

# NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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25¢

## Workers' vision, East and West



by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

I was reading in the *Los Angeles Times* the other day what the capitalists in the West want the state-capitalist rulers in the Soviet Union (who used to call themselves "Communists") to do:

- "Raise consumer prices, to relieve chronic shortages that cause budget deficits."

This is a joke, that the Western rulers want to give a lecture about deficits. The U.S. government has the biggest budget deficit of all! According to our government the U.S. has been in a recession for a year, but the truth is that this country has been in depression and near-depression conditions since 1975. Are we waiting for the U.S. to declare Chapter 11 bankruptcy? Just look at how President Bush had to go to other industrial capitalist countries to pass the hat to pay for his "Desert Storm" war.

- "End price controls and ration limited quantities of consumer staples at heavily subsidized prices."

These damn thieves want to profit big off the poorest people, on what little they eat. There is plenty of food on store shelves in the U.S., but people cannot afford to buy food to eat and pay rent, too. Workers are forced to sleep in their cars or in the streets because a decade of Reagan-Bush administrations has brought low wages. At the grocery store where I shop, green tasteless peaches were jacked up to 99¢ per pound. Vegetables are the same, with prices so high only a few people can afford to eat them.

- "Make the ruble freely convertible into foreign currencies and give the Soviet enterprises a chance to compete in global markets."

The West has enslaved half of the world and now they  
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### Black World

## Ideology and Transition in Africa



by Lou Turner

"Our epoch is a birth-time, and a period of transition."

—Hegel, *Phenomenology of Mind*

Wole Soyinka, the Nigerian poet, essayist and Nobel laureate, has, with the African-American post-modernist Henry Louis Gates Jr., and the Ghanaian philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah, resurrected the African oriented journal *Transition*. In this its third incarnation (the location of its two previous appearances being Africa and Europe), the journal makes its appearance at a momentous "period of transition."

Launched 30 years ago in Uganda, at the beginning of what the United Nations, designated "the Africa decade," *Transition* sought to catch a continent in motion and the ideas of its revolutionary transformation. In today's changed world, however, "transition" has a very different meaning. Whether Africa's present period of transition is bent toward revolution, though, is not a question this "journal of ideas" finds compelling enough to grapple with.

### 'END OF IDEOLOGY' DEADEND

On the contrary, it seems all too ready to echo that most Western retreat from ideas, Daniel Bell's "end of ideology." In his own way, Mr. Gates would "like to see *Transition* serve as a kind of glasnost in Africa," at the same time that he'd "like to see *Transition* move beyond ideology." The teaming up of the apolitical Gates with the very political Soyinka is but one of the anomalies of this *Transition*.

Gates' ideological allergy, while itself ideological, is in fact an instance of Soyinka's critical view that "We who lay claim to intellectual leadership...have placed ourselves outside the propulsion of a historic moment." Although this formulation is part of Soyinka's inaugural essay for the journal, "Beyond the Berlin Wall," and is  
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## As Bush and Salinas push to impose a free trade agreement

# Voices from the other Mexico



Francene Kerry

Women workers in Mexico City. Some 80% of the workers in the border assembly factories (maquiladoras) are women.

*Editor's note: When George Bush won Congressional approval for "fast-track" (no Congressional amendments permitted) negotiations, it set the stage for a "free trade agreement" which will affect the life and labor of workers in Mexico, the U.S. and Canada. While we have heard Bush, President Salinas of Mexico and their political spokespeople tell of the "great benefits" of this proposed agreement, we have yet to hear the voices of those who would be most directly affected. Below we present several voices from correspondents from the other Mexico.*

### 'The cheapest labor'

*Mexico City, Mexico*—Mexico has the honor of offering the cheapest labor in the world! From 1981 through 1989 Mexico's actual minimum wage was reduced by 45%. Put in terms of dollars the minimum wage went from \$7 per day in 1981 to \$3.46 in 1989. This brutal cut in wages has reversed Mexico's standing as compared to other countries characterized by cheap labor. A decade ago Mexican workers were earning

more than twice what workers in Hong Kong, Korea, Singapore and Taiwan were making. Today, Mexican workers earn less per hour than workers in each of these countries.

This has taken a tremendous toll on people's quality of life. In the past seven years the per capita consumption of meat has gone down 45%; milk, more than 35%; beans, more than 30%. Malnutrition has grown over the past eight years, with some 100,000 children dying each year as a result of infectious diseases and malnutrition.

Mexican workers are a huge industrial reserve army who, under political repression, work for absurdly low wages, with below average working conditions, in industries with few if any restrictions on pollution. All of this puts intense pressure on the incomes, jobs and capacity to organize a U.S. workers' movement. The greedy and destructive nature of capitalism on both sides of the border feeds the current conditions. There is a need to strengthen the bond of class solidarity of the proletariat

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### Editorial

## Marshall resigns from court; Thomas nominated

# Crisis in civil rights intensifies

The untimely resignation of Justice Thurgood Marshall from the Supreme Court has not only given George Bush the opening he was looking for to complete his and Reagan's "judicial supremacy" over civil rights. Bush's nomination of the Black conservative appellate judge Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court represents his most cynical attempt to ideologically divide Black America against itself.

Bush selected Thomas as much for his Blackness as for his reactionary opposition to civil rights for Blacks. Which is what Justice Marshall predicted when he said that Bush's nomination of his successor should not be used as "an excuse for doing wrong—picking the wrong Negro."

### RACIST POLITICS OF 'QUOTAS'

President Bush's adamant, shrill opposition to the Civil Rights Act of 1991 has made affirmative action in employment and in higher education a major political issue as his administration prepares for the 1992 Presidential election campaign.

According to John E. Jacob of the Urban League, the word "quota," Bush's characterization of affirmative action, "is terrorizing Washington and the nation." Even the supporters of affirmative action fear the label quota, because now a "slew of political consultants are at work figuring new ways to exploit the widespread racist feelings that linger just below the surface of our national life."

By leveling the charge of "quotas" and "arbitrary dis-

crimination" against affirmative action, the President has politically jammed together the present crisis in Black civil rights with the present crisis in the American economy.

In the context of this economic crisis, Bush sends forth a racist message to many white Americans telling them that they are in jeopardy of being replaced on their jobs by "unqualified Blacks"!

In reality, affirmative action never broke down the wall of racial bias in hiring and, as far as opening the doors of the universities for Blacks, it only had limited success. According to a recent report given to the Regents of the University of California, it was found that after 25 years of affirmative action the enrollment of Blacks and other minorities has declined.

### WHITHER THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT?

However, Bush is not concerned with the effectiveness of affirmative action, but with the very power of the concept of Black freedom created out of two decades of mass struggle against the system of Ameri-

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### On the Inside

Ideology and the fight for abortion rights ..... p. 2

## Woman as Reason

by Terry Moon

Today, a woman's right to a safe, legal, affordable abortion has become the central issue in the fight for women's freedom. This is no coincidence. It reveals an ideology and a strategy; it is part of trying to limit and control what we think. President Bush, along with Pope John Paul II, think that if they can destroy our right to control our own bodies—they can do anything.

The determination to strip us of our status as full human beings is seen in the Reagan/Bush-stacked U.S. Supreme Court that was eager to violate the First and Fifth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution. As Justice Harry A. Blackmun wrote in his dissent of the decision banning federally funded clinics from even talking about abortion: "One must wonder what force the First Amendment retains if it is read to countenance the deliberate manipulation by the government of the dialogue between a woman and her physician." And now, with Justice Thurgood Marshall's resignation from the Supreme Court, the overturn of *Roe vs. Wade*, the decision which legalized abortion, is guaranteed. As Marshall said in his last dissenting opinion, "[T]he continued vitality of literally scores of decisions must be understood to depend on nothing more than the proclivities of the individuals who now comprise a majority of

### I will continue to fight

**Los Angeles, Cal.**—The wait is over. Republican Governor Pete Wilson and the Democrats have finally come to an agreement on how they'll solve their budget crisis: take food and shelter from the poor, take teachers' jobs and freeze their salaries, and not make payments into pension funds.

Welfare mothers are considered the most expendable. Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) payments are to be cut by 4.4% and cost of living increases will be stopped for five years. In the high schools there will be layoffs and increases in class size; fees are being substantially raised in the state university system coupled with layoffs and proposals to cut enrollment, while the community colleges will have their budgets slashed.

—White working-class mom

I'm a Black mother on welfare with three children, two of whom are disabled. Governor Wilson's budget cuts will mean we can't buy necessities. As it is now, my food stamps only last until the middle of the month. The rents are outrageous in Los Angeles. I pay \$800 a month to be able to live in a place where it's safe enough to walk outside the door. Nothing much is left after that.

These budget cuts will force women to work for cash under the table or do piece work or other kinds of home work. I've had to do piece work before and may have to now. Some mothers on welfare will have to shoplift or sell drugs just in order to survive, and then there is the worry about getting caught.

The state wants to force me back to work because I'm not in school. But I had to quit school to take care of my disabled children. The government keeps you in a constant state of turmoil, constantly threatening to cut you off. They do this to keep you oppressed. They keep you struggling to survive, so you won't have time to think about what the system is doing. I've always fought them and will continue to fight.

—Activist and mother

### Palestinian women tortured

*Editor's note: The following information is taken from the newsletter of Women's Organization for Political Prisoners (WOFPP). WOFPP is an organization of Jewish women in Israel who support Palestinian women in their struggle for freedom and publicize conditions in, and work to free them from, Israeli jails.*

**Tel Aviv, Israel**—It has been learned from testimonies of a number of women detainees that two new methods of pressure and torture have been added to the repertoire of means applied to [Palestinian] political detainees in order to extract confessions from them: the grave and the exile. The detainees who testified to their existence are Fatma Abd al-Hamid, Najia Ghazouna, Hachimah Abu Hichmah and Mazina Abu Hikma.

**The Exile:** This is a small, extremely dark cell situated underground and from its circular window one cannot see the sky but only the wall of a building. It is filthy, swarming with cockroaches, and the blankets in it are soaking wet. For breakfast one receives a single slice of bread and the two other meals are rendered inedible by their smell and appearance.

**The Grave:** This is a small solitary cell, the size of a coffin, so dark that one can only surmise its shape by touch. There is a step in it, 15 cm. in height, and above it a kind of niche, 75 cm. deep. It is impossible to stand up in it or to lie down except by kneeling. There is no toilet and the bottom step is full of excrement left by former detainees. The detainee is only 15 cm. above this. In the grave, one receives neither food nor drinking water.

On May 14, in Jerusalem, human rights activists protested against the use of torture. Signs read: "Don't say you didn't know"; "Right now they torture human beings 100 meters from here" and "Silence is complicity."

The newsletter recounts the testimony of those who experienced these conditions. For more information contact WOFPP, P.O.B. 31811 Tel-Aviv, Israel or call 972-3-5286050.

## Ideology and the fight for abortion rights

this Court." (See Editorial, page 1.)

In continuing the ideological attack against the idea that women have a right to be free, Bush has unleashed the woman-hating segment of the population. You can feel the hostility. Thus, in the excerpts from the new draconian Louisiana anti-abortion law printed in *The New York Times*, the word "woman" is never used. To those men in the Louisiana legislature, we are not women, not human beings at all, we are "a female," or if we are raped we are "the rape victim" or "the victim," or just once we are "the mother."

### BUSH ESCALATES MISOGYNY

The anti-abortion terrorists have developed new ways of torturing women. In Michigan, fanatics picketing a clinic put on their signs the names of two women going for abortions that day. And Michigan Probate Judge Francis Bourriseau felt free to spew his racist views, ranting that he could only think of two reasons he might allow a woman under 18 to have an abortion

without parental consent: incest or the rape of a white "girl" by a Black man.

In Poland, Pope John Paul II—whose latest anti-abortion orgy likened women who have abortions to Nazis—has tried to terrorize women. To obtain a divorce, new regulations require travel to crowded district courts rather than simply going to local courts; school curricula are being changed so that girls will be taught homemaking while boys will continue to learn all subjects; there is increasing pressure to force women back into the home to solve the unemployment problem.

While the Pope was unable to get abortion outlawed—for now—the Parliament approved a non-binding resolution banning abortions by private physicians; Catholics are threatened with denial of the sacraments if they refuse to sign anti-abortion petitions; the Pope-sponsored "Pharmacists for Life" refuse to sell contraceptives and strip other drugstores by buying the available stock; at Church urging, the Polish government eliminated state subsidies for birth control pills, making them too expensive for most Polish women.

Now, to obtain an abortion in Poland, a woman must get approval of two gynecologists, her family doctor and a church-approved psychologist. Frances Kissling, President of Catholics for a Free Choice, reports that "At least three women have died as a result of self-induced abortions since the regulations were put in place. One said she self-induced because she feared the psychologist would report her to her parish priest."

### WHO ARE THE REAL MURDERERS?

While the Pope can shoot off his mouth comparing women's determination to control our lives and bodies to the Holocaust, the truth is that the Nazis did what the Pope would like to do: they outlawed abortion—for "Aryan" women, that is—and enforced the ideology that women belong in the kitchen, barefoot and pregnant.

Bush and the Pope don't just want to end abortions, they want women who fight for the right to control our bodies to be seen as Nazis, as killers, as non-human. But who are the real mass murderers who must be stopped? Is it women fighting to control our own bodies and lives? Or is it Bush, whose destruction of Iraqi cities is causing the death of over 100,000 children; and the Pope, who silently lets 200,000 women die each year worldwide from butcher abortions—most in countries where the Catholic Church is influential and abortion is illegal. After the Louisiana law was passed, clinics there reported women calling and asking how they could abort themselves.

When the Women's Liberation Movement began over 20 years ago, one of our demands was the right to "take back our heads," to be recognized as thinking human beings, not just as bodies. It is that idea that Bush wants to destroy. Bush and the Pope hope to reduce us to "a female" or, better yet, "a victim." This is a battle that we cannot afford to lose. To win it, we will need to use all our capacities—especially that of thought—in order to make sure it is our vision of freedom, of new human relations, that prevails.



by Mary Jo Grey



Members of the New York City Hospital and Health Workers Union, representing some of the 10,000 laid-off city workers—many of them Black and Hispanic women—at a news conference June 19 denouncing the mass firings. A local union president called the budget cuts "a massive crisis" for "some of the lowest-paid workers."

More than 500,000 women in Switzerland walked off their jobs, June 14, in a one-day general strike protesting continuing sex discrimination and demanding equal pay and employment, better child care and fairer social security laws. "Women have been patient too long," said the Swiss Trade Union Federation. "Our daughters' future will be decided today."

As in the U.S., Soviet women face disastrous medical services—especially in maternity care. *Pravda* reported that 40% of women in Russia go through pregnancy with no medical checkups and more than half of the children are born with some medical problem. While the overall mortality rate for Russian children is 24.7 per thousand, in some areas it climbs as high as 58.2 per thousand.

Garment workers at Comtrade Apparels, Ltd. in Bangladesh have been sitting-in in front of the factory since management locked them out in March. Their demands include: review salary and promotions; reinstate ten fired workers; stop company thugs from harassing workers; and recognize the workers' trade union. A new trade union center, the Unity Council of Workers and Office Personnel in Garments, formed at the beginning of 1991 after a garment factory fire killed 27 persons. Workers from 60 factories got together and drafted a Charter of Immediate Demands, but have been met with police and company threats and violence.

—Information from  
*Asian Women Workers Newsletter*

**KARETA**, the first feminist newspaper in Yugoslavia, is preparing its second issue directed toward all women wishing to engage in feminist discussion about women's new political status. Proposed subjects include women's legal status, sexual violence, women's reproductive rights, pornography, rape, prostitution and women's work status. They are also encouraging the formation of rape crisis centers, as well as feminist bookstores, archives and studies programs. They are seeking help to form a feminist library/reading room to share scarce resources. Money, books and periodicals can be sent to: **KARETA**, 44 Zagorska, 41000 Zagreb, Croatia, Yugoslavia.

—Information from off our backs



### Women write on

**Homework: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Paid Labor at Home**, edited by Eileen Boris and Cynthia R. Daniels (University of Illinois Press, 1989), 299 pages.

The editors have done a fine job of bringing together important new work on paid labor in the home, especially in its most recent forms. They describe how this has impacted the lives of Black and Hispanic women, which is often quite different from the experience of rural white women. I commend their efforts to allow many of the women they interviewed to speak for themselves. Nonetheless, their overall conclusion seems to be that the problems they've identified can be solved by passing some new legislation, despite the overwhelming evidence of their own findings that this approach has failed for the past 90 years.

—Jan Kollwitz

**Maria W. Stewart: America's First Black Woman Political Writer**, edited by Marilyn Richardson (Indiana University Press, 1987), 160 pages.

Maria Stewart lived from 1803 to 1879 and her life was an anticipation of the times and the revolutionaries to come. Richardson writes: "...the powerful and affecting rhythms of her discourse all show Stewart to be a predecessor to Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass... Frances Harper and other black nineteenth century masters of language deployed to change society."

Stewart's writings reveal a Black woman emerging—as if she is in the throes of a process of becoming. One can witness her anger against those for self-aggrandizement or for self-pity rather than being a part of the struggle for freedom. She struck out at both attitudes and appealed to the young "daughters of Africa" to "awake" and "arise" and to "distinguish" themselves—to show their minds and talents.

Stewart was aware of the need for contributions such as hers—so much so that she insisted on having her writings and speeches published within one work. That work, her "Meditations," had been suppressed for 46 years. This present edition is a long awaited collection.

—Diane Lee

# U.S.-Mexico: "us" vs. "them"?

by John Marcotte

New York, N.Y.—I read in the UAW (United Auto Workers) magazine *Solidarity* about the free trade zone that President Bush wants to make of Mexico, the U.S. and Canada. Pictures of Mexican workers' housing showed shacks with open sewers running in the streets in the free trade zones that already exist, the maquiladora plants along the border. Workers make 6 a day and have no rights. Bush wants to expand that to cover all of Mexico.

That doesn't sound good for Mexican workers or for us. We all know how our lot as workers has worsened through the 1980s. Nothing is secure. How much blood do the rulers want to squeeze out of us? How much more are they going to tighten the screws? It looks like here is no limit unless we set it.

We need a means of communicating, we need organization, a way to reach out and hear the stories and the struggles of other workers. Whenever one of our unions has a campaign for solidarity, whether with South African or Guatemalan workers, U.S. workers respond eagerly. But those few campaigns are kept tightly controlled and within limits that the union bureaucracy thinks fit.

*Solidarity* magazine also has been playing up a woman auto worker who won a car on a TV game show and turned it down because it was foreign-made; she's being

## Keebler: all labor is forced labor

Chicago, Ill.—Never has the character of labor under capitalism as forced labor been clearer to me than in the language Keebler Cone Company workers use to talk about overtime. Overtime at Keebler generally occurs on weekends rather than during the week and, except in a few cases, is not mandatory.

Despite the "voluntary" nature of the extra hours, workers question one another, "Do you have to work this Saturday?" Or they say, "I hope I don't have to work this weekend. I'm tired." They express the hope that their name will not appear on the weekend schedule, but if it does, most will come in.

The compulsion for this seemingly irrational behavior is clear: A majority of the workers are women with families. They are classified as packers and reach the job rate of \$7.40 per hour only after 4,160 hours (or two solid years of 40-hour weeks) of work.

These workers face a two-week, unpaid shutdown in August and another in December. There has been a lay-off after Labor Day every year, reaching back to those with ten years of seniority and lasting until December or January. Whether that happens again this year or not, the company has already announced that those workers remaining after Sept. 1 face a four-day work-week. No wonder that, if you turn down overtime, someone inevitably says: "I wish I could afford to stay home like you."

As Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in her first major work, *Marxism and Freedom*, labor under capitalism "...has ceased to be 'the first necessity of living' and has become a mere means to life. Labor has become a drudgery man must perform to earn a living, and not a mode of activity in which he realizes his physical and mental potentialities...all labor is forced labor. Every instant of it."

—B. Ann Lastelle

made a real hero. What kind of solidarity is that with the workers who made that foreign car? The UAW, the ILGWU (International Ladies' Garment Workers Union) and the USWA (United Steelworkers of America) want to ban imports. Pitting "our" jobs against "their" jobs is not solidarity; it is short-mindedness. It is accepting the capitalist game that there cannot be enough jobs to go around, so it's you or me, buddy.

What about immigrant workers in low wage jobs here at home? Do we take for granted that garment workers, restaurant workers, those who pick our fruits and vegetables should be paid so little, because they don't speak English? Are they not workers like us?

If immigrant workers were to be rounded up and expelled tomorrow, whole industries would shut down and leave. Fruits and vegetables would rot in the fields. None of us lives in such a fantasy world as to believe that the bosses would then pay "American" workers \$10 an hour to do those same jobs.

I blame the union bureaucracy for keeping us a national labor movement without an international view and for never clearing out the racism in their own house, which is why we have low wages and runaway shops in the South U.S. Just as white labor will never gain by putting down Black labor, and "American" labor cannot win by letting immigrant labor be exploited, so labor cannot be secure in the U.S. unless it is part of a world movement of labor to free itself. I am sure that if we can build organizations that let us speak to each other, U.S. workers are tremendously willing to be a part of that movement.



## Replacement workers are scabs

Members of International Association of Machinists Local 1714 struck Aircraft Gear Corporation on Aug. 1, 1990. One striker told the *Chicago Sun-Times* in February, 1991: "Without the permanent replacements, they never could have kept us out here this long." This June the Communication Workers of America "disinvited" Secretary of Labor Lynn Martin from their national convention due to the Bush administration's opposition to a bill that would outlaw hiring permanent replacements for striking workers. The union leadership was worried that delegates might walk out during her speech.

## ARCO: what 8-hour day?

Carson, Cal.—After we had agreed to a bonus program a few months ago here at ARCO's refinery, the company announced a "no lost workday injuries" provision. Last month an electrician sent to work on a crane on the Coker tower fell 30 feet into the coke pit, cracking ribs and breaking one ankle.

A few people—some workers, but mainly foremen—complained that the accident would lower the bonus. More common were comments such as this from an instrument tech: "A bonus instead of a raise is bad enough. To base our money on no one getting hurt is cruel." This bonus is another company scam, both because its safety clause is cruel and because its production goals are unreachable in any safe way.

Throughout our industry the past decade has meant an attack on the most basic worker's right—the eight-hour day. The workday for operators is now 12 hours. At this refinery four crews each work seven days every two weeks. After five or six hours of keeping everything on line (and not on fire), you're tired; after 11 hours, it's downright unsafe.

The length of the day isn't the worst; there's the rotation. You work 6am-6pm on Tuesday and Wednesday, come back to work 6pm-6am Saturday, Sunday and Monday, then come back to work 6am-6pm Thursday and Friday. You regularly lose one night's sleep per week!

It's even worse with overtime assigned to cover vacations, during unit turnarounds or for Primary Relief (a plan that puts you on call a third of the time you're off, to cover "unscheduled absences," i.e., someone calling in sick). This mess often leads to seven straight 12-hour shifts. During the Crude Unit turnaround a number of operators went almost a whole month without a day off.

Is this schedule sane, safe or even vaguely human? The fact that our union leadership accepted this shift, in fact encouraged it, shows just how far we have to go in our struggles.

—Member, OCAW Local 1-128

## Job Corps safety

Chicago, Ill.—The U.S. Department of Labor has had a 200% increase in on-the-job accidents and injuries among its own employees over the past three years, which is shocking enough. But in order to increase its internal inspections, management has ordered a suspension of all safety inspections of Job Corps centers.

These centers are operated by profit-making contractors who compete to keep their costs as low as possible, which means safety is always the first thing to go out the window. Some are real fire traps. Besides, hundreds of things can go wrong when you are teaching teenagers how to swim or box, how to operate a lathe or a welding torch, how to handle their rage without putting a fist through the window.

There are literally thousands of injuries at these centers every year, many very serious. To suspend their safety inspections amounts to criminal neglect.

—Federal worker

## Workshop Talks

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want the other half.

I was at a rally in downtown Los Angeles, where workers were calling for jobs that pay for a decent living and a health care system that pays the total bill for all of the working class. One worker told me: "A decent living under human conditions in the workplace must become a right. What is freedom and democracy with these human rights left out? U.S. rulers talk about freedom and human rights, but they don't know the meaning of the words."

Bush, Yeltsin and Gorbachev think that if they get together, they can control the minds of humanity, but they cannot quiet down the workers. Of course, Gorbachev would like to do what the Western capitalists are telling him to do, but the rebellion of the workers there is bringing state-capitalism to its knees. They have been on strike throughout his land. What workers everywhere want is the freedom to live decently, like working people should.

The workers of the Russian empire produced all the wealth that the state-capitalist rulers took and put into weapons of war, like President Reagan did in the U.S. When Marx called for the total uprooting of capitalism, he had a very different view of "wealth" than the stupid rulers of any of the countries on earth, whether they claim to be "for" or "against" Marx. Marx wrote:

"When the narrow bourgeois form has been peeled away, what is wealth, if not the universality of needs, capacities, enjoyments, productive powers, etc., of individuals produced in universal exchange? ...What, if not the absolute elaboration of man's creative dispositions...? What is this if not a situation where man does not reproduce himself in any determined form, but produces his totality? Where he does not seek to remain something formed by the past, but is in the absolute movement of becoming?"

That is the vision that we need, as workers, East and West, if we are to fundamentally challenge the rulers as we fight against this capitalist system, under whatever name it goes. If this system continues, the rulers will take this whole planet to destruction. Marx's vision is a banner for all the workers of the world.

## Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Editorial

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can apartheid that so dramatically placed American Civilization on trial in the middle of this century.

As the battle heats up over affirmative action within the narrow limits of American politics, the strangely silent Black leadership, whose careers rest upon the history of the struggle for Black civil rights, should take **Bush's retrogressionism as an opportunity to reflect on the very nature of civil rights itself.** In other words, why have civil rights produced so little in terms of real human freedom and material security for the great masses of Black Americans? Can there be a new beginning, starting from the high point in the Black Civil Rights Movement?

The idea of a new beginning, rooted in a mass movement for freedom, is either fantastic or unthinkable among most of the people who are considered Black leaders. For them the problem is how to do practical work in politics, in social work, and build a liberal constituency. They seem to have forgotten that it was Black masses in motion for freedom in the 1960s who did more to change racial relations in this country than the 70 previous years of legalisms and social work.

American Black elitist leaders, like their white counterparts, abhor history; they see it as something in the past, not as present and ongoing. Thus, they do not see that the unfinished nature of the Civil Rights revolution of the 1960s is at the core of the Black crisis today.

What is crucial for Blacks today is to understand that the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, which "resurrected" the civil rights taken from Blacks in 1883 by a retrogressive Supreme Court, was quickly followed by the Black urban revolts which shook this nation to its foundation.

Implicitly, these revolts were reaching toward a totally new society, a type of society that could not actualize itself out of the enactment of civil rights laws. In other words, the mere transcendence of Jim Crow segregation in political terms, including translating A. Philip Randolph's "fair employment practices principle" into affirmative action, left intact the old racist, exploitative society and only re-established Black alienation in a different form.

## Black World

(continued from page 1)

integral to his attempted deconstruction of Africa's ideological walls—political, religious and cultural—the Left's ideological infantilism of which he has been a victim becomes so much the object of his critique that the ideological pollution of a decade of Reaganism, and latterly Gorbachevism, barely elicits comment.

Africa is still involved in the revolutionary endeavor of freedom, an absolute (not absolutism) which could not be hounded out of existence by colonialism, nor by African authoritarian states of the "Left" or Right. That something more akin to state-capitalism, rather than anything remotely socialist, existed in the East and in Africa to the south seems outside the realm of the "new thinking" that Soyinka wants to evoke.

Nor has the 30-year development of a revolutionary Marxist humanism on the African continent been recognized, either as an immanent critique of the neo-colonial African state or as the algebra of African-liberation embedded in the continent's economic reality.

Intellectuals as disparate as Leopold Senghor and Frantz Fanon, Sekou Toure, Eduardo Mondlane and Steve Biko sought to articulate an indigenous socialist humanism for the African revolution.

### MARXIST HUMANISM IN AFRICA

The 30 years since the founding of *Transition* has also marked 30 years since the death of Frantz Fanon and the publication of his monumental *Wretched of the Earth*, a work which represents the fullest expression of the African articulation of Marxist humanism. Far from eschewing the absolute of freedom, Fanon claimed from the outset that "The natives' challenge to the colonial world is not a rational confrontation of points of view. It is not a treatise on the universal, but the untidy affirmation of original idea propounded as an absolute."

While Fanon described national liberation as a process in which "Without any period of transition, there is a total and absolute substitution" of one "species" of men by another, he also warned that "if nationalism is not made explicit, if it is not enriched and deepened by a very rapid transformation into a consciousness of social and political needs, in other words into humanism, it leads up a blind alley."

Soyinka does find that it "may become necessary for each community to find a new, self-regenerating expression for that...which some of us still recognize and describe as Socialism; perhaps even that name will continue to serve as a general foundation for the humanistic striving of African nations." However, when he then follows that with an obsequious reference to the Jamaican Stalinist Trevor Munroe, as if unmindful of Munroe's counter-revolutionary role in the 1983 Grenada tragedy, it is Soyinka who has placed himself "outside the propulsion of [the] historic moment."

If *Transition* is to become a turning point in what Fanon called the implementation of "the dialectics of the liberation of the continent," it will have to recognize the real ideological nature of the present historical moment. Otherwise, it will only "move beyond ideology" by realizing the new retrogressive ideologies of Reaganism and Gorbachevism which so permeate this historic moment.

No major Black civil rights leader has understood these revolts as a leap in Black mass reasoning; they believed them to be aberrant, self-defeating activity which impeded the steady march toward the legal dismantling of inequality.

At the time of the 1965 Watts rebellion, Raya Dunayevskaya wrote: "Yes the revolt was a stride toward theory. It ended one phase of activity and began a new one. The new stage is far more fundamental than a question of violence vs. non-violence as a method of struggle. The genuine leap was not in the tactics of the struggle but in the achievement of consciousness of self ... and thus to take the first step in the construction of universals about a new society."

### HOW TO BEGIN ANEW?

Raya Dunayevskaya not only caught the new leap in Black mass consciousness but saw that leap not as an end but as a beginning, as a new stage in "cognition" which would become the ground for the thought and the activity of the Black movement, i.e., its philosophy, if there were to be any future movement toward Black liberation.



It is imperative today that we move toward working out a philosophy of Black freedom. We're now living in a retrogressive period—not dissimilar from 1883—when the very concept of human freedom, in its narrow bourgeois form of civil rights, is challenged by the Reagan/Bush Supreme Court.

Though Thomas's conservatism appears to be the opposite of Marshall's long career of legal activism for civil rights, they are not absolute opposites. On the contrary, the absolute opposite is the revolutionary Black dimension. Its ongoing mass struggles moved the question of civil rights beyond the legalisms of the courts and onto the streets and rural backroads of the white supremacist South. The compulsion to go beyond the limits of legal remedies stems from the history of American civilization and its historically conservative Supreme Court which have ever shown the Court to be the legal graveyard of Black civil rights.

It is our historic responsibility for that idea of freedom which the present crisis in civil rights challenges us to recognize.

## India's transformation

I was impressed by your editorial on India (N&L June 1991). You are right when you say that the Congress Party under Nehru's "rhetorical reformist socialism" did little to alleviate the centuries of oppression meted out to the underdogs. But the fact remains that both Nehru and his daughter Indira Gandhi adopted the slogans of socialism, secularism, and non-alignment because these catchwords served to advance their personal interests as politicians.

They were neither socialists nor secularists, nor even non-aligned. Their need to adopt the popular catchwords of socialism stemmed from the urgency to counter the political waves of genuine socialists like Ram Manohar Lohia, Jaya Prakash Narayan, and Acharya Kripalani, as well as the tougher political ideologies of the left groups. Their secularist sentiments served as mere veneer behind which they hid their highbrow heritage of the Raj and their own high caste Hindu selves.

The hypocrisy of their adoption of non-aligned foreign policy becomes evident when we examine their links with the Khrushchevite-Brezhnevite Soviet Union. Their lack of faith in genuinely democratic traditions manifests in the father's sabotaging of democracy in Nepal in 1950, when Nehru virtually forced Nepal's revolutionaries to forge a compromise with the king and the Rana tyrants; and in the daughter's attempt to impose dictatorship at home when she promulgated the emergency in 1975. The grandson, Rajiv Gandhi, scored no better than the other two: he took the naive decision of sending troops to tame the Tamil Tigers—who were in their own way fighting against injustice and discrimination—and in that attempt lost his life.

The India we see now is undergoing a profound transformation. The old equations no longer hold and the old principles no longer define India's character. The masses are on the rise: the dispossessed majority is demanding justice; the suppressed castes are out to challenge the ideologies of the upper castes. It is in this context of polarization that we can better see the rise of the fundamentalist Hindu Party (BJP), on one hand, and the alignment among the various left-wing forces, on the other—from V.P. Singh to the Marxists.

Under these circumstances, the Congress Party will no longer be the Party it has been so far; and the Hindu fundamentalists may enjoy some popularity for a time as a response to the rising fundamentalism in Islam and Sikhism. But its eventual future can best be described as bleak because it lacks the badly needed economic and social ideologies to combat the deep-rooted economic and social malaise at the heart of India.

—Himali Damain  
Kathmandu, Nepal

## Struggle in South Africa

*Editor's note: This is the second part of the discussion on the current situation in South Africa, begun in the last issue of News & Letters with Nkele Ntingane, founding member of the Alexandra Women's Congress and assistant general secretary of the Alexandra Civic Organization.*

Last year the African National Congress (ANC) declared 1991 a year of mass action for transfer of power to the people. Because they knew this was not a threat but going to be a reality, the government responded by starting violence in our townships and keeps it going unabated. The year 1991 reads as a palindrome; it read the same backward or forward, which means we can either move forward or backward.

In 1976, violence erupted. Our children took to the streets because of the poor education they were receiving. We have a generation, and I'm one of them, completely wiped out by apartheid education. Then the regime deployed white police in the townships, and late the army. That was so people wouldn't see there's a civil war going on in the townships because there was no conventional warfare.

The government is no longer deploying white police or the army in the townships. A slave owner will have somebody in the middle, a slave driver who will be paid. It could be a foreman in the factory, a middle person between the boss and the work force.

Today, de Klerk is using (Zulu chief) Gatsha Buthe lezi to continue perpetrating this violence, so it will be seen as "Black-on-Black violence." We know this is orchestrated at the top. It is strictly de Klerk. If he were to say this violence should stop, it would stop.

De Klerk has repealed the Group Areas Act, but this has not changed our lives because all our energies are being channeled to address this violence. De Klerk is letting his violence continue unabated so that he can make moves and be rewarded with sanctions being lifted. When we appealed for sanctions it was with the purpose of maintaining them until there was a democracy, an irreversible change.

Today, unlike Zimbabwe and Namibia when people went back home to cast their vote for the Constituent Assembly, ours are coming back to struggle. Last year the ANC signed a pact offering to suspend the armed struggle because the ANC was negotiating in good faith to say we are serious about freedom. We are serious about negotiations so we can have an interim government to oversee the process of transition to reach a Constituent Assembly.

The agreement was that people in exile would return home by April 30 and political prisoners would be freed by April 30. Many political prisoners are on hunger strikes and many are in hospitals. Of 40,000 in exile, only 300 have come home, and they are vulnerable.

Many do not want to come home because they are so vulnerable. The police know where they live. Before they can get any indemnity they are given forms to fill in, like a confession. If you are given indemnity, it is only on those activities you have exposed.

When the ANC signed the Pretoria Minutes to suspend the armed struggle, there were some questions on the ground. That is to say, why were we not consulted? The youth, particularly in the townships, were not happy with that decision. But they were content with the clause that reserves the right to resort to armed struggle should everything else fail to lead to a Constituent Assembly where every political party that has any visible following would be represented.

We had a consultative conference organized by the ANC that invited all Civic Organizations countrywide to talk about local government in a post-apartheid South Africa. At that conference we agreed on the need for the civics to continue as independent organizations, not aligned to any political party. If they are part of the ANC or the broader political movement, at the end of the day, we are not going to have democracy. And if there is no democracy there shall be no peace.

Therefore, the civics shall be the watchdogs of democracy. I'm a member of the Alexandra Civic and a member of the ANC. But we do not want to see ourselves being rubberstamps as disciplined members of the government. In the Civics, we are also able to mobilize a broader force of people to embrace everybody irrespective of their political ideology.

So though we are loyal to the ANC, we have seen even in the ANC that we can make mistakes. We promise so much with beautiful constitutions and resolutions that are not implementable, or if they are, we don't implement them. So we need to make sure that within the ANC democracy happens. If it doesn't, these other organizations, the civics, to which we belong, will be used as a forum to call the ANC to order.

We have seen what has happened with other revolutions, we have seen where the progress has been. That is why we don't want to start when we are already in the new order. We start now because we have learned from those other experiences.

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From the Introduction to the 1991 edition of  
Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution

## MARXIST-HUMANISM'S CHALLENGE TO ALL POST-MARX MARXISTS

by Raya Dunayevskaya  
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

*Editor's note: This text, written in 1981, forms part of Raya Dunayevskaya's summation of what she called her "trilogy of revolution"—Marxism and Freedom: From 1776 until Today (1957), Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao (1973), Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution (1982). In this summation, Dunayevskaya projected both her critique of Marxism since the death of Karl Marx and her view of Marxist-Humanism's historic continuity with the Hegelian-Marxian dialectic as Hegel and Marx had articulated it. This writing was edited by the author from a presentation she had given to Marxist-Humanist colleagues in September 1981 as the manuscript of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution was being readied for the publisher. The full text excerpted here is on deposit in the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection at Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, microfilm #7118-26.*

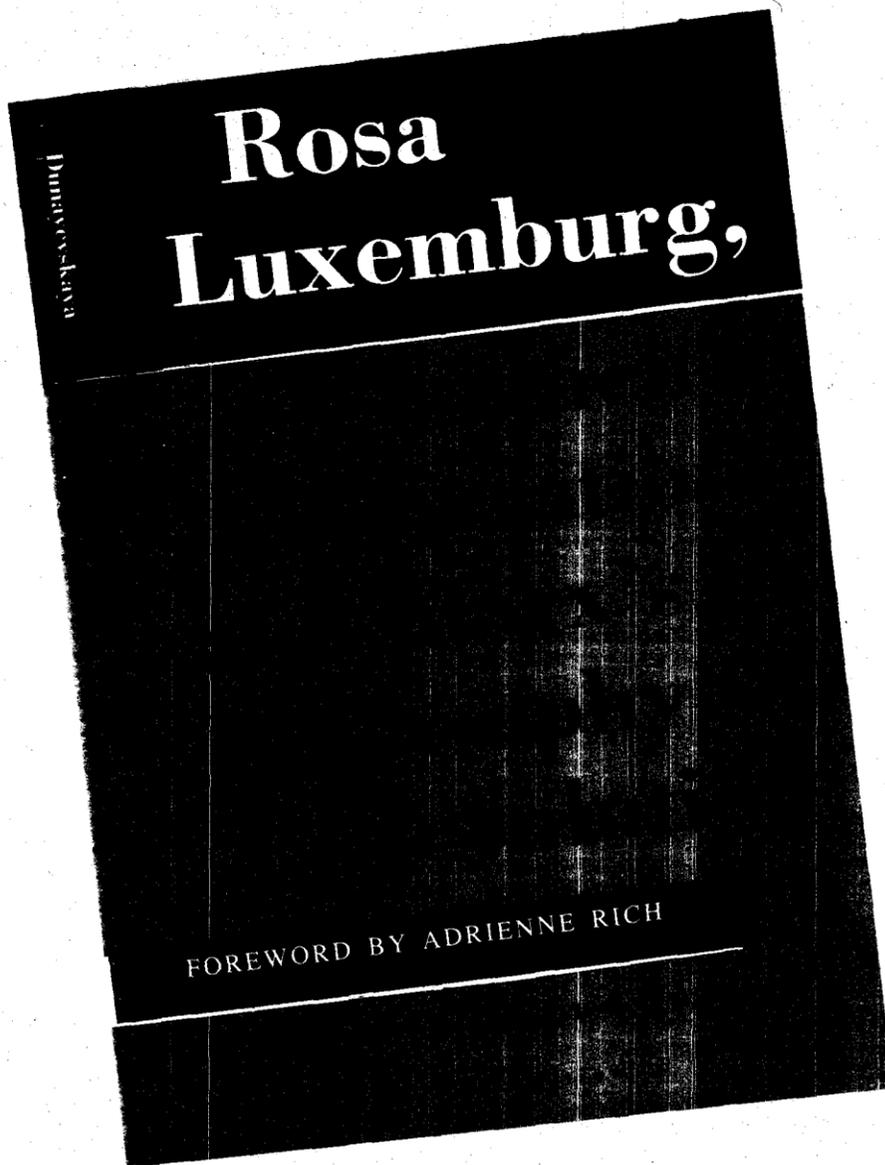
### I. Philosophic Confrontation With Post-Marx Marxists On The Ground Of The Mid-1950s Movement From Practice

Although what we have been talking about all day and will continue to talk about is "organizational responsibility for Marxist-Humanism," I will discard that expression. The reason is this: unless you understand the historic link of continuity, there is no point in saying "Take organizational responsibility for Marxist-Humanism." So I want to challenge what you understand as Marx's Humanism and its relationship to Marxist-Humanism.

When I said I was opposed to all post-Marx Marxists beginning with Engels, I didn't mean only the gap between Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* and Engels' reductionism in *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. I am challenging Engels also on nearly all of his interpretations of the dialectic, not because he betrayed; he didn't. He did the best he possibly could. That's the trouble. The best he could wasn't good enough.

You have to begin seeing what it means to be a great genius, a "thought-diver" like Marx. And if you don't grasp the uniqueness of that, loving Marx won't help. All you would then do, as Engels did, would be to popularize him. Anyone who thinks he understands when it is made bite-size doesn't understand what it means to appreciate and work out and re-create the dialectic at every single stage. Sure, six people will get up who will understand you and not understand Marx—and praise you as the "projector." That doesn't mean Engels had any right to think he was really projecting Marx's whole continent of thought—Marx's Historical Materialism, Marx's Humanism, Marx's "economics," much less his philosophy.

How many people think there is nothing greater than Mehring's biography of Marx? It stinks. And not only because he was a Lassallean, which was bad enough, but because, as an intellectual, he thought he could do better in projecting what Marx "really meant." Do you realize that the German Social-Democracy didn't even ask Engels—he was still alive, and much superior to them, including Mehring who was the one writing the history—for his views of the history of socialist ideas and organizations, a history he had lived through with Marx and with all tendencies who



truly made history?

Ryazanov, who was known as the greatest Marx scholar, an archivist and analyst of Marxism, had discovered a great store of writings by Marx which had never been published. He introduced them in a scholarly and historic fashion, and that's how we came to know the young Marx. That didn't hold true for the last writings of Marx, which, though he hadn't deciphered nor had a chance to read, he had the gall to characterize as "inexcusable pedantry." This characterization was directed mainly to what we now know as [Marx's] *Ethnological Notebooks*. As all the rest of the post-Marx Marxists, he was happy enough with Engels' *Origin of the Family*, which was supposed to have summarized Marx's ninety-eight pages of notes on Morgan's *Ancient Society*.

This attitude to Marx's archives, even among the best of "Marx scholars," who rush to publish their own views instead of publishing Marx's unpublished works, is one of the major reasons it has taken us one hundred years to find out all that Marx had worked out. Worse yet, we have been left with the impression that Marx was so ill that he did nothing in the last years of his life. The trip to Algiers at the end of his life was described as if it were only a matter of his health, whereas in fact he studied Africa there and "fell in love" with the Arabs. He had written to his daughters, as we have seen, that, nevertheless, [the Arabs] would all go to the Devil if they didn't have a revolution.

Catching the historic link to Marx is not only a matter of finally seeing all his writings, but of grasping, at one and the same time, that something had to happen both in the movement from practice and in the movement from theory. I want to depart for a moment from Marx's day to our age, specifically the years 1950 to 1953. It was after the General Strike of the miners in 1949-50

that I felt we had reached a new stage both in Marxism and in proletarian consciousness. I therefore insisted that a worker be present when I gave my next report on what we then called "Marxism and State-Capitalism" and what became [my book] *Marxism and Freedom*. (Until then, the discussion had been limited to myself, C.L.R. James, and Grace Lee.) Clearly, something was stirring in the world; I felt it very strongly after the death of Stalin, which had lifted a heavy incubus from my brain. Before the actual outbreak of the June 17, 1953 revolt in East Germany—the first ever from under totalitarianism—I turned to the study of the Absolute Idea, splitting that category into two, i.e., saying that there was not only a unity of theory and practice, but that there was a *movement from practice*, and not only one from theory.

[Later,] I went to check what Marx had written on Hegel's *Philosophy of Mind*. I found that where I began [in my letter of May 20, 1953] with paragraph #385, Marx had left off precisely at paragraph #384—saying he would return. But he never got to finish.

What makes somebody, a century after the event, without knowing where Marx had left off, start focusing on the very next paragraph? I don't know. I do know that there are certain creative moments in history when the objective movement and the subjective movement

### Excerpts from Foreword by Adrienne Rich, p. 7

so coincide that the self-determination of ideas and the self-determination of masses readying for revolt explode. Something is in the air, and you catch it. That is, you catch it if you have a clear head and if you have good ears to hear what is *upsurging from below*. All this happened May 12 and May 20,

1953, six weeks before the actual revolution on June 17 in East Berlin.

That is something very different from just being the first one to translate Marx's 1844 Humanist Essays and Lenin's 1914 Philosophic Notebooks and publish them [in *Marxism and Freedom*] as the basis for what we as Marxist-Humanists were doing on the American roots of Marxism, beginning with the Abolitionists and climaxing in the 1949-50 General Strike of the miners. That is to say, you translate because you have already been on the road to working out all these relations in your own country and your own time. Under those circumstances you cannot possibly look at masses in motion and not feel stirred to the marrow of your bones. That is what happened on June 17, 1953, as the German workers destroyed the statue of Stalin and raised the slogan: "Bread and Freedom!" That is what led to the transformation of "Marxism and State-Capitalism," which became *Marxism and Freedom* by 1957. By then we had become not just a State-Capitalist Tendency, but a Marxist-Humanist group, News and Letters Committees.

### II. From Absolute Idea As Movement From Practice As Well As From Theory To The Absolute Idea As New Beginning (1968-73)

It was different by 1973 and *Philosophy and Revolution*. Why was it different? Because this time it did not come only from the fact that East Europe had arisen against Russian totalitarianism (and there had been a revolt from within the slave labor camps of Vorkuta). This time it came from the revolts against Western imperialism as well. This time it was the youth the world over, as well as the Black revolution. Unfortunately, all the youth thought was needed was more and more activity, dismissing theoretical debates as "factional struggles" and considering that theory was so easy it could be picked up "en route." These were not just "factional struggles" but *historical-philosophic tendencies* in a very new form that at one and the same time caught the historic link to Marx and had an original contribution to record. That theory was needed, that there could be no revolution without a philosophy of revolution, was shown by the fact that De Gaulle, without firing a single shot, succeeded in aborting the great 1968 revolt in France. Something had to be done. The youth in revolt had not betrayed; they thought they were very original in rejecting "factional struggles" and insisting, instead, on more and more activity. But they didn't achieve what they were after. So this time we had to find the link *from theory* and not only from practice.

Before (1957), we stressed the movement from practice, the split in the Absolute Idea. Now (1973) we were saying Absolute Idea as *new beginning*, as totality which is just a beginning for a movement forward. *Philosophy and Revolution*, then, with its first Part, "Why Hegel? Why Now?" dug into Hegel as Hegel, as well as into Marx who re-created that dialectic, and as Lenin rediscovered it in 1914 at the outbreak of World War I. All this was measured against the rise of both a whole new Third World and a whole new generation of revolutionaries.

(continued on page 6)

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

### New in the 1991 Edition

Foreword by Adrienne Rich

Two previously unpublished texts by Raya Dunayevskaya

- Marxist-Humanism's Challenge to All Post-Marx Marxists
- New Thoughts on *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*

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## MARXIST-HUMANISM'S C



Rosa Luxemburg

(continued from page 5)

### III. 1981 Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, And Marx's Philosophy Of Revolution

The point this time is that in the work on Rosa Luxemburg, which is also on Women's Liberation, which is also on Marx's work as a totality, which is also on Lenin, and which is also on Trotsky, I not only take up revolutionaries, but great revolutionaries who were also theoreticians. Nobody was greater than Lenin in Russia in 1917 or greater than Luxemburg both in 1905 and 1919; how could they possibly be inadequate for our day? The point nevertheless is that before we spoke about the theoretic void left by Lenin's death, which had never been filled; now we are speaking about the fact that even Lenin, who had made the great philosophic breakthrough, had remained ambivalent.

He had philosophically reorganized himself in relationship to Materialism and Idealism, on the nature of the revolution that would not stop at the democratic stage but go all the way to the proletarian and elemental and international revolution. He also was for self-determination of nations as the actual bacillus for proletarian revolution. But, but, but...he did stop short of

reorganizing himself on the Part he had introduced many modifications [the impact of] 1905 and 1917, especially great when he threatened sign from the leadership and "sailors," if the Party did not put the conquest of power on the agenda. And he didn't stop criticizing bureaucracy. But when it came to sign with the Party then, far from the sailors," he was thinking that the shevik layer was so thin that it he must trust fully. We certainly accept that. We, who have suffered years of Stalinism, the transformation of the workers' state into its total of state-capitalist society, and have new revolts from below, will not have any vanguardism-to-lead; they have nothing but mis-lead.

In a word, if Lenin had accomplished a reorganization of himself on the Party Question as he had done Self-Determination of Nations, we have had some ground for today don't. And when it comes to the Question, I don't believe he ever of reorganizing himself. There we start totally anew.

As for Trotsky, it is not only the question of vanguard-party-to-lead on accepted Lenin's 1903 position; it is that his theory of permanent revolution which sounds as though it is M

## Trace the process of writing this book in the Marxist-Humanist Archives

"In a word, when Rosa Luxemburg writes of revolution which 'is magnificent, and everything else is bilge,' it doesn't mean the downplaying of women. Rather, it is the totality she aspires for the 'future.' The point, especially for us today is not any counter-position of revolution and woman. Quite the contrary. The real point—and that's why I have changed the title of the projected book on Rosa Luxemburg and the relationship to Marx's theories, from Marx's theory of revolution to Marx's philosophy of revolution—is that so long as we only talk of theory, we are talking only of the immediate task of revolution, that is to say, the overthrow of capitalism. But when we talk of a philosophy of revolution, we do not mean only the overthrow of capitalism, but the creation of a new society. Only when we have that in mind can the revolution be truly total"

—"Dear Sisters" letter of Aug. 9, 1978

"A totally new category of post-Marx Marxism was created as not just a chronological description but a rejection of all other Marxist theories—of revolutionaries as well as reformists—because even the greatest have divided what Marx had united: philosophy and revolution as inseparable... Seeing Marx's work as a totality made it possible for the first time to criticize revolutionaries as well as reformists, including Lenin who alone had reorganized philosophically and met the challenge of World War I and the breakdown of established Marxism, thereby creating ground for the November 1917 proletarian revolution, but who had not extended that philosophic reorganization to the old vanguardist 1902-03 concept of the Party, though he had often modified it."

—Methodology and Politicalization: the Difference Between the 1980 Draft and the 1982 Completed Work

- Rosa Luxemburg's feminist dimension
- Maria W. Stewart's 1831 appeal to the "Daughters of Africa"
- Karl Marx's long-hidden *Ethnological Notebooks*
- Disputes between Luxemburg and Lenin on organization and on national self-determination
- The unique and unfinished contributions of today's Women's Liberation Movement
- Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Program* as a thesis on the relationship of philosophy to organization

Because Raya Dunayevskaya held that the process of writing was as important to understand as the actual result, she included in her Archives notes and presentations, draft chapters and correspondence created during the seven-year-long labor of writing *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. Over 1,200 pages in Vols. X and the supplementary XIV of The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection document this long trek. The documents include Dunayevskaya's research on:

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# CHALLENGE TO POST-MARX MARXISTS

not—is not. Let's stop here a minute. First of all, we must remember that Trotsky did not name his analysis of 1905 as a theory of permanent revolution. It was a Menshevik who so named it; and Trotsky was glad to accept the name, without any reference to Marx's theory whatsoever. He was great, and way ahead of his time, in pointing out that the revolution would not stop at its democratic-bourgeois stage; that once unleashed the proletariat would go all the way. On the other hand, he did not recognize the peasantry as a revolutionary force, nor pay attention to the fact that they were the overwhelming majority in Russia. On that one, Lenin was right and Trotsky was wrong—that is to say, Lenin was right that you cannot consider that a revolution can be successful when it disregards 90 percent of its population. Lenin agreed that the proletariat must be a "leader" but insisted it had to be a "revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry." Otherwise, Lenin maintained, it meant "skipping" stages of revolution, playing down its forces. Marx, it is true, spoke of "rural idiosyncrasy," but he never forgot that "a second edition of the Peasants' War" was needed to have the proletarian revolution succeed.

Allow me to divert back to Marx's time. Marx first used the expression "permanent revolution" back in 1843 in an essay on the Jewish Question, that is, on the civil rights of a minority, insisting that civil rights were insufficient and that there had to be totally new human relations. The next time he spoke of it was during an actual revolution, 1848. Once that was defeated, Marx, instead of bowing to the defeat, insisted on the need for a "revolution in permanence." His point was that, first, one must remember the highest point achieved by the revolution. It was proletarian independence: "Never again must we go with the bourgeoisie." Secondly, the revolution, to be successful, must have the peasantry with it. Thirdly, indeed above all, Marx was always looking for ever-new live forces to create a new dialectic, not just philosophically, but a new dialectic of revolution. In a word, when he used the expression, "revolution in permanence," in the Address to the Communist League in 1850, he was talking about continuous revolution in transition to a class-less society.

Two decades later, Marx continued to work out his theory of revolution in permanence, this time in the form of actually predicting the revolution coming first in a backward country, rather than a technologically advanced country. In his 1881 letter to Vera Zasulich, praising primitive communism in Morgan's *Ancient Society*, he neither failed to mention that Morgan's report was government-sponsored, nor stopped at the primitive stage. It is true that the Iroquois women had more power than women under capitalism and collective property of the tribes could lead to a higher state. But Marx wasn't just recording facts; he was interested in what the facts signified. Marx had lived through the Paris Commune, and a decade later there was nothing on the horizon of that nature, and he was questioning whether a new dialectic of revolution could start within Russia and the Peasant Communes that still existed there. So non-determinist was he, and so open to all new beginnings, that he now held that his "Historical Tendency of the Accumulation of Capital" was not to be made into a universal. It was a generalization of what had happened in Western Europe, but Russia had the best chance in the world to avoid the monstrosity of

Western capitalism.

He was not predicting as a prophet. He was analyzing dialectically the law of motion of capitalist society to its collapse, the live forces of revolution who were re-creating the dialectic of revolution in new circumstances. And precisely because his vision was of a new form of society, a classless society, he didn't stop at any historic stage as the ultimate.

I began by saying that unless Marxist-Humanists fully grasped the historic continuity to Marx's Humanism and worked out the trail to the 1980s on the basis of those new moments in Marx's last decade, the expression, "taking organizational responsibility for Marxist-Humanism," would have no meaning. In a word, my "rejection" of that expression meant that the prerequisite for it was, at one and the same time, catching the historic continuity as well as working it out for our age. What I was stressing in Chapter XII of the book was the new openings in what Melville had called "abrupt intermings" and what we called the "new moments" in Marx's last decade, be it in the *Ethnological Notebooks*, both as they concerned Asiatic mode of production and the role of women among the Iroquois and the Irish, and for that matter, what Marx had written of the Paris Commune, or the projection of a revolution in Russia ahead of one in the West.

The imperative need to fill the philosophic void in post-Marx Marxism is most clearly seen in Leon Trotsky's reduction of the ground for the Fourth International to a matter of leadership, or, as he put it: "The crisis of the world is the crisis of leadership," as if substitution of good leaders, like Trotsky, instead of bad leaders, like Stalin, would change the course of the world. Instead, as we know, the Fourth International became the stillbirth it is. Had he considered, instead, that it was his historic responsibility to fill the philosophic void, he might have found the trail to lead us back to Marx and forward to the transformation of society.

The philosophic concept of leadership became correctly, with us, the projection of Marx's Humanism. That is to say, philosophy of revolution rather than the vanguardist party. It becomes all the more imperative that we project all the new moments in Marx that we did discover. And that is not limited to the new in organizational form—committee-form against the "party-to-lead"—that didn't separate theory from practice.

We have all too often stopped at the committee-form of organization rather than the inseparability of that from philosophy. And it is the philosophy that is new, unique, our special historic contribution that enabled us to find historic continuity, the link to Marx's Humanism. It is this which is totally new, not the committee-form of organization, as crucial as that is.

As I put it at the end of the new book: "What is needed is a new unifying principle, on Marx's ground of humanism, that truly alters both human thought and human experience. Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* are a historic happening that proves, one hundred years after he wrote them, that Marx's legacy is no mere heirloom, but a live body of ideas and perspectives that is in need of concretization. Every moment of Marx's development, as well as the totality of his works, spells out the need for 'revolution in permanence.' This is the absolute challenge to our age."

September 5, 1981

## From the Foreword by Adrienne Rich

Editor's note: We print below several excerpts from Adrienne Rich's Foreword to the 1991 edition of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.



Adrienne Rich

The separation—willed or unaware—of intellectuals from the people they theorize about, the estrangement of self-styled vanguards and their "correct lines" from actual people's needs and aspirations is hardly news. Dunayevskaya tried, in the very structure of her life and writings, to show us a different method. What does it look like when, as part of a movement, we try to think along with the human forces newly pushing forth, in ever-changing forms and with ever-different faces? How can we conceptualize a miners' strike, a poor people's march, a ghetto revolt, a women's demonstration both as "spontaneous activity" and as the embodiment of new ideas—not yet perhaps written down except in rain-blurred flyers—about power, resources, control of the products of one's labor, the ability to live humanly among other humans? How do we extract new kinds of "reason" or "idea" from the activities of "new passions and new forces" (Marx's phrase) without losing continuity with past struggles for freedom? How do we think clearly in times of great turmoil, revolution, or counterrevolution without resorting to a party line based only on past experience or on internecine grasping for power? How do we create a philosophy of revolution which itself helps make revolution possible? The American Communist Party was to lose its way among such questions.

Dunayevskaya's way of grounding herself was to turn to Marx. Not, I should emphasize, as a turning backward but as rescuing for the present a legacy she saw as still unclaimed, having been diminished, distorted, and betrayed by post-Marx Marxists and the emerging "Communist" states....

It was Marx's humanism above all which she felt had never been adequately understood—in particular his recognition of what she called the black and women's dimensions, but more largely as he sought not merely the "overthrow" of capitalism but a vision of "revolution in permanence," a dynamically unfolding society in which the human individual could freely develop and express her or his creativity; not a static Communist utopia but an evolving human community.

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, who refused the efforts of her lover and other men to discourage her from full participation in "making history" because she was a woman. But the biography does not stop here. The book opens into a structure generated, as Dunayevskaya tells us, by three events: the resurgence of the Women's Liberation Movement out of the Left; the publication for the first time of Marx's last writings, the *Ethnological Notebooks*; and the global national liberation movements of the seventies that demonstrated to her that Marxism continues to have meaning as a philosophy of revolution. Luxemburg's life and thought become a kind of jumping-off point into the present and future—what she saw and didn't see, her limitations as well as her understanding. We can learn from her mistakes, says Dunayevskaya...

Dunayevskaya vehemently opposes the notion that Marx's Marxism means class struggle is primary or that racism and male supremacism will end when capitalism falls. "What happens after?" she says, is the question we have to be asking all along. And this, she sees in the Women's Liberation Movement, both women of color and white women have insisted on asking.

And, indeed, what is finally so beautiful and compelling about the Marx she shows us is his resistance to all static, stagnant ways of being, the deep apprehension of motion and transformation as principles of thought and of human process, the mind-weaving dialectical shuttle aflight in the loom of human activity.

Raya Dunayevskaya caught fire from Marx, met it with her own fire, brought to the events of her lifetime a revitalized, refocused Marxism. Her writings, with all their passion, energy, wit, and learning, may read awkwardly at times because she is really writing against the grain of how many readers have learned to think: to separate disciplines and genres, theory from practice. She's trying to think, and write, the revolution in the revolution. Anyone who has tried to do this, in any medium, knows that the effect is not smooth or seamless.

Rosa Luxemburg may not fit the expectations of many readers schooled in leftist, feminist, or academic thought. It is, first of all, not a conventional biography but rather the history and critique of a thinking woman's mind. It supplies no anecdotes of Luxemburg's childhood, no dramatic version of her assassination. It does, however, explore the question of how Luxemburg's sexual and political relationship with Leo Jogiches expressed itself both in intimate letters and in her theory. But Luxemburg's central relationships, in Dunayevskaya's eyes, were her intellectual relationship with the work of Marx as she understood it and the relationship of her whole self to the revolution. Most biographers of women still fail to recognize that a woman's central relationship can be to her work, even as lovers come and go. And Dunayevskaya doesn't end the book with Luxemburg's death, because she doesn't see that death as an ending. She goes on to throw out lines of thinking for the future, lines that pass through Luxemburg's fiery figure but don't finish with the woman who "joyfully [threw her] whole life 'on the scales of destiny...'"

It's made so difficult, under the prevailing conditions of capital-shaped priorities, male supremacism, racism, militarism to envision that revolution without an end to which Dunayevskaya devoted her life. Most of us, even in our imaginations, settle for less. Living under these conditions, we can lose sight of the fact that we "live human beings" are where it all must begin—even to the point of denying the degree to which we are suffering. At certain moments, if we're lucky, we touch the experience, the flash, of "how it would feel to be free." Raya Dunayevskaya clearly never let go of her experience of the fullness of being human, of "how it would feel"—and she wanted that experience to be the normal experience of every human being, everywhere.

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**MARXIST-HUMANISM'S 'ORGANIZATION OF THOUGHT'**

The 1957 writing by Raya Dunayevskaya you called "On the Organization of Thought: from Marx's age to today" in the June N&L was the kind of summation of Marxist-Humanism that could be presented as an answer to the frequent question we hear behind literature tables, "Well, what is Marxist-Humanism?" At the same time, it was filled with exciting points for serious study by seasoned Marxist-Humanists. It challenges the post-Marx Marxists with the idea of a movement from practice that is a form of theory. That undercuts that old saw of moving the politicians and union bureaucrats leftward; Raya argues that something new happened in the world when the miners asked what kind of labor human beings should do—that they demanded a total approach.

Most of all, the whole talk was on News and Letters Committees—that is, on our responsibility, which is heightened by not being a vanguard. The point is not to wait for the mass movement or demand its existence. Certainly today, after the disappointment of the

The new edition of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* has just arrived! How important it is to have it at this moment was brought home to me when I attended a meeting on what to do about the Supreme Court gag order. These women were definitely activists in quite a different world than the academics at the UCLA Conference I wrote about in the June issue of N&L. Yet how to overcome being overwhelmed at the thought of uprooting the entrenched military-industrial complex?

Without Marxist-Humanism's philosophy of human, historic development, overcoming contradictions in reality and in thought, working out the always new and ever-changing relationship between the movement from practice and the movement from theory—what possible ground would anyone have to stand on today in considering social revolution a genuine perspective in 1991? There is no way we can be anywhere near the terrain of the concrete in discussing rev-

anti-war movement, what is clear is that the theoretic responsibilities of revolutionaries to challenge the intellectual sloth of post-Marx Marxism is compelling.

Because we live in this capitalistic alienated world where the fetishism of commodities rules, the "intellectual sloth" has a pulling effect on us too. But we have a rich source to find a pathway out. Whereas the world situation appears more dire than ever before and capitalist ideology appears as all-dominant... we have another 30 years of Raya's work since Raya wrote this in 1957—and specifically we now have a new edition of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.

Hegel's statement that "it is the nature of the truth to force its way to recognition when the time comes" could appear as a kind of teleology—but to Raya it was a call to action to supersede the division between thought and reality.

Shelley  
New York

olution if we separate that from discussing the legacy left by Dunayevskaya and how that reaches for the future as an active task to do. That is what made me so excited to finally have the new edition actually in hand!

Michelle Landau  
Los Angeles

In the 1957 article from the Archives Raya talks about the need for a total approach. Now more than ever we need that total approach if humanity is to survive and be able to have a future. Can anyone tell me that if we were human, we would be having wars and parades and feeling proud about killing other human beings—men, women and children?

Worker  
California

Congratulations on the new edition of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*! It is truly impressive, enhanced by Adrienne Rich's perspicacious Fore-

**Readers' Views**

word. She both understands Raya Dunayevskaya, the woman, and the meaning of Marxist-Humanism. Although it may seem a blatant non-sequitur, my feeling is that President Bush ought to make hay while he basks in the sun of his popularity because I predict that history will not deal kindly with him.

Editor  
New York

**THE BLACK STRUGGLE**

It is the simple word "Amandla" (power), as it is used in the Black world, that stresses that workers are not only fighting for different conditions of labor and higher wages, but for Amandla. In the Introduction to the 1983 edition of *American Civilization on Trial* we are told that "it is a feeling of fighting for nothing less than freedom which transforms the struggle from a mere trade union battle to one for a whole new society." That concept of Mind as totality speaks to the need to break the barriers that post-Marx Marxists have left to plague the movement today. The lack of a mass outpouring to protest the Rodney King case illuminates the violent attack Reaganism and Bush have unleashed on the mind of the oppressed. The leap beyond that barrier needs working out.

Eugene Ford  
California

In Nkele Ntingane's description of what women are doing to try and create a new education system in South Africa (June N&L), what hit me was that the organizations they have formed are called PTSAs, which means the parents, teachers and students are trying to work this out together. What a contrast to the U.S. where the one person who is never consulted about education reform is the student.

Jan Kollwitz  
Chicago

John Alan's critique of Charles Johnson's novel *The Middle Passage* in the

June N&L for "interjecting from the outside the ancient Greek concept of 'pure Being'... into the history of the American Black struggle for freedom," brought to mind an earlier critique of the Negritude writer Alioune Diop by his friend Frantz Fanon.

Nearly 40 years ago, Fanon wrote that Diop's preoccupation with what the latter saw as the lack of a concept of being in Southern African Bantu culture was at the expense of missing the struggle for freedom: In *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon wrote that "there is nothing ontological about segregation" (p. 186). In that book, Fanon held that the path to liberation or even of grasping Bantu culture under apartheid was "not a matter of finding Being in Bantu thought," but of connecting the struggle for freedom to a philosophy of revolution which he rooted in Hegel and Marx.

Professor  
Indiana

**SMALL LIGHT IN DARK TIME**

Here is something to add to the report on the Memorial Day anti-war march in Hartford, Conn. in the June N&L: Some members of that local anti-war community were not able to participate in that march because they were in New Haven to protest the appearance of George Bush at the Yale University commencement. Security prevented them from getting in but they were cheered when the Yale graduates started to file in. Nearly a quarter of the Class of 1991 were carrying signs, wearing buttons, or had painted slogans on their mortar-board caps. Some were protesting the war, others were for abortion rights, the environment, civil rights, or Yale's labor relations. Obviously, things have changed at Bush's Alma Mater since he was elected to Skull and Bones. It was a small point of light in a dark time.

Richard Greeman  
Connecticut

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**THE AGE OF GLOBALIZED STATE-CAPITALISM**

The bourgeoisie seems to have succeeded in identifying counter-revolution with revolution and convincing the world we can't go beyond the present conditions of our existence. We see it in Reagan calling the contras "freedom fighters," in the brokered agreement in Angola, and in the African nations wanting an European Economic Community style economic federation, as if European capitalism didn't make Africa even less than marginal economically. The critique of the Left has collapsed, never having had the ability to differentiate between capitalism and socialism in the present reality of globalized state-capitalism.

**R.B. Berkeley**

State-capitalism exists today all over the world. The state apparatus has taken over most of our lives. We can't move a finger without the approval of the state, the police, the tax man. Now, in the aftermath of the Persian Gulf, the state is taking the last benefits from the workers and the so-called "Justice" system is backing it up all the way.

It is impossible to grasp the problems of our age without state-capitalist theory. There is an ignorance within the Marxist movement which gives a free hand to the rulers to attack "Marxism" with their so-called "democracy." It is not Marx that is outdated and the rulers know this very well. What Raya Dunayevskaya developed is totally different from all other theories of state-capitalism. She proclaimed the absolute freedom of humanity.

**Dominican revolutionary California**

On June 4, I made a delivery to a garment shop here and noticed a Chinese worker was wearing a T-shirt commemorating the June 4, 1989 Tiananmen massacre. He told me he was from Hong Kong and life here was better. He had two huge hampers of cut goods to deliver—he was pushing one and pulling the other. They must have weighed 250 pounds each, and he looked like he didn't weigh 115 pounds. All I could think was how bad conditions of labor and life must be in China and in Hong Kong that this can be considered better. I was afraid to ask what he was being paid.

**John Marcotte New York**

There are several theories of state-capitalism. What is important is the uniqueness of Dunayevskaya's theory, its relation to Marx's 1844 critique of "vulgar Communism" and how he treats labor, the human being. Part of Raya's journey to get to Marxist-Humanism was in relation to state-capitalism, and part to Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks*. There were many pathways to her development of theory which you have to understand to see how you take the oppositions in hand and confront them in such a way as to see the future.

**Iranian revolutionary California**

We put a lot of the onus on Bush and Reagan, but the drive of the U.S. for world domination isn't due to one administration. You can follow it through ever since the end of World War II. It has its origins in the nature of imperialism.

**Longtime socialist New York**

The USA is now clearly the dominant military power (with Britain in the role of loyal sidekick), but Germany and Japan are the rising economic powers. I wouldn't venture to predict whether the future will bring collusion or conflict between the three, but the potential for a new rivalry is there and needs to be watched. The world hegemony of a single ideology—capitalist democracy and the free market—is also new. It has taken hold of the British Labour Party and international social democracy—a whole political tradition that historically supported the plan. It has taken Eastern Europe by storm, and even Russia is moving toward it.

**Richard Bunting England**

There's a lot of discussion now about Reagan and the hostage crisis, the back-stage maneuvering with Iran not to release the hostages so Carter would lose. The total corruption of the bourgeois class is so obvious, doesn't it make the hollowness of the victory parade apparent?

**Musician New York**

The philosophic divergence in the State-Capitalist Tendency between C.L.R. James and Raya Dunayevskaya when she refused to equate Mind with the party has its roots in the attitude toward labor. Dunayevskaya held fast to the socialization of labor being the basis of the new society. Automation meant a new concrete interpenetration of objective and subjective making it impossible to see where practice leaves off and theory begins.

**Black writer Bay Area**

**AIDS—TATOOS NEXT?**

When the American Medical Association (AMA) met at the Hilton in Chicago they were met by members of the militant AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power (ACT-UP) demanding national healthcare. What terrifies me the most was the call by the AMA keynote speaker, Dan Quayle, for mandatory AIDS testing and disclosure. When that doesn't stop the spread of AIDS will they suggest patches for our clothes or even tattoos with our last HIV test date and result?

**S.Q. California**



**WOMEN'S LIBERATION**

"What happened to Women's Liberation?" (June N&L) was perceptive concerning the problems with feminism today. It is, indeed, shockingly true that "today's urgent reality barely penetrates the academic walls." That is exemplified by the theories of deconstructionism and post-modernism, which have degenerated into asserting that there is no reality; we're all just playing with "realities." That view obviously comes from a very privileged, closed position.

Just because the political right is on the offensive against us now is no cause to become nostalgic about the past. We need to be writing new songs and moving forward, with all our anger and outrage, and our position based on freedom, creativity and respect for women's lives.

**Radical-Lesbian-Feminist activist California**

This country is getting so sick. After years of work to establish the fact that date rape and acquaintance rape exists and must be fought, some reactionary professor at the University of California, a Professor Neil Gilbert, feels free to call the well-documented number of acquaintance rapes a "phantom epidemic of sexual assault." He is worried that all this talk will take the fun out of dating and that "the kaleidoscope of intimate discourse—passion, emotional turmoil, entreaties, flirtation, provocation, demureness—must give way to cool-headed contractual sex: 'will you do it, yes or no? Please sign on the line below.'" If Gilbert can't distinguish between pleasure and rape, he certainly has no business on a college campus or anywhere else.

**Feminist Midwest**

I have followed the *New York Times* pitiful defense and then apology when it gave the name of the woman who reported that William Smith raped her. It really shows how reactionary this country is getting that the *Times* not only thought that now was the time to start naming rape victims, but they had the gall to title their article, "Leap up Social Ladder for Woman in Rape Inquiry"—as if being raped by a Kennedy was a step up!

**Disgusted Bremerton, Wash.**

**PINATUBO AS OMEN**

The eruption of Mount Pinatubo on Philippine Independence Day, driving the American military out of Clark Air Base, and nearly disabling Subic Bay Naval station—the two largest U.S. foreign bases—just as time was running out on the stalled negotiations over their future status, struck many as ironic and others as a very serious omen. No sooner were the observers comparing the spectacular eruptions to a mushrooming nuclear cloud, than questions began to be raised about the nuclear weapons being stored at Clark. In fact, a British newspaper reported the weekend of June 15 that a high-level nuclear alert had been declared by the Americans, and quoted an unidentified official as saying that an imminent nuclear accident was quite possible in the Pacific.

Press attention focused on the Americans... Meanwhile, hundreds of Filipinos have died from collapsing buildings. Deaths from respiratory problems, primarily affecting children and the very poor (including members of the Aeta indigenous group who live on the mountain and can neither easily evacuate nor get medical attention) continue to go unreported by the U.S. press.

**Victor Hart New York**

**THE ENVIRONMENT IN CRISIS**

I was never what you'd call a diehard environmentalist until I went to work in an oil refinery. The daily rape of the environment and the environmental rape of the workers is exactly what Franklin Dmitryev wrote of in the June N&L. The type of (or lack of) mind that would call for drilling in the Alaskan National Wildlife Reserve can be seen in the following from the "ARCO Spark": "This isn't exactly a paradise for backpackers. So much of the year it's a white frozen wasteland. But this time of year it explodes with life. The geese come first. Caribou not only flourish around our rigs and plants, as if the drillpads weren't even there—they're attracted to them." All I could think of were the rabbits who crouch in the middle of country roads hypnotized by oncoming headlights.

**Oilworker Los Angeles, Cal.**

The environmental movement is a hallmark of this decade. Recycling and Earth events are commonplace, but we continue to read of environmental disasters world-wide. The article by Franklin Dmitryev shows it isn't a matter of just tackling more issues but of organizing our thinking so we can address them in



**REVOLUTIONARY JOURNALISM**

Marx does seem to have had a word for everything we're confronting today. Just listen to what he said about the "media" nearly 150 years ago: "The press has become vile, and one could only hesitate to say whether the lack of understanding exceeds the lack of character, and whether the absence of form exceeds the absence of character, or the reverse.... The essence of the free press is the characterful, rational, moral essence of freedom. The character of the censored press is the characterless monster of unfreedom; it is a civilized monster."

But what makes Marx so important to look at today is that he then showed what it meant to practice philosophy. Listen again: "From the standpoint of the Idea, it is self-evident that freedom of the press has a justification quite different from that of censorship because it is itself an embodiment of the Idea, an embodiment of freedom." That is the kind of revolutionary journalism we aim to practice.

**Peter Wermuth Chicago**

At my college newspaper we had the freedom to say what we wanted under two conditions: a columnist with opposing views had to appear in the next issue; and we could not take part in any "political" reporting. This was because

the context of a philosophy of liberation. The paragraph about capitalism sucking the life out of humanity and nature together is important because the environmental movement generally poses the question as if it is an irreconcilable opposite: "Jobs vs. Nature."

**Susan Van Gelder Detroit**

I can remember when I was a child 60 years ago growing up in Kentucky, my Dad bought a one-cylinder gasoline engine to grind feed for our stock. I was in school, which was a mile away, and I felt sick from the smell of the pollutant that the engine put into the air. We were so unused, then, to pollution. In those days, air and water were the measure of what was clean. Today, right in the middle of the capitalist war in the Persian Gulf, Bush declared an "energy policy" that meant intensified war on the environment here at home for the sake of capitalist production. That means war on the air we breathe, the water we drink, against everything that sustains life.

**Felix Martin Los Angeles**

**TRANSFORMING GLASGOW?**

The Labour administration is trying to transform Glasgow and encourage inward investment in finance, commerce and culture, in conjunction with the Tory-controlled Scottish Development Agency. It began in the mid-1980s and at first was mainly confined to image building. Later considerable sums of public money went into such events as the Glasgow Garden Festival, culminating last year in Glasgow being the European City of Culture for the year. Most of the public money ended up in private hands—public relations firms, advertisers, speculative builders and other fast money merchants. The City centre has been "yuppified" while nothing has been done for Glasgow's major peripheral housing schemes. (I believe this pattern of urban regeneration was first pioneered in the U.S.)

Central to this drive has been a concerted attempt to suppress Glasgow's working class heritage of struggle. The image of Red Clydeside is not attractive to the sharp suited businessman that Glasgow's Labour group now wants to attract. Ironically, this dismissal of Glasgow's radical tradition has coincided with mass defiance of the law—40% of the people of Glasgow have refused to pay the poll tax introduced by the Tories and implemented mainly by Labour Local Authorities!

**Correspondent Scotland**

of an ambiguous concept called "credibility."

N&L has exactly what is needed and nobody else gives—the perspective of live, human beings. As a journalist, these "voices from below" seem to me the only ones worth listening to. It must be difficult to ensure they are heard when those in power are exerting equal effort and a lot more money to make sure they aren't. I learn so much from reading N&L!

**Practicing journalist Michigan**

News & Letters is too repetitive. I hardly read anything I don't already expect in advance.

**Intellectual Berlin**

N&L has so much sheer information on popular struggles in various parts of the world that it lessens a feeling of isolation. The mainstream media simply blanks out some of the most important happenings. It is also the analytical clarity that is important, Raya Dunayevskaya's work especially. I am working out how to do some research work in her archives. My particular interest is in the women's movement. I appreciate N&L's perspective that that struggle has its own specifications and yet is integrally related to "other" struggles. In the Indian context that means peasant struggles, class struggles, struggles of lower castes and tribal struggles.

**Women's liberationist New Delhi**

# Voices from the other Mexico

(continued from page 1)

of both countries which capitalism is constantly trying to weaken.

—Student,

National Autonomous University of Mexico

## Trade union opposition

The Authentic Workers Front (FAT), an independent trade union in Mexico, has been organizing discussions on the proposed free trade agreement among workers in Mexico and seeking international solidarity by holding a conference with Canadian and U.S. trade union locals. Below we print a discussion from a trade union activist in FAT.

In Mexico little information has been forthcoming from authorities about the direction and content of what's being negotiated with the free trade agreement. Since before 1986 when Mexico reduced all at once its tariffs—to the point of becoming one of the most open economies in the world—Mexican wages in real terms have shrunk 60%. Neither this opening up of the economy, nor the various "economic pacts" in existence since 1987 to check inflation, has stopped the loss of buying power of Mexican workers.

In reality, the jobs generated by the commercial opening, in particular the maquiladora industry (U.S.-owned assembly factories just south of the U.S.-Mexico border), have not been as great as the government expected. Close to 450,000 jobs exist in the maquiladoras. Some 60,000 jobs are generated annually, while the economy needs one million new jobs per year. The jobs created are sensitive to the U.S. recession and have in large part a temporary character.

The maquiladora industry, established on the border strip is highly polluting. It has harmed the ecology and water in the sites where it is operating.

One curious aspect of our system is seen in the fact that in the past few months, when we have had high indexes of pollution in the capital, no measures to protect the population were undertaken. Now however, when questions exist in the U.S. about our environmental policy, suddenly the government shuts down 100 businesses for not complying with measures to protect the environment. What concern about people's health couldn't achieve, discussion about "fast track" negotiations with the U.S. did.

In Mexico we do not know under what terms oil is being negotiated. What is clear is that the U.S. is interested in a regular supply at a low cost, whether or not it is included directly in the treaty. The list of basic petrochemical products constitutionally protected from control by foreign powers has been reduced unilaterally by the government through arrangements, not by passing legislation.

The displacement of Mexican workers through illegal immigration to the U.S. and Canada is caused not only by scarcity of jobs, but fundamentally through the loss of stimuli to production activity, both agricultural and industrial, and by low wages. Taken all together these are the obstacles which prevent the incorporation of workers from the so-called "underground" economy into the formal economy.

It has been insisted that a free trade pact is the only path, the only formula for our growth—"our entry into the big leagues." We think it is not like that. There are other paths of development.

—Trade unionist

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Francene Kerry

## The struggle of Tornel tire workers

The Tornel factory is composed of four plants located in Mexico City with approximately 1,200 workers. Tornel is a good example of a "competitive" Mexican industry: 1) It has some of the lowest salaries in the world. 2) It has abundant labor-power which is submitted to high intensity production, including the extension of the work week up to 72 hours. 3) It has horrible hygiene and safety conditions. 4) The technology consists of discarded U.S. machinery which the factory workers themselves have to repair.

For the workers it means breathing toxic gases, smoke and black dust; hearing problems from the dirt getting into workers' ears; eye problems caused by excess sulphur; back problems caused by the heavy loads workers are required to carry. Mutilation and loss of hands and fingers are frequent.

For some ten years, due to the despotism of the government-controlled union, the CTM (Confederation of Mexican Workers), there has been no union assembly at Tornel. A little over two years ago the exploitation of the workers and the lack of safety on the job motivated a self-organization. When a comrade worker died, and the union organizer not only did not turn over money collected by his co-workers to his widow, but sexually harassed her, the indignation boiled over.

The workers began creating their own organization with departmental delegates as well as press and propaganda committees. This self-organization made it possible to exert pressure on the union and the factory management, halting production and encouraging the development of the workers' consciousness.

After several months of self-organization the workers went before the Secretary General of the CTM, Fidel Velasquez, to demand an assembly. He responded by imposing a new secretary on their organization and by placing conditions on how the assembly could be realized, trying to break down the structure of their organization. He accused the workers' movement of being infiltrated by professional agitators, guerrillas and Cardenistas (followers of Cuauhtemoc Cardenas, opposition presidential candidate).

Despite these pressures, the workers carried out their assembly in the local union hall of an independent union and decided to register themselves as an independent union. The Mexican Secretary of Labor denied their application for registration as an independent union and told them to go register with another union, a CTM rival. He set a voting date for the union a full eight months away to try and ruin the movement's momentum.

When voting day finally came, the 1,000 workers who gathered to vote were greeted by several hundred thugs armed with pipes, knives and bottles. The workers tried to ignore this provocation, but nine comrades were wounded, three of whom were hospitalized.

In the face of this attack the workers set up a camp in front of the Federal Council of Conciliation and Arbitration. They baptized the spot "Workers Solidarity Plaza" and declared themselves to be a movement of resistance. As far as the Council was concerned, the conflict was over. But the workers responded by exposing their situation to other unions, to popular organizations and universities.

A few days later the factory fired 500 workers, adding to 150 fired earlier. Three months after the firing a revolt took place within the factory. At that time the company threatened the original workers still on the job who sympathized with the movement. Workers on the picket line demanded another vote on the union within government offices to prevent intimidation. This did not occur, so only those workers actually inside the plant could vote. The result was a CTM victory.

Finally, in April of this year, 197 workers who had been on the picket line agreed to settle and were paid 60% of the money they had lost through cuts in their salaries.

The events we have traced over the period of two years show the general offensive undertaken by capital and the Mexican state against workers when they try

and change their labor conditions. It is a systematic rape of their most basic rights, an unprecedented degradation of their quality of life.

—Student supporter of Tornel workers

## Mexico in the world market

I believe that what is involved in the free trade agreement is consolidating the plan which has been carried out by the Mexican government under de la Madrid and Salinas (that is, since 1982). It is a plan which consists of integral de-nationalization:

1) The transfer of economic-political decision-making to the "staff" of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, thus losing Mexico's sovereignty. 2) The transfer of property from major state corporations to the big transnational consortia and their partners in the national oligarchy. For example, a recent study showed that the 37 largest management groups, controlled by 37 persons, generate 22% of Mexico's Gross National Product. 3) The maintaining of excessively low wages increases the profits of the local capitalists and transnationals, as well as putting pressure on the demand of the U.S. workers. The principal object is the lowering of wages of North American workers. 4) The appropriation by U.S. capital of Mexican national resources such as oil and copper.

The plan has been carried out since the de la Madrid administration came into office with its modernizing technocrats educated at Harvard, Yale, MIT, etc. At this time the plan is very advanced, and it seems to me that they want to crown it with a free trade agreement to make these policies irreversible and to deepen them even more.

A very important aspect is the situation of the working class in the three countries: the U.S., Mexico and Canada. Actually it is the most important. I believe the problem is more or less this:

1) The U.S. has lost competitiveness as producers of manufacturing goods for the world market as opposed to Japan or Germany. From that comes its trade deficit.

2) The "natural" and "progressive" capitalist way to compete would be to increase labor productivity principally through the introduction of very new technology.

3) They are trying to avoid this and so are choosing the "easy" way to recoup that competitiveness by lowering the wages of North Americans, putting the workers of Mexico and the U.S. in competition against each other. Thus, a true restructuring of the North American economy is being avoided. They are planning to diminish the wages and in that way compete on the world market.

—Economics student,

National Autonomous University of Mexico

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# Youth On "Political Correctness"

by Tom Parsons

In his May 4 commencement address at the University of Michigan, George Bush intensified his war on freedom at home by assuming the helm as commander-in-chief of the crusade against "Political Correctness" (P.C.). This ideological assault gained ominous momentum during the Gulf War hysteria. Reactionary ideologues such as Dinesh D'Souza have been given the "liberty" by the national media to conduct their attack on the notions of multi-cultural curriculum, affirmative action, increased recruitment of minority students and faculty, women's studies, and campus regulations designed to prevent racist, sexist and anti-gay harassment.

These theoretical front-men for the Reagan-Bush retrogression seek to roll back any gains still left from the movements of the 1960s, and any new ones born out of the struggles of the 1980s, under the guise that they limit the "free exchange of ideas" and "American pluralism." The free speech of a racist-sexist-homophobe is held above the right of Blacks, women, and gays to live free of intimidation.

## THE NEW REACTIONARY WATCHWORD

With Bush's veto of the Civil Rights Act, P.C. is joining "quota" and "reverse racism" as reactionary watchwords of the 1990s. Bush has declared that, "It [P.C.] declares certain topics off limits, certain expressions off-limits, even certain gestures off-limits....Political extremists roam the land abusing the ideas of free speech, setting citizens against one another on the basis of their class or race."

These "extremists" who Bush would like to wipe off the face of his New World Order are people like myself who under the whip of the Reagan 1980s shook campuses across the nation. We seized buildings and erected shanty-towns demanding an end to university complicity with apartheid South Africa. We battled racist attacks and institutionalized racism. We marched in women's Take Back the Night marches. Into the 1990s, we fought to end gay bashing and official R.O.T.C. homophobia. Students swelled the ranks of the movement to stop the Gulf War, and have again seized the campuses, demanding an end to racist, classist cuts in education. It is the idea expressed in these struggles of a new kind of human society that is under attack.

The liberal university professors have not been able to beat back the right-wing offensive. They abstract the policies which they are attempting to defend from the struggle that created them in the first place, as if programs such as affirmative action were born out of successful negotiating skills rather than mass self-activity of Blacks and other minorities. Their relativist position of "diversity" also denies any struggle, pretending that history has not demonstrated the lie of "peaceful-co-existence" between white supremacy and free development of people of color. Others who do claim to see anti-P.C. as an ideological offensive try to disprove each accusation one at a time. Statements such as, "minorities have an unfair advantage in college admissions," are rebutted with statistics showing an actual drop in

## Support war resisters!

Chicago, Ill.—Although Bush is no longer bombing Iraq, the war against the GIs who refused to fight is intensifying. Over 150 face court martial and up to seven years in prison. Two face possible death penalty for desertion, and Amnesty International has listed some as prisoners of conscience. Most are being detained pending trial in the U.S., such as the "Camp Lejeune 25" and the "magnificent seven" at Camp Pendleton, Cal. Some are detained in Germany where they have received broad support from the German peace movement. Still others were shackled and forcibly sent to Saudi Arabia where they sit in the brig in Riyadh.

T.K. Jones, a resister from the West Coast, wrote, before he turned himself in: "As I walk the streets in my neighborhood observing the 'American way of life' that Bush wanted me to go to the Middle East to murder for...I see homeless people, an estimated 30% of whom are Vietnam vets... I see the rich getting richer off of the blood and sweat of the poor. I see a nation that can't find a dime for more social programs to improve its citizens' lives but can mortgage the lives of its children for generations to come. Even when I close the door to my room, I cannot escape this government's brutality. I turn on the television to see the LAPD shamelessly beating a Black man...I will not submit to a government that prioritizes tools of destruction before the needs of humanity..."

T.K. and all the resisters need our support. They can be contacted through the *Anti-Warrior*, 48 Shattuck Square, Box 129, Berkeley, CA 94704.

—Resister supporter

## Marxism and Freedom by Raya Dunayevskaya

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minority enrollment. A mere recounting of the facts still fails to take on the ideological nature of the assaults which will not be slowed by this type of empiricism or shortcuts of activism alone.

Of course we must build a movement to oppose this new phenomena, but on that basis? Unless we take responsibility for working out the meaning of human freedom, the door is open for Bush to appropriate it and turn it into its opposite.

Karl Marx's examination of the relationship between political rights and universal human emancipation can help us cut through the current morass: "In the previous substitutes for the community, in the state, etc., personal freedom has existed only for the individuals who developed within the relationships of the ruling class. . . In the true community the individuals obtain their freedom in and through their association." (*German Ideology*)

There have always been "Politically Correct" ideas determined by the rulers. Bush wants "personal freedom" only for those who express the ideas that maintain this racist, sexist, class society. Marx had their number when he wrote, "Freedom is so much the essence of man that even its opponents realize it. . . No one fights freedom; he fights at most the freedom of others."

One contradiction we face is that we have a vision of a new human society where individual freedom will be developed through the free associations of the community and yet we live here and now in this backlash where we must defend the civil rights we obtain from the alienated state. This is what Marx was dealing with in writing of the relation between political rights and human emancipation.

Today our generation can only neglect philosophy at our own peril. The failure of the anti-war movement shows that activity alone is not enough. The very survival of the freedom movements are at stake.

## 'Protest is lifelong'

Richmond Ind.—At Earlham College, a small liberal arts school, the large anti-war group faltered and fell apart halfway into the war. Most of the campus was passionately against Bush's war in the Gulf. There were also many people willing to protest it. However, this activism was short and the group was soon inactive.

I believe the greatest problem that faced us was not having long-term goals. We were active from week to week without a future insight. We had no ultimate goals guiding us. Swamped with details, the organizers had nothing bigger to look to. We didn't have the energy that comes from a philosophy of struggle for peace and justice. The most important thing to realize is that protest is lifelong, and struggle never ends. With this perspective, and a strong philosophy with goals, I think our movement would have not been the roaring fire that suddenly was snuffed out, but instead a constant steady flame of people working and growing in struggle.

—Young women student

## H.S. student speaks out

Los Angeles, Cal.—As I started reading the article on Youth in the June edition of *News & Letters*, something struck me. No one in our society tells the real meaning of education and what is becoming of the so-called "children who are our future."

As a 16-year-old high school student myself, I am sorry to say we get no education at all. Not enough money is spent on our schools, while billions of dollars are spent for war. But isn't education the most important thing? Worst of all, not enough time is spent on education. One teacher may have to teach three different subjects in one day, and that causes the teachers not to concentrate. A teacher may have 50 students in one class. If a student needs help, who does he/she turn to? It's the school's responsibility to find help; but there is none. The society around us is consistently changing, but our education is going down the drain.

The N&L article showed the case of Milwaukee, where "Over 50% of the students drop out because of financial necessity or boredom." But the school should pay for the students' necessities; and as for boredom: the truth is that you don't learn anything in school. And if class is boring, why study at home? All the attention is put on students with the higher grades. For the average/lower students, it's left to them to raise their grades and become someone. The students are calling out for help, but there is no one to answer. High schools seem to be a dead end to most students. Many say, "Why should we try?" and they drop out.

In elementary and middle school, it seems to be so much fun. The teachers are not hard on you. But once you take that first step in high school, the teachers assume that you know everything. And if you don't, then you're just "stupid" or "you have no future," which gives students no hope at all. The students today are surrounded by drugs, alcohol, abuses from home and, worst of all, pressure from parents. We are tired of promises made by higher authorities. We want action that will bring some changes.

—Nina

## Protest AMA policies



Chicago, Ill.—On June 24, ACT-UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power) Chicago sponsored a nationwide demonstration against the American Medical Association (AMA). About 300 demonstrators marched on the downtown hotel at which the AMA's convention was being held, chanting slogans in support of the rights of AIDS patients, women's rights, and the rights of minorities and the poor. The march began in good spirits, but things got ugly as it neared the convention site.

The protest targeted the AMA's policies on AIDS, and also the general lack of access to health care in the U.S. As an ACT-UP statement put it, "Health care is a right!! But...not for all of us. In the eyes of the American Medical Association, the right to health care doesn't exist for people with AIDS and other serious illnesses, the elderly, the uninsured, or the poor, a disproportionate number of whom are women and people of color."

Notable was the sheer brutality and homophobia of the Chicago police, wading into the crowd with clubs and making arrests, trying to pick off leaders and intimidate the marchers. At one point, we saw a demonstrator being held down by police, and one officer stomped down on his leg as if trying to break it. In all, 26 people were arrested.

About 50 people marched to Chicago Police Headquarters to show support for those arrested. A spokesman from ACT-UP said, "We should think about what we've accomplished here today." This was a good point. For all the courage and militancy that were shown, the turnout was somewhat smaller than the organizers had expected. And I, at least, would have liked to hear something directly about the effects of capitalism on health and medicine.

—Gerard Emmet

## AIDS and capitalism

Los Angeles, Cal.—Having worked in different areas of human service since 1987, my exposure to legal, medical, financial and social-service systems has taught me that this world is being increasingly designed to suit the already privileged and ruthless. This is particularly clear working with people with AIDS.

The total AIDS cases in the world since 1979 is over 1.5 million. In the U.S., treatment of a person infected with HIV without AIDS is \$5,000/year and with AIDS, \$85,000/year. Fifty five percent of cases are located in 13 cities containing 5% of the nation's hospitals.

Many people in the U.S. have little or no access to private health insurance, and legal loop-holes often allow companies to discontinue coverage of already insured individuals who develop AIDS. Most HIV patients depend on public health facilities which provide very few HIV specialized doctors. Beds are so limited that AIDS patients often find themselves lying on cots in hospital corridors, and waiting time for appointments is up to seven months. It is living in poverty and despair which insures continued spread of the disease and accelerates the onset of illness and death.

One of my clients is from Mexico, a 24-year-old male who has been supporting his mother for the past four years and is now ashamed to tell her of his illness. He and two friends have been camping under a downtown Los Angeles bridge for the past seven months. He is ineligible for public benefits and is too weak to work. He is terrified of staying at any shelter due to the high incidence of gay-bashing and rape.

Another client is a prison inmate whose mother has attempted to have him released on the grounds that he was not given a death sentence but will certainly die in prison. He was down to 85 pounds and unable to stand a few weeks ago but the legal system claims he is still potentially dangerous. He is neglected and abused by guards and other personnel who let him lie for hours in his own feces.

ACT-UP and WHAM (Women's Health Action and Mobilization) are fighting to include infections specific to women on lists of disabling AIDS diseases in order to become eligible for benefits. This is needed since AIDS related illnesses were acknowledged only according to the male model. HIV infected women often have to deal with children, trying to balance a precarious budget and worrying about what happens to the children if when they die.

Afro-American, Latino and immigrant groups in Los Angeles have been fighting back. Most recently a coalition of concerned members of social agencies has formed to fight the denial of legal residential status to HIV infected immigrants. August 2 is the last day to contest this immigration bill, which was created by pressure from fundamentalist groups.

Money is being wasted on short-lived and non-recyclable products and the defense industry. If that labor and ingenuity were focused on AIDS, such "fateful" incidents wouldn't have to become the tragedies I see every day, and human service-work like mine would be worthwhile rather than the senseless labor of Sisyphus it seems to really be.

—Anna Maillon

## Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Well-orchestrated victory parades in Washington, New York and London in May and June could not cover over the stench of death, torture, starvation, disease and environmental destruction which persists throughout the territory of Iraq and Kuwait. Even battle-hardened Marine veterans complained quietly to the press, who recorded on the back pages that "the parades and celebrations, coupled with the sanitized news reports, had failed to convey the sordid reality of war."

"The carnage suffered by Iraqi soldiers in the first few hours of armed clashes, some said, was enough to turn stomachs." (*New York Times*, May 31, 1991) However, such humanist compunctions did not seem to affect top political and military leaders or the media, who continue to celebrate a "clean" war where "only" 268 Americans were killed.

In Iraqi Kurdistan, U.S. officials are itching to evacuate all foreign troops, now that a promise of autonomy is about to be put on paper by the Ba'hist regime. Sent belatedly for the stated reason of "protecting" the Kurds from the fascistic Saddam Hussein regime, but in actuality to coax the starving Kurds away from the border of U.S. ally Turkey, the troops' departure will open up the Kurds to, at the very least, Iraqi death squad type repression. All state powers, from Iraq to the U.S., from Turkey to Saudi Arabia and Syria, and from Iran

### Indonesian workers' strikes

Several hundred Indonesian garment and shoe workers, mainly women, demonstrated on June 18 in Jakarta, demanding that the government act to improve their working conditions. They called for an end to a decree allowing the military to intervene in labor disputes, and for enforcement of the official minimum wage of a little over \$1 a day.

The women chanted a song: "I eat propaganda, with a side dish of promises. Guess who I am? That's me, the Indonesian worker."

While relatively small, the demonstration was symptomatic of the upsurge in strikes, work stoppages and protests boiling up recently in a land where workers, until recently, have been held tightly in check by the state.

Now, tens of thousands of young people are migrating from rural homes into the industrial zones surrounding Jakarta and other urban centers. They are entering labor-intensive industries such as garment and shoe production, fish canneries and toy manufacture. And they are bitterly protesting against a super-exploitative system aligning the Indonesian state and foreign capitalists against them.

Most of the large shoe manufacturers are foreign-owned and supply to U.S. firms such as Nike and Reebok. Nike buys from six plants which employ over 24,000 workers; they keep at least one manager at each plant. A pair of Nike shoes which sells on average for \$65 in Europe and North America, costs about \$12 to make in Indonesia.

Minimum wage laws are flagrantly disregarded along with regulations on overtime and child labor. Yet even the official minimum wage is well below what the government itself has stated is necessary for a decent standard of living based on such factors as daily food intake, housing costs, etc.

Working conditions of forced overtime and 65¢ a day wages became so intolerable to some 2,800 women workers at one shoe factory last April, that they took over management offices and smashed the computers and furniture. At another factory, workers said their pay is cut if they "talk back" to managers. Workers are not allowed to leave the factory during working hours, and they earn about \$7.70 for a 50-hour work week.

Labor and human rights activists have responded to the wave of strikes and protests by forming the Solidarity Free Trade Union. They are attempting to counter the state-controlled labor federation which all unions were forced to join in 1985. So far, the workers have been taking their own independent actions.

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## The grisly aftermath of the Gulf War

to Russia, oppose independence for Kurdistan.

Throughout Iraq, as estimated by Greenpeace activist William Arkin, a former Army intelligence officer, the casualties have been as follows: 100,000 to 120,000 Iraqi soldiers killed in the war, and 74,000 to 101,000 civilians killed since last August. Of the civilian deaths, 5,000 to 15,000 were from the U.S. air war. In keeping with their "sanitized" accounts of the war, neither the Pentagon nor the armies of "investigative" reporters from the corporate media have come up with much at all in the way of casualty figures.

The destruction of Iraq's electrical and transport system in the bombing has meant severe shortages of food and medicine as well as a deterioration of sanitary conditions. The Ba'hist regime, nervous about appearing weak, helps to cover up this suffering just as much as the Western media. In any case, neither regime officials nor the wealthy are the ones suffering. These deaths will continue for months or even years, a visiting team of Western medical specialists has reported.

From the entire region of the war, some five million

refugees were created, many poor and unemployed.

In Kuwait itself, about 450 oil wells set ablaze by the retreating Iraqis still burn, creating incalculable environmental damage, resulting not only in respiratory ailments, but also in darkening of the skies for parts of the entire region, endangering crops as far away as Pakistan and India. The Kuwaiti regime's military trials of alleged collaborators have shocked even the compliant U.S. news media, who had evidently wanted to portray a "happy ending" to the conflict.

The entire Palestinian population of Kuwait, today about 150,000 people, have been branded traitors. Many members of this community, which numbered 350,000 before the war, were born in Kuwait but denied Kuwaiti citizenship. Many have been sentenced to death or long prison sentences in kangaroo court proceedings where the fact that a "confession" was extracted by torture is dismissed as irrelevant. Dozens of Palestinians have also been kidnapped and executed clandestinely by Kuwaiti death squads.

The Kuwaiti political system is officially a constitutional monarchy, and the regime offered some limited elections in the 1980s before the Emir dismissed the parliament. Even under those arrangements, 90% of the adults living in Kuwait are ineligible to vote under its incredibly restrictive citizenship laws, which exclude women, foreigners, Bedouins and any who cannot prove that their families were already citizens in 1920. Today, having ended martial law, the Emir is "thinking" about holding some sort of elections in a couple of years.

### Apartheid remains

There is far less than meets the eye in the de Klerk regime's repeal of much of South Africa's apartheid legislation of the 1950s. First of all, the vote to do so was by a parliament that still totally excludes the Black majority. Blacks can now buy land or move to "white" communities if they can afford it, and can go to "white" hospitals wherever they can afford it as well.

Since whites own virtually all of the choice land and nicer homes and control almost all of the nation's other wealth, and Blacks make only a fraction of the income of whites, it is highly doubtful that this will in any significant way change the lot of Black people. At most, South African law has finally reached the level of other white-ruled colonies like Kenya or Rhodesia in the 1950s, where, as their white rulers congratulated themselves, there were no official "apartheid" laws, yet whites stayed in control both politically and economically.

In other ways, the position of the Black community has actually retrogressed. Up to 10,000 Black people have died in so-called "factional" violence between the pro-regime Inkatha movement led by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and partisans of the African National Congress (ANC). Apparently modeled on the fascistic UNITA and RENAMO movements, South African-financed movements which have devastated post-independence Angola and Mozambique, the Inkatha movement enjoys at least tacit support, including apparently supplies of arms, from the white government.

Its goal, outside of random mayhem and intimidation, appears to be some kind of "co-equal" status with the ANC, ahead of even other historic Black liberation movements such as the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Black Consciousness Movement. The Bush administration would love to see such a development. Bush does not openly give arms and money to Inkatha, as he still does to UNITA, but Bush did make sure to have a photo opportunity with Buthelezi at the White House during the same week that he announced that he planned to end sanctions against the South African regime.

While opinion polls are often suspect, especially in a police state like South Africa, it should be noted that the most recent polls show Inkatha with a mere 5% support level among the Black population, while ANC support levels range from 40 to 67% in the same polls. So far, however, the ANC has remained to a great extent on the defensive, tending to negotiate on the basis of the regime's conditions and definitions for ending apartheid. This has created dissension in the ranks.

### In Brief...

**Panama**—More than a thousand Panamanian students were attacked and teargassed by riot police during three days of demonstrations in Panama City in mid-June. Protesting government-sponsored food price hikes and demanding an extra month's pay for all government workers, the students blocked Panama City's main thoroughways and smashed windows in the National Assembly building. Demonstrators included 500 high school students from the wealthy Patilla district of Panama City.

**El Salvador**—The Bush administration has arranged for the release of \$21 million in previously frozen military aid to El Salvador to help that government carry on its bloody military maneuvers. So horrendous had been the human rights policies in El Salvador that Congress ordered \$41.4 million in aid be frozen, particularly when the Salvadoran government failed to investigate its own military's responsibility for the murder of six Jesuit priests and their housekeeper and her daughter in November, 1989. Now, following the visit of El Salvadoran President Cristiani to Washington, Bush has released \$21 million. Bush is requesting an additional \$85 million in military aid for fiscal 1992. The new world order marches on.

### Algerian protest in France



Standing behind a barricade of burning tires and road signs, June 28, Algerian youth near Avignon, France protested for better living conditions and job opportunities.

### Fundamentalism in Algeria

As the corrupt and discredited regime of the National Liberation Front (FLN) unravels after nearly three decades in power, Islamic fundamentalists are sharpening their knives for a takeover. Elections, which had been scheduled for June 27, were put off after rioting in May by supporters of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) against pro-FLN bias in the election rules led the government to call out the army. Young unemployed men form the core of FIS support.

Since the May riots, a new interim Prime Minister who claims some independence from the FLN hierarchy has promised fairer elections in six months. He has brought some independent political leaders, including a prominent feminist, into the cabinet. There are some signs of a united front of secular, left, women's and Berber groups, all of which fear severe repression under a fundamentalist regime. But so far the FIS remains the largest political force, both on the streets and at the ballot box.

The FIS scored 55% in local elections last year, and since then has begun to throw its weight around. In March, FIS goons attacked the audience at a large evening outdoor concert of traditional *chaabi* music with stones and Molotov cocktails, accusing them of violating Ramadan.

Few expect the FIS to gain a majority in the 1991 elections, but the danger of fundamentalism will remain a serious one as long as its reactionary ideology holds an appeal to many youth disillusioned with the total lack of economic opportunity in a society where unemployment stands officially at over 25%.

### Romanian fascism lives on

Post-Ceausescu Romania, still ruled by the National Salvation Front, a party based on a renamed faction of the old Communist Party, is showing in its political discourse a deadly mixture of remnants of Stalinism and fascism. This spring, the Front-dominated parliament passed a nearly unanimous motion "honoring" the memory of Romania's 1940s home-grown fascist ruler, Marshal Ion Antonescu. Antonescu joined Hitler's Axis and executed 250,000 Jews, but is today considered a patriot. Neither the government nor liberal and left political parties have done much to stop or even denounce the new cult of Antonescu.

The largest daily paper, *Romania Mare*, is run by several prominent former officials of the Ceausescu regime. It advocates a form of Romanian "ethnic purity" which threatens not only Jews, but also Gypsies (Romany) and the country's large Hungarian minority. The transition from state-capitalism calling itself Communism to a form of neo-fascism has apparently been a rather smooth one for these former Stalinist editors.