

Night shift detrimental to workers



by B. Ann Lastelle

Germany's Federal Constitutional Court overturned, as sexually discriminatory, a 100-year-old law banning night work by women manual laborers. The judges' ruling, however, urged legislators to pass a law applying to women and men since night work is "in principle detrimental to human beings." This news item interested me because I am a woman working the night shift on a production line here in the U.S.

More than ten million women and men in the U.S. work night shift, and the number is rising. Research indicates that the greatest probability of accidents and errors at work exists between the hours of midnight and 6 a.m., even if the worker has had seven or eight hours of sleep during the day.

WHAT KIND OF SYSTEM?

Night shift workers tend to suffer chronic sleep loss and persistent fatigue, as well as the emotional consequences, which include irritability, anger and depression. Night workers are more prone to gastrointestinal and other health problems; higher rates of divorce, family and social troubles; and greater drug and alcohol abuse. Public transportation is limited or not available at night, and women, particularly, run the risk of being assaulted.

I work the night shift because I'm new at this job and don't have enough seniority to work days. One co-worker works nights so that she can take her husband, who has cancer, to the hospital for chemotherapy and care for him until her daughters get home from school. Another drives her husband, who had a stroke in September and experiences dizzy spells, to his job when she gets off work in the morning and picks him up again in the afternoon.

Other women "choose" to work the night shift because it solves child care problems or because they can

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Black World

Haiti, island in troubled sea



by Lou Turner

So convinced is the Bush administration that Gen. Raoul Cedras, the leader of the Sept. 30 coup that ousted Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide as Haiti's first democratically elected president, represents the "moderate" forces it would rather have in power in Haiti, that the U.S. State Department actually believed that its recall of its ambassador Alvin Adams to protest recent military atrocities somehow strengthened Cedras's hand against hard-line anti-Aristide elements in the Army hierarchy. The shameless duplicity of U.S. foreign policy always outdoes itself when it comes to poor Haiti.

Indeed, so thoroughly is Haiti's ruling class but a pathetic caricature of its American counterpart that U.S. foreign policy towards Haiti seems more a cruel hoax conjured up by a puppet elite and its imperialist puppetmaster to deceive those easily entertained by illusions of "diplomatically restored democracy" to a people who have only known freedom through revolution.

The wretched spectacle of U.S. forced repatriation of fleeing Haitians has given Bush and the gullible American media the opportunity to legitimize the military junta. Through its cheap political burlesque, the Bush administration has sought to convince itself and us that Haitian refugees have nothing to fear from Haiti's murderous military, even though it recalled Adams to protest the Cedras regime's terrorism.

Thus, the forced repatriation was more than the usual racist arbitrariness of U.S. immigration policy towards Haitians. It sought to legitimize the status quo. No doubt the Bush-Cedras performance was convincing to Howard French of *The New York Times*, who fatuously wrote (March 15, 1992): "As the returnees filed off the ship and into the hands of the Haitian Red Cross and immigration officials, little hint remained of the stories many had told to the authorities at the United States refugee camp at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. Often

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From collapse of Communism to Free Trade Agreement

What is Mexico's future in face of New World Order?

by Eugene Walker and Erica Rae

To visit Mexico today is to glimpse the impact of our changed world—from the collapse of state-capitalist regimes calling themselves Communist to the drive of the U.S. to impose its new world order—on a Third World country. Our visit coincided with three events which speak to this question: a colloquium on "The Grand Changes of Our Time" which took place at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) and involved intellectuals from Mexico and abroad; the negotiations taking place on a proposed Mexico-U.S.-Canada free trade agreement; and 1992 as the 500th anniversary of Columbus' voyage to the Western Hemisphere which began the Conquest.

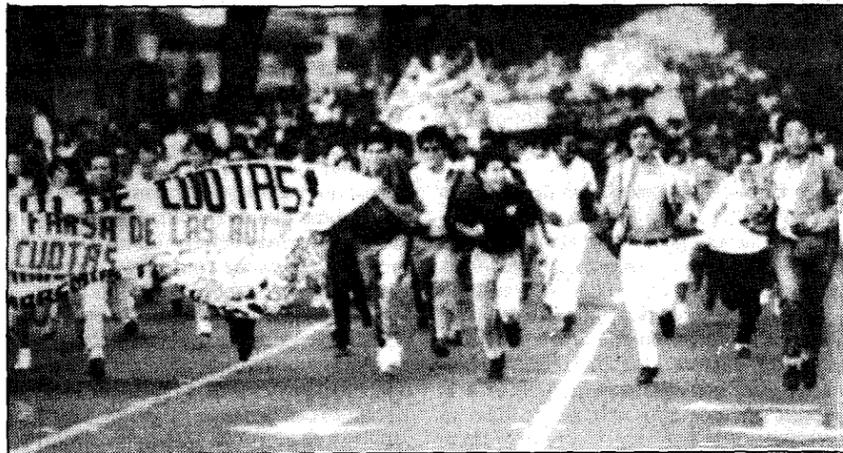
INTELLECTUALS WITHOUT A PHILOSOPHIC RUDDER

The conference on "The Grand Changes of Our Time," which had such speakers as Carlos Fuentes and Gabriel Garcia Marquez, took place after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Many of the speakers had at one time been socialists. Indeed, Marxism has been a favorite topic for many years among Mexican intellectuals. The speeches at this Colloquium reveal Marxism to have become a forgotten subject, at least among those intellectuals who had accepted a false identification of Russian state-capitalism with Marxism.

One student at UNAM said that "The interpretation of Marx at most universities always tended to be very simplistic. No one talks about the young Marx. No one talks about Marx's last decade and the *Ethnological Notebooks*. No one associates Marx with philosophy or dialectics. He is merely viewed as an economist."

Many of these intellectuals oppose U.S. hegemony over Latin America, but the question is how to fundamentally oppose the neo-liberal economics sweeping Latin America, and present a revolutionary alternative to Bush and his drive for a new world order. After all, Latin America has already had a century of the U.S.'s free market economics, which has only led to the development of underdevelopment.

Many at the Colloquium spoke of "democracy" and



Students in Mexico City protest proposed tuition at national university

the need for Latin American independence and resistance to the U.S. But the crucial question is how to unfurl a truly revolutionary banner, a philosophic rudder that could provide direction for a revolutionary opposition. Thus, what does it mean that the organizers seemed unaware of the Women's Liberation Movement as one of the important realities of our time? Of the almost 150 presentations given at the conference, women gave only five.

WORKERS SPEAK ON FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

We found a very different world when we met with factory workers and discussed the proposed free trade

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A special supplement:
Raya Dunayevskaya
on "Karl Korsch and
Western Marxism: recreation or
dilution of Marx's Marxism?"
pgs. 6-7

On the Inside

Editorial

Elections 1992: Protests and the danger of Buchananism

The Michigan worker who told a *New York Times* reporter interviewing him just before the primary elections there: "If I had my way, I'd throw out every politician"—and his co-worker walking by who shouted: "The system don't work!" and kept on walking—epitomize the rising anger and disgust that the 1992 elections have revealed across the entire land. The disdain of the American electorate for the choices offered them by Republicans and Democrats alike year after year is nothing new. What is new is the depth of the anger and the pervasive recognition that the profound economic morass we are in is permanent and that none of the politicians have any answers.

REGISTERING A PROTEST

The protest vote can be seen in everything from the surprising numbers being drawn to Jerry Brown's current conversion to an anti-establishment, anti-big-money, supposedly populist campaign, to the far greater numbers who continue to vote with their feet and just stay home. The one genuinely history-making protest was the exhilarating victory in Illinois of a relatively unknown Black woman, Carol Moseley Braun, who had decided to run against the supposedly unbeatable Alan Dixon for his Senate seat in that all-white, almost all-male, elitist body after Dixon had cast one of the few Northern Democratic votes for Clarence Thomas' nomination to the Supreme Court.

Despite the fact that Braun had no money and received no media attention, so spontaneously did both the Black community and the women, Black and white, come out for her all across the state on election day—many to cast only that single vote—that it created not only the greatest upset in Illinois electoral history,

but the chance to "make history." Nothing more exposes the sham of American "democracy" than the fact that if she is elected in November, she would be the first Black woman ever to sit in the U.S. Senate—and one of only two African Americans since Reconstruction.

THE DANGER OF BUCHANANISM

At the same time, nothing would be more dangerous than to allow the alarming support that neo-fascist Patrick Buchanan has won in the Republican primaries to be passed off, as the media pundits are trying to do, as merely one more form of "protest vote." Here is a man who, in his columns, has proudly expressed his esteem for every fascist from Franco, Pinochet and the leaders of the apartheid "Boer Republic" to Hitler; who has openly questioned the truth of the Holocaust; opposes abortion even to save the life of the woman; advocates jailing the homeless; believes AIDS is "God's retribution" on gays, and advocates a trench along the Mexican-U.S. border to protect "Euro-America" from "some cesspool called multi-culturalism."

That such a creature could win 37% of the Republican votes in the New Hampshire primary is a grave cause for alarm. That he is now winning "only" (!) 20%, far from meaning that Bush has defeated him, is a measure of how far Bush has succeeded in absorbing Buchananism.

THE CANCER OF FASCISM

This is not the first time that the native face of American fascism has shown itself so blatantly in an election year. In 1964 it was Barry Goldwater's far right campaign that captured the Republican nomination; he was

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Woman as Reason Black women organize

by Diane Lee

There was a sense of elation and a certain sense of justice among many Black and white women over the Democratic nomination of Carol Moseley Braun for the Senate representing Illinois. If she wins in November, Braun would be the first Black woman to hold a Senate seat in the history of the U.S.—which is incredible to say since this is 1992! It says a lot about this American "civilization."

The vote for Braun was a clear move to unseat the entrenched incumbent Senator Alan Dixon, who arrogantly thought he could vote Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court, completely disregarding women's anger over Thomas and our support of Anita Hill's charges of sexual harassment. Needless to say, Dixon's arrogance backfired. Many women supported Braun, and even Republican women crossed over to the Democratic ticket to do so. The drive for Braun was spontaneous.

Yet the Braun victory is a very complex issue. Just who voted for Braun and why? Some women said they supported Thomas because he is Black (as if Anita Hill is not) and now they support Braun for the same reason. Others, who last fall supported Thomas, are now seeing that Thomas is really a part of the reactionary establishment; that he is no different than the rest of the Supreme Court justices. In response they have changed their position by supporting Braun.

The Braun phenomenon does not end with the elections. In fact, it is only the tip of the iceberg. African-American Women in Defense of Ourselves (AAWIDOO) is a grass roots group formed nationally as a reaction to the Senate hearings. In Chicago, those attending the meetings have included domestic violence workers, feminists, teachers, students and working class women.

At one meeting I attended, a woman said the group has to be clear that women have a right to speak out, that "our right is a crucial notion." Another woman from a center against domestic violence said that 50% of the women that seek help are Black women. She said, "There is an ambivalence to reach out for help in the white community. It's as if we're blamed for victimizing the Black man. But men who are abusive need to be held accountable. Young Black men expect women to take a second seat."

Women talked about our need for the right to organize against sexual abuse: "to have resources for Black women who are not known like Anita Hill." And there was discussion to fight economic violence that women have experienced, as well as a discussion on the Mike Tyson trial and Desiree Washington's fight against rape by Tyson. We also specifically took up sexist abuse in rap music.

Women, as well, expressed our need for future dialogue on sexual harassment, date rape, child abuse and AIDS, and that we need to concentrate on welfare recipients and working women. We are beginning to address the issue that Black women are being pushed out in both society and in aspects of the struggle. (See "Black women—pushed out," March, 1992 N&L.)

A recent AAWIDOO meeting centered on questions of liberation. There was a special guest speaker, a Black woman activists from South Africa, Susan Nkomo. She spoke on women's struggles for specific roles within revolutionary organizations. AAWIDOO is beginning to stress the importance of hearing voices of women involved in revolutionary struggle. Nkomo also stressed how our fight in the U.S. is not very different from South African women's struggles.

What is exciting is what we can learn from women and revolution. Recently, I heard a different perspective from another revolutionary activist from South Africa, Mercia Andrews, who is in Workers Organized for Socialist Action. Andrews spoke on what is involved in the transformation of the whole society—she spoke of revolution and of Karl Marx. Andrews' discussion on revolution is different from what I've been hearing at some women's meetings, because she spoke on the failure of reforms and the need for revolutionary struggle to totally uproot capitalism which she says is a long, continuous process. What was exciting to me about her talk was her discussion of the total transformation of society.

So my question is, as Black women, how do we go from the subjectivity of Black women to the perspective of transforming society? Given all of the dissatisfaction that Black women are expressing, the question remains what revolutionary ideas do we need to hear and to look into carefully to take us out of the crises we are in and to truly new human relations?



Women-Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey



Australian women and children crowded the streets of Sydney to celebrate International Women's Day and support the rights of women in society and the workplace.

Hundreds of Sri Lankan women participated in a demonstration in Colombo, March 16, to protest government economic policies and human rights abuses, and demand the release of their children who "disappeared" during a crackdown on Sinhalese rebels. The women's militancy was also seen when the Hill Country Women's Development Organization in Sri Lanka presented their 1992 demands on behalf of women plantation workers: 1) Six-hour work day; 2) Monthly wages and uniforms; 3) No night shift; 4) International Women's Day be a paid holiday; 5) Equal share in the decision making in trade unions and political parties; 6) Women supervisors for women plantation workers; 7) Child care for working women; 8) No semi-nude ads; 9) Equal share in higher positions, and 10) No child labor.

—Information from
Asian Women Workers Newsletter

Protest campus violence

Oakland, Cal.—More than 200 people showed up, March 4, to participate in the Take Back The Night March at the University of California Berkeley (U.C.B.). The march had been scheduled in response to five gang rapes and the murder of a Filipina activist on campus. Though rain had caused the organizers to cancel the march, the group spontaneously organized their own rally, encouraging participation from all present in deciding the direction of the evening.

After a circle of women formed, they decided to go to the campus police station where women activists had been sexually assaulted and harassed by police after being arrested at demonstrations in recent months. (See November 1991 N&L.) Once at the police station women began telling their stories.

Woman after woman told of being threatened and harassed or assaulted by so-called authority figures like their fathers or the police. Many spoke of fighting back and supporting each other whether their choice be to fight the perpetrators through the court system, or to fight them through public humiliation. One Black woman spoke of how authority's use of fear, to control us, is a form of the colonization of the mind, and that we must fight that kind of mind control. Before the rally ended almost all present had spoken and another rally was scheduled for the next week.

On March 11 during the second march, 300 joined a number of speakers including one woman who had been repeatedly raped by an Oakland cop in full uniform in her own home. After the speeches, the participants walked from the campus through dark parking lots, to Greek row (fraternity area), where marchers lit torches and passed a restaurant where women are frequently harassed. The march ended again at the University Police Station where women spoke of how sexual assault is used against women activists as a form of crowd control.

"This is terrorism against our movement," said one activists. Another woman told how she and two other activists were sexually assaulted by U.C.B. police officer Alex Takaoka and how he bashed another woman's head against the wall and hog tied her. When she announced that Takaoka was one of the cops in full riot gear on duty at the march, she and the crowd rushed to confront him, shouting "Shame! Shame!" "You thought you could intimidate me so I'd be too afraid to speak out, but now I'm here and look who's with me," said the woman who had been assaulted.

Many women took turns speaking on the loud speaker, turning an act of police intimidation into a public trial. The marchers, aware that demands of more "security" are far from what women on this campus need, chanted in the faces of Takaoka and the cops flanking him, "Cops off campus!" and "Women fight back! Takaoka watch your back!"

—Tom Parsons and Julia Jones

State cheats children

Chicago, Ill.—Long before talk of the impending welfare cuts hit the newspapers, thousands of people who must rely on the inhuman welfare system to meet the special needs of emotional and physical handicaps were already experiencing severe cutbacks.

Beginning last summer vital home nursing services were completely cut off or greatly reduced, forcing some into already overcrowded nursing homes. For many, the lack of bus fare, child care for other children and the special equipment sometimes needed to transport a handicapped child, make participation in these programs impossible. When parents are unable to get their children these services, the state can accuse them of medical neglect and take their children away.

My two-year-old foster daughter, considered severely handicapped, unable to sit up by herself, was being denied the physical therapy she desperately needed. It took six months and 68 phone calls (I kept a phone log), to finally get her therapy. And then it was only because the public guardian's office threatened the home health care company with a court order. No one would take any responsibility, they all blamed each other.

In order to get approval for needed equipment from The Division of Services for Crippled Children (DSCC), which is just another arm of the welfare system, a child must be examined by an approved physician. My foster daughter has been seen by the Neurological Clinic at a very good children's hospital for over a year. They have seen her through three brain surgeries. She is likely to need more and I have no intention of removing her from their care. DSCC is insisting I have to because her surgeon is not approved by them.

Once you are finally approved, the child must be seen by an orthopedic surgeon who will write a prescription for the equipment needed. The prescription then goes to DSCC who decides what equipment companies will get the order. This process can take up to six months! Every time I called DSCC to find out why it was taking so long, they couldn't tell me because they "lost" her file.

If my foster daughter doesn't get the braces needed for her legs, she will probably never be able to walk. The longer we wait, the harder it will be for her. She is just one of the hundreds of children who have been waiting, some for almost a year, for equipment necessary for their survival. Under this inhuman capitalist system the situation will continue to deteriorate.

—Suzanne Rose

Debate on feminism and Irish nationalism

Editor's note: We print excerpts from an article by Shahidah Janjua published in the October-November 1991 issue of the Irish magazine, Women's News, 185 Donegall St., Belfast, BT12FL, Ireland.

A debate on Feminism and Irish Nationalism was organized in the Guildhall in Derry. Sadly this occasion was turned into a Republican witch-hunt. It seems that those Republicans present could not tolerate the voice of any experience that would not submit itself to male definition.

Drawing attention to the nature of women's oppression has always been seen to be divisive by organizations that are essentially male dominated. Strange that these organizations, which claim to be in the business of liberating us all and are sticklers for collecting facts and evidence to bear witness to oppression, have not grasped that women are 51% of the global, and any population. And therefore, that our oppression constitutes the majority oppression. Those who ignore this are divisive.

The issues raised by feminists regarding the status of women in society, in the Republican Movement and the quality of women's lives generally, were met with vitriol and contempt. Privately, many women in the Republican Movement bear testament to this when they express their experiences of being silenced, or having their experience redefined and subordinated to the will of the men in the movement. Somehow this "Greater Cause" of national liberation or Socialism excludes the oppression of the greatest numbers.

When we say that women are doubly oppressed, we say it to give voice to those oppressions we share with our brothers and also those oppressions we experience at the hands of our brothers. This is precisely why the personal is political to us.

We were told that feminists have a problem understanding violence because "The State has not armed itself against us." The reality is that women generally live with violence, or the threat of it, on a day to day basis and in a very intimate way. We experience rape, sexual assault, domestic violence and sexual abuse as children. Our oppressors are not only the men who wear uniforms, carry guns, raid our homes and patrol our streets, they are also our fathers, husbands, brothers, lovers, boyfriends and sons—the men who live in our homes and say they love us. The price we pay for uncritical support of the heroes of the revolution, is the silencing of our voices, and a denial of these experiences.

Surveillance and restriction of freedom of movement are both well known to women. We know these restrictions before the words Capitalism and Imperialism were invented to describe systems of oppression—before foreign armies invaded our lands.

We also experience surveillance of a different kind. We are watched, leered at, ogled for how we dress and the shape of our bodies. We are not safe to walk along at night without fear of rape, sexual assault and verbal abuse. We do not have freedom of movement.

The atrocities of assault, beatings and torture of men and women in Castlereagh, Crumlin Road, Long Kesh and Maghaberry prisons, as violations of human rights and integrity are constantly, rigorously and rightly addressed by the movement. Where is the attention to the atrocities of rape, beatings? Are these atrocities not worthy of political comment and political redress?

There are no short-cuts to a liberation that must embrace us all. We are a Women's Movement because we know that if the quality of women's lives does not change—and women are the backbone of any society—then neither will the quality of anyone else's.

20,000 rally to support Caterpillar strike



Editor's note: As we go to press, Caterpillar, Inc. has ordered strikers to return to work or be permanently replaced. The United Auto Workers (UAW) pulled an additional 1,800 Illinois workers out on strike.

Peoria, Ill.—An overflow crowd of 20,000 Caterpillar strikers and their supporters gathered at the Peoria Civic Center on March 22 for a massive strike rally, then marched to Caterpillar headquarters. Caterpillar workers, who by that time had been on strike for 140 days, have the official public support of their International union and of the rest of the major unions. UAW officials, including president Owen Bieber, were joined by the heads of the Service Employees, Letter Carriers and Machinists, and many more unions sent representatives or greetings with contributions to the "Adopt a Striker Fund."

It was hard not to think then of the Hormel strikers of Local P-9 in Austin, Minn. They devised their "Adopt-a-Family Fund" in 1985 because there was no support from their union, the United Food and Commercial Workers. There was only determination among the strikers and widespread rank-and-file support.

The crowd enthusiastically welcomed the chief negotiator to Caterpillar South Africa for Black workers in the National Union of Metal Workers. Messages of solidarity from unions at Caterpillar plants in France and Belgium demonstrated international support—internationalism needed because Caterpillar used its multinational production as one excuse for rejecting the industry pattern agreement worked out at John Deere.

What the company demands in its place and arrogantly threatens to impose is wholesale take-backs, above all for new hires. The proposed wage for new hires, \$7.50 an hour, would be one-half the current wage, and new hires would never reach more than half the full wage. How quickly could the new wage become the standard wage? One speaker predicted the company could hope to get rid of two-thirds of the workers within six years.

Workers brought homemade signs to the rally to protest Caterpillar hiring Vance Security, the same "rent-a-thugs" used by Pittston Coal Company in 1989 against striking miners. Bieber responded to these signs by expressing his affinity with the Peoria police, praising the "excellent job they're doing keeping order" at the rally.

These "guardians of order" already had arrested members of a left-wing party for distributing "non-UAW-approved" literature inside the building. The police, at the call of rally marshals, continued to threaten to arrest anyone distributing literature, even on the public sidewalks or during the outdoor march.

One Caterpillar worker described what is at stake in the real confrontation on the picket line: "I'd like to make it to retirement in 15 years, sure, but what happens after that is just as important. If the company wins, the most my children could hope for would be to put food on the table."

—Bob McGuire and Jim Guthrie

Organize the South!

Editor's note: Ina Mae Best, a Black woman worker from Goldsboro, N.C., was fired from the Goldtex textile factory after 18 years of employment when she became involved in trying to organize a union. She has been active with Black Workers for Justice and spoke in Los Angeles, where News & Letters interviewed her.

There are many sweatshops in the South that don't have a union. Nobody should have to work under those kinds of conditions. The reason they do is because most of them are women, single parents. They would try to do anything they could to provide for their families. Their supervisors are so mean and so ugly to them, and a lot of times they have to go to work sick. They know if they don't, they won't have jobs. That is one of the reasons that I have been working so hard trying to get the unions and the locals from the big cities to band together and get the South organized.

A lot of times you say things are all right when you know things are not. That is what we did until the younger ones in the Goldtex plant stopped taking the pressure. They were saying enough is enough; they figured that it was time to make a change. I am one of the ones that stood up. I have grandchildren and I don't want them to have to work in places like that.

Nobody should have to work where a supervisor treats you just like you are an animal. They don't know how to talk to you, but they want you to work for them. My supervisor had the nastiest attitude. Some of the ladies would cry because he said such bad stuff to them. I told them: I am not going to cry and he is not going to talk down on me. They tell you, "You don't raise your voice at the supervisor," but I feel like if he can dish it out, he can take it.

The supervisors tried to make the union organizing into a Black and white thing, and they succeeded. It got so riled up there they were talking about getting guns and shooting each other. This one white fellow came in trying to get whites to join the KKK, and the company allowed this to go on.

They also tried to intimidate people about the union by showing videos of strikes. They were telling us: If you bring in a union, you are going to have to go on strike. Most have families and quite naturally they don't want to go on a strike that will go on and on.

When Goldtex fired me—and what they fired me for I know just wasn't true—it just put a burning desire within me to say: No, I am not going to feel sorry for myself, because there are other workers, not only in Goldtex, in a position where they can't fight for themselves. I knew, being on the outside, I could get to places that they couldn't. Since I have been fired, I know Goldtex wished that they had kept me instead of letting me get out. Because with me out, I put something on them.

UAW: direct elections?

Oklahoma City, Okla.—Workers in the Oklahoma City General Motors (GM) plant are talking about the Teamsters getting to vote for their president and other union officers. They are saying we need "one person, one vote," too, for all jobs in the United Auto Workers (UAW). In the Oklahoma City plant alone there are about 200 appointed jobs, many of them connected to the VIP program (team concept). A local union officer can be defeated and get a better appointed job.

Jerry Tucker, head of New Directions, is making a bid to head Region 5 and so be in a position to challenge Owen Bieber for union president. Convention delegates are being chosen now, and campaign workers have been circulating petitions for direct election of all UAW jobs. They say about 98% of the workers have been signing.

Ever since the 1984 contract negotiations when GM workers didn't go out on strike, we have all said we were sold out by the International union. Since then there have been all those GM/UAW joint ventures, like Saturn. That was the first plant where workers had a contract before they walked in.

We already have wage cuts for new hires for 18 months, but the concessions forced on the Arlington, Texas plant are worse yet. The new-hire rate of 55% of the full rate will affect everybody. GM has started forced physicals in the skilled trades. That can be good in a way—one worker learned he needed a four-way heart bypass—but the idea is to force workers out before full retirement and replace them with transfers and eventually with low-paid new hires.

When I was in California, our local union voted \$7,000 from our own treasury for a lawyer to explore ways to fight our forced transfer to Oklahoma City. We were told the International wouldn't allow it, and the rest of the meeting was spent on the details of the move to Oklahoma! If the rank-and-file workers voted for UAW president, Bieber wouldn't be there ten minutes and neither would the whole upper echelon.

—Mobile GM worker

Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

take the kids to the doctor or to school without taking time off work. What kind of society is it that forces women to choose between their own health and safety and that of their husbands and children?

Karl Marx, in the chapter on "The Working Day" in *Capital*, traced the reason for the shift system to the capitalist mode of production itself. Capital cannot produce value and surplus value, and therefore profit, unless human labor is added to machinery and raw materials. When these means of production sit idle, the manufacturer has made a useless advance of capital. "To appropriate labor during all the 24 hours of the day is, therefore, the inherent tendency of capitalist production," Marx wrote. Because individual workers cannot labor 24 hours per day, capital finds it necessary to institute a shift system to keep the machinery running.

PLANT UTILIZATION PRIMARY

When General Motors (GM) Chairman Robert Stempel in February announced the closing of 14 plants, he said that two primary factors guided GM's decision on which plants to keep open: "utilization, and those who agreed to more fully utilize the plant." Among those which survived were plants in Arlington, Texas, Moraine, Ohio and Lordstown, Ohio, whose workers agreed to a new work schedule: three crews work four ten-hour shifts each week. The local union in Arlington also agreed to discuss going to a 24-hour, three-shift production schedule.

Karl Marx was horrified by the effects of capitalist production on the workers. He wrote that "Capital is reckless of the health or length of life of the laborer." Today's bourgeois apologists glorify "our 24-hour society." The sleep experts and industrial consultants are busy developing ways to make us more productive and less prone to errors at night. They never question their premises, but we must. Is this system human?

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"...as early as 1941, when I was completing work on the Five-Year Plans from original Russian sources, I found an article by Marx on 'Alienated Labor.' It is true that I did not know that this was part of the famous 1844 *Economic-Philosophic Mss.* But I quoted it at the top of the section titled 'Labor and Society,' both in order to show the transformation into opposite of that workers' state into a state-capitalist society and to point to new forms of workers' revolts."

The Nature of the Russian Economy, 1945:

"So widespread were the labor offenses during [World War II] that the [Russian] state has found that it must disregard its own laws if it wishes to have sufficient labor to begin to put the Fourth Five-Year Plan in effect. Thus while the state has found that it cannot by legal enactment transform wage slaves into outright slaves, the worker has found that he has the same type of 'freedom' he has on the capitalist competitive market: that is, he must sell his labor power if he wishes to get his means of subsistence."

Andropov's Ascendancy Reflects Final Stage of State-Capitalism's Degeneracy, 1982:

"[Russian ruler Yuri Andropov's] tough words are directed against Russia's 80 million work-force for its lack of 'labor discipline,' its 'shoddy work, inactivity and irresponsibility.' Then comes still another warning against insufficient 'labor productivity'...No, the Russians do not have the answer to the continuous resistance to 'labor discipline'... Marx had the answer: The deeper the economic crisis the more does capitalism create its own 'grave-diggers': the proletariat."

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CAPITALIST CRISIS AND DIALECTICS OF REVOLUTION

Dunayevskaya's Archives column on the internal cause of capitalism's crises in the March N&L begins with constant and variable capital and ends up with Labor, i.e., the overcoming of capitalism, which is why Marx was interested in studying "economics." You can see that for Dunayevskaya the concept of "Subject" is bound up with the resistance of the worker who wants to overthrow capitalism. Today we are faced with the retrogressive ideology of the Buchanans and the Dukes. How much will that become part of what Bush will put forth in the elections? Both Lou Turner's article on Thomas and Terry Moon's on the WLM show the totality of the attack that we are suffering under. This demands a total concept of freedom. If the movement doesn't take it up we are just playing into the hands of the retrogression.

**Black worker
Los Angeles**

While many Americans have been gloating over the fact that the Communist regime in the former USSR has collapsed, what they fail to realize is that America is heading for a major economic depression which could easily threaten the stability, if not the inherent viability, of our present form of government and the so-called "democratic" process. Simply put, America's current political-economic system is not satisfying the basic needs of the people, largely because of the vast waste and corruption which our present form of "largely accountable to no one" government has inflicted upon us. One way to rectify this will be for the American worker to regain control over his own economic destiny.

**Prisoner
Atlanta**

The meaning of democracy has been warped to mean whatever the self-appointed leadership wants it to, while just paying lip service to being "pro-democracy." True democracy must be re-defined and re-created so the theory of a society organized by the people, of the people and for the people is finally unseparated from practice.

**M.C.
Northern Illinois University**

I have not voted since 1984 because I've been so disgusted with the whole political mess in this country, with the idiots running for office and the bigger idiots already in there. None of it even tries to change our way of life. This year I decided I had to vote. I am so fed up, I went just to throw out the bums who are in office now.

As I was leaving the house my son told me to vote for Carol Moseley Braun. I didn't know much about her except she was a Black woman running for U.S. Senator. I never heard about her on TV, but plenty about her opponents—Alan Dixon, the incumbent, and Al Hofeld, a millionaire running against him. If I had to choose between them I wouldn't have voted at all, but I did vote for Braun. When I asked my son why he told me to vote for her, he said "because she was broke." Just like us.

**Martin Almora
Illinois**

I'm an auto mechanic. I'm also homeless. I have plenty of skills, and I used to have a job, but I got laid off. One reporter asked me why I'm not depressed. Why should I be depressed? Things are like this today, but they could change tomorrow. If there's a revolution in this country, I'll be out in front. We need more Frederick Douglasses in this country.

**Homeless activist
Chicago, Ill.**

Bertell Ollman's article, "Putting Dialectics to Work: The Process of Abstraction in Marx's Method," which appeared in *Rethinking Marxism*, Vol. 3:1, Spring 1990, would interest some of the readers of N&L. There, Ollman refers to Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution* and its treatment of "negation of the negation" as an example of "serious work on Marx's dialectical method."

Also, in a discussion which is all too rare for a Marxist writing within academia, he identifies with Marx's view that workers have a far better chance

to understand the workings of capitalism than do capitalists" because they live its reality and therefore "the abstractions with which they start out to make sense of their society are likely to include...especially 'labor,' which puts the activity that is chiefly responsible for social change at the forefront of their thinking." His article raises some very important issues with regard to Marx's dialectical method and the way in which many empiricist critics of Marx have failed to recognize that his work was often posed at a level of abstraction which renders their supposed refutations irrelevant.

**Professor
Illinois**

I've read the works of some "post" and "neo" Marxist authors which seemed complicated, boring and most importantly tied to the discourse of the leftist establishment. Among all the authors, I never found any indication or reference to Marxism as a theory of liberation. Through *Marxism and Freedom*, Raya Dunayevskaya refreshes Marx in a way in which everybody can rediscover him without necessarily being erudite in theory. She gives to the masses the leading role in every revolutionary movement, not a secondary one (followers of an illuminated vanguard) as it was always considered by many in the Left. The masses must be architects of their own destiny. Their participation and protagonism in every revolutionary process is essential and marks what a real democracy is.

**Latino student
New York**

The post-Civil Rights and anti-Vietnam War Movement students in U.S. colleges seemed to me, a Black South African, to be without much social consciousness. Most of the Black students knew very little even of the struggles that had made it possible for them to go to the Ivy League schools that had been the preserve of rich, white students. They seemed out to make a niche for themselves in this society. I had almost written them off. But Reagan and Bush and all they brought—recession, unemployment, homelessness, rise in crime, ever growing poverty—have helped make youth aware there is something fundamentally wrong. I can see them searching for answers, for ideas, for an alternative to what exists today. It augurs well for the future.

**College Teacher
Detroit**

I'd like to hear more on your ideas of freedom. It is hard to conceptualize any kind of freedom from the framework of a confined political agenda. I just get hung up on how, what to do, where to start, etc. It's overwhelming.

I don't have answers. I mainly see problems. Generally it seems that when one person or group tries to assert "answers" it won't work. One can't fix problems when s/he's standing on a foundation built on them. I think it's like a politician trying to "program" some kind of agenda for ghetto problems. And who can say what the "ideal" is—why do we need this model anyway? Is there even one ideal? I doubt it—not a simple one anyway.

**Student activist
New York**



**GETTING
AN
EDUCATION**

Except for a few outstanding teachers, I got my education from myself and other workers. We should be taught the truth, not just names and dates in history. We shouldn't have to go out of our way to learn about things like post-World War I Germany. That's something that could help us shape our futures, especially in the current political and economic situation where we see both recession and the Far Right.

**Hispanic worker
Chicago**

I had a conversation recently with an industrialist at the University of California in Los Angeles, where my son was undergoing an operation. While

Readers' Views

staying on the campus I saw how good and inexpensive the food was, and how free and plenty was transportation. I told this industrialist this is how it should be everywhere. So he started telling me about the marketplace and all the selling and buying. I told him he has his cart before his horse. It isn't the market but how it is produced that matters. All understanding of facts depends upon this "dual character of labor," as Marx tells us. After our discussion he asked me whether I was a professor there. I told him no, I graduated from the assembly line of General Motors where I was working when I met N&L.

**Felix Martin
Los Angeles**

STATE-CAPITALISM IN BRITAIN

Raya Dunayevskaya's theory of state-capitalism has great significance for the torturous history of the 20th century, as well as contemporary world reality and today's freedom struggles. The global shift towards state-capitalism was manifested in Britain by the great nationalizations of the post-World War II period, which brought the coal and steel industries and the railways under state ownership (with generous compensation to the former owners). It is said on Tyneside that the coal miners, who had looked forward to nationalization because it meant they would be rid of the coal owners, were disappointed on the very first day, when they found the same "gaffers" in charge. I worked in a state-capitalist industry myself—the Post Office—for several years. I am greatly looking forward to seeing the new book on *The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism*.

**Richard Bunting
Oxford**

ISRAEL'S RUSSIAN IMMIGRANTS

While the government is using the Soviet immigrants as an excuse to discriminate against Arabs, they are far from taking real care of the immigrants. Unemployment, which is mounting for all Israelis, is particularly high among the immigrants. Every day you see Russian beggars on the streets here, and many Russian women are driven to prostitution. In the recent cold wave (this is the coldest winter of this century in the Middle East) several homeless Russians died of cold in the streets of Tel-Aviv. The Shamir government fails to take any real action to help them.

**Peace activist
Israel**

**CLARENCE THOMAS
AS 'SOMETHING DIFFERENT'**

I am a new subscriber to *News & Letters*. Lou Turner's article in the March issue summarized well the recent opinions of Justice Thomas and spoke to the problems that may be forthcoming as a result of his opinions. My immediate reaction was that it should be photocopied and handed out on all street corners so the American public can be aware of the nature of the presence of Clarence Thomas on the Supreme Court. In lieu of that, I sent the article to the *Los Angeles Times* to consider including it on their editorial page.

**P.R.
Whittier, Cal.**

Lou Turner's "Black World" column on Clarence Thomas as "something different" (March, 1992 N&L) was superb. Clarence Thomas' language of dissent in the Hudson McMillan case needs the widest possible publication and scrutiny. Thomas' words were, "It may be immoral, it may even be torture, but it isn't cruel and unusual." This Sadean locution has to rank as one of the most rancid nonsequiturs of all time. David Duke's point man from Pin Point belongs in jail.

**Subscriber
De Kalb, Ill.**

KURDISTAN IN REVOLT

From what I hear happening in the Turkish-occupied part of Kurdistan, there is a virtual revolution going on there. The Kurdish Workers' Party is not a separate force any more. People are organizing a mass army all over. This includes setting up public tribunals to deal with those who collaborate with Turkish authorities. There are reports that when some fighter dies, 15,000 to 20,000 people show up for the funerals. Turkish journalists are writing articles denouncing their own leaders for having lied about the very existence of the Kurds for so long. One important journalist recently wrote that the Turks should doubt the very basis of their thinking if this is the government they have lived under for so long. What is going on there is almost a revolution.

**Jaafar
Los Angeles**



**WAR
TAX
REFUSERS**

The *New York Times*' article March 9, 1992, about our struggle to keep our tax money and our home from being used by the federal government to finance U.S. military policies, left out some things, such as the fact that we have re-directed all our withheld tax money to victims of U.S. militarism. Half goes to groups in our own community, like homeless shelters, the local food bank, and a veterans' outreach center; the other half to assist victims of U.S. war-making in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Iraq. Prior to arresting us, the Justice Department filed a civil suit against us for refusing to leave our home. We answered with a defense based on international law and the Nuremberg Principles. Unfortunately the judge dismissed these arguments without a hearing. Meanwhile people have been occupying our home in an incredible outpouring of support. If any of your readers want to come to Colrain to help, or want information about affinity groups, they can call the War Tax Refusers Support Committee at (413) 774-2710.

**Betsy Corner and Randy Kehler
Colrain, Mass.**

NEWS & LETTERS

WHY SUPPORT N&L?

The Buchanan campaign has revealed that what used to be called right-wing "religious fanaticism" has come home to roost right within the ruling ideology. It brings to my mind the Depression when we were faced with fascism vs. revolution. The tone of the Appeal last issue for help to keep N&L going showed how important it is, when things look bad, to go on the offensive with something that can be a new weapon, like the new book on *The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism*, rather than retrenching. That is "throwing yourself on the scales of destiny," as Rosa Luxemburg put it.

**Black worker
New York**

Please thank my donor for a publication that is educative and informative. I am aware of what is happening around the world because of you. N&L is more than a newspaper to me, it is an institution. A paper that has always crusaded for freedom for all people is important. I have no doubt it will continue until freedom is won.

**Student in struggle
Transvaal, South Africa**

Editor's note: Have you sent in your contribution to help keep N&L going? Can you include a contribution to the special donor fund we have established, to send subs to those, both in the U.S. and internationally, who want to read N&L but cannot afford even our modest subscription price?



'THE UNFINISHED TASKS OF TODAY'S WLM

I found Terry Moon's discussion of Patricia Hill Collins' book on Black feminist thought in the March issue very interesting. Previously, when I thought about what it meant for a Black feminist scholar to dismiss Marx for being Eurocentric, I thought: Well, she's still providing essential scholarship on Black women's thought; does she really need to take up Marx, too? Now I can see how such an attitude could impinge on her treatment of Black women's thought—that it could make her underestimate Black women's freedom ideas.

Women's Liberation and revolution are not two separate worlds. It is no accident that Marxism is being declared dead at the same time that this is being declared a "post-feminist" age. It's important to project Marx's Marxism at a time when "Marxism" has become a catchall word that means everything bad. I remember that "feminism" was such a word for me before my first women's studies class at age 17.

Gwynne
California

The popularity of Susan Faludi's book, *Backlash*, shows the growing number of women who want to know the truth and don't want to take it anymore. That's why I appreciated the Lead on "The unfinished tasks of today's WLM" beginning with a discussion of the backlash, but not leaving it there. The "thousand points to fight" shows women fighting back in so many ways—but not philosophically. The problem we all face comes with the "unfinished task"—which, I have to say, seemed "tacked on" to the rest. I don't mean that as a criticism of the writing, but of our inability as a whole to deal with the question of how not to sound like we have a "plan."

In the "From the Archives" in the same issue, Raya says: "The Subject has to be objective as well as subjective, it has to be elemental as well as historical, and above all, out of its self-development you have to be able, as a theoretician, to make explicit what has only

been implicit in its actions. But you cannot lecture down to them...." We don't lecture anyone, but the way we project can sound like a "pat answer" if it doesn't flow from the objectivity of the context. How do we get to a discussion of the fullness of Marxist-Humanism?

Julia Jones
Bay Area

I have been involved in many different freedom struggles—the United Farm Workers, the Black Liberation Movement, the Women's Liberation Movement. Yet when I was involved in each of these struggles—I felt that I didn't quite fit. For example, the Women's Liberation Movement was too much focused on white middle-class women; they were for getting things for themselves. What I like about Marxist-Humanism is that it speaks to that issue, and includes all the various persons that I am.

Black mother on welfare
Los Angeles

I received an appeal from a Canadian journal called *The Womanist* to help them keep publishing. It's a good, open paper and I hope there is space in the next N&L to tell others about them. It's really unique among feminist periodicals, is Canada's largest national independent paper, and is distributed free. They share information and don't represent any one organization or viewpoint. Nor do they restrict themselves to what is considered "feminist." As they put it: "We know women are interested in every aspect of the world and can choose among many viewpoints." They're asking for \$10 subs to pay for the costs of the mailing. Their address is: 541 Sussex Drive, Suite 201, Ottawa, Ontario, K1N 6Z6.

Terry Moon
Chicago

Women's liberation will not have been achieved until a woman can become paunchy and bald and still think she's attractive to the opposite sex.

Maggie Soleil
Hawaii

IRAN'S NEW MANEUVERS

While the revolutionary movement in Iran has collapsed, the Islamic regime continues with its political maneuvers, in and out of Iran. Currently, it has done much to tone down its anti-American stance. Recent visitors from Iran report that most anti-American slogans have been eradicated from banners and political discourse and have been washed off street walls. In the same vein, some Iranians believe that the Israelis were tipped off to the whereabouts of the recently assassinated leader of Hezbollah, Musawi, by the Iranian regime itself. Yet the regime rushes to Central Asia and plays the role of mediator between Armenia and Turkic Azerbaijan with a substantial Moslem population.

Attempts to build a political base among the Moslem populations in the "Russian" states were made by the Shah of Iran in the past. While the present Islamic regime is obviously out to get a "piece of the pie," many Iranians wonder whether it is to expand fundamentalism or to gain a leverage to enhance its further integration within the present chaotic, crisis-ridden world capitalist market.

Ali Ateah
Chicago

FANON AND MARX

When Kevin A. Barry disagrees with Lou Turner's essay on "The Marxist Humanist Legacy of Frantz Fanon" and takes "identity" as his way of testing Fanon's relation to Marxist Humanism, he misses the point of how thoroughly Fanon rooted his view of anti-colonial revolutions in Marx's dialectics of revolution.

When Fanon pointed to Europe where "gradually dialectic is changing into the logic of equilibrium," he wasn't tending "to dismiss the conflict between labor and capital inside the developed world" any more than Marx was giving up on Northern labor in the U.S. when he saw that only the victory in the struggle against slavery opened the dialectics of liberation for everyone, especially labor

and the new eight-hour movement. Just then, Marx saw the eight-hour movement as a new concrete idea of freedom—when does a worker's time become his own—that was greater than all the high-sounding but abstract expressions that came out of the bourgeois revolutions.

This is what Fanon brings to life for today in Marx by revealing the cowardice of the articulate elite in contrast to the mass upsurge, which he calls "an untidy affirmation of an original idea propounded as an absolute." If Fanon makes one thing clear it is that this Particular dimension is reaching for something new "for humanity."

Ron Brokmeyer
Oakland, Cal



**EL SALVADOR'S
PEACE
ACCORD**

More than two months have passed since the cease-fire in El Salvador. The peace accords signify a great triumph by the Salvadoran progressive movement against three decades of successive dictatorships, armed to the teeth by their North American Godfathers. El Salvador is so small it's difficult even to hide one's thoughts. But by mixing and identifying with the people, the guerrillas were able to hide and avoid defeat by the powerful army.

Today the main difficulties involve forming a new national police force, which means finding alternatives to the National Guard and security police who were responsible for serious human rights violations. Also to be worked out are land ownership and agrarian reform. The immediate future of the peace and demilitarization process depends on the outcome of these two key issues. The military elite has become an economic and political competitor for the bourgeoisie. But it is doubtful a military coup will occur since this military depends intimately on U.S. support. And even Washington has recognized the need for a compromise.

Professor
Mexico

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS

—BOOKS—

- Marxism and Freedom ...from 1776 until today**
1989 Columbia University Press edition. New 1980s introduction by author. 381 pp.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$17.50 per copy
- Philosophy and Revolution from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao**
1989 edition. New introduction by author. 372 pp.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$14.95 per copy
- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution**
1991 University of Illinois Press edition. New introduction by author. Forward by Adrienne Rich. 240 pp.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$12.95 per copy
- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future**
294 pp.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$15.95
- The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two Historic-Philosophic Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya.** Contains "Presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy of June 1, 1987," and 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes." 52 pp.
\$3.00 paperback, \$10.00 hardcover
- Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal**
1989 Wayne State University Press edition includes Afterword by Raya Dunayevskaya, "Charles Denby 1907-83" 303 pp.
by Charles Denby \$14.95

—PAMPHLETS—

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From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya Marxist-Humanist Archives

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Founder of Marxist Humanism

Editor's note: In the month's after the November, 1982, publication of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, Raya Dunayevskaya continued to develop the new category she had created, "post-Marx Marxism as a pejorative." This letter, written Feb. 20, 1983 to Michael Connolly in response to his questions about her analysis of Karl Korsch's Marxism and Philosophy¹ (1923) never edited for publication by Dunayevskaya. The text as presented here has been edited for typographical and grammatical errors and to make the letter more accessible to the reader. The full, unedited text of the letter is included in The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, #15357.

Although the section of the new work (Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution) entitled "A 1980s View" makes clear that the challenge to post-Marx Marxists, beginning with Engels, includes so-called Western Marxists, I nevertheless suddenly feel it necessary to make the latter reference more explicit especially as it relates to Karl Korsch. Perhaps the fact that Kevin [Anderson] will go to Germany this spring is what made me think of Korsch's homeland. Since, however, preparation for my lecture tour around all three works² this Marx centenary leaves me no time to work out a Political-Philosophic Letter, I'm using the form of this note to express my thoughts informally.

IRONICALLY, ONE REASON I consider it necessary to expand the challenge to post-Marx Marxists by focusing on "Western Marxists" is that [Georg] Lukacs and Korsch—the very ones who did re-introduce the Dialectic's revolutionary nature as inseparable from actual revolutions, who did tightly relate [it to] the Second International's reformism that ended in outright betrayal once World War I erupted—were nevertheless the very ones who, as revolutionaries, accepted Lenin's revolutionary politics without ever relating it to his strictly philosophic re-organization. Why? Why had they never seen any significance in what Lenin achieved in 1914 [in relation to what] they had first worked out in 1919-23? How could the Great Divide in Marxism, created by Lenin at the outbreak of world war, be left at the political level without the search for Lenin's return to the Hegelian dialectic "in and for itself"?

Heretofore I had allowed Lukacs' and Korsch's disregard of Lenin's deeper penetration of the dialectic and its todayness, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, Lenin's philosophic ambivalence when it came to the question of organization—i.e., his concept of "the party to lead"—to rest in peace, as if so-called Western Marxists are entitled to some sort of special privileges. Now, with the completion of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, which could present the Marx oeuvre as a totality and take issue with true revolutionary giants—Lenin, Luxemburg, Trotsky—most critically, all others who claim to be Marxists must likewise be measured against Marx's Marxism, not Engelsianism....

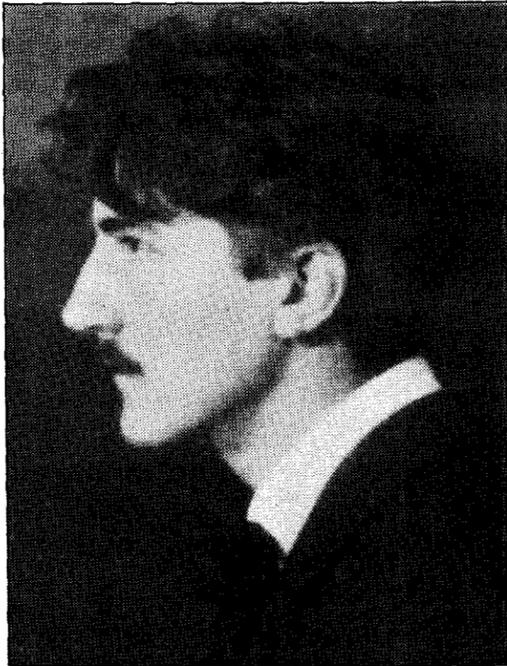
The reason for focusing on Korsch is, precisely, because so-called Western Marxism was the excuse (or reason, as you wish) that Jean-Paul Sartre and [Maurice] Merleau-Ponty used in the post-World War II period. It is the excuse anthropologists globally still use when they want to escape Marxian methodology and concentrate on facts, facts, facts. It is the todayness of the past debates that have sent me back to re-reading Korsch. In reading now the Korsch reference to Hegel in Philosophy and Revolution,³ I became very conscious of the fact that he had allowed for altogether too many qualifications of the Hegelian Dialectic as he kept repeating, over and over again, materialism, materialism, materialism.

IN MY VIEW, to skip over the dialectics of an actual new Great Divide in Marxism that Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks had created at the outbreak of World War I, by saying: "But Lukacs and Korsch didn't know of Lenin's Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic, since he kept it private when they did their grappling with the Hegelian dialectic in the specific milieu of German Marxism," is a way of viewing chronology as facticity rather [than as] dialectical sequence. The proof of that can be seen in the fact that in all the years since the publication of Lenin's 1914 Philosophic Notebooks they still didn't dig deep into that Great Divide.

It is true that they didn't know, when they were developing their view on the imperativeness of a revolutionary return to the Hegelian dialectic in 1919 to 1923, that Lenin had already achieved a much deeper and more comprehensive review of the dialectic with his Abstract in 1914. But they did know of the popular 1922 letter Lenin had addressed to the editors of a new journal, Under the Banner of Marxism, which called for "a systematic study of the Hegelian dialectic from a materialist standpoint." Indeed, Korsch used that specific quotation as frontispiece of his Marxism and Philosophy without ever sensing any philosophic discontinuity between the Lenin of 1908, who had given the green light to vulgar materialism with his Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, and the Lenin of 1914-23, who had produced the dialectical Abstract of Hegel's Logic.*

The truth is that they kept treating two very different works—Materialism and Empirio-Criticism and the Abstract—as if they were one and the same continuous work even after the latter was publically known. Instead

of digging deep into the philosophic Great Divide, they proceeded narrowly on their own way and accepted the politics of "Leninism." Thereby they did nothing to close the great philosophic void which resulted after Lenin's death, even as it became the characteristic [of] post-Marx Marxism with the death of Karl Marx. Nowhere is that clearer [than] in their revolutionary embrace of Lenin's great work State and Revolution—which, however, didn't work out the dialectics of the party from its 1902-03 vanguardist concept. (The fact that Party is never mentioned in that work, though it is so great a re-creation of Marx's Critique of the Gotha



Karl Korsch

Program, I'll deal with later.)

As you know I was nevertheless anxious enough [in Philosophy and Revolution] to give Korsch credit for re-establishing the revolutionary nature of the Hegelian dialectic to reproduce Korsch's way of quoting Hegel's formulation that "revolution was lodged and expressed as if in the very form of their thought." I stressed especially Korsch's calling attention to the fact that this use of revolution was by no means left only in the sphere of thought, but was held to be "an objective component of the total social process of a real revolution" (p.41).

Clearly, it is not out of any concern for firstedness that I wish to set the record straight. The necessity for correcting the factual arises, not from facticity, but from the ambience of the dialectic. If we are not to narrow the dialectic either only to the objective, or only to the subjective, the attitude to chronology cannot, must not, be reduced to facticity. When all is said and done, it is the objectivity of that historic momentous event of a world war and the collapse of established Marxism which compelled the militant materialist, Lenin, to turn to the "subjective," the "idealist" Hegel.

Marx's Marxism was rooted therein not only as "origin," but as continuous dialectic which spells out "return" [to Hegel], re-creation as the imperative need for a new relationship of theory to practice.

THE RELATIONS OF THEORY to practice, of subject to object, so preoccupied Marx from the very first that he no sooner completed the 1844 Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts than he followed it up with the 11 Theses on Feuerbach, the first of which reads:

"The chief defect of all previous materialism (including Feuerbach) is that the object, actuality, sensuousness, is conceived only in the form of the object or perception, but not as sensuous human activity, praxis, not subjectively. Hence, in opposition to materialism the active side was developed by idealism... Feuerbach wants sensuous objects actually different from thought objects' but he does not comprehend human activity itself as objective... Consequently he does not comprehend the significance of 'revolutionary,' of 'practical-critical' activity."

Korsch, on the other hand, far from seeing that Marx credited, not materialism, but "idealism," i.e., Hegelian dialectic, with the development of the "active" aspect of subjectivity—human activity having undergone a deeper development than from individual to social, praxis—reduces ideas to hardly more than the mirror image of the materialist underpinning, a 1:1 relationship of objective to subjective. This gets further qualified by focusing on the "similarity" between Hegelian and Kantian dialectic and other German idealists. Thus, he no sooner quotes Hegel on the "revolution lodged in the very form of thought" but not restricted to thought, than he footnotes it with a lengthy reference to Kant's "Conflict of the Faculties": "The revolution of an intellectually gifted people, such as the one we are witnessing today, arouses all onlookers (who are not themselves directly involved) to sympathize with it in a way that approaches enthusiasm" (p.41).

Korsch has a peculiar way of describing the life/death of German idealism: "Instead of making an exit, classical German philosophy—the ideological expression of the revolutionary movement of the bourgeoisie—made a transition to a new science which henceforward appeared in the history of ideas as the general expression

Contrasting Marxism and Philosophy Karl Korsch and Weste

of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, the theory of 'scientific socialism' first founded and formulated by Marx and Engels in the 1840s" (p.44).

As we see, the qualifications Korsch introduced into the Hegelian dialectic also were extended to the Marxian. To Korsch, "the emergence of Marxist theory is, in Hegelian-Marxian terms, only the 'other side' of the emergence of the real proletarian movement; it is both sides together that comprise the concrete totality of the historical process" (p.45).

Marx's Marxism, far from being only the "other side" of the proletarian movement, is a whole new continent of thought and of revolution in which "totality" does not stop as a mere sum of its parts. The core of the dialectic**—the transformation of reality—doesn't stop at any one period. Marx's Marxism, his Promethean vision, produced ever new moments which the "western Marxists" failed to work out for their epoch.

Where Lenin, in his return to the Hegelian dialectic, [writes,] "Cognition not only reflects the world but creates it,"⁴ Korsch keeps quoting over and over again from [Engels'] Anti-Duhring and Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy as if they were Marx's works, and thus falls headlong into Engelsian "positive science." This leads Korsch to become defensive on the question of philosophy and Marxism. Despite his total break with the German Social democracy and despite his magnificent connection of the second International's reformism with its neglect of philosophy and the theory of revolution, he holds that it is true that it appears that "Marxism itself is at once superceded and annihilated as a philosophical object" (p.47).

AS IF THAT WERE not enough of an Engelsianism,^{***} he once again quotes Anti-Duhring as if that were by Marx himself: "That which survives independently of all earlier philosophies is the science of thought and its laws—formal logic and dialectics. Everything else is subsumed in the positive science of nature and history" (p.50).

Having reduced the dialectic to "science" and history to historicism, Korsch makes it impossible to grapple with Marx's dialectics—the transformation of historic narrative into historic reason. No wonder that even when he is at his most creative in revealing the relationship between the Second International's reformism and its neglect of the dialectics of revolution—the need, not to "take over" the state, but for its abolition—Korsch sees and accepts Lenin's Great Divide only politically. He praises highly Lenin's State and Revolution, which had re-created Marx's Critique of the Gotha Program, and the Paris Commune as "really no longer a state," but since he hasn't philosophically worked through the great Divide, he hardly can re-create it for his epoch. Nor [can he] see that Lenin himself had stopped there on the eve of revolution, not on [the question of] what happens after the conquest of power. So blind is he to that turning point where the dialectic, far from

Soeben erscheint

BAND 23 DER MARXISTISCHEN BIBLIOTHEK
(VERÖFFENTLICHUNG DES MARX-ENGELS-LENIN-INSTITUTES
IN MOSKAU)

W. I. LENIN

AUS DEM
PHILOSOPHISCHEN
NACHLASS

EXZERPTE UND RANDGLOSSEN
Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von V. ADORATSKI

Ein Einblick in die theoretische Werkstatt Lenins bieten vorliegende Heft, in denen Lenin Auszüge und Randbemerkungen bei seinem Studium der Werke Hegels, Feuerbachs, Aristoteles u. a. niederlegte. Nach dem Manuskript getreu herausgegeben, sind sie eine reiche Quelle für jeden, der die Theorie der Dialektik und ihre marxistisch-leninistische Umgestaltung und Weiterentwicklung studiert. Da eine systematische Darstellung des dialektischen Materialismus nach wie vor fehlt, muß man schon bei Lenin selbst studieren, wie er „bestrebt ist, Hegel materialistisch zu lesen“. Das vorliegende Material ist dem Lenin'ski Zbornik IX und XII entnommen und dem deutschen Leser zum ersten Male zugänglich gemacht. Es dürfte zum tieferen Verständnis der materialistischen Dialektik und ihrer Anwendung beim Studium der Natur und der Gesellschaft und in der praktisch-politischen Tätigkeit unentbehrlich sein.

Aus dem Inhalt:

Zur Kritik des Hegelschen Buches: „Wissenschaft der Logik“
Zur Kritik der Vorlesungen Hegels über die Philosophie der Geschichte / Zur Kritik der Vorlesungen Hegels über die Geschichte der Philosophie / Plan der Dialektik Hegels / Ueber das Buch G. Noels: „La Logique de Hegel“ / Konsept des Buches Lassalles: „Die Philosophie Heraklitos des Dunklen von Ephesos“ / Zur Frage der Dialektik / Kritische Bemerkungen zur „Metaphysik“ des Aristoteles / Kritische Bemerkungen zu Feuerbachs: „Vorlesungen über das Wesen der Religion“ / Kritische Bemerkungen zu Feuerbachs „Leibniz“
XXXVIII u. 364 Seiten Genzleinen RM. 6.—

VERLAG FÜR LITERATUR UND POLITIK
WIEN/BERLIN SW 61

Above is a copy of the original announcement of the German language publication of Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks on Hegel's Science of Logic. The announcement was published in June, 1932, only months before Hitler's rise to power.

Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks

Marxism: recreation or dilution of Marx's Marxism?

being a question of revolution vs. reformism, would become [a question of] confronting the most horrifying of all problems—the counter-revolution arising from within the revolution itself—that he sinks into stagifying Marx's Marxism.

Korsch's practice of a 1:1 relation of subjective to objective has him divide Marx's development into three periods, with the first being the high point, 1843-48. Once the 1848 revolution is defeated, it is all one long retrogression which he subdivides into two. [The first subdivision is] 1848-64, which he begs off from analyzing, since Marx so "masterfully," in his "Inaugural Address of 1864" to the First International, described as the "period of feverish industrial activity, moral degeneration and political reaction" (p.56). Here is how Korsch continues with the [next subdivision] of that second period:

"Hence, the second period may be said to last approximately to the end of the century, leaving out all the less important divisions (the foundation and collapse of the First International; the interlude of the Commune; the struggle between Marxists and Lassalleans; the Anti-socialist laws in Germany; trade unions; the founding of the Second International). The third phase extends from the start of this century to the present and into an indefinite future" (pp.56-57).

The logic of this illogical stagifying of Marx's development reduces Marx's universal of the Paris Commune to a mere interlude....

It takes a lot of excavating to disclose Korsch's type of Kantian dialectics at the very point when, politically, he has the deepest dialectical penetration in his rejection of the Second International's theoretical neglect of Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Program* and acceptance of Lenin's *State and Revolution*—especially when at that point we need to confront Lenin's philosophical ambivalence in having stopped without tackling the dialectic of the Party, and thus leaving untouched the 1902-03 vanguardist concept of the party.

BUT LEAVE IT to Korsch to come to our aid, first by focusing on Lenin's P.S. [to *State and Revolution*], as if that were the climax to the revolutionary analysis. That is to say, where Lenin admits he had to stop his theoretical expose on state and revolution before he had a chance to dig into actual revolutions, either 1905 or 1917, Korsch stops also his analysis, though no revolution is knocking at his door. Lenin, of course, was most happy about that "interruption." "It's more pleasant and useful to go through 'the experience of revolution' than to write about it." So, in 1923, we have yet to approach the problem: what happens after the conquest of power?

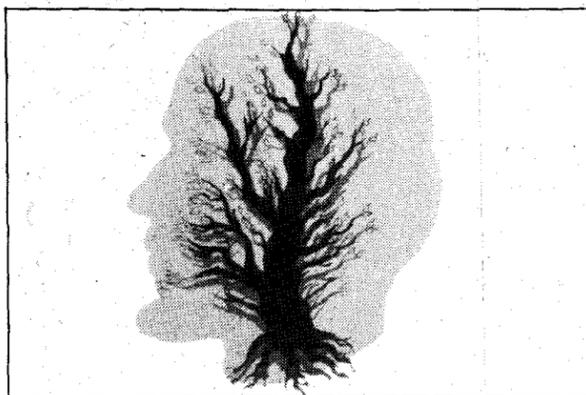
Secondly, in turning to Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Program*, Korsch still has not a word to say on the question of organization, though he is rapturous in praise of Marx's *Critique*, both in the original 1923 edition of *Marxism and Philosophy* and in its 1930 reprint with a new introduction, as well as his special introduction that he had written to the *Critique* itself. But isn't that, that precisely, the overriding question—the relationship of theory to organization? Wasn't that *Critique* written as "Marginal Notes" to a Party's program? Wasn't it sent to a leader (Bracke) in the parties about to be united? And wasn't that sent simultaneously with the French edition of *Capital*, Vol. I, in the very period in which Marx was plunging into a study of the Russian ancient peasant commune, which disclosed such "new moments" in Marx's development as to leave a trail even for our period of the 1980s?

O.K., let's begin at the beginning of the adventures of the *Critique*, written in 1875. The German Workers Party proceeded on its merry way without so much as publishing Marx's *Critique*, much less making that the foundation for the Party. Fifteen years later, when Engels finally compelled the new German Social Democracy to publish the *Critique* in 1891, it was clear that "knowing" the *Critique* had as little impact as not knowing it—just as, in Korsch's period, no new ground had been created by "knowing" instead of not knowing Lenin's 1914 breakthrough on the Hegelian dialectic.

Just as considering Marx and Engels as one led, at best, to muddying up Marx's Marxism even when no revisionism was involved, as with Engels, so not seeing Lenin's Great Divide philosophically resulted, at one and the same time, in the dilution of Marx's Marxism and in losing the dialectical sequence for the new problems after the death of Lenin. Put simply, the challenge to post-Marx Marxists is needed, not just to clear up the debris left by Engels' interpretation of what were the Marx "bequests," but to be informed by Marx's new continent of thought and revolution, neither of which is separable from the other.

Correctly—as Luxemburg did magnificently—to reject the very first revisionist call for the "removal of the dialectical scaffolding" from Marxism, without concretizing and deepening the dialectic for one's own age, creates a gap. That the historic continuity with Marx seemed to have ended with the 1848 revolution, rather than [being] extended to the 1850 Address [to the Communist League] on "revolution in permanence," first emerged in the 1905 [Russian] Revolution. By 1907, when the International's Congress didn't even put that Revolution on the agenda, [it] signified, as I expressed it in *Marxism and Freedom's* Chapter IX, "The Beginning of the End of the Second International."⁵ You have every right to call attention to the fact that that clarifica-

tion was achieved with eyes of 1957. It certainly is true that the combination of hindsight and the fact that, with the eruption of the Hungarian Revolution, came also the placing on the historic stage of Marx's 1844 Humanist essays, could not but reopen the relationship of philosophy to revolution. But why then did Lenin's



return to the Hegelian dialectic in 1914 lead post-Marx "Western Marxists" to skip that new ground from which to take off?

TO SUM UP BRIEFLY (I hope I'll get time to develop this more after my lecture tour around our trilogy of revolution), what remains of the essence is, at one and the same time, to relate historic continuity—the return to Marx's Marxism as a re-creation—to the discontinuity of the ages, and with it, to be able to meet the new challenges. As a precondition for that, I hold it imperative to reconsider post-Marx Marxism, measure it against Marx's Marxism and, far from skipping what had been created by Lenin's Great Divide philosophically, to take off from that.

What a re-reading of Karl Korsch's *Marxism and Philosophy* has illuminated is that the Dialectic needs extension to the dialectics of the Party. [That] which Marx had charted in the *Critique of the Gotha Program*—and which even Lenin, who so freshly re-created [it] on the question of the need to abolish the state, and, with the revolution, proceed to a new form of power that is "no longer a state," didn't have time dialectically to extend to what happens after, though he certainly did leave us jumping off points—must be worked out by this age.

A first step toward that task is to make sure that not only is there no division between philosophy and revolution, but also none between philosophy and organization. Concretely that demands the relationship of Organization to Marx's theory of "revolution in permanence." It is with that in mind that I entitled the penultimate chapter of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, "The Philosopher of Permanent Revolution Creates New Ground for Organization." It is only then that the final chapter on Marx's "new moments," including his *Ethnological Notebooks* and our age's Third World, disclosed the

trail to the 1980s. That doesn't mean we have the answer all signed and sealed. It does mean that working this out demands a challenge to post-Marx Marxists.

Footnotes by Raya Dunayevskaya:

* For that matter there was no change in that false attitude when the 1914 *Philosophic Notebooks* were finally published. Nor was that failure to recognize the Great Divide due only to political capitulation to Stalinism. No, it was much, much deeper. Lukacs, who did finally begin making many references to [Lenin's] *Abstract [of Hegel's Science of Logic]*, made these with so false a consciousness that he paired Lenin with Stalin as an original philosopher, so that both became creators of "Marxism in the age of imperialism."

On that score Lukacs is, at least in 1919-23, more profoundly dialectical: "To be clear about the function of theory is also to understand its own basis, i.e., the dialectical method. This point is absolutely crucial, and because it has been overlooked much confusion has been introduced into discussions of dialectics. Engels' arguments in the *Anti-Duhring* decisively influenced the later life of the theory. However we regard them, whether we grant them classical status or whether we criticize them, deem them to be incomplete or even flawed, we must still agree that this aspect is nowhere treated in them. That is to say, he contrasts the ways in which the concepts are formed in dialectics as opposed to 'metaphysics'; he stresses the fact that in dialectics the definite contours of concepts (and the objects they represent) are dissolved. Dialectics, he argues, is a continuous process of transition from one definition into the other. In consequence a one-sided and rigid causality must be replaced by interaction. But he does not even mention the most vital interaction, namely the **dialectical relation between subject and object in the historical process, let alone give it the prominence it deserves. Yet without this factor dialectics ceases to be revolutionary, despite attempts (illusory in the last analysis) to retain 'fluid concepts.' For it implies a failure to recognize that in all metaphysics the object remains untouched and unaltered so that thought remains contemplative and fails to become practical; while for the dialectical method the central problem is **to change reality.**" (Georg Lukacs, *History and Class Consciousness*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1971, p.3.)

*** Korsch never followed through with the strict Hegelianism of the one critique he allowed himself of Engels' "self-criticism" "in an incorrect and undialectical way" (pp. 78-79): "In Hegel's terms, he retreats from the height of the concept to its threshold, to the categories of reacting and mutual interaction, etc." [The reference is to para. 156 of Hegel's *Logic* in the *Encyclopedia of Philosophical Sciences*.]

Footnotes by editor:

1. Karl Korsch, *Marxism and Philosophy*, translated by Fred Halliday (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970). All page references in the text are to this edition.
2. Dunayevskaya's 1983 lecture tour for the Marx centenary projected her "trilogy of revolution": *Marxism and Freedom; Philosophy and Revolution; and Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.
3. Raya Dunayevskaya, *Philosophy and Revolution* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1973), p. 294, note 15.
4. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38 (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1963), p. 212.
5. Raya Dunayevskaya, *Marxism and Freedom* (New York: Bookman, 1957).

We invite you to participate in Rediscovering Marx's Marxism for Today

A Series of Six Classes on Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution

An unprecedented contradiction confronts the struggle for freedom today. On the one hand, the long-overdue collapse of state-capitalist totalitarianism calling itself Communism in Russia and East Europe has not only proven its bankruptcy, but has also helped direct the spotlight on the socio-economic morass within the countries of the industrially developed West, which is experiencing its most prolonged economic crisis since the Great Depression. Yet at the same time, we are also witnessing a near total breakdown in the effort to articulate a

concept of freedom that speaks to the realities of our time on the part of the Left. This contradictory situation has made it imperative to turn to philosophy, to a body of ideas that can help answer the question, "how to begin anew?" This class series represents an effort to concretize this by exploring the work by Raya Dunayevskaya which rounded out Marxist-Humanism as a body of ideas—*Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*—inseparable from *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism*.

- **Class 1: Marxist-Humanism's Challenge to All Post-Marx Marxists: from Luxemburg and Lenin to Today's Women's Liberation Movement**
- **Class 2: Marx's Transformation of Hegel's Revolution in Philosophy into a Philosophy of Revolution (1841-48)**
- **Class 3: Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crises**
- **Class 4: Spontaneity, Organization, and Philosophy**
- **Class 5: A 1990s View of Marx's Last Decade: New Perspectives on Dialectics, Non-western Societies, and Man/Woman Relations**
- **Class 6: An Overview of the Entire Work: Its Urgency for Working Out the "untrodden path" of Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy**

These classes will be held in Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco-Bay Area. Please contact the local nearest you in directory, page 10,

for dates and time, plus reading syllabus. All classes are free. A full discussion will follow each presentation.

What is Mexico's future in face of New World Order?

(continued from page 1)

agreement between Mexico, the U.S. and Canada. Our conversations were with workers from Sealed Power, a U.S.-owned company that closed a plant in the U.S. and opened one in Mexico. The workers were members of an independent trade union, FAT (Frente Autentico del Trabajo—The True Labor Front). We began our discussion by sharing with Mexican workers the voices of three U.S. workers who had written on the conditions of U.S. labor in the pages of News & Letters.

The response of the Mexican workers was exciting. One young worker spoke of the relation between U.S. and Mexican workers: "I'd like more communication with these three workers. I never thought in a developed country like the U.S. there'd be these kinds of conditions. Their situation is very similar to ours. We hear that the salaries in the U.S. are great but we see it's not true. The workers are human beings who can think and yet we are not allowed to study to get a better position."

"We have TV to convince us to accept the way things are, but as union workers we are conscious of how important it is to have an organization. But other workers without unions either sleep from being too tired or working all day. They don't have time to think. In Canada, Mexico and the United States we as workers need to be more serious about study."

Another Sealed Power worker wanted us to communicate his thoughts to workers in the U.S.: "Tell your comrades what it's like to live like us. This is why the U.S. and Canada want to come here—because it's so cheap. We have so many houses without water, without light, without plumbing. We are told in the papers, the TV and the radio that we're going to rise to the level of the U.S., but we know this is a big lie."

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

We found the same desire to communicate with activists in the United States among women's groups. There are many women's organizations in Mexico, including groups of urban poor women and organizations of women refugees from other countries in Latin America. One of the groups we had a chance to speak with was called Mujeres para el Dialogo (Women for Dialogue). Women in this organization go to different locations, particularly where poor women work, to do workshops on domestic violence, health care, education, childbirth and sexuality. They have a library with many resources on women and issue a quarterly bulletin called *Companeras*.

In our dialogue with these women we had a chance to present Raya Dunayevskaya's *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which has been published in Mexico. We spoke on chapter 8, "The Unique and Unfinished Tasks of To-

day's Women's Liberation Movement." In this chapter Dunayevskaya singled out that the uniqueness and high point of the Women's Liberation Movement was that it emerged from within the Left, critiquing it from the Left, when women refused to wait until "after the revolution" to work out new human relations. The unfinished nature of the movement was shown when many women dismissed Marx simply because he was a man or accepted the views of post-Marx Marxists and did not work out his new Humanism.

During the discussion one of the members of the



Free trade agreement seen from Mexico.

Women for Dialogue responded to the presentation by saying she saw their job as getting women "to think of themselves not merely as objects but subjects as well—not just victims but alternative voices of what could be."

She then continued: "Many women's liberation theorists talk about finding our own space, but for what? With all this talk about democracy today, what is democracy in a Third World country if the conditions of poverty remain? There are many contradictions within Latin America."

"The governments with all their talk are creating a very fine thread by which they are attempting to grab all the movements and destroy them. There is a certain type of similarity between the ideology of the United States government and that of Latin America today."

STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY

While we were in Mexico there was a large protest against an attempt at UNAM, for the first time in its history, to begin charging students for their higher education, which has always been free. Several thousand students marched and rallied. We had a chance to meet with many students at presentations we gave at UNAM. At our talks there were two questions which the students returned to again and again: 1) What was our view of the collapse of the Soviet Union? and 2) What was our view of Cuba?

The students' continuous return to the question of the collapse of the Soviet Union gave us a feel for the pull that state-capitalism calling itself Communism has had in Third World countries as an alternative to the hegemony of the United States. Today, with the collapse of "established Communism," there is an openness to discuss the vast gulf that separates Marxism and state-capitalism calling itself Communism, and thus we had an opportunity to discuss the Marxist-Humanist theory of state-capitalism developed by Dunayevskaya.

While Marxism may be "antiquated" for some intellectuals—including government pressure to change the curriculum at the university where, in the economics department, students regularly study Marx's *Capital* for several courses—we found among many students who came to our talks an interest in rediscovering Marx's Marxism as a Humanism, as well as a desire to explore the relationship of Marx to Hegel.

This is not to say that there were no contradictions among the radical students and other activists. Take the question of Cuba. We spoke of News and Letters Committees' opposition to U.S. imperialism's attempt to destroy the Cuban Revolution over the last 30 years. But we also spoke about the internal transformation of that revolution, away from the new beginning it had meant for Latin America. While some were attracted to our position, others felt that there should be no criticism of Cuba, even from the Left.

That such a position can lead one to the narrowest form of anti-imperialism could be seen in a march and rally we attended that demanded "oil for Cuba." At the rally, in addition to supporting Cuba against U.S. imperialism, some wanted to combine that with support of Saddam Hussein as well. One man held up a two-sided sign. One side read, "Long Live Castro. Long Live the Poor of the World." The other side read, "Long Live Hussein. Death to U.S. Imperialism."

THE INTERMINABLE CONQUEST, 1492-1992

Our trip to Mexico took place on the 500th anniversary of Columbus' voyage to the New World. Within Mexico, and all Latin America, there is an ongoing debate on the meaning of that event, including even the language describing Columbus' voyage. Where the official celebrations speak of Columbus' "encounter" with the New World, coalitions of activists see not an encounter, but a conquest. Indeed, they call it, "The Interminable Con-

quest, 1492-1992," and ask, "What is there to celebrate?" Counter-demonstrations, meetings and protests have been organized. Books and articles discussing the meaning of the Conquest have been coming off the press. Many of these discussions and protests refuse to separate the Conquest from the deep resistance—a search for identity and emancipation in Latin America. These discussions and protests have become an important focal point not alone for finding the historical meaning of the Conquest, but a part of the search for full human liberation in Latin America today.

However, under the impact of today's changed world, one crucial ground for discussion has been left aside: the relationship of Marx to the Third World. Whether one takes up Marx's writings on so-called primitive accumulation and its relation to capitalist accumulation, and see both as a dimension of the interminable Conquest, or takes up Marx's continuous search for new subjects of revolution in non-capitalist lands, as seen in the work of his last decade in his *Ethnological Notebooks* and in his writings on the Russian peasant commune, Marx had much to say on the meaning of the Conquest, as well as the resistance and the Idea of freedom as the driving forces for liberation. It was for this reason that one of the presentations we gave in Mexico had as its central theme, "The Interminable Conquest vs. Marx's Revolution in Permanence."

To visit Mexico today is to be in a country with profound dualities. It is a country whose full human potentiality is continuously being diverted in order to produce for a world market. As one of the workers at Sealed Power expressed it, "The necessity is production, the workers don't have anything to do with this decision...This is classic capitalism."

At the same time one can experience the deep resistance to this interminable Conquest in the actions and thoughts of workers, women and youth. The most exciting dimension of our trip was to find activist-thinkers in Mexico who wanted to share their ideas with us and to explore the Idea of freedom embodied in Marx's revolution in permanence and in Dunayevskaya's Marxist-Humanism. The creation of a philosophy of liberation on Latin American soil can help give the action of resistance a direction. It is part of a pathway that ends the interminable Conquest and reaches for full human emancipation on the Latin American continent.

Eyewitness report from Iran

Tehran, Iran—Life in Iran has become like a race. Its organizers are the rulers and its participants are the masses of the people. The race is about survival, not about living.

The rate of inflation is so high that people cannot live on their incomes. People say we earn rials (the Iranian currency) and we spend in dollars (each dollar is about 1,440 rials). Rent for a two-bedroom apartment is between 100,000 and 500,000 rials while the monthly salary of the average employee is between 100,000 and 200,000 rials. Meat costs 5,000 rials per kilogram. And people have to wait in line all night to buy meat at a less expensive price.

The government of the Islamic Republic is now making people pay tuition for sending their children to formerly public elementary and high schools. At the universities, about 30% to 50% of the students who are allowed to get in are from the families of the Pasdaran (government goon squads) or war martyrs. Hundreds of thousands of other high school graduates have to compete with each other to enter the universities. They can only get in if they are among the few who passed the entrance exams and if their political views are acceptable to the regime.

Most people have to have two or three jobs or work many hours of overtime to eke out a living. A pharmaceutical worker told me: "I go to work early in the morning. Then at the end of my shift at 4 p.m., I work overtime until 10 p.m. to pay for my family's food and rent. I either have to work overtime or steal drugs and sell them in the open market."

A strike has been going on among oil workers who are demanding better pay and working conditions. The government has been suppressing news about this strike. But people know it is going on because it has led to long lines for gasoline.

The situation of women as second-class citizens is unbelievable. Women continue to be beaten and attacked and reprimanded on the streets because some of their hair is showing under their veil. Buses continue to be segregated and women are forced to sit in the back. One woman told me that for eight years she has been trying to get a divorce from her husband, who married her without telling her that he had another wife. She has long ago left his house. But he continues to punish her and does not divorce her.

In Iran the masses of people are mostly political but they do not trust either the ruling regime or the political opposition groups. The question that masses of people pose isn't about who to revolt against but rather what will revolution substitute for the present conditions. It seems that political opposition groups are not aware of this important question.

It is the failure of the Left to develop a revolutionary alternative that has forced some of the masses to fascism. What is clear is that masses of people aren't satisfied with their conditions, but the question of how to overcome these conditions is the question that confronts all human beings who care about other human beings.

—Ali

A return to Argentina

New York, N.Y.—We spent our first days in Buenos Aires talking with people in leftist bookstores in order to feel out the political climate. After a short period of enthusiasm once "democracy" returned to Argentina, a sense of emptiness has taken possession of our daily life. A kind of smog has covered us and has left us unable to imagine how to open a new path that allows us to overcome the profound crisis in thought—a crisis which the Right is taking advantage of.

The Left has not known how to respond to this crisis. It limits itself to reacting to the ideas of the Right without offering new ones.

We asked for literature by and on Silvio Frondizi and were laughed at in disbelief that somebody can ask for such books in these retrogressive times! The only way to get hold of any copies of his books is through personal, not even university, libraries. It is very sad how, after living the horrors of so many dictatorships, the "memory" of our own people was killed.

We spoke to an old friend who works for the city's newly implemented programs for women—including domestic violence, pregnancy and housing. Given that resources are scarce, many recognize that there is much more to do. Unless one looks very carefully, there is an appearance of no activity in the women's movement; it's all kind of underground. Only the middle/upper-class women feel there is no need for emancipation.

We had the opportunity to visit the headquarters of the Argentine Homosexual Community (CHA), which is an underground organization due to the status lesbian and gay people suffer in this country and how they are perceived by the general public through a very reactionary campaign from the neo-liberal government to the Catholic Church. It was sad to see the lack of support they receive although their enthusiasm toward a more human society was impressive.

It was difficult to accept the disintegration of the labor movement due to the orthodox economic policies imposed by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank through the puppet government of Menem, who is doing his best to be allied with the U.S., especially when we know and have lived the struggles of one of the largest labor movements in Latin America.

The feeling of general emptiness we found, especially among the youth, makes us realize the necessity to work out the projection of Raya Dunayevskaya's Marxist-Humanism through a fluid dialogue with our comrades in the south. —Marina and Carlos

Black/Red View

by John Alan

Today thousands of poor Black youth are identifying with Malcolm X. Everywhere they're wearing t-shirts and jackets with Malcolm's image. Some have gone so far as to say that this "revival" of Malcolm in the consciousness of this generation could be the birth of a new period of radicalism among the youth.

There is no doubt that Malcolm X is a popular figure around which many Black youth have gathered as an alternative to the alienating conditions of permanent poverty, racism and the continuing dissolution of life in the Black communities of this country. This has been the never-ending story of their lives. They're literally the generation of Black youth to experience directly the consequences of the unfinished nature of the Black revolution of the 1960s, and this is happening at a moment when U.S. capitalism is enmeshed in an ongoing economic crisis with world-wide dimensions.

African American youth know that the present society has no real solutions to racism and poverty. When they reflect both upon Malcolm X and the objective conditions of their own lives, they're setting up conditions for its negation, because the image they have of Malcolm is one of a militant, uncompromising opponent of American racist society.

However, it would be wrong to claim that this current identification with Malcolm X is a prelude to a spontaneous birth of a new radical youth movement. This would be pure speculation. A movement is a process which needs to find its own subjectivity, i.e., its self-consciousness, to affirm its ability to mediate existing society. To put it another way, in the words of Raya Dunayevskaya: "No new stage of cognition is born out of thin air. It can be born only out of praxis...when the movement has disclosed also its quest for universality..." (Philosophy and Revolution, pp. 265-66.)

In *Philosophy and Revolution* Raya Dunayevskaya finds the origin of the 1960s Black and youth movements and even Malcolm X's "new revolutionary uni-

Chevron Toxic Racism

Richmond, Cal.—On Dec. 5, 1991, Chevron released 40-100 tons of metal-laced toxic dust into the air. This brings to eight the number of "accidents" at Chevron's Richmond refinery in the last five months. The residents of Richmond, who are mostly working-class Black, Latino and Asian people, have been suffering with a number of illnesses since the spill. Despite the reporting of widespread effects over a large portion of the population, Chevron continues to deny responsibility. Below we print the stories of people we met at the "March on Chevron: Speak Out Against Toxic Assaults on Richmond Neighborhoods" held March 14, sponsored by the West County Toxics Coalition.

When the spill happened I didn't see the cloud of dust, but I saw it on the news. They showed the workers running out of the refinery, and when they got outside they hit the ground and passed out. After that incident I began really bad headaches and problems breathing. I felt like I was dying. I went to the hospital and they told me I had bronchitis and sent me home. I often felt dizzy, and even passed out right in the hospital.

It wasn't until a friend who works with West County Toxics Coalition showed me a list of symptoms people were having since the spill that I realized what was wrong with me. I had every single symptom on that list!

My husband has been having to drive me around to the doctors and it has been very difficult for him to concentrate on finding work. Even he has been coughing up brown phlegm. We saw a lot of dust in the playground at our children's school and we think it's from the spill. We're afraid that now with all the rain, all this dust is just going into our drinking water.

We moved here to California six months ago to make our lives better. It's been difficult to find work and we have had problems getting public aid. Now Chevron has made us sick, and all so they can make more profit and have more power over the people. I would like Chevron to clean up their act and to compensate people for what they have suffered. I'm going to keep going to any rallies that happen until justice is done.

—Black woman
San Pablo, Cal.

I didn't know that Chevron released those chemicals that day. All I knew is that I started having problems breathing. I sent my daughter to the drugstore to get a prescription for asthma which usually works. But this time it didn't; I had to get a stronger prescription. No one told us that there had been an accident, not the company, not the city, not even my doctor. Later on, after it rained, you could see the yellow dust all over. It wasn't pollen as Chevron was trying to say.

My husband worked at the Chevron refinery. He died last year of cancer after working there for 15 years. The chemicals he worked with may have been responsible.

I've never been in a demonstration before, and never one against what Chevron is doing. I wondered why so many police were out there on their side, especially for a peaceful demonstration. I grew up and lived in Richmond all my life and had respiratory illnesses all that time. All the smells and gases that came out of the Chevron refinery we used to think of as a way of life. But now we're beginning to think about it differently.

—Black woman
Richmond, Cal.

The Meaning of Malcolm X today

versal" in the self-activity, self-organization and self-development of the Black masses. In this praxis she grounds both theory and philosophy to the extent that she sees Black "subjectivity." "Whether or not consciously related to the Hegelian concept—the transcendence of the opposition between Notion and Reality, and the unity which is the truth, rest upon subjectivity alone—it is clear that for the Black masses, Black consciousness, awareness of themselves as Afro-Americans with a dual history and special pride, is a drive toward wholeness" (*Philosophy and Revolution*, p. 281).

While Malcolm X did articulate the element of absolute negativity inherent in the Black Movement by his severe criticism of the American white civilization, he was not superior to the praxis of the Movement itself. So determined was the drive to transform American society, that it broke out into urban revolts in the summer of 1967. In Detroit, these rebellions reached a high point when they broke through the practice and ideology of race by creating a new solidarity between Black

and white workers inside and outside the shops.

Those revolts were not only mass struggles and repression by the forces of the state, they were leaps in cognition about the "theory" of Black liberation, as well. None of the varied political tendencies among Black intellectuals and leaders have understood these revolts as the reasoning of the Black masses, therefore, they left them as mute moments in Black history. But still these revolts address concretely the problems of poverty and alienation existing among Black youth today.

The question is: why does the personality of Malcolm X loom larger in the thinking of radical intellectuals than the living continuity that poor Black youth have with the praxis of the urban revolts of the 1960s as the point of departure to renew the struggle for Black freedom?

This question is unavoidable today simply because most of Malcolm's doctrines are hardly viable in the presence of new realities.

Black World



(continued from page 1)

States refugee camp at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. Often vague claims of political fears that many said justified their flight were displaced by vivid tales of hardship...."

ILLUSION OF BROKERED DEMOCRACY

But what of the illusions, convenient or necessary, of Haiti's democratic forces? The State Department-OAS (Organization of American States) brokered deal which forced Aristide to accept political rival Rene Theodore, head of the Haitian Communist Party (CP), as his new prime minister has confounded all sides. The support of Theodore among Haiti's conservative political elite is explained as much by the Stalinist politics of the CP, which is known to have supported the butcher of the Ruelle Vaillant massacre, Colonel Jean-Claude Paul, as by Bush's post-Cold War "new world order." Before he was mysteriously poisoned, Paul was a notorious drug-trafficker who had come under U.S. indictment. That the Haitian CP issued statements in favor of Paul, because he had momentarily engineered some public support for having once allowed a mass demonstration, shows to what extent the CP is no stranger to the military and conservative forces on the island. [See Amy Wilentz's *The Rainy Season: Haiti Since Duvalier* (N.Y.: Simon & Schuster, 1989), p. 371.]

The choice of Theodore as prime minister indicates that the real fear is not of Aristide but of the Haitian masses. Should anything befall Aristide, the U.S. figures that the masses would gravitate to the malleable Communist leader, or alternatively, turn against his government, allowing the military to once again play its cynical

role as "restorer of order and democracy."

However, the role of Theodore as mediator in the negotiations between Aristide and the Haitian elite should make us recall the counter-revolutionary role the CP played in Allende's Chile in keeping the masses unarmed. The Communists sowed the illusion of democracy, raising the slogan "No Civil War," while the military prepared to overthrow the democratically elected left Allende government, in 1973. This only guaranteed that instead of civil war, a massacre would ensue. The coup that overthrew Aristide has taken 1,000 lives.

RESTORATION OR DECHOUKAJ

Of course, Aristide himself also bears responsibility for leaving the masses unprepared, and not only on the question of his acceptance of U.S. imperialist terms for his restoration to "power." As one of the few remaining active proponents of liberation theology in Latin America, one who campaigned among the lowest and deepest strata of the Haitian masses with a vision of a socialist Haiti, and as one who initially entertained no illusions about the efficacy of constitutional democracy, Aristide's metamorphoses from liberation theology activist to presidential politician once again raises critical questions about the relationship of theory to practice in the dialectics of liberation.

It was the activist-intellectual Aristide who challenged both Haiti's corrupt bourgeoisie, its despotic military, as well as his own Church hierarchy, and fired the minds of Haitian youth and slum dwellers. In the aftermath of the dechoukaj (uprooting) of Duvalier, Aristide sought to place the people's movement in historic and philosophical context of liberation theology.

"If you're a Christian...you are obliged to take historic risks," he said. "You are obliged to participate in this historic movement of liberation theology. In other words, the resurrection of an entire people is occurring right now. It is liberation theology that is lifting our children up against a corrupt generation, against a mentality of the Church and the society which sees corruption as the comfortable norm, and which one cannot stomach if one is truly a Christian.... We have become the subjects of our own history, we refuse from now on to be the objects of that history" (Wilentz, p. 113).

While Aristide's vision of a socialist Haiti is surely at odds with Theodore's esteem for "modern capitalism," what becomes of it when Aristide's liberation theology assumes state power? The illusions of constitutional democracy begin to replace the self-determination of the people's march to a socialist Haiti. As Aristide has discovered to his cost, the so-called "marriage between the army and the people" that he imagined was possible in Haiti has had such lethal consequences as only a new stage of the revolutionary movement can dechoukaj.

Homeless, Haitians crash Bush's 'party'

Chicago, Ill.—As wealthy Chicagoans stepped out of limousines and into the Hyatt Regency Hotel for a \$1,000-a-plate dinner for George Bush on the eve of the March 17 primary, they passed through 200 homeless people and their supporters at a \$1-a-plate dinner/protest. Their senses were further assailed by the passionate chants just across the street of 150 Haitian supporters of ousted President Aristide and 30 Irish picketers denouncing the expatriation of Joe Doherty.

While the Bush supporters dined at the million-dollar fundraiser gala, the homeless, most of them Black men, ate chicken soup and baloney sandwiches which came wrapped in cellophane labelled with pictures of Bush's face. Together with a few dozen white activists and a group of Black women members of ACORN, they chanted, sang protest songs, and distributed petitions against the cutting off of Illinois General Assistance.

The spirited Haitian protest across the street expressed rage at the Bush administration's forced repatriation of Haitian refugees. Carrying signs like "Put Bush in a boat" and "Bush: A kinder, gentler deportation," the demonstrators chanted in support of Aristide and sang a folk song expressing their willingness to die for freedom.

We had discussions with three homeless men who attended the \$1-a-plate dinner, which was organized by a coalition of homeless rights groups:

I work for the city as a custodian. But I was evicted from my apartment and don't have enough money to get a new one, so I'm homeless now. I've been sleeping in my car. You've heard of the working poor? Some people work two jobs and are still homeless. I have 18¢ in my pocket. I came by here by chance, but I'm glad to get some sandwiches. I get paid tomorrow.

People say we don't work, but that's a lie! I'm up and out by 6:30 to go down and wait for day labor. Some mornings I wait for hours for nothing. See this time sheet? I worked for four hours loading heavy bails of the Chicago Tribune into trucks for \$4.50 an hour in the cold. And that's hard work at my age. But I was glad to get it, so I can eat!

Last month my unemployment was extended for 13 weeks. But that goes to child support, so I'm still out here homeless. What a single person gets on General Assistance is not enough to pay rent. The alternative is to try to qualify for disability. But I'm able to work, I want to work. If I get on disability I'll never work. What kind of future would that be? A life where all you do is collect your check once a month.

The people on the streets of Moscow are standing in line for bread. We're in the streets of Chicago standing in line for sandwiches. What's the difference? In America we have a little slice of meat in our bread. There's no difference otherwise.

Philosophic Dialogue

Editor's note: Paresh Chattopadhyay is a well-known Marxist economist whose writings on the Russian economy, on Marx, and on Lenin, and on Indian issues, have appeared in journals such as Monthly Review, Research in Political Economy, Economic and Political Weekly (Bombay), and Economie Applique (Paris).

Raya Dunayevskaya rightly emphasizes that *Grundrisse* is both more and less than *Capital*, containing materials that constituted parts of the next two volumes of *Capital* as well as of *Theories of Surplus Value*, but, on the other hand, lacking *Capital's* "precision, incisiveness and concentrateness" (p.136). Her focus is on *Grundrisse's* section on the "Pre-Capitalist Formations," which is particularly relevant for an understanding of Third World social formations and their revolt against imperialism.

Here Raya stresses the great significance of Marx's new position on social evolution arrived at in *Grundrisse*, away from the earlier somewhat Eurocentric view of the non-European societies. In *Grundrisse* Marx analyzes the "archaic form" as a distinct form of social development, besides the formerly discussed three other forms: slavery, feudalism and capitalism. Raya's discussion serves as a necessary corrective to a widespread wrong idea ascribing a certain unilaterality to Marx's scheme of social development.

HERE WE WOULD LIKE to stress that while this four-stage division of social development is still confined to what Marx would call "pre-history of human society," the same *Grundrisse* also goes beyond this four-stage clarification by offering a broader perspective of social development based on the relation of the immediate producers to the conditions of production.

Referring to the individual's "productive activity and his part in production," Marx observes that "the relations of personal dependence are the first social forms in the midst of which the human productivity develops... Personal independence based on material dependence is the second great form only within which is constituted a system of general social metabolism made of universal relations, faculties and needs. Free individuality based on the universal development of the individuals and the domination of their common social productivity as their social power is the third stage" (*Grundrisse*, Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1953, p. 75, our emphasis).

These three forms of development would correspond, respectively, to the "original union," the "separation," and the "restoration of the original union in a new historical form" that Marx would speak of concerning "the relation between Man of Labor and the Instrument of Labor" in his address to the English workers some years later in *Wages, Price and Profit*. The same idea is found in the *Theories of Surplus Value III*, Ch. 24.

In the section [of Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*] on the French edition of *Capital Vol. I*, Raya brings out in a profoundly dialectical way Marx's relation to Hegel. Here her focus is on the book's Chapter 1, on "Commodities," and on its part concerning the "Accumulation of Capital." Raya's insistence on *Capital* as the *differentia specifica* of Marx is of extreme importance.

At the same time, against a superficial understanding of the "post-Marx Marxists," Raya demonstrates that in the very first chapter of *Capital Vol. I*, Marx's dialectics, while derived from Hegel's dialectics, simultaneously proves itself superior to the latter by transgressing its idealist bounds by positing the masses as the Subject and thereby transforming "Hegel's revolution in philosophy" into a "philosophy of revolution" (p. 145). Rarely have we come across such a meaningful and concise discussion of the Hegel-Marx relation.

As regards the section on "Accumulation of Capital," Raya opines that "the most fundamental and greatest changes" (pp. 146-47) were introduced here by Marx in the French edition. In this connection she offers several critiques of Engels. She points out that in Engels' part divisions for the English edition of the book, the "So-Called Primitive Accumulation" was listed as a separate part (part 8), whereas "Marx had included it ever since the French edition as a separate chapter under part 7.

While the first part of the statement is certainly correct, its second part is puzzling. For it is precisely in the French edition that part 8 was added by Marx and this arrangement was followed in the (1887) English edition. Whereas in Engels' (1890) fourth German edition the "So-Called Primitive Accumulation" still forms a chapter of the last (that is, 7th) part of the book.

Again Raya criticizes Engels on two specific omissions in his edition of *Capital*: "the one from volume 1 on the extension of the world market and the one from volume 2 on Marx having remained 'a disciple of Hegel'..."

On the first omission Raya has been vindicated by the recently published *Das Kapital Vol. I* in the MEGA edition of Dietz Verlag (1991) which clearly indicates that the passage from the French edition was inserted in a footnote to the fourth edition of *Capital* not by Engels, but by the Dietz editors.

As to the passage on Hegel, it is again true that it is absent from *Capital Vol. II* edited by Engels. There is a problem here. Now, as we know, Marx had been at work with this book for many years with the result that there were eight very unevenly elaborated manuscripts. The passage in question belonging to section I of the book appears in manuscript II from which Maximilien Rubel has translated it.

Engels in his preface to *Capital Vol. II*, while describ-

On the origin and development of *Capital*

ing the vicissitudes of composing the book, mentions that after an interruption of about seven years when Marx restarted working on the book (in 1877), he took references and notes from the first four manuscripts—done earlier—for the basis of a new draft of the book. The beginning of the change is seen in manuscript V, which comprised the first four chapters of section I.

Though imperfectly elaborated, as Engels points out, "this manuscript represented nevertheless the last complete exposition of this most important part of the first section" (*Das Kapital II*, Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1973, p. 11). While editing the book Engels followed "this last complete exposition"—manuscript V, that is—of section I of the book, where apparently Marx had not placed the passage in question.

FINALLY, WHILE RAYA rightly emphasizes the importance of the French edition for the additions that Marx made for it, we should perhaps pay equal attention to the **subtractions** from the original edition that Marx allowed for it. As Marx makes clear, he was very particular about making the book "(more) accessible to the (French) reader...always impatient to arrive at a conclusion." (See *Capital Vol. I*, London: Penguin, 1976, trans. Ben Fowkes, p. 104 ed.) One or two examples could be cited.

To start with, *Capital's* subtitle "A Critique of Political Economy" does not figure in the French version. (It was later added by the "Editions Sociales.") We know from the "Afterword" to the 1873 second German edition what great importance Marx attached to calling his work a "critique" and what this meant to him.

Again, in the French version, the same "Afterword" appears with the omission of some lines on Hegel from the German edition where Marx "openly declares" himself to be the "student of the great thinker."

Then, again, in the chapter on "Absolute and Relative Surplus Value," a whole portion on "formal" and "real" subsumption of labor under capital as well as a dialectical relation between absolute and relative surplus value was left out.

Equally absent, again, in the chapter on "Transformation of Surplus Value into Capital," is an entire (long) paragraph on the dialectics of transformation of the relation between labor and property from their identity to their opposite, that is, their separation (*Ibid.*, pp. 609-10). Then again, the French edition does not contain Marx's profound remark on the "Hegelian contradiction" being the "fountainhead of all dialectics" made in the same chapter (p. 623). Examples could be multiplied.

—Paresh Chattopadhyay

Does Chernobyl portend our future?



Inside Chernobyl after melt down

The Truth About Chernobyl, by Grigori Medvedev (*Basic Books*: 1991).

The latest nuclear accident at Sosnovy Bor, Russia, has forcefully reminded the world of the imminent danger represented by the 60 nuclear reactors in what was the USSR and its satellites. As in every such accident—including the 1986 disaster at Chernobyl, Ukraine—the government, with the media's help, downplayed it from the start—although this time they admitted the release of some radionuclides, including iodine-131, which killed infants in the 1979 Three Mile Island accident.

Whereas other books have taken up the explosion at the Chernobyl nuclear reactor and its vast, deadly effects on human beings and the environment, what is unique about *The Truth About Chernobyl*, written by a nuclear physicist who was involved in both Chernobyl's construction and the investigation of the explosion, is that it traces the horrifying process of the accident, the sometimes calamitous, sometimes heroic actions of the operators and others, the fatal errors in their thinking as against the actual devastation occurring.

Though the author is most concerned with exposing the bureaucracy's corruption, incompetence, cover-ups, lies, and callous attitude, the discerning reader can get an inside view of the virulent workings of the fetishism of science—that is, the glorification of "infallible" science, as opposed to the human being, as the repository of all truth and creativity.

THE FETISHISM OF SCIENCE

One of the clearest manifestations of the lethal power of the fetishism of science is what Grigori Medvedev traces in a section titled "The Myth of the Intact Reactor." When an explosion had destroyed Reactor No. 4 and the ideology of nuclear safety flew in the face of all evidence of the catastrophic reality, ideology took the upper hand for three deadly days in the form of a "myth...about the reactor still being intact." The myth "even found its way to Moscow; and until 29 April (three days after the explosion), people believed it, using it as the basis for numerous decisions, some of which had lethal consequences."

Three people were sent on different occasions to check on the reactor. All three received lethal doses of radiation in the process, and all reported that the reactor had been destroyed. Their reports were "angrily rejected!"

Instead of cooling the decimated reactor, the water was pouring into a compartment beneath it, mixing with fuel, exposing people to intense radiation, flooding underground equipment and nearly cutting off power to the other three reactor units, which could have caused them to explode too.

A second, related myth was being propagated: that the radiation was not at killing levels. When the radiation was reported to V.P. Bryukhanov, the plant director, he bellowed, "There's something wrong with your instrument. Fields that high are just impossible. Do you realize what that means? Get that thing out of here, or toss it in the garbage!"

The most forthright ideologue-scientists express the fetishism in the bluntest, most anti-human terms. A.M. Petrosyants, the chairman of the State Committee on the Use of Nuclear Power, said in justification of the Chernobyl disaster, "Science requires victims."

The callous attitude towards human beings is also reflected in the phrase "counting lives," used when the bureaucrats sacrificed the lives of workers and soldiers. Many of the lives that were "counted" were lost only because of the myth of the intact reactor, the lack of safety equipment, the delay in evacuation, or the state's insistence on keeping the three intact reactors at Chernobyl in operation rather than shutting them down and evacuating their operating crews.

NEED TO RECAST OUR THINKING

In the book's concluding section, Medvedev approvingly quotes A. I. Vorobyov: "It seems to me that after this accident... The thinking of all members of society must be entirely recast in a new mold... Anyone who wants to live in the nuclear era has got to create a new culture, a whole new mindset."

Unfortunately, Medvedev does not probe the roots of the ideology he denounces. But is it not the natural outgrowth of a society where living labor is dominated by dead labor (capital) incorporating science within itself? Science then appears to have appropriated all the attributes of life, and human beings must serve its dictates. And the ideology is perpetuated not just for its own sake but because it serves to hide capitalism's total dependence on exploitation of labor.

Still, it is very good for a scientist to call for a new way of thinking. What is needed is for that to ground itself in the masses' rethinking. Medvedev himself recognizes that "Chernobyl came at us like a bolt from the blue, and prompted radical rethinking on the part of so many people."

That rethinking was evident in what the rulers call the "Chernobyl syndrome," that is, the anti-nuclear passion that swept the USSR beginning in 1986, virtually stopping the development of nuclear power plants there, forcing the closure of the nuclear weapons testing site in Kazakhstan and giving added impetus to the independence movements. It had its equivalent in the U.S. in the aftermath of the Three Mile Island accident. What is needed is for that "radical rethinking" to become a new beginning towards the total uprooting of this society that worships deathly science and towards the construction of a new, human society.

—Franklin Dmitryev

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Youth

The multiculturalism debate

by Maya Morrison

There is a spectre haunting academic institutions—the spectre of ... political correctness (P.C.). So runs the neo-McCarthyite attitude towards the attempted changes in academia that seek to institute a multicultural dimension to an otherwise Eurocentric, white male dominated academic curriculum. Just recently University of Texas in Austin, the second largest university in the country with the largest Latino population of any university, voted against a multicultural proposal that would require students to take two courses on U.S. minorities and Third World cultures. This not only reveals a blatant disregard for the demands of minority students on campus, but it also shows the effects of the racist, sexist attack on political correctness.

RULERS TWIST WHAT FREEDOM MEANS

The backlash against the concept of multiculturalism is vehement. According to right-wing ideologues, universities have now become the locus of instituted revolutionary ideas where tenured radicals promote their own agendas by brainwashing innocent students and converting them into shifty-eyed subversives. One cannot help, especially after looking at something like the title of syndicated columnist George Will's article, "Thought Police Thrive on Campus," feeling like the attack from the Right is too blatantly stupid to warrant a rational response. However, the effects of this right-wing attack, not only practically but ideologically, is very great, and to battle it we need to dig deep into thought itself—revolutionary thought.

It is no accident that the attack on political correctness comes at a point when there is such a concentrated effort to roll back the clock on the gains of the Civil Rights and Women's Liberation Movements. It is, no doubt, one aspect of the retrogressive times that we live in, evidenced by the fact that the anti-P.C. agenda includes the elimination of affirmative action programs. Most of the Left, however, approaches this question in terms of proving 1) that these reactionaries have their facts wrong since academic institutions are still complicit with the ruling class or 2) showing the various "benefits" that a multicultural education offers students as a means of "expanding" horizons. While both of these points may be true, what seems important to me is the effect this attack on P.C. has on our minds.

In May of 1991, George Bush delivered an address to the graduating class at the University of Michigan that revealed the ideological content of the backlash on multiculturalism. He said, "Political extremists roam the land, abusing the privilege of free speech, setting citizens against one another on the basis of their class or race."

This is, of course, irrational since it attempts to deny or cover up the racist, sexist, degrading reality that we live in, and claim that it is actually "political extremists" that are creating class and racial antagonisms. But what is especially significant is that Bush's address comes after the genocidal war in the Persian Gulf when there was such effort on the part of the rulers to militarize our minds. Whereas Communism used to be the watchword, now "political correctness" is seen as a threat to the hegemony of the new world order.

RECLAIM IDEA OF FREEDOM

So afraid are the rulers of any ideas of liberation given expression, whether that be in the literature of women or Third World writers, or the inclusion of Black history—a history that cannot be told except in terms of the struggle for freedom—that they are bent on keeping

S. African youth speaks

Tembisa, South Africa—I am a Christian. Therefore, I am a freedom and human rights fighter. I chose to be one, and will not rest until all people are free and human rights are respected and protected.

I started schooling in 1982 when I was eight years old. I became involved in politics in 1987 when I joined a youth organization. I participated a lot in the activities of the South African Youth Congress, now African National Congress Youth League.

Last year I was expelled from boarding school because of my involvement in politics. And now that I am back from boarding school, I am active in the Koinonia Youth League, in Tembisa, which is based on Christian principles.

I am proud to tell you that in 1988, I and my fellow comrades had to fight to convert the (single sex) hostel into family houses. With the help of the lawyers, politicians and church leaders we won the fight.

Now that place is called Cuba Section. During the fight we had to go into hiding because we were hunted and attacked by the South African Defense Force and the South African Police.

More recently, the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) has begun vigilante patrols of Pretoria and many other white towns and residential areas in the name of "protecting the safety of innocent citizens." In a recent newspaper report it was stated that, in addition to the AWB, it is estimated that there are 57 militant right-wing organizations. Until recently, many of the organizations' subversive activities continued seemingly without investigation by the South African government.

In spite of an apparent atmosphere of positive change presently experienced in South Africa, violent right-wingers continue to haunt the struggle towards radical reconciliation.

—Militant Black youth

these texts out of the classroom.

These ideologues may be dead wrong in their assumption that academia is now becoming a hotbed of radicalism, but we have to question why this attack seemed necessary to them. Isn't the onslaught against political correctness just another manifestation of the rulers' attempt to erase, deflect the idea of freedom from our minds? As one young woman put it: "The attack on P.C. is perverting the meaning of freedom. To them, freedom includes the freedom to be a racist or sexist." Even the term "political correctness" reveals to what level we have allowed the struggle for freedom to sink. The term was originally used derogatorily by the Left itself against those who had no content or thought in their political beliefs.

That is why to truly battle the attack on "political correctness" we have to move beyond the ground the Right-wing has set for debate and dig into a way of thinking that spells out revolution for our age—a philosophy that is not "politically correct," but is a philosophy for the total liberation of humanity. That means recreating Marx's Marxism for our age.

Youth protest Buchanan



Chicago, Ill.—On March 10, the group I'm involved with, Youth Against Hate, held a demonstration against the ultra-conservative presidential candidate Pat Buchanan at his campaign headquarters in the Loop. Over 20 people showed up, and we picketed in the snow and cold for three hours.

Most of us were high school students, and as we marched we made up chants like, "Racist, sexist, anti-gay, Pat Buchanan go away!" and "Pat Buchanan, the one to beat! David Duke without the sheet!"

When the four of us who got there first started marching and chanting, these four racist guys came up to us and started yelling, "Buchanan for President!" They asked one of us, "What are you? Some kind of Jewish f---t?" One of them looked at me and said, "You're half n---r aren't you?" Then he turned to my friend and said, "Do you want to have n---r babies?" They knocked one of our hats off and got up in our faces trying to intimidate us, but then the police showed up and they backed off. They went into Buchanan's headquarters and got some of his literature and began passing it out, but nobody wanted to take it.

We passed out leaflets describing Youth Against Hate, why we were protesting, and asking for donations. One Black woman stopped and shook our hands, hugged us, and told us she was really proud of what we were doing. She wrote us a check for \$20.

We thought the best way to expose Buchanan was to use his own words on our leaflet, so we quoted some of the most disgusting things he has said in his column like: "AIDS is God's retribution on gays for the sins of sodomy," and "Adolph Hitler was a courageous leader...with extraordinary gifts." We also pointed out that he tried to dispute the testimony of Nazi death camp survivors in an effort to discredit them, and he wants to build a wall along the Mexican-U.S. border to keep Mexican workers out of "Euro-America."

At a meeting before the rally there was some disagreement about the flyer because it emphasized racism over sexism, homophobia and anti-Semitism. After a discussion we decided that in the future all flyers had to be approved by the members before they are passed out.

We all agreed that it was ludicrous that a man who holds such revolting views could run for the Republican nomination and win such a large percentage of the vote. We felt we had to protest so our voices could be heard.

—A sophomore at Lane Tech High School

Youth in Revolt

by Tom Parsons

Tahan Jones, outspoken Black G.I. war resister, continues to be detained without trial by the U.S. Marines for refusing to fight in the Gulf War. Military "justice" may not bring him to trial for six more months. At least 25 other refuseniks already found "guilty" are currently held in military prisons for refusing to kill.

Ten thousand high school and university students occupied the central square of Belgrade, the capital of the Yugoslav republic of Serbia. The demonstration marked the one year anniversary of the anti-government protest in which two youths were killed. Their demands, delivered over loudspeakers, centered on the resignation of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, whom they hold responsible for the civil war with Croatia. The students called on the state to publish the names of students who died in the war and called those deaths "a delayed Tiananmen" massacre. They declared the Terazije Square where they camped out for many nights a "spiritual autonomous region." Other demands called for the universities' autonomy from the state and the removal of Belgrade University Student Union leaders whom they identify as "government stooges."

Members of the Student Environmental Action Coalition (SEAC) and other students at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill formed a coalition to support the housekeepers association in their demands for human working conditions. One student wrote in *Threshold*, the SEAC Newsletter, "We feel there are elements on this campus who don't like to see students helping black workers. It is one thing to ask for a recycling program but when you help African-American workers improve their environment, that's going too far...To us, this is an environmental issue. The housekeepers' environment is not a rainforest in Brazil...it's a brick building at the University of North Carolina at 3 AM... We hope your group can look to challenge the oppressive forces that really face us...Maybe you can start by talking to the housekeeper who cleans your dormitory bathroom. Workers and Students Unite!"

—Information from Student Leader News Service.)

Editorial

(continued from page 1)

defeated by his rabid anti-labor ideology. In 1968 it was George Wallace who made his racist appeal directly to Northern labor with the formation of a new American Independent Party; he was defeated by the Black dimension and a sufficient number of white workers who retained their good class sense.

Goldwater and Wallace symbolized two different forms of neo-fascism that appeared in the midst of a relatively thriving American capitalism. What confronts the world today is an American capitalism that has never been mired in a deeper crisis since the great Depression. It makes the danger all the greater. That is what makes it urgent not to permit Buchanania, whether in its open form or as it has been "absorbed" by the mainstream forces of reaction, to go unchallenged.

It is clear that the cancer of fascism is in the bloodstream of American capitalism and will be there until this degenerate society is totally uprooted. It is equally clear that none of the politicians—Republicans or Democrats—are mounting any kind of opposition to this degeneracy, much less offering any vision out of the crisis we are in.

THE ONLY OPPOSITION

The only opposition to the attempt to turn this country ever further to the Right has come from the forces of revolt. It is seen in a multitude of what may seem small, isolated acts, but they hold the only promise for real movement out of today's dead end. We can see it in the way the workers in Flint, Mich.—where unemployment is now 27%—repelled Buchanan when he tried to engage them at their plant gates; in the stunning vote for Carol Moseley Braun; in the way high school students in Chicago organized themselves as "Youth Against Hate" and picketed the headquarters of Buchanan's campaign; in one demonstration of Haitians and another of the homeless that converged to picket Bush's \$1,000/plate dinner on the eve of the Illinois primary; in the rally of 20,000 in Peoria to support the Caterpillar workers on strike.

You can hear all of these voices right in the pages of this issue of *News & Letters*. What is crucial, however, is that only in *N&L* are all these voices from below heard unseparated from the articulation of a philosophy of revolution that can give action a direction and without which the total uprooting cannot be made. The depth of the crisis today can be seen in the fact that some are now even questioning whether George Bush would dare to risk a new attack on Iraq to save an election. Every crisis that was pushed off the agenda when Bush launched his genocidal war one year ago has not only returned but grown today to monstrous proportions. So has the crisis of the mind that must be confronted by the forces for freedom.

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Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

One year after the Gulf War, as he faces a sick economy and a tough re-election fight at home, George Bush's dreams of imposing his type of "peace" on the Middle East seem to be receding. The horrors resulting from the Gulf War haunt the so-called peace process, despite efforts to cover up the extent of the destruction Bush and his allies wrought.

In March, 1992, before she was fired, U.S. Census Bureau demographer Beth Osborne Daponte made public her detailed estimates that 123,000 Iraqis died as a result of U.S. military action in 1991: 40,000 soldiers and 13,000 civilians died from bombs and bullets, and another 70,000 civilians have died since then because of U.S. damage to water and power plants. U.S. saber rattling over Iraq (and Libya as well) continues, as does the U.S.-orchestrated economic strangulation of Iraq.

Daponte estimated that another 30,000 people had died during Saddam Hussein's crushing of the Kurdish and Shiite revolts of 1991. But the U.S. and its allies have remained extremely wary of these grassroots opposition forces, hoping instead for an anti-Saddam military coup from the top in Baghdad.

The Shiite revolt in the southern marshes of Iraq has received even less world attention than that of the Kurds, but recent reports indicate that fighting there remains intense. Tens of thousands of refugees as well as guerrilla combatants are living in the marshes north of Basra, and are being hunted down and killed by Saddam's forces.

In northern Iraq as well as Turkey, the Kurds have stepped up their resistance and their appeals to world public opinion. Middle East Watch, a human rights group, has reported on the basis of evidence gathered since 1991 that Saddam's forces killed 300,000 of the region's four million people in the late 1980s. Saddam has imposed an economic and food blockade on the Kurds, while gathering military forces for an attack once even token international observer forces leave. All such forces are scheduled to leave in June.

Inside Turkey, thousands of Kurds demonstrated in support of national autonomy on March 21, taking over part of an authorized non-political celebration of Nowruz, the Kurdish and Persian New Year. This was the largest mass outpouring of Kurds in Turkey in many years. Police fired on the demonstration, killing over 20 people. Since then, Turkish planes have launched raids on Kurdish areas of Iraq which they claim are bases for the resistance. While the U.S. continues to support the Turkish repression, branding the Kurdish guerrilla opposition "terrorists," Germany has cut off military shipments to Turkey, under pressure from Kurdish and human rights protesters at home.

During the same period, the Arab-Israeli peace talks adjourned on March 4. The Shamir government has totally deadlocked the talks ever since they began in October, refusing even the U.S. demand to freeze settlements in the occupied territories. In the final weeks of the talks, Israel briefly invaded and also made repeated bombing raids into Lebanon, including the February assassination from the air of Shiite fundamentalist Sheik Abbas Musawi and his family. In response, terrorists ap-

Kurds revolt, Middle East "peace" fades



Kurdish demonstrators in the southeastern Turkish city of Cizre were dispersed by Turkish troops.

parently linked to Lebanese and Iranian fundamentalists bombed the Israeli embassy in Argentina.

The crisis leading to the latest round of violence in Lebanon and Argentina has had serious ramifications within Israel itself. There, on Feb. 15, as the indignant, smoldering Intifada continued despite four years of repression, a group of Palestinian Arabs raided an army base in the dead of night, killing three soldiers and making off with at least four rifles.

Whether in Iraq or in the Arab-Israeli conflict, it has been the indigenous peoples, Kurds and Palestinians as well as Lebanese and Iraqi Shiites, who have refused to accept Bush's New World Order.

Prague-style Reaganism

Recent months in Czechoslovakia have seen the ominous rise of rightist Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus, who leads President Vaclav Havel in opinion polls. Klaus advocates Reaganomics, and lumps together both Stalinists and independent socialists or even liberals as representatives of discredited leftist ideas which got the country into the mess it is in. This helps him to divert blame for the country's disastrous economic situation.

Klaus also advocates purging former Communists from government posts, and has gotten a law passed to that effect. He and his allies have targeted not only old Stalinists, but even leaders of the 1968 Prague Spring such as Alexander Dubcek and Zdenek Mlynar. They have smeared these reform Communists of the 1960s, and even younger opposition leaders such as Jan Kavan, with charges of collaboration with the old regime.

Klaus and his allies also make clear that they intend to curb the power of organized labor, and that they will intervene forcefully if, as expected, unions launch a general strike against layoffs and austerity measures. He has also attempted to play the narrow nationalist card, showing a public cold indifference at best to Slovak claims for greater autonomy or even independence. Rather than fight Klaus, Havel has ceded ground to him, even signing the law purging former Communists from their jobs despite rumored private opposition to it.

Racism in French vote

In power since 1980, social democratic French President Francois Mitterrand was stunned by the humiliating 18% showing for his governing Socialist Party in nationwide elections for regional government bodies held on March 22. While certainly a personal rebuke to Mitterrand, who has allowed unemployment to remain near 10% for most of his administration, the election also showed the continuing trend toward the Right in French politics since the 1980s.

This is not for lack of trying by the Socialists to court the Right, however. The Socialists themselves have moved sharply to the Right since 1980, toward "free market" economics, and most recently, toward the use of racist rhetoric against North African immigrants as seen in speeches by Prime Minister Edith Cresson. They also participated enthusiastically in Bush's Gulf War.

Most ominous in this election was the shocking 13.9% scored by the neo-fascist National Front, a racist, anti-Semitic party which seems to grow in support with every election. So far the established Right has usually refused to cooperate openly with the neo-fascists, but that was before the Left was as weak as it is today.

Apartheid lingers on

The March 19 whites-only referendum on whether to continue the "reform process" on ending apartheid in South Africa was passed by a 70% majority, in a heavy voter turnout. The election was designed by the de Klerk-Nationalist Party government to isolate the reactionary and neo-Nazi opposition while giving de Klerk a so-called "mandate" in negotiations with the African National Congress (ANC).

In the negotiations, the rulers of apartheid South Africa are using every political "reform" at their disposal to legally and "democratically" retain control of the levers of society. With the election victory behind him, de Klerk has said the government now wants to make dismantling of the ANC's armed forces a "condition of reform." At the same time, the violence unleashed by the apartheid state has intensified; over 250 people were killed during the referendum campaign alone.

Meanwhile, much of the bourgeois press is parroting de Klerk's claim that the election "closed the chapter" on apartheid. Nothing could be further from reality, and from the struggle for genuine liberation.

From the other Israel

Tel Aviv, Israel—I am writing to you about the small Arab village of Ramiya in Galilee. The Israeli government issued a confiscation order against the whole of this village, with the stated purpose of evicting the villagers, razing their houses and erecting on the site apartment buildings for immigrants from the former Soviet Union.

The villagers (96 people altogether, it is a very small village) were willing to compromise. They agreed to give up their traditional agricultural way of life, and to give up their title or part of their ancestral land, if only they would be allowed to live on in some of the apartment buildings due to be constructed on the land.

The government refused this compromise, since the land is supposed to be incorporated in the nearby town of Karmiel, and this town was created for the express purpose of "Judaisation of Galilee"—Arab residents are not welcome within its boundaries.

On March 1, the Supreme Court in Jerusalem ruled that the government has indeed a legal right to confiscate the lands of Ramiya. (Israeli law—inherited from the British Colonial period—gives the Minister of Finance the right to confiscate any land in the country for "public purposes," which are whatever the minister declares to be "public purposes.") It is possible to make a further appeal to the Supreme Court, but this is not likely to achieve more than a few months' respite.

The only way to save Ramiya is by solidarity actions inside and outside the country. Please write to the Israeli Embassy in Washington and/or to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Prime Minister's Office, P.O.B. 187, Jerusalem 91001, fax (972 2) 664838, with copies to the Ramiya Solidarity Committee, P.O.B. 1575, Jerusalem.

—Adam Keller

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 in 1957. Charles Denby (1907-83), a Black production worker, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper from 1955 to 1983. Dunayevskaya's works *Marxism and Freedom...from 1776 until Today* (1958); *Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* (1973); and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (1982) spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally, as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa. These works challenge post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism.

The new visions of the future that Dunayevskaya

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

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

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