Dunayevskaya and C.L.R. James were co-leaders.

Nationally/Internationally: voices from the anti-war movement

From an American Youth

Every week on the California State Los Angeles campus there are several meetings, protests and discussions where we have been attempting to show the world we are not part of Bush's America, but another very different one. These events are a result of the fact that the genocidal bombing against Iraq has crept—or leapt—into every corner, every nook and cranny of our lives. We simply cannot accept subjecting ourselves to the militarism pervading the government, the media, indeed the minds of so many people around us.

The events have not merely been condemnations of the "new world order," the non-freedom Bush is meting out. There has also been an exciting flow of new ideas, whether at the rallies, teach-ins or planning meetings. It is no secondary point to note that many new friendships have been sown. But while some of the students have been intent on participating as much as possible, feeding off the energy we seem to keep regenerating, others have not. Many others, while against the war, maintain a "safe distance" from all the activities. Why is this?

In our "anti-war study/discussion group" we talked a lot about a Black student who spoke to us during one of the rallies. He said: "I'm against the war, and I like the protests, but I've got a brother and a cousin in Saudi Arabia. It doesn't look like they're coming back any time soon, so where is this rally going to get us?"

A Palestinian student, during a meeting where we were debating whether to hold a study group every week or just do pure activism, said: "We need something to keep us alive, something to feed ourselves with. These rallies are not by themselves going to stop the war. When we talk to each other, will we just talk about who is going to make the flyers? Will we just run from one activity to the next without thinking about where we're headed?"

Both of these comments can help us in answering the difficult question of how the movement can grow, because they suggest a self-critique is necessary. Look, for example, at those of us who have been active since day one against this barbarism, a group of about 15 women and men. We have our backs up against the wall. With so much activity, it gets harder every day to keep up with our work and school schedules.

Rather than getting burned out and expecting our "ranks" to be replenished, how can we show the "long road to freedom" can be sustained by all of us for the time it's going to take to end this war and abolish future human butchery?

Bush has succeeded in mobilizing this country for the war with all his high-tech talk, Orwellian language and tight control of news sources. The very fact that Hussein is a fascist makes it "easy" for Bush to convince—or at least confuse—many youth about the nature of U.S. ambitions, playing our government off as the very embodiment of freedom.

If, in the months ahead, Bush succeeds in his effort to extend U.S. hegemony throughout the Middle East as never before, if he gets control of the oil he so thirsts for, sets up his much sought-after military bases, and if the anti-war movement cannot stop this madness, will we be left standing cold, waiting like sub-humans for the next war to break out? I can't help but answer that in the negative, because not to do so means accepting the intellectual and moral wasteland we live in as our permanent future without having a fundamental opposition to it.

The needed critical-practical activity we have begun to engage in can enable us to work out what it means to fight for freedom today. That's my understanding of what dialectics is, as worked out by Marx in his day and by Raya Dunayevskaya from the 1950s to the 1980s. With such a serious attitude towards ideas, perhaps we can begin, at one and the same time, to bring the troops home and see the movement as a positive step toward a new society very different from these uncivilized United States.

—Mitch Weerth

From a Kurdish revolutionary

There are tremendous pressures on Kurds in Iraq. Many Kurdish fighters fled as soon as they sensed that the two governments (Iraq and Iran) were going to cooperate. I am sure in their meetings, Iran is pressuring the Iraqis to hand over the Kurdish activists. Some Kurdish fighters who were in Iraq are now stuck between Iran and Iraq after the rapprochement, without any way to get out. Also because of the bombings of Kurds by the Turkish government, many have had to flee to Iran. After the chemical attacks on Kurds by the Iraqi government, over 100,000 fled to Turkey. They are in refugee camps and these camps have been sealed. In the midst of this Ozal (the Turkish Prime Minister) is saying that the laws banning the speaking of Kurdish are going to be annulled because they are "anachronistic"! Yet we hear about massive arrests.

The Kurds have always been the Achilles heel of any movement in the Middle East. We are the ones who wake up the historic memory of the rest of the people in the region. Arab Nationalism against Western imperialism is threatened by the pull of Saddam Hussein and

by religious fundamentalism. The Kurds are key to turning this around.

In the aftermath of the 1917 Revolution, the strategic position of the Kurdish nation became much more important. This is because the struggle for self-determination has been a permanent feature of the Kurds. There has been some talk that if the current Ba'hist regime of Iraq is destroyed the Kurds might set up their own government. But both Iran and Turkey have warned the Kurds that they will enter Iraq and prevent such a development. What makes the struggle much more difficult is that in the last decade the Kurdish areas have been vastly militarized.

In Iran last month a number of Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) activists were executed. News of this has been silenced by the thunder of war. It is very ironic that Iran's government talks of peace and the dangers of war. These are the same people who assassinated Qassimlu—the head of the KDP—last year in Austria. Ozal's trip to Teheran, and Velayati's trip to Turkey, did not openly discuss the Kurds, but it is obvious that all these governments want to make sure that in case Saddam is overthrown the Kurds should be given no chance to raise their demand for self-determination.

—A. Shapole

From Israeli peace activists

As citizens of Israel, we are exposed to Iraqi missile attacks and condemn those who send these missiles. We also condemn the occupation of Kuwait and demand its independence. At the same time, we oppose the Gulf War.

Bush's war is not motivated by the high-sounding principles of his speeches—just as Saddam's aggression is not aimed at defending Palestinian rights. Both of them are motivated by desire for power and greed for oil.

The horrible price of their war is paid by ordinary people: Iraqis, Americans, Kuwaitis, British, Palestinians and, of course, Israelis as well. We Israelis have already paid our part. The price in blood will grow higher and higher, the longer the war lasts. We believe that this madness could and should be stopped through the following measures:

- A ceasefire, agreed upon by both sides and monitored by the United Nations;
- Increased pressure by the international community to force Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait, by tightening the economic and political sanctions upon Iraq;
- By convening, after the withdrawal from Kuwait, an international peace conference, in order to achieve Israeli-Arab and Israeli-Palestinian peace, and to ensure that the Middle East will become a zone completely free of nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons;
- With the withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait, foreign troops will withdraw from the Gulf States.

We call upon the government of Israel not to join the war, despite the Iraqi provocations. The entry of Israel will only aggravate and complicate the war, and hamper the achievement of Israeli-Palestinian peace afterwards. The fate of Jews and Arabs is interlinked. Let us not wish each other's destruction. Only a just agreement between us can give both peoples a life of peace and security, one beside the other.

The above was sent to us by a group of several dozen Israeli peace activists.

From an Iraqi woman

Last summer when I saw the first wave of American soldiers being sent to Saudi Arabia saying goodbye to their families, I cried to see the little children hanging on to their fathers. Then came the first bombings on Baghdad. When I thought about my family, when I thought about my nephews who are on the other side, I cried. I cried for a country I left, for a people I love, the family I left behind.

When I watch the Pentagon briefing it's a Nintendo game, void of humanity. It's not killing people, it's "collateral damage." We are stripped of our human nature, but we get used to it. Don't get used to it. Fight it! There are humans being killed there.

We were shocked to see the pictures from the shelter. We don't hear anything about the Iraqi soldiers who were killed in masses, in thousands. Only three weeks ago they were students sitting in their classes. They did not volunteer to go to war. They did not elect their president. They were dragged into it. They had eight years of war. They had only 14 months to breathe, yet they get another punishment, from in and from out.

The suffering of the Iraqis is endless. The state of living whether you are a civilian or a soldier is very bad there. Since August I have not heard a word from my family. Where are they? Are they alive? Are they dead?

Since January, over 80,000 sorties have been sent over Iraq. When we saw the first missile over Tel-Aviv, it was devastating what just one missile did. Can we imagine what 80,000 sorties does? What are we doing? Why do we have to strip ourselves from our humanity?

One of my many American friends wrote me a letter. He wrote, "A handful of stubborn bullies threatening the existence of people you love, places that delighted

you, the country that nurtured you, increases the moral rot and social injustice of the society that holds you. Surely human civilization will not be destroyed in the same river valley where it began, but civility was assassinated before the bombers flew. I try but I cannot imagine how the conflict tears you. I do know that in the same fundamental way, you and I are united in sorrow."

—Iraqi-American woman

From a Black woman resister

A couple of years ago, something said to me, take this name—Azania—because it means "struggle." I am an African-American woman trying to survive. I'm married and have a 12-year-old daughter. I joined the army to help with my student loans, so I wouldn't be so poor. My recruiter told me we would never go to war. I couldn't conceive of war. All I wanted was peace. But if you know the history of your government, you know the history of its oppression of other countries.

I always hated the military because it was so discriminatory. The drill sergeants treated us inhumanly. They said awful things and made sexual innuendos. There were sexist marching cadences. Often in basic training there was better treatment of officers than of the ranks. Why should you have to salute an officer? Why aren't they saluting me? I'm just as good a person.

On the training missions, the officers stayed in heated dormitories with bathrooms; we were in huts where we had to find plastic to cover holes to keep out the cold, and we had to walk down the road to our outhouse.

As African-Americans, we have more of a proud history of dying for this country than resisting it. It's time for that to stop. How can we have patriotism toward a country that wants to destroy us? Our education is lower than whites. They crowd us into our schools. They spend money on the military rather than on social programs that could help us attain a higher standard of living for Blacks and all poor people. We're defending their right to oppress us! This country has done a lot to brainwash us. They tell us we have a stake in the country, that we can achieve what they have. It's not true.

Sarcia DeToles and I applied for conscientious objector status on Dec. 19. The process can take six months. Our unit can be deployed, but we must finish the conscientious objector application wherever we are, even if that's in Saudi Arabia without lawyers and witnesses. People are being court-martialed first, then discharged administratively—which is a bad discharge. Most are people who don't have any kind of criminal record, so the government is not going to come down on them and toss them in jail. It would look bad. For example, Jeff Paterson was court-martialed and they gave him an administrative discharge in the middle of his court-martial. But we are Afro-Americans and there are two systems of justice, one Black and one white.

Sarcia DeToles and I would be court-martialed if we refuse to fight. There's no way they would give us conscientious objector status and let us go. But there comes a point when you have to make a stand. I'll always speak out against war.

—Azania Howse

From student mobilizations

Chicago, Ill.—On Feb. 21, over 700 people rallied in Chicago to mark the anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X and to protest the war in the Middle East as part of a nation-wide mobilization of students and youth.

Students from high schools and college campuses marched through the Loop and protested at the Pan Am building against their racist policy of refusing to allow Iraqi nationals to fly on their planes. We stopped to demonstrate at the Chicago Tribune against their biased reporting of the war and anti-war movement.

A striking New York Daily News worker spoke out against the Tribune Company and their attempt to break his union. He related this to the war in the Gulf by saying, "It is workers who pay for the wars in their taxes and blood."

One demonstrator was so disgusted by a pro-war message that the top-40 radio station "Z95" has been airing that he painted a huge banner that read, "No War Hype! Boycott Z95!" He said he thought the radio station was sending "the worst possible kind of message" to youth. "It says all U.S. wars have been honorable," he said. "It tries to appeal to a good thing like standing up to a bully. But unfortunately it really tells people to stand up for the U.S. empire."

—Jim Guthrie

New York, N.Y.—In one of the most militant anti-war demonstrations in New York since the bombing began, 3-5,000 high school and college students—Black, white and Latino—took to the streets Feb. 21. The demonstration was part of the "International Day of Student and Youth Mobilization," and also marked the anniversary of Malcolm X's assassination in 1965. As well, New York students tied stopping the war to fighting the horrendous budget cuts and tuition increases city high school and City/State University students are facing.

The specter of even deeper school budget cuts angered so many at this march not only because they see money going to war, not education, but also because some of their friends could die in their efforts to earn tuition through the one avenue this society now holds open to everyone—the military. The march went from Federal Plaza to the World Trade Center—where Governor Cuomo, sponsor of the education cuts, has an office—to Wall Street and City Hall. —Laurie Cashdan



Button available from N&L (2 1/2" diameter) for \$1 + 50¢ postage.

Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

On Feb. 18, in the midst of his frenetic efforts to mediate the Persian Gulf war, Gorbachev submitted a "free market" oriented austerity plan to the national Parliament. It calls for a 60% price hike for virtually all commodities, including basic life necessities such as food. Gorbachev promises that 85% of the increases will be made up by wage and pension increases. But even if he is to be taken at his word, itself a highly dubious proposition, this would still mean an immediate 10% drop in the already miserable living standards of the masses.

The response was immediate and deafening, and not only from rival politicians such as Boris Yeltsin. Miners in the huge Donbass coal region of the Ukraine showed the class nature of the opposition to austerity when they stated that they needed a 100% wage increase just to survive at the old prices! If their demands were not met, the miners promised to go on strike in March, threatening to cripple the economy, as they had in 1989. Gorbachev's own preemptive response was made three weeks earlier. Beginning Feb. 1, joint police-military patrols were or-

dered into hundreds of cities for the purpose of "strengthening social order."

Gorbachev and his new hard-line leadership have already cracked down in the Baltics. They have also moved to curb the independent press and television, drawing back from the *glasnost* policies of 1988-90. Will a bloody confrontation with the working class be next?

Although too often stubbornly clinging to illusions about "free market" capitalism, even after seeing its results in Poland and elsewhere in 1990-91, the democratic opposition at the same time constitutes a potential force which could undermine or even eventually topple the regime. In some respects, Gorbachev's turn to the military is a sign not of strength, but of weakness. Even the military is in deep disarray, not only because of Afghanistan, the pullback from Eastern Europe and massive draft evasion, but also because of other forms of internal dissension.

One sign of the internal conflict is that no less than 7,000 soldiers died in 1990 in what the state-capitalist bureaucrats term "noncombat situations." Many of the dead soldiers are from ethnic minority groups, victims of racist officers. Others were killed for opposing military repression in the Caucasus.

These deaths are almost always described to families as accidents or suicides. Recently, however, a nationwide group, the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers, has organized to uncover and protest these outrages.

In the Baltics, despite intimidation and murder by the army and the security forces, there is no sign of weakening. Although Gorbachev said that such a vote would be "irrelevant," 84% of Lithuanian voters turned out on Feb. 9 approving a referendum on independence by a resounding 90%. That total included many ethnic Russians and Poles as well as majority ethnic Lithuanians.

One response by Gorbachev was to promote his Interior (Police) Minister Boris Pugo from KGB major general to colonel general. Pugo's new stripes are stained with the blood of 14 Lithuanians and four Latvians which his Black Beret shock troops killed in January.

That type of repressive action appears to be the future which Gorbachev and his co-leaders have in mind, not only for ethnic minorities, but also for workers and intellectuals who continue to challenge his moves toward austerity and reconsolidation of Party-Police-Military rule.

Albania's dictatorship on the ropes

Four people were killed in Albania's capital of Tirana, Feb. 22, as protests escalated against the Communist government. President Ramiz Alia was forced to name a new government with economist Fatos Nano as prime minister. Alia plans to remain as president.

A strike was begun by students in Tirana in early February and joined mid-month by nearly all of Albania's 10,000 students. Alia agreed then to meet some of the students' demands for better campus living, but rejected the political demands, including dismissal of cabinet ministers, removal of late dictator Enver Hoxha's name from the main university in Tirana, and an end to lectures on party ideology.

Albania—ruled for four brutal decades in nearly total isolation by Hoxha—has begun its own experience of the movements that swept East Europe in 1989. Mass demonstrations broke out in December. A number of opposition groups and papers have appeared, and Alia was forced to arrange for elections March 31.

Decrees to cripple labor strikes were passed but have been ignored by workers. The rulers have lost all grip on Albania's moribund economy. They became so disturbed by the growing mass unrest that they rushed to pass laws protecting public monuments, after a wave of attacks on the likenesses of Hoxha.

Workers as well as students have decided not to wait for elections or meaningless reforms. Bus drivers in Tirana and two other cities struck for better pay and working conditions, against appeals by Communist and opposition parties to hold off strikes until May. Coal miners struck earlier, in January, and won significant improvements in pay and working conditions. And reportedly 1,200 workers at a Tirana factory, and another 15,000 in Kavaje, signed petitions supporting the students.

Nuclear accident in Japan

The worst accident in the history of Japan's nuclear power industry occurred on Feb. 9. It has reintensified the anti-nuclear movement's opposition to the government's campaign, stepped-up since the Persian Gulf crisis began, for Japan to rely on nuclear power.

The accident occurred in a 19-year-old reactor in the Mihama power plant, near Kyoto. A broken pipe released radioactive water, contaminating water in the steam generator. After initial denials, officials confirmed there had been a release of radiation from the plant. Operators admitted they waited nearly an hour before shutting down the plant.

As recently as December, a government poll showed that over 90% of Japanese are concerned about the safety of the nuclear industry; less than 50% support an increasing reliance on nuclear power; and only a little more than 10% believe what the government says about nuclear issues.

Somalia's civil war

In the last days of January, rebel groups in Somalia took over the capital, Mogadishu, overthrowing President Siad Barre. Probably because it is an impoverished African country of only six million people with no oil wealth, the carnage in Somalia over the past months has gone virtually unnoticed in the establishment media. Africa Watch estimates that at least 50,000 people have died, both in battles and by executions.

Barre was a U.S. ally during the 1980s, and before that, he was an ally of Russia, as each jockeyed for influence on the Horn of Africa. Over the years, both superpowers supplied Barre with modern weapons. In its last months in power, the government, based in the small Marehin clan group, used genocidal measures against its opponents, killing thousands and forcing nearly a million people into exile.

The main rebel groups, the Somali National Movement, the United Somali Congress, and the Somali Patriotic Front, are each narrowly based in clan groups which have suffered under Barre's rule. By mid-February new tensions and fighting arose, as the United Somali Congress moved to consolidate its control of the capital at the expense of the other groups.

Gorbachev's crumbling empire

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One sign of the internal conflict is that no less than 7,000 soldiers died in 1990 in what the state-capitalist bureaucrats term "noncombat situations." Many of the dead soldiers are from ethnic minority groups, victims of racist officers. Others were killed for opposing military repression in the Caucasus.

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Chinese protesters jailed

During the past three months, China's rulers began and concluded the staged trials of nearly 90 intellectuals who participated in the 1989 Tiananmen protests. Reportedly 69 were released for showing some "contrition"; another 18 were sentenced. The latter include:

Ren Wandong, participant in the 1978-79 Beijing Spring movement and supposed instigator of 1989 student movement—7 years in prison.

Guo Haifeng, student—4 years.

Bao Zunxin, historian, researcher, veteran of Beijing Spring—5 years.

Yao Junling—2 years.

Liu Gang, on police list of 21 most wanted students, put in solitary for conducting fellow prisoners in singing the "Internationale"—6 years.

Wang Dan, first on list of 21 most wanted students—4 years.

Chen Ziming and Wang Juntao, veterans of the 1976 Tiananmen protests, now charged with "no willingness to repent" for "serious crimes" from the 1989 Tiananmen protests—13 years.

These so-called trials do not touch upon the thousands of workers already sent to prison or forced labor camps. Nor do they include "ordinary" citizens such as Xiao Bin who was sentenced to 10 years in prison for statements he made to foreign journalists after June 1989. Nor do they touch upon the many workers and unemployed youth who were arrested and summarily executed shortly after the June 4, 1989 bloody country-wide crackdown.

Terror in El Salvador

Right-wing military death squads are unleashing terror campaigns in El Salvador on an alarming scale of intensity, at a time when the Bush administration has renewed military aid of \$42.5 million.

Human rights groups reported that the U.S.-backed Salvadoran military was responsible for the murder of 15 civilians, all from one family, in January. Supposedly the murder was a retaliation by the army for a battle in El Zapote in 1989. The mass murder was committed only weeks after Bush gave the green light to releasing military aid.

Bush has a clear track record on not being influenced by civilian deaths. Before the slaughter of civilians in the Baghdad bomb shelter, there was the invasion of Panama when U.S. forces levelled El Chorrillo, the poor neighborhood near Noriega's headquarters. The number of deaths have not yet been established, but they are well into the hundreds.

The death squads are also trying to influence the legislative elections scheduled for March. Recently they carried out the grenade bombing of a left opposition party office and the machete slaying of an opposition candidate's nephew. Protests have been organized against the death squads and against the complicity of the Cristiani government in condoning the killings.

Letter from Nicaragua: life after Sandinistas

Editor's note: On the eve of the first anniversary of the electoral defeat of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, we received a letter from a Nicaraguan woman about life under the Chamorro government. Below we print excerpts.

Managua, Nicaragua—Many people live very well in nice houses they rent. They didn't have to find land to build a house, but many have now received notice that the owners are going to sell the houses. The Sandinista government gave us the land to build our house in a central location. There are nearby hospitals, pharmacies, parks, child care center and transportation. The neighborhood has 300 people and never received assistance like others have. We have water and electricity, though not drainage.

What worries us is that the Contras move around freely. Last night we were very frightened because we haven't put in the roof yet, and at midnight we heard the sound of an AKA raining bullets in the street. According to the Contras, they will hold the civilian population hostage until they get the changes they want in

authority over the military (the Sandinista Popular Army, "EPS").

This year at the university there is a big problem getting the fees paid for students without resources. The new government has reduced aid, and few high school graduates can now enter the university, only those with grades of 90.

Our standard of living is very delicate since the gold cordoba was devalued. Working people had their wages frozen after the last strike, and supposedly the gold cordoba was to be on a par with the dollar, but now it has been devalued to three cordobas to a dollar.

The mothers of the martyrs and soldiers of the revolution are protesting in front of the Presidential House, and will have a hunger strike if the government doesn't listen to their demands. The protesters have been in the plaza for a month-and-a-half, and for the last few days the police declared the plaza closed and cut off the water. Now the health care workers are going on strike. Their salaries are very low. A doctor earns 300 gold cordobas a month.