

NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

Vol. 37 — No. 9

NOVEMBER, 1992

25¢

Editorial

Bush's electoral debacle

The resounding repudiation of George Bush in yesterday's election signifies the total failure of 12 years of Reaganism to conceal the deep economic, political and social crises gripping this nation. Neither the West's much-touted "victory" over Communism, nor Bush's military victory in the Gulf War; neither Reaganism's attack on the forces of revolt here at home nor its ideological victory over the Left, was able to subsume the profound dissatisfaction felt by masses of people at the deep, unending structural economic crisis. Indeed, the unprecedented anger of the American people at their deteriorating conditions of life and labor is what propelled Bill Clinton into the White House. At the same time, we cannot assume that Clinton's victory necessarily represents the end of Reaganism. In fact, we may be headed into a most dangerous period.

It isn't that the American people hold any great illusions about Clinton as their saviour. On the contrary, most voted holding their noses, but are willing to give him "100 days" to prove himself. The danger lies in the fact that the economic crisis is so intractable that what threatens is a new authoritarianism out to contain any new revolts that might emerge against the system.

The election campaign provided ample proof of this new authoritarianism. It was voiced openly by the likes of Pat Buchanan, who set the tone for Bush's reactionary campaign. But it could also be heard in the way all the candidates, including both Clinton and Perot, avoided any discussion of the critical issues facing this country, from its racism, police abuse, and poverty in the inner cities, to its sexism. They were all determined to subsume the way those issues were raised, by the Black and Latino masses especially, in the Los Angeles revolt of last Spring.

It is the spectre of such revolts which explains the appeal of one of the most retrogressive elements to appear

(continued on page 5)

Black World

Cuban Missile crisis — 30 years after



by Lou Turner

Oct. 22 marked the 30th anniversary of the Cuban Missile Crisis. Television networks provided a retrospective on the "missiles of October," interviewing principal government figures on both sides of the Crisis, including Fidel Castro, and documenting how incredibly confused and uninformed President John Kennedy and Nikita Khrushchev were. Few knew just how close the world had come to nuclear annihilation.

However, the African American struggle for freedom that had put the American antagonist in this nuclear stand-off on trial, was not to be found in the television retrospectives. Removing the historic struggles of humanity from the world stage, when it was the minds of struggling humanity for which Kennedy and Khrushchev competed in their race to armageddon, had the effect of elevating the confused mediocrity of Kennedy and Khrushchev above the cataclysmic events they had set in motion.

Where the world saw the masks of statist bureaucrats with the power of a nuclear holocaust and held its breath in 1962, the bourgeoisie, in 1992, wants us to see the "humanity" of the people behind the masks. Yet, the humanity whose struggles were driven by the vision of a new, altogether different society than the ones Kennedy and Khrushchev ruled over, that Black humanity, was subsumed. However, a view of the significance of the Black struggle can be found in the praxis of Raya Dunayevskaya.

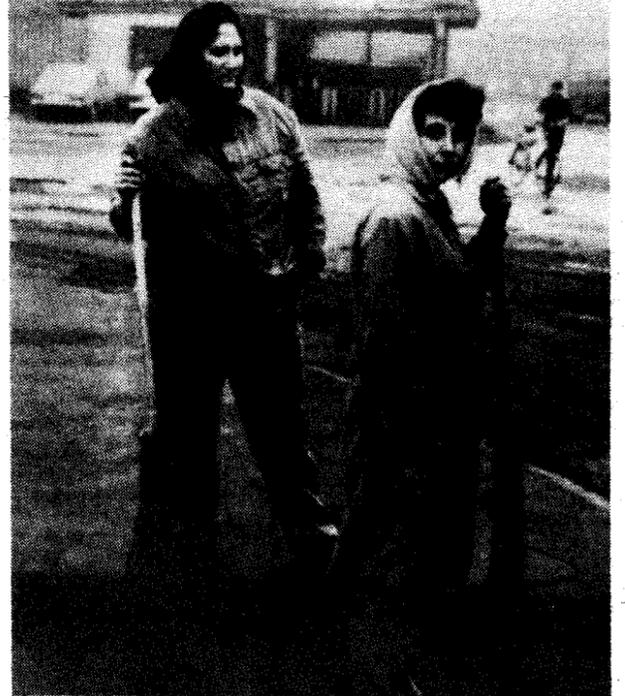
DUNAYEVSKAYA'S PRAXIS

The praxis of Dunayevskaya in the Cuban Missile Crisis, and what she took to be the "power of negativity" of the African American freedom struggle as the absolute opposite of that nuclear madness, has a dialectical significance which extends beyond its Cold War context, disclosing three compelling determinations.

First, she assumed an uncompromising anti-war posi-

(continued on page 9)

East Europe's revolutions three years later



East Europe: 1989—bringing down governments; 1992—sweeping the streets.

by Stephen Steiger

Editor's note: November, 1992 marks an important month in which to recollect the history of freedom struggles in East Europe. It marks the 75th anniversary of the 1917 Russian Revolution, the 36th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution, and the third anniversary of the "velvet revolution" in Czechoslovakia. The present situation, characterized by the breakup of Czechoslovakia into two nations, deep economic crisis in countries such as Poland, and the continuing uncertainties brought forth by the long-overdue collapse of the Soviet Union last year, testifies to the need to reexamine the outcome of the efforts to bring forth a new society in these countries. The following article is by a long-time Czech Marxist-Humanist who participated in the major political events in that land over the past four decades.

Prague, Czechoslovakia—The present situation in all the East European countries is very bad economically, confused politically, and disordered ideologically. Former East Germany and Czechoslovakia, and Poland and Hungary to a smaller degree, are returning to their previous heirs a huge part of the property confiscated after the Communist coups in 1947 and 1948. It is only "natural" that privatization of state-owned companies is accompanied by all sorts of cheats and swindles in which both the old and new nomenklatura* are taking part.

Foreign capital has become most welcome in these countries and favorable conditions are being created to attract it. Big German and American companies like Siemens, Volkswagen, Westinghouse, Proctor & Gamble, Dupont and multinationals like Shell, Brown Boveri, Phillips and others are buying whole factories or the most profitable parts of state-owned conglomerates. They are trying to get an early foothold in Eastern Europe in order to be prepared for sharing in the exploitation of their markets once Western "consumerism" floods them.

In the case of former East Germany, it is clear the real winners of German unification were the West German trade companies which flooded the East German market with consumer goods as soon as the deustch mark was introduced as a unified currency on July 1, 1990. This made them immense profits and ruined East German producers of similar goods. Despite proposals

* Nomenklatura refers to the old Communist Party ruling classes.

From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya—Adorno, Kosik and the movement from practicep. 4
Latin America and U.S.—Anti-Columbus protestspp 11-12

On the Inside

made by some of the East German left dissidents that the work force be made the decisive managers of "people's enterprises," nothing of this kind materialized once the GDR became part of a unified Germany.

In the case of Czechoslovakia, the government has tried to involve all citizens in the privatization process. Coupons were issued by the government that could be bought for 1,000 crowns** (less than one-fourth of an average monthly wage) by every adult citizen, thereby making it possible to invest in the companies that are being privatized. More than eight million Czechs and Slovaks (out of a population of 15 million) did so in the hope of quickly receiving dividends and getting rich.

(continued on page 10)

Labor after a decade of Reaganism



by John Marcotte

A Black elevator worker, a member of Local One, who was working on a non-union construction site paying \$4 an hour less than union scale, told me, "They say when you're in the union you're not supposed to work a non-union job, but you can sit on the bench a whole year and not work." He was getting laid off that same day and hadn't worked long enough to collect unemployment.

He, like every worker I talk to these days, cited Reagan firing the PATCO air traffic controllers in 1981 as the turning point for labor in this country. "When Reagan fired the controllers, that was the beginning of the end for unions. That's when the system changed," is the way a striking sugar worker put it on the picket line outside the Amstar (Domino) sugar refinery on the Brooklyn waterfront. The workers are members of International Longshoreman's Association Local 1814.

JOBS, WAGES, BENEFITS GONE

This Black worker was telling me, "I am a laborer. I pick up sugar with a wheelbarrow. I get \$14 and change an hour. There are no more jobs like that. Don't get me wrong; I am proud to be American, but America is not what it was. Something is gone. The way it's going, there will be an uprising. Something's got to give and it better be soon."

The workers told me how years ago there were a couple thousand workers at the refinery. I said, I thought you said you were busy. Everybody needs sugar, and this is one job they can't ship to Mexico. They said, "Oh yes, we're real busy, and the company is profitable. We're losing jobs to automation."

"You should see the machinery and computers they put in here. In one operation, they put in a video camera. Now the foreman sits in his office and pushes computer buttons and watches the level of sugar. That elim-

(continued on page 3)

Oregon's anti-Gay/Lesbian Measure 9

Editors note: Oregon's Measure 9 has just been voted down 57% to 43% but Colorado voted to bar homosexuals from being protected by anti-discrimination laws. Below we print an article from a lesbian feminist activist who wrote: "Anything less than a 90% defeat is a blow to les-bi-gay rights because it implies that our right to exist and flourish is somehow an 'issue' that 'reasonable' folks can disagree about."

Everywhere I go these days, I have to tell others what is happening in Oregon and why my visions for the future of lesbian and gay liberation and women's freedom are less than sanguine. Measure 9 would have amended the Oregon state constitution and prohibited any civil rights protection on the basis of sexuality.

The most insidious parts of the measure specifically targeted the educational system. The line that reads that the government "shall assist in setting a standard for Oregon's youth" reveals the actual predilections of its framers—the Oregon Citizen's Alliance (OCA)—who want to establish a state-enforced standard of morality which they get to define and give, without dissenting opinions or open discussion, to Oregon's youth.

Measure 9 links homosexuality with "pedophilia, sadism, and masochism." This erases very real differences between acts that occur between consenting adults, statutory rape and forms of behavior which are far more prevalent in heterosexual communities. It erases any dissent or difference within the les-bi-gay community in favor of over-simplification. We are also referred to as "abnormal, wrong, unnatural, and perverse." The "truth" of these words is non-existent, except as they are enforced by authority.

AFFIRMING THE RIGHT TO BE

Margaret Cruikshank writes in her new history of *The Gay and Lesbian Liberation Movement*: "Gay culture is a many-faceted expression of the right to be" (p. 120). That means that the reason gays and lesbians elicit such hatred is by virtue of the simple fact of our being: that we are.

We are an ontological challenge—that's why we are so hated: we redefine the nature of what it means to be alive, to be embodied, to be in relation to the world, to other human beings. Our world-views come from our bodily experiences, from our histories, from our passions. This doesn't mean that all bodily experiences, histories and passions are equally insightful, meaningful or ethical. It does mean that we are stretching the borders of what it could be to be human.

The right wing wants lesbians and gays to be ashamed, to be in the cramped corners of the closet, to feel ourselves to be perverse. They don't want us to sing, to be creative, to be free. They don't believe we have any ethics, any approach to life. They find us, as Columbus first commented on the indigenous peoples, to be without religion. But that is because they don't see US—they see only their own projections.

THE NEED TO FIGHT AND THINK

Is there a position that is neither assimilation nor merely shocking people, which is still revolutionary? There are moments when I am shocked by what seems to be our naivete. Certainly we didn't presume that naming the violence done to us would stop it? Certainly we didn't think that by making ourselves visible, our enemies would stop trying to erase us? As one New York lesbian put it, "While they are sharpening their knives right in front of our faces, we talk about how we" make love. She pessimistically concludes, it may be that we are not "liberated dykes, we are sitting ducks."

All of this would be less worrisome if the OCA

multaneous with this measure there are similar measures in Colorado and in the cities of Portland, Maine and Tampa, Florida. Self-Righteous



Thousands rallied in downtown Portland, Or .

Homophobia as Politics has "arrived" nationwide.

This means that the strategies and arguments that are being used by our gay/lesbian allies under fire in Oregon, and our own contributions to this campaign, are crucial to the survival of all of us. We are not beholden to any predetermined fate: it is up to us—all of us—in our own actions and lives to get past this crisis. But we had best be thinking about it—a lot and with thoroughness.

—Jennifer

'Hell no! We won't sew!'

San Francisco, Cal.—On Oct. 13 over 300 people protested the treatment of 12 Chinese seamstresses who have not been paid even their below minimum wages for work they did for Jessica McClintock.

As is rampant in the fashion industry, the designer Jessica McClintock hired a subcontractor, Lucky Sewing Co. of Oakland, to sew dresses that sell for \$175. The Chinese women employed by Lucky Sewing Co. get \$5 per dress, far below the minimum wage. In what is known as "stitch and ditch," the subcontractor closed the sweatshop without paying the women even the agreed on wages. McClintock claims she paid the subcontractor and is not responsible for the back wages.

We don't agree. At the demonstration flags in various Asian languages proclaimed "Truth," "Honesty," "Integrity." Others stated "Hell no, we won't sew!" and "Jessica, our fingers bleed for you!" In addition to speakers from local unions and community activists, Ms. Dorothy Mokgalo, gender coordinator of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, visiting the Bay Area at the time, declared to those present that workers must organize across national borders in order to successfully counter international capitalism.

To support this struggle contact: Asian Immigrant Women Advocates, 310 8th St., Room 301, Oakland, CA 94607.

—Feminist protester

Chicago Welfare Rights Union organizes

Chicago, Ill.—I'm a former welfare mother—off and on for about 10 years. I want to try and break down the stereotyped, preconceived notions and propaganda about welfare women. Yes, we're low-income or welfare women, but not low-life women as the government and news media would have the population believe. Single mothers as a whole are being targeted by politicians in their campaigns. They would like everyone to believe that single mothers are loose women, women without morals or family values.

So where does that leave the welfare mother? At the bottom, that's where—to be used as a scapegoat for the financial ills of the country. Don't you know that we're the cause of the savings and loan failure, and that the welfare mother's thirst for oil in the Middle East caused billions of taxpayer dollars to be spent for the war? I say instead of blaming us for the budget deficit send some low-income welfare mothers to Washington who can show the President and Congress how to balance a budget.

Take an average single mom on welfare in Illinois. She has two children and receives \$367.00 monthly and around \$262.00 - 282.00 in food stamps. From this she must pay rent, utilities, laundry, buy household items such as toilet paper, soap, shampoo, etc., plus clothe the children.

All across the country thousands of women are finding themselves in the same situation. Pressed into job-training programs that are punitive and intrusive, they don't address the root problems of poverty. Poor women are getting just one message: America has no tolerance for the needy; if the poor are going to survive they had better clean up their act and get to work.

States are spending millions of dollars on ineffective job-training in areas where there are no jobs. Why not take this money and put it into some kind of program that will help and not hinder? If welfare mothers are working at a minimum wage job, instead of penalizing us and cutting off all monies, health benefits, etc., subsidize us enough to at least bring us up to poverty level income, which we are way below now.

That's one of the reasons I decided to join with other

Sisters of Color meet

by Diane Lee

On Sept. 26-27, 31 women attended the first national Revolutionary Sisters of Color (RSOC) conference in Washington, D.C. called "Building the Leadership of Women of Color for Revolutionary Change." Black, Asian, Native American, Arab, Caribbean, Peruvian and El Salvadoran women participated, coming from different parts of the U.S. and Canada to discuss women and revolution.

RSOC's statement of unity, issued months before the proceedings, became part of the propulsion for this new gathering: "We are the world's majority.... We came to agreement on the following points of unity: To organize against capitalism, imperialism, colonialization, racism, sexism, heterosexism, anti-Arab oppression, anti-Jewish oppression, class oppression, ableism, ageism, Eurocentrism, militarism, imperialist intervention, and religious persecution."

The spirit of the conference was that women of color were defining feminism for themselves. One aspect that was very new was that we did not meet in small workshops but instead in two main plenary sessions which were the core of discussions for both days. Both the conference's form and content may develop into new points of departure. Seven women gave talks and there was a great deal of time for discussion, but here I only have space to mention some of the speakers and a few of the points they made.

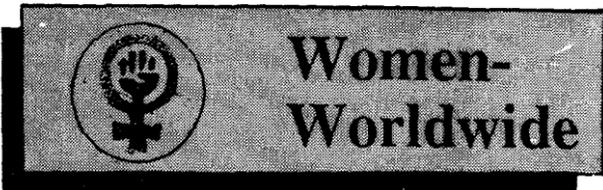
Jin-Sook Lee, a member of Young Koreans United (YKU), talked about YKU in Toronto demonstrating against police killing youths and said this is when "Over 150 women began to come to meetings all at once talking about issues. It was real leadership and a collective effort." Later she said, "We need to provide a link between Korea and the U.S. Los Angeles opened a lot of eyes and I feel the need to organize here." What was most striking to me about her talk was that the Los Angeles Rebellion was not taken for granted but she felt compelled to discuss it.

Mary Pitawanakwat, a native Canadian activist fighting a seven-year racial and sexual harassment case against the Canadian government said "RSOC is that critical thinking that I needed for my movement and as a Native American woman.... RSOC is to help my mind to think clearly and to fight against what [the South African revolutionary] Stephen Biko had called the 'colonizing of the mind'.... We need a vision to work across lines of divisions that have been created."

Barbara Smith, Black lesbian feminist and a founder of RSOC and Women of Color Kitchen Table Press, said: "RSOC is a commitment to be a radical/revolutionary group of women of color.... We have had an illuminating discussion today. Before, as RSOC, we felt like outsiders. But now there is a feeling of mutual commitment to our struggle."

On the second day Fahamisha Patricia-Brown led off the plenary speaking on "What do we mean by Activism?" She sang freedom songs intermingled with her discussion. Belinda Gonzalez from El Salvador spoke on "What do we mean by feminism?" She talked of her up-

(continued on page 5)



by Mary Jo Grey

Kuwaiti women challenged their country's severely restrictive and discriminatory voting law by protesting for the right to vote outside polling places during the first election there in seven years, Oct. 5. Only men over 21 whose family lived in the country before 1920 are eligible to vote—just 12½% of the population!

* * *

Women employees of Japan's Yamaichi Securities Company vented their anger at male employees who spied on them while they bathed, by flashing the peepers' names throughout the company-wide computer system. Company officials responded by saying "This misuse of the computer terminals cannot be allowed."

* * *

As Poland's Parliament took its first steps toward banning all abortions and imprisoning not only doctors who perform them but as well women who induce their own abortions, a study was released exposing the horror such a law had inflicted for 23 years on women and children in Romania under former President Nicolae Ceaucescu. During his reign of terror, more than 10,000 women died from illegal abortions—the highest maternal mortality rate in Europe—and 200,000 children were abandoned and neglected in orphanages. When the law was abolished, the maternal mortality rate fell 50% the first year and is still falling.

WAC erupts in Bay Area

San Francisco, Cal.—The first WAC (Women's Action Coalition) San Francisco meeting on Aug. 5, overwhelmed the "organizers." After a story in a local paper, over 500 women ready for action crowded into a hallway too small to hold them.

After some discussion of New York WAC, someone mentioned that the American Bar Association (ABA) was holding their conference and voting on a resolution on abortion. It may be a coincidence, but after a very noisy demonstration outside their conference, the ABA passed a resolution supporting women's right to choose!

In September WAC organized an action on the anniversary of the infamous Tailhook Convention in Las Vegas. About 100 women gathered at the entrance to the Alameda Naval Station beating drums, chanting "Tailhook, we want a second look!" and marching an effigy of an "officer assgrabber" through a gauntlet crying "Shame! Shame!"

In October WAC organized a protest of the "Queen Isabela beauty pageant" and disrupted the coronation of the queen by decorating the hall with banners: "There is nothing glamorous about genocide!" and "500 years of resistance."

There were many more actions: registering women coming to the welfare office so they can vote against California Governor Wilson's cuts, having a mail campaign against a Johnson & Johnson ad which admonishes women "Shhhhh...don't let anyone know you're hurt..." which perpetuates the silencing of women. WAC has really arrived in the Bay Area.

—Urszula Wislanka

Struggle under impact of Caterpillar strike

Decatur, Ill.—The 850 members of Allied Industrial Workers/AFL-CIO (A.I.W.) Local 837 now are laboring under an extended contract at the A.E. Staley corn processing plant. The impact of the six-month strike at Caterpillar, which returned local UAW members to the factory under company terms in April of this year, has scarcely subsided. Its repercussions are reflected in the strategies of both employers and union negotiators, and take form in the daily experience of workers throughout this region who witnessed and gave support to that strike.

"We are going to hit you hard all at once, rather than have people pissed off for several contracts and years," Staley corporate Vice President John Philips stated to representatives of the A.I.W. prior to the contract deadline. The contract presented by the company is written "from scratch" to replace the one that took 50 years for the union to achieve.

MANAGEMENT'S 'RIGHTS'

Staley seeks to reduce the number of stewards and limit union representation, while giving the company the right to invoke arbitration if grievance proceedings continue into a newly introduced third step. This new contract would replace seniority with "skill block attainment," assisting the company in favoritism with wages and promotions, as well as the elimination of selected employees on such vague grounds as "poor work attitudes."

Staley also seeks to introduce mandatory rotating shifts, which would involve a 12-hour working day in seven-day sequences. As compensation for ratifying this "Bill of Management's Rights," Staley has offered a 25¢ wage increase and pension improvements for those retiring by the end of the year. In its effort to place more work on the shoulders of fewer workers, Staley has made much use of "early retirement" offers.

The contract negotiations have been accompanied by a public relations campaign on the part of Staley representatives, including an "informal luncheon" for members of Decatur's clergy. Invitations explained, "Because you may be called upon to provide guidance during this difficult period...we would like to tell you about some of the support programs available to our employees..."

Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

inated four men because we run 24 hours a day. Pretty soon the foremen will need engineering degrees." The laborer added, "I've got ten years here and, if I can't pick up more skills, I figure I will be out in another two or three years. At the last meeting the company said they want to get down to 325 workers."

Another thing they told me: "Six years ago, we let them put in a two-tier wage. New guys get three or four dollars an hour less and take three years to catch up. The union said, let the new guys take their lumps. We all said, yeah, let them pay their dues. Now we see that was a mistake. If the company can do the job for \$9, why pay \$14? Any time the company can divide you and me, set one against the other, we lose. Now we're out on strike because the company wants us to give back sick days, holidays, vacation time and medical, and no raise."

LABOR'S RESPONSE TO PATCO

All of these givebacks, two-tier wages and scabs started after PATCO. Labor's response to PATCO was Solidarity Day, Sept. 19, 1981, when 500,000 rank-and-file workers marched on Washington. It looked like a new beginning for labor. It included civil rights and women's rights groups, and all kinds of workers—Black, white, Latino. It was a massive, spirited, early challenge to Reaganism. What happened?

Solidarity Day was a stillbirth because it scared the hell out of the union leaders who had called it. The workers who poured into Washington were beyond the leaders' control. The leaders decided to make Solidarity Day II in 1982 a day of lobbying Congress! They were so far away from their membership that they preferred to throw in their lot with the companies in concessions and with the Democrat politicians, rather than with their rank and file.

Today we reap what those union leaders sowed. They stopped us from getting together.

It makes me sick when I pass another picket line, isolated, struggling alone. A few years ago across the street from the Amstar sugar refinery, Domsey warehouse and store workers were hung out to dry a whole year on their picket line for union recognition. They lost. This past year, White Rose grocery Teamsters lost their jobs to scabs, and our Teamster locals never told us about it.

CREATING OUR OWN CHANGE

It's like strikes are invisible. You just stumble on these groups of pickets now and then. I don't want that to be me a couple of years down the road. Our union leaders feel that it's not our fight, it's none of our business, so we get picked off one at a time.

When do we stop waiting for the union leaders to do something they won't do and we must do? All this rethinking has been going on since PATCO, leading towards working people taking things into our own hands. Creating our own change is painful and unknown. We have waited for politicians to do it, for the union to do it, but that time is coming to an end.

PATCO was a great divide, a turning point in our thinking. It is on every worker's lips. Its full repercussions are yet to bear fruit in action as in thought.

A.I.W. members held a rally outside the luncheon.

COMPETE WITH WHOM?

The principle refrain of Staley's rhetoric has been that the new contract is necessary to compete within the industry. However, as Bill Taylor, chairman of the Corn Council, observed, no other company in the industry has provisions that are even similar to those which Staley is trying to introduce in this contract.

Furthermore, Staley is a subsidiary of the British "Sugar Giant" Tate & Lyle. Among Staley's local "competition" is Decatur-based Archer-Daniels-Midland, which maintains a substantial interest in Tate & Lyle. A major consideration in the A.I.W.'s bargaining has been the starch-slurry pipeline which runs between the two companies and which would allow Staley, with the collaboration of this "competitor," to sustain sufficient operation to endure a strike. There is competition in the industry that inspires this contract's "reforms"—competition of the employers against the employees.

The A.I.W. has continued work under an extended contract during negotiations and acted to bring public attention to the union's situation through leaflets and rallies. The anticipated lockout has not yet arrived. It seems only a matter of time, however, before the company declares an impasse in negotiations.

"I've worked here for 35 years," commented one Staley employee, "and I guess I have a hard time getting used to the new way of going about things—not being able to strike. I'd rather be locked out than work under an imposed contract. I really would..."

—Central Illinois communique



On the anniversary of Clarence Thomas' Supreme Court confirmation the National Organization for Women organized a picket at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), which finds "legal merit" in only one-fourth of the sexual harassment complaints filed. The number of complaints has increased 44% since Anita Hill's testimony; EEOC's funding is being slashed.

On the Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

Los Angeles, Cal.—Marx writes of two types of labor: creative labor, which combines one's muscles with one's mind; and alienated labor, which is forced labor, any kind of labor just to live, doing just what you are told to do until you could do it in your sleep, without thinking, just like a machine. Do you know what this kind of labor does to your nervous system and the muscular system?

If you let your mind think only about this kind of work, it would destroy the mind. At General Motors I kept my mind on things other than work. I studied philosophy, Hegel, Marx and Raya Dunayevskaya. I knew that this system of production had to be destroyed or it would destroy the human mind.

ECONOMY FALLING APART

That is why I think every worker should read *The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism*. This book contains a selection of Dunayevskaya's writings, spanning a half century, on how she worked out the stage of state-capitalism, which brought on World War II and today has reached its absolute. We are living through the moment when state-capitalism finds nowhere else to grow and is falling apart, piece by piece.

The economic conditions that we are suffering today grew out of the 1974-75 recession, caused by the great decline in the rate of profit. That is when the capitalists all over the world embarked on a global stage of economic restructuring. Russia couldn't save itself and fell apart. The U.S. is on the same course.

These capitalists think they can save themselves by running to Mexico to get cheap slave labor, but they are fast running out of places to run to. Cutting wages and salaries will continue, until the masses move and take command to save ourselves.

STIFLING WORKERS' REVOLT

The path that led Dunayevskaya to state-capitalist theory and later to her rediscovery of Marx's Humanism began with the Spanish Revolution of 1936, which confronted revolutionaries with the emergence of counter-revolution from within the revolution. She saw that the road to Franco's victory was paved by the Communist Party stifling the new form of workers' revolt.

Producing maintenance

Chicago, Ill.—The management at the shop I work for has been telling us that we are not producing as well as we should be. After working for many years at meat-packing plants, this is not the first time I've heard this. But I found it very odd to hear on the job that I have now, which is maintenance.

When I started this job, I was trained to account for all my time and jobs by filling out a work sheet. Since the push for production I have wondered: how do you produce maintenance work if there is nothing to maintain? The old timers told me that at previous jobs the only time they had to produce was when something needed to be repaired or fabricated.

Now we must struggle to find work just to account for our time or risk being called to the office to explain why some jobs took so long or why there's a lapse on the time sheet. When we look through the work orders, we find that many of the jobs can't be done because there aren't any parts in stock. Guess who orders parts? Management.

My fellow workers and I have been able to joke about it, saying things like, "Well, I'm out of work, so I'm going to go over to the warehouse, grab a forklift and run into things so I can fix them and fill up my time sheet." But the feeling of frustration cannot be eliminated.

I ask some of the more experienced mechanics why they put up with this, why, with all their experience, can't they move on. Most tell me that they are too old or they are afraid that they will be stuck in a worse situation. A worse situation? With the way this capitalist system is going, it is not out of the question to wonder, will all workers be in a worse situation? Is this capitalism at its best or at its death?

—Martin Almora

Laboring in the rain

De Kalb, Ill.—I first started as laborer for the railroad in June this summer. Then, when it would rain, unless a light drizzle, we'd wait in the truck. I thought it was standard procedure. But after two months the Road Master said they're not paying us to sit in the truck, so we found ourselves working in the rain—light rain or hard rain, it didn't matter.

It didn't bother me—not that I liked it!—but I was never afraid of the rain or thought I'd get sick. But it bothered some people, like this new transferred guy, a Vietnam vet. He was dumbfounded! In the 14 years he had worked for the railroad he had never worked in the rain, but would wait in the truck.

A couple of times Vet sat in the truck, but then he got talked to by the foreman. The next rain was a thunderstorm. Vet was with the hard line guy who said, "Work or go home, and you'll have a long walk. Nobody can sit in the truck." So he worked through lightning and hard rain.

They got the job done and were putting their tools away when lightning hit the truck and traveled through the tool in Vet's hand. He was shocked and dazed. He said he could have been killed and that somebody has to actually die from lightning for the people from the railroad to wake up and realize we shouldn't be working in the rain.

—Railroad laborer

News & Letters

Vol. 37 No. 9

NOVEMBER, 1992

News & Letters (ISSN 0028-8969) is published 10 times a year, monthly, except bi-monthly January-February and August-September for \$2.50 a year (bulk order of five or more — 15¢) by *News & Letters*, 59 East Van Buren, Rm. 707, Chicago, IL 60605. Telephone (312) 663-0839. Second Class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *News & Letters*, 59 East Van Buren, Rm. 707, Chicago, IL 60605.

Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman,
National Editorial Board (1955-1987)

Charles Denby, Editor (1955-1983)

Olga Domanski, Peter Wermuth, Co-National

Organizers, News and Letters Committees

Eugene Walker, Managing Editor

Mike Connolly, Marxist-Humanist Archivist

Felix Martin, Labor Editor



News & Letters
is printed in
a union shop.

From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya Marxist-Humanist Archives

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

Editor's note: The contentious ongoing debates being waged on the future of Marxism after the collapse of Communism makes this an important time to look at Raya Dunayevskaya's analysis of two very different representatives of philosophical Marxism. Theodor Adorno (1903-1969) was one of the leading theoreticians of the Frankfurt School and an original thinker on Hegelian dialectics. Karel Kosik was a leading spokesman of the Prague Spring, 1968 movement for "Socialism with a human face," and is currently teaching and writing in Prague. This article was first published in the March, 1978 issue of News & Letters.

Negative Dialectics by Theodor Adorno: (New York: Seabury Press, 1973)

Dialectics of the Concrete by Karel Kosik (Dordrecht, Holland and Boston: D. Reidel Publishing Company: 1976)

The above two works are not only the most serious contributions to the study of dialectics in the past half-century, but path-breaking originals. Adorno's *Negative Dialectics* is the most comprehensive, and is not only one man's life's legacy, but a veritable philosophic testament of the celebrated Frankfurt School's total existence from its founding. That only a few have chosen to review it is only in part due to the difficulty of the text and originality of the concept of negative dialectics, which is so radical a departure from the dialectics of negativity that Adorno opens his work with an attack on "the negation of the negation," that is to say, the positive that flows from a double negation, and declares: "This book seeks to free dialectics from such affirmative traits without reducing its determinacy" (p. xix).

Rather, despite the comprehensiveness of the 416-page volume, the total view of philosophy is written in so aphoristic a style that it looks, if not chaotic, surely not the type of continuity that characterizes a serious work, but more like essay-type analyses of individual topics, with each just a very few pages. At the same time, the relationship of concrete to abstract always comes as a shocker rather than as something emerging out of what Hegel calls "the self-determination of the Idea," or as an illumination of an original and abstract idea that is specifically Adorno.

WHEN I FIRST started grappling with the book, keeping in mind the period of its formation—the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s—I was forced to conclude that Adorno was deaf to the objective situation, the movement from practice, especially the revolts in Eastern Europe. The two magnificent decades since the very first revolt from under totalitarianism—East Germany June 17, 1953—had, indeed, undermined regimes as well as opened vast new theoretical vistas. They were historic challenges to all that was both in practice and in theory. Yet, *Negative Dialectics* has little to do with that dialectic of negativity, least of all with the concept of Subject, with which Hegel distinguished his from all other philosophers who left the search for truth at Substance only. As "concretized" by Marx for the proletarian class, Subject is supposed to have been accepted also by Adorno, but, again, he keeps his distance and originality locked into his work.

Naturally Adorno also keeps his distance from "positivists" and the vulgarisms of the knighted Karl Popper of the infamous "Hegel and fascism" school. Nevertheless, Adorno, very nearly out of nowhere, suddenly brings in Auschwitz, seeing some sort of kinship between it and absolute negativity: "Genocide is the absolute integration . . . Auschwitz confirmed the philosopheme of pure identity as death . . . Absolute negativity is in plain sight and has ceased to surprise anyone" (p. 362).

By "nearly out of nowhere" I naturally do not mean Auschwitz wasn't the reality of fascism, nor do I mean only the suddenness and shock of introducing the subject matter in the climax to the book, "Meditations on Metaphysics." Rather I mean it is "wrong," that is to say, totally illogical, non-dialectical, from his own point of view of an adult lifetime devoted to fighting fascist "ideology" as the very opposite of Hegelian dialectics, its very death in Nazi Germany.

Perhaps a better word than "wrong" would be Adorno's own swearword: "naive." I mean that, as late as 1957, in *Aspects of the Hegelian Dialectic*, he was—almost—defending even subject-object identity: "Subject-object cannot be dismissed as mere extravagance of logical absolutism . . . in seeing through the latter as mere subjectivity, we have already passed beyond the Speculative idealism . . . cognition, if it is genuine, and more than simple duplication of the subjective, must be the subject's objectivity." And, indeed, in *Negative Dialectics* he reiterates the same truth when he writes that, despite the fact that Hegel "deifies" subjectivity, "he accomplishes the opposite as well, an insight into the subject as a self-manifesting objectivity" (p. 350).

Why, then, the vulgar reduction of absolute negativity? Therein is the real tragedy of Adorno (and the Frankfurt School): one-dimensionality of thought once you "give up" Subject, once you do not listen to the voices from below—and they certainly were loud and clear and demanding in that decade of mid-1950s to

mid-1960s—once you yourself return to the ivory tower and reduce your purpose: "the purpose of discussing key concepts of philosophic disciplines and centrally intervening in those disciplines . . ." (p. xx). Irresistibly came the next step, the substitution of a permanent critique not alone for absolute negativity, but also for "permanent revolution."

Now, whether the enduring relevance of Hegel has stood the test of time because of the devotion and rigor of analysis of Hegel scholars, or because from below there upsurged a movement for freedom that was followed by new cognition studies, there is no doubt that



On June 17, 1953, East German workers struck against speed-up in the first mass revolt from under totalitarianism. Their demand was "Bread and Freedom." Strikes by workers in the rest of Eastern Europe followed, opening a new epoch of freedom struggles.

because Absolute Negativity signifies transformation of reality, the dialectic of contradiction and totality of crises, the dialectic of liberation, that Hegel comes to life at critical points of history which Hegel himself characterized as "birth-time of history." And there were Marxist scholars, revolutionary dissidents, who built on new ground.

IT IS THIS WHICH not only distinguishes Karel Kosik's "optimism" from Adorno's pessimism, but accounts for the fact that his *Dialectics of the Concrete*, though written in as abstract a philosophic form as Adorno's and thus as difficult for the "common reader," sees what historic concrete "has in mind." Karel Kosik's work, instead of being shunted aside, is intensely discussed, and not only in Czechoslovakia but internationally. It is the type of philosophic work, it is felt, which has something very important to say. In a very significant way, Karel Kosik's work both anticipated the Prague Spring, 1968, and, at the same time, was a theoretical departure which said, if defeated, this can become a new jumping off point for the next revolution.

Thus, though abstractly and indirectly articulated, no one doubted that it was an attack on the ruling bureaucracy, even if that were expressed, not in political terms, but a philosophic critique of fetishized existence. In his sharp first chapter's critique on the pseudo-concrete—an important new contribution of Karel Kosik's—he reminds the readers that "man's fetishized praxis...is not identical with the revolutionary-critical praxis of mankind" (p. 2).

To try to draw from his use of the generic Man (with a capital "M"), instead of specific worker, the conclusion that Karel Kosik was shunting aside the revolutionary proletariat, in the manner of the so-called "New Left," is to fly in the face not only of Kosik's view of the role of the proletariat, but also his praise of philosophy as the "indispensable activity of mankind" (p. 4). Rather than playing up generic Man as opposed to the "classic" revolutionary proletariat, what Kosik is doing is rejecting the reductionist Communist concept of subjectivity, as if it meant nothing but petty bourgeois egoism, and re-establishing subjectivity as, at one and the same time, the ground of Hegelian dialectics and distinctively Marxian dialectics of Subject who shapes his own history.

KOSIK IS MOST explicit in his description of exploitation as resulting from "dead labor ruling over live

*See "Czech Marxism: Karel Kosik" by Paul Piccone, in *Critique*, #8, 1977.

Adorno, Kosik and the movement from practice

labor, object ruling over man, product over its producers, the mystified subject over the real subject, the object ruling over the subject. Capitalism is a dynamic system of total reification and alienation, cyclically expanding and reproducing itself through catastrophes in which 'people' act behind masks of officers and agents of this mechanism, i.e., as its own components and elements" (p. 110).

Kosik's greatest contribution is the reintroduction of the dialectic as the revolutionary pivot of Marxism. We see this especially clearly in the crucial third chapter of the work which deals with Marx's *Capital*. Here, too, though Kosik sticks strictly to *Capital* as the concrete greatest work of Marx, with rigorous analysis of both its construction and its development of categories, he manages, though indirectly, to make it an attack on mechanical materialism, i.e., the ruling bureaucratized teaching of *Capital*, as if, once you counterpose social to individual, you have come to Marx's concept of the class struggle, not to mention the philosophy. As Kosik puts it, "Man is walled in in his socialness. Praxis which in Marx's philosophy had made possible both objectivation and objective cognition, and man's openness toward being, turns into social subjectivity and closedness: man is a prisoner of socialness" (p. 106).

And a few pages later he contrasts to this "socialness" Marx's revolutionary way out: "Capital turns out to be the 'odyssey' of concrete historical praxis which proceeds from the elementary labor product through a series of real formations in which the practical-spiritual activity of people in production is objectified and fixed, to conclude its journey not in the cognition of what it is in itself, but rather in a revolutionary practical action based on this cognition" (p. 111).

NO ONE NEED THINK that, because "Philosophy and Economy" is the most important chapter, Karel Kosik limits himself to either economics or philosophy. Rather, his work is a far-ranging and far-reaching critique on the glorification of science and culture, which he calls the metaphysics of science and culture. The East Europeans will feel a great affinity for Kosik's profound critique of Plekhanov, and they will easily guess that it's not only a critique of Plekhanov but of "socialist realism," Lukacs included. He considers that Plekhanov's work on art "lacks the 'human sensory activity' which cannot be reduced to 'psyche' or to the 'spirit of the times'" (p. 77), and holds that Plekhanov's method is a "one-sided approach smacking of Enlightenment" (p. 61). In the land of Kafka, the readers will know that reality is as irradiated by a great work of philosophy as by great works of literature and film.

The movement from practice over the past two decades that produced new theoretical departures, was by no means limited to East Europe but covered the world. This was most brilliantly articulated by Frantz Fanon, when he wrote that the Africans' struggles for freedom were "not a treatise on the universal, but the untidy affirmation of an original idea propounded as an absolute."*** There is no doubt, of course, that once action supersedes the subjectivity of purpose the unity of theory and practice is the form of life out of which emerge totally new dimensions; in the 1960s, these heralded women's liberation as well as Black, youth as well as labor.

It is these live forces that made the near-revolutions of the late 1960s. What is needed now is the singling out of the dialectic of Reason in so inseparable a manner from the movement from practice that freedom can be made a reality. It's this type of role for new, revolutionary subjectivity that Marx disclosed: "Not only do the objective conditions change in the act of reproduction, e.g., the village becomes a town, the wilderness a cleared field, etc., but the producers change, too, in that they bring out new qualities in themselves, develop themselves in production, transform themselves, develop new powers and ideas, new modes of intercourse, new needs and new language" (*Grundrisse*). ***

**Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1966), p. 33.

***Karl Marx, *Grundrisse* (New York: Vintage, 1973), p. 494. See also *Marx's Collected Works* (New York: International Publishers, 1986), Vol. 28, p. 418.

For more on the dialectics of revolution:

NEW ESSAYS

by Raya Dunayevskaya

- Post-Mao China: What Now?
- Dialectics of Liberation in Thought and in Activity: Absolute Negativity as New Beginning.
- Leon Trotsky as Man and as Theoretician.
- Commentary: a critique of B.J. Harrell's "Marx and Critical Thought."

Send \$2.85, includes postage, to News & Letters

Habermas's retreat from Marx—a review

Autonomy and Solidarity, by Jurgen Habermas (Verso, 1992), 277 pp.

This work consists of 12 interviews, first collected in 1986, but with three newly added for this edition. Unfortunately, the editors write that a major book-length collection of interviews, including Habermas's views on the Gulf war (which he supported with certain conditions) and on the East European revolutions (which he completely failed to anticipate) could not be included in this collection.

A self-described "radical democrat," though "proud to be called a Marxist," the theoretical output of Habermas has been prolific the past 40 years, spanning the entire post-World War II era. The ambiguity of those characterizations of his theoretical orientation, parallel with his research program aimed at shifting philosophic reflection from "consciousness" to "communication," permeates this series of interviews. At the same time, Habermas lays implicit claim to having articulated the passing of one epoch to another, from pre-World War II to post-World War II, and then into an altogether different sphere.

CRITICAL THEORY

Habermas is often seen as the sole living inheritor of the "critical theory" tradition of the Frankfurt School, having worked side-by-side with Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer and other founders of the school which, as Habermas describes, never had a unified outlook and drastically shifted its orientation after the 1940s, even concealing many of its founding research documents in the cellar of the institute. And when Habermas states in one interview "A Philosophic-Political Profile (first published in *New Left Review* in 1985), that "I don't think of myself as *avant garde*, nor do I dream of a revolutionary subject," it might be taken as a separation of himself from the entire tradition in which many intellectuals and activists invested heavily.

In one of the longer interviews, "The Dialectics of Rationalization" (1981), Habermas outlines the areas of difference between his current views and those he sees as central to the original Frankfurt School. He says that he has dropped any notion of a "philosophy of history," which is dependent upon a proletarian revolution.

Habermas, in two other recent works, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, which is largely a defense against postmodern attacks, and *Post-metaphysical Thinking*, has stated clearly that the "paradigm shift" since the 1970s should be seen as the working out of the priority of practice over theory while, oddly, this book-length collection of interviews conducted mostly in the 1980s up to the present, is intensely theoretic, with scarcely any mention of current events.

POSTMODERNIST SPARRING

In the 1984 interview with Perry Anderson and Peter Dews, first published in this collection, Habermas recapitulates his debt to the American philosophers, whom he associates with recovering a "missing branch of young Hegelianism—a more or less democratic humanism"—which he says was present philosophically in the pragmatist Charles Peirce, and George Herbert Mead who had a concept of universal discourse.

In the same interview it becomes clear why Habermas has to dig out what he sees as "the Young Hegelian" element in American pragmatism to anchor his paradigm shift. The "philosophy of history," developed most fully in Marx, was saddled with a "productivist bias"—the idea that "the scientific control over external nature and labor to transform it is in itself liberating"—and worse, what Marx "meant by socialism politically was just—we can say now after 50 years of Soviet history—just the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production."

In a similar vein, when discussing, "The Role of the Student Movement in Germany," an interview first published in Rome in 1988 Habermas, when asked what he felt to have been the decisive limitations of the student movement in Germany, said it was the "misfortune" of the "ingenuous use of the concept of revolution and the undervaluation of democratic-constitutional traditions."

Habermas points out that, though Herbert Marcuse exercised a great influence over the revolt, his 1964 *One Dimensional Man* was a profoundly pessimistic book; that it took the U.S. Civil Rights Movement and the U.S. student movement for Marcuse to "revise his view of the situation." Habermas also makes the claim that his own *Knowledge and Human Interests* (1968) might also have served as a stimulus for the 1960s movements.

Yet, what becomes clear while reading through these interviews is the sense of not only Habermas's separation from the original Frankfurt School—which was at one time, into the early 1940s, philosophical, revolutionary and independent of both Western democracy and "state socialism"—is his remoteness from that form of practice which in the post-World War II period reached for universality: the East European revolts from below, the Third World revolutions.

When asked whether his theory was affected by struggles in the Third World or whether his theory has lessons for those struggles he answered, "I am tempted to say no in both cases. I am aware of the fact that this is a eurocentrically limited view. I would rather pass the question."

Habermas insists that a correct "diagnosis of the times" is critical for the development of theory. But here he chooses Max Weber over Marx, and in fact insists that we approach Marx only via Georg Lukacs's appropriation of Weber's concept of rationalization as

reification generalizable to all social domains. Habermas, like Weber, sees certain "permanent" features of modernity, not the least of which is the form of labor in society. The "critical theory" of Habermas aims simply for a greater self-understanding of their lot by the participants in society.

—Victor Hart

Editorial

(continued from page 1)

in this election campaign—Ross Perot. The fact that Perot received far more votes than predicted shows the extent to which he is seen as a viable alternative by many voters, including working people. History is full of examples of the appeal exerted by a so-called "outsider" promising to resolve the economic problems with an "iron hand." The kind of ultra-reactionary phenomenon Perot harbingers was expressed bluntly by one Black columnist who exclaimed: "Thank goodness David Duke wasn't a multi-millionaire!"

The just-concluded election campaign underlines the fact that racism remains the Achilles heel of American civilization. Exhilarating as it is that Illinois voters are finally sending a Black woman like Carol Moseley Braun to the U.S. Senate, the fact that it took all the way to 1992 to achieve this breakthrough speaks volumes about the depth of both racism and sexism in this land. That is why, although the race for their respective offices has just ended for the rulers, for us the struggle against the dehumanizing conditions of life in this country has just begun.

Sisters of Color meet

(continued from page 2)

bringing in El Salvador where "women are neglected and are not well educated. But my grandmother taught us that we as women are powerful.... I want to define my own future. We are defining feminism across races, ethnic backgrounds, internationally."

Merle Woo, speaking on "What do we mean by socialism?" took up a variety of its aspects especially the importance of theory in fighting capitalism. This was related to a question a Peruvian woman raised during discussion: "What do we do with the issues we are seeing and facing? I want some theory; some solutions on what to do."

There was a lot of discussion on the new kind of group RSOC could be and questions of the need to keep our own identities while doing solidarity work. One woman asked, "Shouldn't we dismiss theories by dead white males?" But Mary Pitawanakwat answered, "Concepts of socialism are more inherent to us than we may think...."

The discussion raised questions of how to fight against this capitalist, sexist, racist society with all of its crises and how to have new relationships, a new society that will develop us into "warm, authentic human beings," as expressed by Pitawanakwat. I spoke of the need to study Marx's writings and a proposal was made to have a study group on the *Communist Manifesto*. The questions and proposals raised at this conference are very alive because they arise from the need to have a sisters of color organization that has revolutionary activities and ideas; not just an organization in and of itself, but one that is reaching for something totally new.

News and Letters Committees invites you to a series of three meetings on

The Needed American Revolution

American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses As Vanguard

● After The Los Angeles Rebellion: Capitalist Economic Crisis And The New American Social Consciousness

● Why Philosophy? Why Now?: The Self-Determination of Peoples And Of Ideas

● Spontaneity, Organization And Philosophy—American Civilization On Trial: Black Masses As Vanguard



In the aftermath of the Los Angeles rebellion, America has changed. On the one hand signs of a new social consciousness are emerging within Black and Latino communities in the inner cities, among rank-and-file workers, women's liberationists and youth. On the other hand the presidential election campaign reveals an ominous new authoritarianism that not only clings to all the candidates, but raises questions about the future of this country. Once again, American civilization is on trial.

In these meetings, we will investigate that notion—"American civilization on trial"—both as concept, and as the mind-opening study of freedom forces in American history penned by Raya Dunayevskaya at the height of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement, *American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard (ACOT)*.

We undertake these meetings, not for history's sake, but because new philosophic-historic-organizational directions are needed now, if a genuine continuity with liberation struggles and ideas is to be re-established. The study of ACOT can help us find such new directions. We invite you to join us in that effort.

CHICAGO

Sundays at 2:00 P.M.
Nov. 15 & 22, Dec. 6
News & Letters Library
59 E. Van Buren at Wabash
Room 707
312/663-0839

DETROIT

Sundays at 1:00 P.M.
Wayne State University
Student Center Building, Room 277
Nov. 22, Dec. 6 & 13

LOS ANGELES

Sundays
Nov. 22 and Dec. 6 at 5:00 P.M.
Dec. 13 at 6:00 P.M.
Founders National Bank Bldg.
Community Room
3910 W. Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd.

BAY AREA

Mondays at 7:00 P.M.
Nov. 16 & 30, Dec. 7
390 27th St., Oakland
(Between Telegraph and Broadway)
415/658-1448

NEW YORK

Sundays, 4-6 P.M.
Nov. 22, Dec. 6 and 13
Earl Hall, Columbia U.
116th and Broadway, Manhattan
212/663-3631

For further information about meetings in each area, contact the address in the directory on p.10. Order ACOT by sending \$2.00 (plus 85c postage) to: News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605

THE MARXIST-HUMANIST THEORY OF STATE-CAPITALISM on the 125th anniversary of Marx's 'Capital'

Printing Dunayevskaya's first writing on state-capitalism from 1941 together with Kevin Anderson's new essay on *Capital* (October N&L) shows, I think, not only that her theory is alive and underwent great development since its inception—which you can see in the extensive list of "samples" of her other writings through the decades since the 1940s—but that it is open to all to develop for their particular context. Anderson's piece isn't just a list of changes in the 1875 edition of *Capital*. Dunayevskaya's constant stress on methodology was to see where conclusions come from. What Anderson achieved in his very original essay was a further development of the great breakthrough through Dunayevskaya's theory and philosophy represents. It is very different from what other theorists did in the 1980s when they took conclusions from Marx's last decade and tried to turn Marx into a "populist."

Librarian
Detroit

Kevin Anderson's essay on Marx's *Capital* raised a very important question: Why is the full text still not available? His best point is that "most existing editions of *Capital* don't show it as a work in progress, but give us a finished product tied up a bit too neatly."

It would be most interesting to put Raya Dunayevskaya's 1941 essay in the context of her later work on state-capitalism, the kind of thing Anderson did with *Capital*: what did it transform into, what was her theory like as she developed it in greater detail, how did it change?

What is least clear to me is the Johnson-Forest Tendency. What is its significance? What's the relationship of Raya's thought to that Tendency?

T.V.
Chicago

Editor's note: For a discussion of this question, see her "Prologue" to 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.

In Russia today, the Trotskyists are unable to build a broad opposition to Yeltsin and the "democrats"; people turn a deaf ear, rightly noting that Trotsky continued to defend Stalinist Russia despite his condemnation of its horrors. His theoretical concepts prevented him from breaking with Stalinism completely. So Raya Dunayevskaya's 1941 essay on Russian state-capitalism has an historical importance that is directly relevant to Russia today. Here was a Marxist who did set out concepts that enabled her to oppose the defense of Russia. I intend to translate and publish this essay soon.

Nikolai Zelinski
Central Russia

I have no problem with the idea that the Russian system was state-capitalist. Whether the goal is to maximize output or maximize the capitalist's profit, in both cases it entails getting the most surplus value out of the worker.

Graduate Student in Economics
University of New Hampshire,
Durham

Dunayevskaya warned against assuming that the next stage is always going

to be higher, seeing that, instead, we can be confronted with retrogression. That was why the "Third Attitude" to objectivity in the Hegelian philosophy was not the Hegelian dialectic but Jacobinism, as I understood her. When I was reading her 1941 essay, I thought I saw her getting to this point in her argument against Shachtman who insisted that it had to be progressive to have nationalized property even if it was a "bureaucratic collectivist" state. State-Capitalism certainly was a new stage, but, not a higher one.

B.A.L.
Chicago

Dunayevskaya's 1941 analysis of state-capitalism shows clearly that from the very first analysis she was restating Marx's concept of capital, not as a question of private vs. state ownership of property, but as the alienation of the means of production from the direct producers. At the same time she was restating Marx's concept of freely associated labor as the pathway out of capitalism. When you read this essay along with the whole collection of essays on *The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism*, you see what it meant not to compromise on Marx's concept of non-alienated labor and non-alienated human relations. That's what permitted the deepening of that concept and the further working out of how to realize it.

Graduate Philosophy student
San Francisco

Although I am one who reads material over many times, I found reading Raya Dunayevskaya's 1941 essay on state-capitalism even just once thoroughly "enlightening." What she wrote about the situation in Russia that led to Stalinism, the horrifying conditions workers faced by 1941, really moved me, as a worker.

Being a thinking worker, I can't help the feeling of hope and confidence I got reading this essay because it showed me how powerful her ideas were at a time when her theory of state-capitalism must have been considered an outrage. It meant to me that we should not fear the reaction of others when we put forth our ideas, no matter how outrageous others may think them. Isn't that what "dialectics" is for? This essay shows me that philosophers are not born with ideas, they develop them. I think anybody can be a philosopher in that way.

Martin Almora
Chicago

As someone who has gained a great deal of strength from the ideas of Marxist-Humanism, I've often wondered at the incredible hostility so many on the Left seem to feel toward News and Letters. The most interesting explanation so far came from one experienced Trotskyist who said recently: "Don't you know why the Left despises you people so much? It's because you're so optimistic. They all feel that their Marxism has failed and when you come around saying that the fall of Communism proves that you were right all along, it just drives them crazy."

Activist
Chicago

RECALLING MARX ON RELIGION

Your October editorial on the elections disclosing a new authoritarianism touched on an issue which is especially important in America—religious fanaticism. Extreme forms of religion play a prominent role not only in the thought of major political figures such as Buchanan/Bush but also at the popular level, for instance in the so-called right-to-life movement. (It is worth noting that members of this movement largely support the death penalty.)

For this reason, it is important for Marxist-Humanists to recall what Marx wrote about religion: "Religious distress is at the same time the expression of real distress and the protest against real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heart-

less world, just as it is the spirit of a spiritless situation" (Introduction to *Marx's Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*). Religious fanaticism may alarm us by its irrationality, but its resurgence at any time reflects the deepening social crisis of that time.

The Marxist-Humanist philosophy of revolution provides a sound basis on which to understand religion, even religious fanaticism, and join Marx in saying: "The abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of the people is required for their real happiness. The demand to give up the illusions about its condition is the demand to give up a condition which needs illusions."

Historian of religions
Chicago

Readers' Views

GAYS FIGHTING HATE

The Oregon Citizen's Alliance (OCA) which is behind Measure 9 to amend the Oregon constitution to outlaw any civil rights protection for homosexuals is creating the climate for hate. Although the OCA claims no connection to it, a letter calling for "Execution-Castration-Imprisonment" of homosexuals, as a fulfillment of God's law, was circulated in southern Oregon.

It is too painful to give to you in its entirety. Suffice to say that it looks forward to a "future without homosexuals" and that it openly says—in a logic that is directly from the Inquisition—that "The Bible commands you to raise up the 'Sword of Righteousness' and slash the throat of the perverted heathen. Show your compassion for the soul of the tortured homosexual by bleeding him...to his death. This is an act of True Mercy. You have freed this possessed pervert."

Despite pious protests by the OCA that they are just fighting what they call "special rights" for gays, they are encouraging bloodthirsty hatred.

Radical Lesbian feminist
Los Angeles

Editors's note: Measure 9 was defeated on Nov. 3. See also article on p. 2.

A March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation is being called for April 1993. Here is the preamble to our platform: "We recognize that our quest for social justice fundamentally links us to the struggles against racism and sexism, class bias, economic injustice and religious intolerance. We must realize that if one of us is oppressed, we all are oppressed...We will be vigilant in our determination to rid our movement and our society of all forms of oppression and exploitation so that all of us can develop to our full human potential..." Readers who want more information can write to:

March National Office
1012 14th St., NW
Washington, DC 20005

CHILDREN VS. WAR

Our 1993 Peace Calendar, "Children of War, Children of Hope," shares the thoughts and stories of young people who know war and violence firsthand and are working for a world built on peace and justice. The artwork is by renowned artist Mary Frank, and the introduction is by Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Archbishop Desmond Tutu. The calendars are spiral-bound datebooks with details on holidays and peace history and cost \$12.95 each, which helps our work to oppose our militarized culture.

War Resisters League
339 Lafayette St.
New York, NY 10012

THE BRITISH SCENE

Under the Tories, most of the nationalized state monopolies have become state-regulated private monopolies, utilizing "market forces" to shed jobs, increase exploitation of remaining workers and push up prices for consumers. The high-tech core of the economy is defense, which relies on state-subsidized arms-for-oil deals with Mideast dictators.

Another aspect of the growing statism is the expansion of the state security setup. Reductions in EC border controls are being compensated with greater powers to deal with drugs, "hooliganism," immigration and "political extremism." There have been clashes this summer between police and working-class youth in several cities where unemployment is high.

Although there is no real mass movement activity at present, direct action groups have been protesting the government's road building plans, peace activists have staged protests at USAF bases,

Asian women's groups have been campaigning on behalf of battered wives and there have been successful campaigns to free Irish and Black people framed by the police. A new Anti-Racist Alliance is campaigning for right of asylum and against the British Nazis, whose figurehead, "historiker" David Irving, has delusions of grandeur.

D. Black
London

WORKER TO WORKER



How are the Oscar Mayer displaced workers doing? Send them good luck from another worker in Oklahoma and tell them that when I go to the grocery store here I tell people what that company is doing to their workers in Chicago. Some of them put the stuff back on the shelves.

Working woman
Oklahoma

It's pretty bad when someone with a college degree has to work in a grocery store or a fast food restaurant just to have a little money. The union I am in (the United Food and Commercial Workers) did get the employees of the store where I work a 25¢ pay raise; then they went up 25¢ in their weekly union dues. I am averaging approximately \$247 annually in union dues. The unions have lost contact with the workers and have become just another elite group. I feel that organization should come directly from the workers for effectiveness in the transition of our economic structure. Possibly, an organization of decentralized workers' councils would be the best idea, i.e., decentralized but yet interactive.

Learning on the job
Alabama

With so many out of work a lot of people now are out to cut each other's throats. Where I work, everyone's afraid about getting fired, afraid of losing medical insurance. People are getting pitted against each other, instead of coming together. It scares the hell out of me. And things are going to get even worse. Maybe it will get to the point that, like the Crips and the Bloods, we will finally come together and see who our real enemy is.

White worker
California

'THE NATIONAL QUESTION'

The attitude of the Left in the United Kingdom to Scotland, like the attitude to Ireland in Marx's time, has illuminated problems at the very core of socialism over here. It is not simply a question of correct tactics on the "national question." I think it goes to the heart of what we are fighting for—human emancipation from all forms of oppression. Shouldn't liberation from national oppression be part of this project? Yet for most Marxists, the deeply rooted desires of the Scottish masses are seen as an awkward diversion from the "class struggle."

Patrick Kane
Britain

The most significant concrete situation we face today is the international one, a world capitalist market so interdependent as to reduce any form of "national independence" to an illusion. Yes, illusions can be powerful, but it is our job to dispel them rather than promote them. It's the internationalism of capitalism that moves socialism from the abstract to the practical, the material interest workers have in uniting on a class basis across national lines, rather than on a cross-class national basis, and is thus what I believe we as socialists should be emphasizing.

Jeff Miller
Minneapolis

WOMEN'S LIBERATION



There is a common misconception about pro-choice—the belief that the term is equivalent to the term pro-abortion. Although we are in favor of abortion remaining a safe and legal option, it is not our sole purpose.

If a woman chooses to have and keep a baby, it's her choice. If a woman chooses to have and put her baby up for adoption, it's her choice. If, for whatever reason, a woman chooses to have an abortion, it's her choice. It means making sure that women are aware of all of the options available to them. They are also in favor of fighting to keep those options open.

Patrice C. Illinois

There's a fraternity on the New York University campus that has put out a flyer for its rush campaign that says "Free Mike Tyson" with its frat letters underneath. They have university permission to put them up and it's all over campus, on elevators, bulletin boards and in dorms. My friends and I have been tearing them down.

I went to the room of my dorm's Resident Advisor—the one we go to with our problems—and he had the Free Mike Tyson flyer on his door! I tore it down on the way out.

Outraged Black student New York City

Please let your readers know that the National Child Support Coalition can help mothers and children caught in the red tape of the child support system. Millions of children go hungry and have no medical insurance or the basics of life because their fathers are not paying court-mandated child support. Those who need help can call us at 1-708-397-4861, 24 hours a day, or write to us at our Illinois address.

Joy Simms 2040 E. Algonquin Rd. Schaumburg, IL 60173

Any shrinkage in the disparity between men's and women's incomes is almost entirely a result of men's decreasing incomes, which are simply dropping to the level of women's. While there are many who want to blame women's massive entry into the labor market for the decline in men's wages, the truth is the exact opposite; women's entry into the labor market has been largely the result of the drop in men's wages, which has made it impossible to support a family without having both parents employed full time.

Jan Kollwitz Chicago

FARMERS' LIVES

In October I attended a talk by Howard Lyman, Executive Director of the Beyond Beef Coalition. The first part of Lyman's speech was very moving, as he told of his 25 years as a farmer in Montana, during which time he applied what he learned in college to his family farm. While he went deeper and deeper into debt from spending hundreds of thousands of dollars on pesticides, fertilizers and machinery, the rich soil turned to something that he said could have come from Mars. The worms, rodents, coyotes, birds and trees that had lived there all died. Then he ended up in the hospital with a tumor on his spinal cord (farmers have a high rate of cancer due to pesticides).

After this moving account of his life which demonstrated the need for a total reorganization of farm life, labor and thought, the rest of his talk was a jarring non sequitur. Suddenly it was as if all the world's ills were caused by beef and the beef industry. It isn't as if the beef industry is uniquely evil. The whole capitalist system has got to go. But instead Lyman is running around acting as if a consumer boycott of beef will solve everything. This is the kind of absurd conclusion people jump to when they see how rotten things are but don't have any confidence in people to totally transform all aspects of their lives.

Franklin Dmitryev Chicago

AND WORSE TO COME

GM fired Robert Stempel as corporation chairman because he didn't do enough. Here's a guy who put together the plans to close 21 auto plants, lay off 74,000 workers and cut the benefits of all the white collar workers. As bad as the economic situation is now for GM workers, you can bet that it's going to get much worse.

Auto worker Detroit

Under threat of closure of the Peabody Coal Company's #10 Mine, UMWA Local 9819 conceded on Oct. 10 to a 19-month contract sacrificing graduated vacation days, "local work practices," and the option to strike. Approximately 15 jobs were lost through "consolidation" of job classifications, while 450 were spared—as long as the mine's only customer, Commonwealth Edison's Kincaid power station, continues to purchase from it.

ComEd will not buy coal from the mine after Jan. 1, 1995, by which time it must comply with the federal Clean Air Act by burning coal of lower sulphur content. Peabody pursued the concessions to reduce "production costs" by \$1.50 per ton of coal.

Correspondent Kincaid, Illinois

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION 75 YEARS LATER

The Russian Revolution of Nov. 7, 1917, even with all its contradictions, is the highest stage we ever got as workers. In her writings on state-capitalism, Raya Dunayevskaya shows it isn't ownership but control of labor that is the key. When Stalin turned the revolution into its opposite, legal ownership was in the hands of society but control of labor was in the hands of the rulers. In pre-Stalinist days, the legal title was the same but production relations were different. Before the worker entered the factory he himself decided on the plan in a production conference, and inside the factory had representatives to contest any bossy conduct from the factory

director. And when he got his pay he again had recourse to his trade unions to discuss production results. I wish I had that power over my life and labor!

Many people today think of Lenin as an iron-handed ruler, but the truth is that after the revolution, he supported the workers going out on strike and criticized any party member who didn't instinctively walk out with the workers. As for all the contradictions in that revolution, Raya Dunayevskaya tried to work out the question of "what comes after" before the next revolution. That is why I think the 75th anniversary isn't either for celebrating or looking back in order to set it straight, but for looking forward so we can build on the highest points of that revolution and all the struggles with capital.

David Anderson Chicago

The bourgeois press rewrites history when they don't talk about how it was the women who set off the Russian Revolution. When the workers and the women joined, that was a sure revolution! The bourgeoisie knows that.

Felix Martin Los Angeles

WHY READ N&L?

As usual, I find the historical Marxism in N&L difficult, too much theory that seems unrelated to today. But I like your analysis of major political and world events. Here's my contribution, my renewal and a name I'd like you to send a sample copy to.

Correspondent Alaska

Current worldwide events tend to be confusing and misleading. As far as I am concerned you can't imagine how important it is to read N&L. Even for a psychoanalyst it is important to confirm every once in a while that one is not completely crazy and that other people share your ideas and interpretations of what is happening throughout the world.

Subscriber Colombia

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS

—BOOKS—

- Marxism and Freedom ...from 1776 until today** 1989 edition. New 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 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
- The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism: selected writings** 168 pp. by Raya Dunayevskaya \$8.50 per copy
- Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal** 1989 edition includes Afterword by Raya Dunayevskaya, "Charles Denby 1907-83" 303 pp. by Charles Denby\$14.95

—PAMPHLETS—

- Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis** Contains introduction, "Today's Epigones Who Try to Truncate Marx's Capital," and Chapters Five through Eight of *Marxism and Freedom* by Raya Dunayevskaya\$2 per copy
- The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.** by Andy Phillips and Raya Dunayevskaya.....\$2 per copy
- 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.** A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments by Raya Dunayevskaya\$1.50 per copy
- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard.** Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucuses in the Unions" by Charles Denby.....\$2 per copy
- Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions** by Raya Dunayevskaya.....\$1.25 per copy
- Constitution of News & Letters Committees** 29¢ postage
- Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought,** by Lou Turner and John Alan \$3 per copy
- Selections from Raya Dunayevskaya's Writings on the Middle East** \$2.50 per copy
- Working Women for Freedom** by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes\$1 per copy
- Dos ensayos por Raya Dunayevskaya.** Spanish language pamphlet 1989 edition \$2.00 per copy

—ARCHIVES—

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

—NEWSPAPER—

- Subscription to News & Letters** Unique combination of worker and intellectual, published 10 times a year.....\$2.50 per year
- Bound volume of News & Letters** (1977-1984, or 1984-1987).....\$20.00 ea.

MAIL ORDERS TO:

News & Letters, 59 East Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, Ill. 60605

Enclosed find \$----- for the literature checked. (11/92)

Please add 85¢ for each item for postage. Ill. residents add 8% sales tax

NAME _____
 ADDRESS _____
 CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

News & Letters is available on microfilm from University Microfilms International, 300 Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

News & Letters, as well as other Marxist-Humanist literature, is available on tape for the blind. For information, write to News & Letters.

Black/Red View

by John Alan

A recent survey of African American opinion in South Central Los Angeles concluded that most people found "little relevancy in politics and a growing feeling of the unreal being real."

This concept of the "unreal being real" obviously didn't come from the mouths of philosophers who have discussed the meaning of reality in an alienated society, but came instead from the life experience of being Black and poor in urban America. The consciousness of the "unreality" of life is, in itself, the beginning of a movement to transform reality. In the words of the Czech philosopher Karel Kosik: "Man wants to live in authenticity and to realize authenticity" (*Dialectics of the Concrete*).

CIVIL RIGHTS ENERGIZING PRINCIPLE

To be human and not a thing was the energizing idea of the Civil Rights Movement. It was a movement which refused to be bound by laws, tradition or politics which stood in the way of its humanity, when it spontaneously challenged American civilization. Today, a quarter of a century after the height of that movement, its legacy has been rent asunder, particularly by two moments in American society in the 1990s: the confirmation of Clarence Thomas by the Senate to serve on the Supreme Court, and the Los Angeles rebellion. Clarence Thomas was selected to pull down the curtain on the Civil Rights Movement, while the Los Angeles rebellion sought a new beginning in the ongoing struggle for the full emancipation of Black Americans.

The rush by both Democrats and Republicans to confirm Thomas, the ultraconservative African American federal judge, after the brutal interrogation of Anita Hill by the Senate's judiciary committee, was an act of political racism and sexism concealed by a Black skin and translated into a political ideology of ultraconservatism.

While it is not difficult to see that the Los Angeles rebellion put American civilization on trial, it as well reconfirmed the fact that the Civil Rights Movement had itself fallen into the vortex of bourgeois politics, and thus was never fully developed. This was particularly true of the African American leadership which followed in its wake. It is they who the Los Angeles rebellion has also put on trial. The rebellion challenged the conceptual limit that that leadership placed upon the meaning of

Protest "weed and seed"

Los Angeles, Cal.—An overflow crowd of more than 200 angry residents of South Central L.A. thronged the halls and aisles of the Greater Bethany Community Church on Oct. 19 for a heated public hearing on the U.S. Justice Department-sponsored "Weed and Seed" program, the Bush administration's response to the Los Angeles rebellion.

The viciously-named "Weed and Seed" strategy has been aimed at "targeted neighborhoods" of large cities, with South-Central and Pico-Union/Koreatown in L.A. added to the list after the "riots." It proposes to—in Bush's own words—"join federal, state and local forces to 'weed out' the gang leaders, the violent criminals, and the drug dealers who plague our neighborhoods."

The "seed" component consists of money for social services, much of it transferred from other funds and here put under the administration of the Justice Department, thus "position[ing] the Department of Justice as the central political force determining urban policy in the United States, with all social agencies subordinated to law-enforcement agencies."* There is a strong emphasis on the concept of "Enterprise Zones," attracting businesses to set up low-wage jobs in the inner city through tax breaks and the relaxation of environmental and other regulations.

In response to this militaristic concept of a "solution" to the problems of poverty, despair, drugs, and crime, the community testimony was loud, articulate and brittle: Don't dare come in here and call our sons and brothers "weeds"! Don't dare give the racist police even more power over our lives!

"Two and a half years ago I was what the Justice Department would have labeled a weed," testified a former drug addict who now works as a substance abuse counselor. "If Weed and Seed is allowed to happen, it will destroy the lives of thousands of young people who could have been of help to their community." "Just give us the money, we'll solve our problems ourselves," one activist said.

The face of U.S. attorney Terree Bowers visibly contorted when a large group of young Black men wearing Crips/Bloods gang truce T-shirts entered the room. Fred Williams stated: "Weed and Seed is not a new concept. It's been tried in other cities and it has failed. We cannot accept anybody coming into the city who does not know anything about us trying to shove something down our throats.

"We will deal with our problems ourselves. You try to keep us down, but we keep coming together. We are the culmination of all the historical struggles of the African American people. And we have learned from what you did to Martin Luther King and Malcolm X. You see here that we do not have one leader. If you want to stop us, you'll have to cut us all down."

—Michelle Landau

* See "A Call to Reject the Federal Weed and Seed Program in Los Angeles," published by the Labor/Community Strategy Center, 14540 Haynes St., #200, Van Nuys, CA 91411.

Ongoing challenge of L.A. rebellion

Black freedom, a limit which essentially tried to bind the Black movement to the economic needs of capitalist production.

For more than two decades the African American leadership concentrated their efforts on having the Black movement and particularly themselves enter the mainstream of American politics. In their view, politics

was the only way to overcome racial inequality.

But in choosing to enter into the vortex of bourgeois politics, the revolutionary humanity of the Movement which had challenged the very foundations of bourgeois society was cast aside. For that mass movement, which refused to compromise with the goal of freedom now, the leadership substituted the illusion that politics, that is the administration of the state, is something neutral, something which happens outside of society, and which is not conditioned and ultimately controlled by the dominant class in society.

This decision to take the political road, to work within bourgeois society, created an ever widening gulf between Black leaders and Black masses. The series of smaller rebellions in Miami, in the early 1980s, was a signpost of where this would lead. Now the Los Angeles rebellion of 1992 has shown the deep chasm that exists not only between Black masses and the dominant bourgeois society, but also between Black masses and would-be Black leadership.

LESSONS FROM L.A. REBELLION

The Los Angeles rebellion tells us that, after almost thirty years of political activity, no combination of Black politicians and white liberal politicians, regardless of their substantial political power, has ever broken the barrier of race and class in this country. Thus, Los Angeles' African American Mayor Tom Bradley came into office primarily because of the 1965 Watts rebellion and the overt racism of Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty and Police Chief William Parker. But after twenty years in office, primarily managing the development of downtown Los Angeles in the interest of big capital, he will be leaving office after the 1992 Los Angeles rebellion, sparked by that same vicious police brutality, and an even more pervasive and deep poverty in the Black community of the 1990s than existed in the 1960s.

Further, the heritage of the African American leadership's decision to participate in bourgeois politics has led to the dominant class in that political amalgam being able to bring to the fore a Clarence Thomas to occupy the Supreme Court seat previously held by Thurgood Marshall, who came to that seat because of the power of the Civil Rights Movement. The lethal traps of bourgeois society stand before us.

These two events—the Los Angeles rebellion and the confirmation of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court—seem worlds apart, and in one sense they are. But in another, they are tightly entwined. Thomas' placement on the Court is bourgeois society's attempt to finally end the promise of the Civil Rights Movement. The Los Angeles rebellion speaks to the revolutionary humanity of that Black struggle for liberation and its search for new beginnings.

Police sweep projects



Youth searched in Chicago housing project.

Chicago, Ill.—There were no psychologists rushed in to counsel the traumatized children of the Cabrini-Green housing project when 7-year-old Dantrell Davis was shot down by a sniper while on his way to school. This wasn't the white northern suburbs. Black children and their parents struggled to make sense of the environment of senseless violence in which they live on their own.

There were no private moments of grief; the glare of media-driven public clamor to "do something" crowded in behind the full scale police incursion into Cabrini-Green, following the Oct. 13 murder of young Dantrell Davis. Instead, residents in the 10-story building from which Dantrell Davis was shot were given one day's notice to move out.

This, however, was only the beginning of the authoritarian sweeps of the 91-building complex. Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) director Vince Lane set the tone by an authoritarian call to deploy the National Guard in the projects! While the powers that be weren't, for the moment, ready to go that far, Lane wasted no time in seizing on the timing of public outrage at the shooting to violate the human rights of Cabrini-Green residents.

Since Oct. 20, 400 city and CHA police and Federal agents can be found on any given day "sweeping" Chicago's housing projects. So far, the sweeps have only produced a few guns and the arbitrary arrest of dozens of people. Through a gung-ho media, the rest of Chicago got a chance to see police intruders rush through the doors of residents' apartments, rudely disrupt their living space by overturning mattresses, and rummaging through closets and their personal belongings in dresser drawers.

The storm troopers had arrived, but they were confined to the project, for now, as the rest of Chicago looked on, rationalizing the authoritarianism in its midst with the nervous claim that "something had to be done."

—L.T.

Subscribe to
NEWS & LETTERS
Only \$2.50 a year
59 E. Van Buren, Chicago, IL 60605

On the 75th anniversary of 1917

Explore the meaning of the Russian Revolution in the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya

Lenin's Philosophic Preparation

"...The history of World War I—which, on the one hand caused the collapse of established Marxism (the German Social Democracy), and, on the other hand, led the most militant materialist of all, Lenin, to a new study of Hegel's idealism—has lessons for our day....While other revolutionaries ran around without reorganizing their thinking, Lenin

was eagerly looking for a new philosophic perspective...Lenin headed for the library to grapple with the works of Hegel, especially his *Science of Logic*...His *Abstract of Hegel's Logic* became the philosophic foundation for all serious writing that Lenin was to do during the rest of his life."

—from *Philosophy and Revolution*

The Masses' Self-Activity

"The greatest of all events were the March and November 1917 Russian Revolutions...the March Revolution was initiated by women. It was initiated, on International Women's Day, against the advice of all tendencies—Mensheviks, Bolsheviks, Anarchists, Social-Revolutionaries. Those five days that

topped the mighty empire demonstrate that it is never just a question of leaders, no matter how great. Rather, it is masses in motion."

—from *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*

The Stalinist Counter-Revolution and State-Capitalism

The Moscow Trials were the culmination of the counter-revolution that we saw developing early in the changed relations of production. A hangman's noose, rather than a full army, sufficed because only one of the parties to this conflict was armed. Whatever had been left of the October Revolution, was exterminated and the proletarian state overthrown, not so much by the execution of the Old

Bolsheviks (although that is always a manifestation of counter-revolution) but by clearing a place in the process of production for the new class. That place could have been cleared for the "classless intelligentsia" only where such a full-blown class had already come into existence, only where the method of production itself called it forth.

—from *Marxism and Freedom*

To order see literature, ad page 7.

Britain's economy hit by mine closures

Oxford, England—Job losses have been constantly in the news in Britain through the summer and autumn, as an already depressed economy slid deeper into a slump. Officially, 2.84 million people or 10.1% of the workforce are unemployed, but once youth and married women are included, a truer figure is 3.99 million or 13.7%.

For a long while, the public mood seemed to be one of numbed resignation. One of the main ingredients of Thatcherite ideological pollution is the myth that it is impossible to defy "market forces." When British Coal announced its plans to shut down 31 mines, putting 30,000 miners out of work and leaving a residual industry of 17,000 miners working in 19 pits, it delivered a shock that changed consciousness in many different sections of society.

Protests were raised on every side: from bishops of the Church of England, from capitalist newspapers and even from conservative members of Parliament, one of whom called the decision "a callous display of the wicked face of capitalism."

Trade union marches and rallies have been held up and down the country. Those taking part included many people on their first demonstration, as well as seasoned activists. The slogans include "Coal not Dole" and "Sack the Tories, not the Miners."

This is an extraordinary moment of widespread disenchantment with the ruling capitalist ideology. The issue is not only the fate of the miners, but the livelihood of everyone who is already unemployed, or who faces the threat of unemployment. The Conservative government of John Major has made a partial retreat, allowing 21 of the mines to remain open awaiting a new inquiry.

The immediate need is to halt the pit closures and save the miners' jobs, and this is most likely to be achieved by forcing the government to subsidize the coal industry, both on social grounds and to maintain important energy resource for the future. The Tory government may give in, or even fall and be replaced by a Labour one, but the problem of mass unemployment as a permanent feature of contemporary capitalism will remain.

Coal mining in Britain has a long history, of workers' struggles against capital under both private and state ownership, and of battles of ideas between different currents of thought within the workers' movement. Since the great strike against pit closures of 1984-85, the min-



More than 150,000 miners and their supporters marched in London, Oct. 25, denouncing the government's economic policy.

ers have been split between the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which conducted the strike, and the Union of Democratic Mineworkers, set up as a strike-breaking organization. Within the NUM, vanguardism and reformism are both powerful influences, but there is also a tradition of direct democracy, decentralized organization and fighting for workers' control of industry, which can be taken up and developed by the miners and their supporters in the present crisis.

—Richard Bunting

Black World

(continued from page 1)

tion which didn't, as the Left had, take the ground of either "aggressor" (a term she critiqued as bourgeois), by (a) not allowing general opposition to both nuclear-armed poles of world state-capitalism to obscure knowing the concrete class nature of those claiming to be "defenders" of the Cuban Revolution; and (b) knowing that that, too, is insufficient without projecting the principles of a totally new society for which you stand. Those elemental socialist principles had not been realized in the Cuban Revolution but instead were diverted by Castro.

Secondly, Dunayevskaya saw that what was new in the "liberalism" of Kennedy's "New Frontier" was the latest guise U.S. authoritarianism had taken. A friend of the Kennedy family, Senator Joe McCarthy, had in the "liberal" young President, who as a Senator refused to vote to censure McCarthy, a continuator of the ideological war against "subversion." The "new and deeper struggle," Kennedy declared in the period of the CIA's failed Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, "(is) the struggle that is taking place every day, without arms or fanfare in thousands of villages and markets and classrooms [Dunayevskaya's emphasis]...Subversion, infiltration and a host of other tactics can steadily advance, picking off vulnerable areas one by one in situations which do not permit our own armed intervention."

This is beyond the Cuban struggle, Dunayevskaya claimed; it goes to the core of making the American revolution. Which is why, thirdly, in the midst of the Crisis, she saw that support of the Black freedom struggle had become more than a "principle" (to which the Left agreed) but was the very dialectic of making the American revolution. Not only did she recognize that Kennedy's totalitarian declarations were aimed at it, the student youth joining it and the Left, but that the Black dimension was the "power of negativity" which challenged the U.S. totalitarianism of the racist South and that emanating from the White House.

'AGE OF ABSOLUTES'

The key to Dunayevskaya's praxis in the Crisis is the dialectical need for reorganization of one's theory and practice in the face of new world-historic moments. Before the Cuban Missile Crisis, Dunayevskaya had been instrumental in bringing out the News and Letters publication on the new stage of the Civil Rights Movement, the "Freedom Rides" that shook up the segregated South. Included in Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves was Dunayevskaya's News & Letters editorial, "The State of Civil Rights, U.S.A., 1961," which exposed "the road to totalitarianism" this country was taking in the wake of Kennedy's Bay of Pigs debacle.

The Cuban Missile Crisis was the most startling proof of Dunayevskaya's contention that we live in an "age of absolutes." Her praxis at that critical moment was also "proof" of her later philosophic articulation that genu-

inely new beginnings in thought and in revolution can only arise and transform such an epoch through the dialectic of absolute negativity inherent in it.

The "power of negativity" embraced new, deeper impulses in the course of the turbulent 1960s, new subjective impulses such as the Black women's liberationist who returned to the question that figured so centrally in Dunayevskaya's praxis during the Cuban Missile Crisis, namely, what happens after the revolution? Dunayevskaya's critique of the retrogression of the Cuban Revolution under Castro now came from another quarter and contained a critique of male domination in the Black Liberation Movement: "I'm not thoroughly convinced that Black Liberation, the way it's being spelled out, will really and truly mean my liberation. I'm not so sure that when it comes time 'to put down the gun,' that I won't have a broom shoved in my hands, as so many of my Cuban sisters have."

The end of the Cold War does not mean that ours is any less an "age of absolutes." On the contrary, the single world mastery of U.S. capitalist-imperialism signifies its culmination. Owing to the present new historic moment, one defined as much by the Los Angeles rebellion as by the collapse of Communism, Bush's "new world order" quickens the urgency to work out "absolute negativity as new beginning" as the revolutionary politics for the new age of absolutes we have entered.

The question of what happened after the revolution in Cuba, and Castro's Cuba today, will be the subject of a future column.

Report from Israel

Ramat-Gan, Israel—The general situation in Israel is much better (since June, 1992) than what it would have been if we hadn't had a new government. Our last right-wing government ruled many years, and managed to destroy the society and economy. The present government also has faults, but I hope we already had the worst.

I'm sending you some photographs from the newspaper, where you see Palestinian demonstrators being hit and shot. My friend that was there told me that one demonstrator that fell and lay on his back was shot. A few days after that, he died in the hospital. A reporter from the Communist newspaper took a photo of the demonstrator being shot. Her camera was taken from her by someone. As she took this photo of a policeman doing what he is not allowed. Soldiers and police are forbidden to shoot from the minute there is no danger from the person. Luckily the event was photographed by another camera too, so it cannot be denied.

Many crimes are committed in the occupied territories. The army gives the public false information (or in other words, lies.) They say two Arabs were shot dead by the army after throwing stones and after being asked to stop. Usually some of it is true (they did throw stones). Many times the real stories are different. In some demonstrations where I took part, the story in the news was very different.

—Activist

Discussion article: on nationalism and socialism

Reading the July edition of your paper was, as always, interesting. Of particular note were the sections devoted to your tasks and programme for the coming year.*

It was therefore all the more confusing to find a glaring omission amongst your considerations. What place, may I ask, does the national question occupy in your thoughts? Certainly, in the past, News and Letters has been one of the few Left organizations in the Western world to provide some sort of rational analysis of national liberation movements. Yet here we are, with Europe fragmenting at one end whilst the richer states move towards an increased centralization in the teeth of national opposition, and somehow you overlook it.

I would be the first to admit that possibly, from a U.S. perspective, this may not seem such a pressing matter. Yet from elsewhere around the globe, faced as they are with a "New World Order" imposed by American arms, helped by the former colonial powers, many nations must be concerned for their fragile independence.

Take a few examples closer to both our homes. Renato Constantino summarizes the effects of U.S. colonialism in the post-Second World War Philippines, saying it "manifested itself most harmfully in the myths that were deeply ingrained in the Filipino consciousness: that the United States is the land of opportunity and fair play, that the Americans come not as conquerors, but as friends to give...democracy, education, roads and sanitation and to train them in self-government..."

J.M. Blaut perceives an even deeper malaise affecting Puerto Rican nationalists. They cannot even agree about the validity of their struggle, for: "dogmatism has emerged in Puerto Rican Marxist scholarship. A few scholars argue that Puerto Rico was not fully capitalist at the time it was invaded by the United States... hence it was absorbed... before it could become a bona fide nation, with genuine national consciousness. The implication would be that Puerto Rico is not now a bona fide nation in political terms and that this fact, not the immense power and imperialist policies of the United States, accounts for the fact that the independence movement has not thus far been successful."

These distortions also have a British perspective. Otherwise vibrant independence movements in Scotland and Wales suffer from similar problems. Both are split over the degree of nationhood they wish to regain. Centuries of colonization are used to justify dependency theories which stress that devolution of decision making will alleviate inequalities of an economy geared to exploitation by Westminster.

The continuing occupation of Ireland has led to a situation where civil liberties in all four countries have been eroded to an extent unparalleled anywhere in the Western world. Nevertheless, government ministers in the nominally "Free" State constantly seek further concessions to Crown officials in order to demonstrate their willingness to find a solution to "the problem."

Introducing Constantino, Istvan Meszaros quotes Claro M. Recto: "Soon after the Second World War, there was in the United States a three pronged attack on labour unions, civil liberties and communism, all in the name of democracy and, later, of freedom. The campaign spread... After...years of watching the dexterous manipulation of these words, it should no longer be difficult for many of us to realize our appalling naivete..."

The lesson is there to be learned from one of the world's oldest and most skillful imperial powers. Any moves towards social justice, let alone socialism, is doomed to failure in a state bent on imperial expansion. Yet when the importance of national liberation movements are fully appreciated as fulcrums capable of destroying unjust systems, as Marx saw so clearly in the case of England and Ireland, then once again the forces of reaction will be forced back on the defensive.

Nationalism can certainly be a double-edged sword. In the hands of the Right it becomes an instrument of fascism. But for the Left, there is always the potential of its becoming yet another unifying factor in defeating oppression.

At the very least, Left organizations ought to clarify their attitudes towards it, for, as a recent (but deeply flawed) study points out: "If the Left does not succeed in imposing its definition...then this will be supplanted by a rival [one]. The political implications...form a crucial element in the opposition of Left and Right."

Jim Clayson
London, England

* Editor's note: Copies of our Draft for Perspectives, 1992-93, entitled "Spontaneity, Philosophy, and Organization: The Test of Today's Crises" are available from N&L.

Rigoberta Menchu in the Marxist-Humanist Archives

It was always said, "Poor Indians, they cannot speak for themselves so we will speak for them." This is a lie, as now in practice we Indians have a voice, we know how to criticize and how to think.

We know that Indians have our Mayan science in which our ancestors passed on to us their love of nature; we have our beliefs and no one can take these away. We defend them both now when we are at war, and later when we are in a new society.

Guatemalan Revolutionaries Speak, a News & Letters pamphlet, published March, 1983

The East European revolutions three years later

(continued from page 1)

Russia is now following suit with what it calls "voucherization." The privatization program in Hungary has never considered this possibility, relying more on direct investment by foreign capital. In Poland the government is proceeding more slowly with privatization and has not yet decided to what extent "people's shares" should be issued. I mention all this as a clear example of how people's minds could be poisoned with pretenses of enrichment, the purpose of course being to make them adherents to the "new order."

CRISIS IN POLITICS AND IN THOUGHT

With the exception of former East Germany, which is in a special position caused by German unification, the political setup in each of the East European countries is characterized by the emergence of a vast number of political parties. Many of them are not representative of any significant social group and are therefore quite small. This leads to the fragmentation of political life, which makes coalitions necessary and enhances the stature of small groups.

Left parties (even if the Communists are excluded) are not without importance, but they are not strong enough to influence in a meaningful way the decision of parliaments. Even the Communist parties, most of whom have disposed of the word "Communist" in their titles, adhere to the principles of the "market economy" and praise the advantages of private property.

Ideologically, a total void has emerged after the collapse of the Communist regimes. Under the pretext of uprooting the evils of Communist thought—which for 40 years was imposed as "Marxist-Leninism," a most falsified version of Marxism—representatives of various conservative and rightist thought are being praised, translated, and published, from F.A. Hayek to Karl Popper to such long-forgotten religious philosophers as Berdyayev.

Links to Marxist thinking are being preserved only in small left groups. The fate of the outstanding Czech Marxist philosopher Karel Kosik is symptomatic: expelled from his university chair in 1970, Kosik was reinstated in 1990 only to be told in July, 1992 that the faculty of philosophy had no more funds for his post.

THE FORCES OF HISTORY

Today, when not only the euphoric mood of those now faraway days of the "velvet revolution" of November, 1989 are a thing of the past, but a great part of the masses are expressing their disillusionment with what has taken place since then, we have to face above all two questions: 1) Why did the situation develop as it did? and 2) What now? Though our answers may sound tentative, we have to attempt to provide them.

The East European revolutions started as early as 1953, with the uprising of the East German workers. This revolt had been preceded by mass demonstrations of Czech workers during the first days of June

of that year, which espoused openly anti-government and anti-party slogans. Raya Dunayevskaya was the only one to recognize the East German revolt as "the beginning of the end of Russian totalitarianism" and stated: "Above all, it was the regaining of the workers' confidence in the struggle for freedom. The East Germans wrote a glorious page in this struggle for they answered, in an unmistakable



Street peddler in Warsaw.

affirmative, CAN man achieve freedom out of the totalitarianism of our age?****

However, it took a whole period of 36 years before the East European freedom movements could ripen and bear fruit by overturning the Communist regimes. This liberation struggle, which ranged from the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and Polish uprisings of 1956, 1970, 1976 and 1980 to the "Prague Spring" movement of 1968 and the "velvet revolution" of 1989, can be viewed either as an incessant struggle erupting from time to time at uneven intervals, or as a slowly maturing process that suddenly broke out and caused the oppressive regimes to collapse.

At the same time, while the individual revolts were naturally not without important consequences, the East European Communist system had to reach a certain degree of development and be "hollowed out" before collapsing. External forces, such as those coming from other parts of world capitalist society, played a less important role—which does not mean we should underestimate the strength of the attrition between the two poles of state-capitalism.

What must be kept in mind, however, is that the leaden lid of uniformity imposed by the Soviet party-and-government system on the whole of Eastern Europe did not erase the differing historic developments in these countries, as seen in the variety of cultural and social strands between them which survived through the end of the 1980s. Whereas Romania and Bulgaria manifested the all-encompassing control of society by the Party, Poland gave birth to the incomparable phenomenon of Solidarity. Czechoslovakia, meanwhile, has always been proud of having a far more democratic past than any other country in the region. In spite of the seeming monolithic unity of the "Communist bloc" when facing the West, these differences appear to be one of those "disruptive" forces that helped overthrow the system.

THE YEAR OF REVOLUTIONS

The crucial moment came in 1989. At the end of 1988 the "gang of four"—East Germany's Honecker, Czechoslovakia's Husak, Bulgaria's Zivkov, and Romania's Ceausescu—stood immovable at the top of their respective parties, while Poland experienced a wave of strikes and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party elected a new secretary-general to replace the ailing Janos Kadar.

The policy of his replacement, Karoly Grosz, was that opposition groups were not only allowed to form, but they could also organize demonstrations. This may have been part of the Party's strategy to retreat in order to attack again. However, it was a symptom of the changed times that it did not succeed in this, and the newly formed opposition groups and parties—aided by television and other media—began "taking over" in the streets.

During the same period, a new wave of strikes broke out in Poland as workers demanded the legalization of Solidarity. In early 1989 Lech Walesa used his authority to have the strikes called off in exchange for a series of "round table" meetings with the government. Though representatives of Solidarity came to these meetings with the sole aim of obtaining legal recognition of their movement, the government asked for elections as soon as possible in the hope that a short pre-election campaign would lead to Solidarity's defeat. However, the election that followed resulted in the overwhelming victory of Solidarity. If nothing else had happened in the second half of 1989, what occurred in Poland and Hungary would still have been regarded as spectacular and historic.

By May 1989 the Hungarian regime began to cut the barbed wire fence on its border to Austria. This was like a signal for East Germans, as massive numbers of East Germans tried to escape to the West through Hungary. It provided a catalyst for changes inside East Germany, as demonstrations broke out against the regime. By Oct. 2, 20,000 demonstrators came together in the largest mass protest since June, 1953. By Oct. 9, army units and militia went on alert against a demonstration of 70,000 in Leipzig. Rather than demoralizing the population, however, the government's violence mobilized opposition. By Nov. 9, 300,000 people were demonstrating.

**** See Raya Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom*, from 1776 until Today (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), p. 251.

The Berlin Wall came down the same day.

The events in Czechoslovakia unfolded even more rapidly. After a peaceful procession of students remembering the 50th anniversary of a brutal Nazi persecution of university students was met with a violent assault by special police units, a prairie fire of protest actions broke out. DON'T WAIT—ACT! was the slogan of the art students. By Nov. 27, the entire country was on strike. Two days later a new Communist Party Secretary General—Urbanek—told party members they would not concede to the people's demands. On Dec. 2, they did just that.

The speed of change took the opposition by surprise. Civic Forum was founded two days after the students' march and represented a broad coalition of all anti-Party groups. At first they stated they did not aspire to any ministerial post. One week later they told the new Prime Minister that "they might be able to come to an agreement with him." As in Poland and Hungary, there followed round table talks. In Poland, these talks lasted two months; in Czechoslovakia, two days.

WHERE TO NOW?

The rapid collapse of East European Communism seemed to open the door for new possibilities of social development. This has not, however, occurred. In an as-yet-unpublished essay, Karel Kosik holds that "The basic weakness of the 1989 changes and the entire development that followed lies in the fact that people's dissatisfaction did not turn into a people's movement and did not change into a substantiality which outlasts ephemeral protests and goes on, goes on as a source of political imagination and civic activity."

Instead, the "material" took over—a part of the Communist heritage with its false insistence on "the material" as the basis of life and society. West European capital moved in quickly, not with the promised level of investments, but simply to exploit the market the new rulers made immediately accessible by opening the borders in the name of "freedom."

What is needed now is a meeting of a movement "from above"—i.e., clarifying the minds of women and men—with that of the movement "from below," the workers' struggles that develop during the process of economic restructuring. The clarification has to start with showing that Marx's Marxism is the philosophy of liberation. This effort must be connected with the movement "from below" and base itself on its ideas and initiatives. At the same time, it must be based on the historic-philosophic ground provided by the movement from theory which helped rediscover Marx's Marxism as a philosophy of "revolution-in-permanence."

A first step on the part of those trying to meet this goal is the distribution and discussion of Raya Dunayevskaya's major work, *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao*, soon to appear in a Slovak translation that will include an introduction by Karel Kosik. Generating discussion on this book in neighboring countries will do much to disseminate the ideas of Marxist-Humanism.

The East European revolutions did not fully pose the question of "what happens the day after" the overthrow of the old regime. Thus those who still keep to genuine Marxism and are about to make acquaintance with the ideas of Marxist-Humanism are faced with the difficult problem of contending both with the heritage of the Communist past and the "wild capitalism" of the future.

The Philosophic Moment
of Marxist-Humanism
two historic-philosophic writings
by Raya Dunayevskaya
To order see lit. ad page 7

HOW TO CONTACT NEWS & LETTERS

CHICAGO: 59 E. Van Buren, Rm. 707
Chicago, IL 60605 (312-663-0839)
Call for meeting information

DETROIT: P.O. Box 27205
Detroit, MI 48227
Thursdays, 7:00 p.m.—Central Methodist Church,
Woodward and Adams

OAKLAND: P.O. Box 3345
Oakland, CA 94609 (415-658-1448)
Mondays, 7:00 p.m.
390 27th St., Oakland
(between Telegraph & Broadway)

LOS ANGELES: P.O. Box 29194
Los Angeles, CA 90029
Sundays, 5:00 p.m.
Echo Park United Methodist Church
1226 N. Alvarado (north of Sunset)

NEW YORK: P.O. Box 196
Grand Central Station
New York, NY 10163 (212-663-3631)
Sundays, 6:30 p.m.
Washington Square Church
135 W. 4th St. (East door), Manhattan

FLINT: P.O. Box 3384
Flint, MI 48502

1. A. A TITLE OF PUBLICATION: NEWS & LETTERS			
B. PUBLICATION NO. 0028-8969			
2. DATE OF FILING: Oct. 1, 1991			
3. FREQUENCY OF ISSUE: Monthly except bi-monthly January-February, August-September. A. NO. OF ISSUES PUBLISHED ANNUALLY: 10. B. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: \$2.50			
4. LOCATION OF KNOWN OFFICE OF PUBLICATION: 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago IL 60605			
5. LOCATION OF THE HEADQUARTERS OR GENERAL BUSINESS OFFICES OF THE PUBLISHERS: 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605			
6. NAMES AND COMPLETE ADDRESSES OF PUBLISHER, EDITOR, AND MANAGING EDITOR: News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605. Olga Domanski and Peter Wermuth (Co-National Organizers) 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605, Eugene Walker, 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605			
7. OWNER, News & Letters, an Illinois not for profit corporation, 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605			
8. KNOWN BONDHOLDERS, MORTGAGEES AND OTHER SECURITY HOLDERS OWNING OR HOLDING ONE PERCENT OR MORE OF TOTAL AMOUNT OF BONDS, MORTGAGES OR OTHER SECURITIES: None			
10. EXTENT AND NATURE OF CIRCULATION:			
	Average	Actual	
	No. Copies	No. Copies of	
	Each Issue	Single Issue	
	During	Published	
	Preceding	Nearest to	
	12 Months	Filing Date	
A. TOTAL NO. COPIES PRINTED:	6550	6500	
B. PAIR CIRCULATION			
1. Sales through dealers and carriers		2513	
street vendors and counter sales	2507	3434	
2. Mail Subscriptions	3485	5947	
C. TOTAL PAID CIRCULATION:	5995		
D. FREE DISTRIBUTION by mail, carrier or other means samples, complimentary and other			
free copies	260	234	
E. TOTAL DISTRIBUTION (Sum of C & D)	6250	6200	
F. COPIES NOT DISTRIBUTED:			
1. Office use, left over, unaccounted			
spoiled after printing	300	200	
2. Returns from news agents	None	None	
G. TOTAL	6550	6550	
11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.			
Signature and title of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager or Owner, Olga Domanski.			
12. FOR COMPLETION BY PUBLISHERS MAILING AT THE REGULAR RATES (Section 132.121, Postal Service Manual) 39 U.S.C. 3626 provides in pertinent part: "No person who would have been entitled to mail matter under former section 4539 of this title shall mail such matter at the rates provided under this sub-section unless he files annually with the Postal Service a written request for permission to mail such matter at such rates." In accordance with the provisions of this statute, I hereby request permission to mail the publication names in Item 1 at the phased postage rates presently authorized by 39 U.S.C. 3626. Signature and title of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager or Owner.			
Olga Domanski Business Manager			

Protests across the U.S. sink the Columbus myth!

New York

On Oct. 12, all over America hundreds of thousands of people rallied and demonstrated to not only repudiate the interminable invasion, which began with the arrival of Columbus to this land, but also to celebrate the people's resistance to it. New York City was not an exception. Over a thousand people converged at the United Nations for a rally organized by the League of Indigenous Sovereign Nations.

The presence of Indigenous people from South, Central and North America, Blacks, Latinos and a group of Filipino youth, showed the different dimensions affected by the confrontation between the oppressor and the oppressed, between repression and emancipation.

Unfortunately, the organizers were more concerned with getting a seat in the United Nations for "Native-Americans" than with the idea of freedom, of a new human society. Their attacks were pointed towards the "White man"; capitalism was not the issue for this organization that claims to represent the indigenous people of the U.S.

Domitila Chungara, a revolutionary Quechuan woman who all her life has fought on behalf of the Bolivian peasants and miners, said in an interview on the "500th anniversary" a few years ago: "All the struggles in America have only one mother, that for me is like a tree trunk whose roots are the capitalist system imposed in our worlds. Against this system we have to unite, we have to cut its roots which are destroying humanity...and create a new society where the exploitation of man by man and the discrimination against women doesn't exist anymore, and where human life is respected."

—Carlos Varela

San Francisco Bay Area

The City of Berkeley replaced Columbus Day with "Indigenous People's Day" and sponsored a corresponding weekend celebration. On Columbus Day itself, the annual parade in San Francisco was disrupted by protesters, and a police car was torched.

Hundreds attended the "International Tribunal of Indigenous People and Oppressed Nations in the USA," Oct. 2-4, sponsored by the American Indian Movement (AIM) which put "Columbus' legacy on trial." Participants were there from all over the U.S. and as far away as Germany. The Tribunal's highpoint was the panel on the closing day, "500 Years of Resistance Through Women's Eyes," where Lourdes Lugo, a Puerto Rican independence activist, said, "We have to fight against all those oppressions (of youth, women, people of color), yet never forget about liberation of humanity as a whole."

This contrasted to the tenor of a Berkeley campus teach-in on the steps of Sproul Hall Oct. 7. Several speakers denounced the historical oppression of Native Americans and Blacks in the Americas. One activist, however, denounced working class white Americans for

Gay liberation must aim to totally change society

Chicago, Ill.—I attended a debate between International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Queer Nation called "Queer Nation and Identity Politics: A Debate" at the Midwest Radical Scholars and Activists Conference here Oct. 25. As a gay liberationist, naturally I was curious since Queer Nation is a radical, direct action gay organization.

The ISO member, Lance Selfa, critiqued identity politics in contrast to Marxism. He said that Marxists working for a socialist transformation really want a radical democracy, and that by dividing the gay community up into lots of different factions, i.e., ACT-UP, Queer Nation, Men of Color Together, etc., we fight with each other instead of our capitalist oppressors. In much the same way, he said, the women's movement was broken down in the 1970s. He gave the example of how the San Francisco Queer Nation chapter became divided when two lesbian cops wanted to join it. The white men were in favor of admitting them and the women and people of color were against it. Thus the group is now polarized.

He criticized Queer Nation for trying to fit into straight society instead of totally uprooting it. But what I actually heard him saying was that he opposes independent struggles and is in favor of gay activists just doing what the ISO says. :T)

Lisa, a philosophy student at Roosevelt University, represented Queer Nation. I am sure that she did not speak for all members of Queer Nation when she stated that, "Theories of politics don't work," and "I see no relation between the struggles of Black people, the struggles of women and the struggles of queers." She said the only politics she knows is the politics of the street. Using very visible direct actions like mall-ins, (mass shopping excursions by gay families), and kiss-ins, Queer Nation provides the public with an opportunity to see a too-often invisible community.

When I asked one member of Queer Nation why there were no people of color at this debate, he asked me if I knew "that this is a Radical Scholars Conference!"

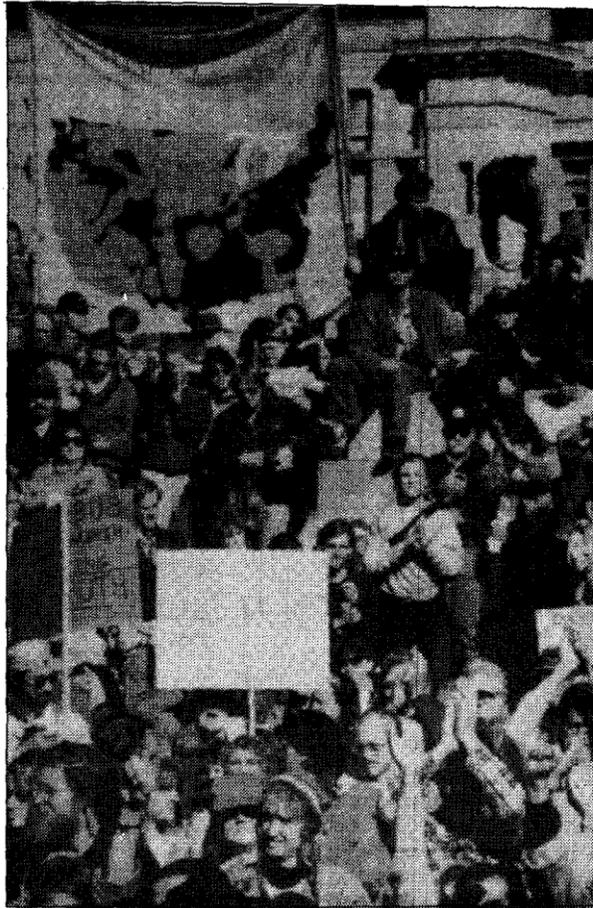
A welfare mother shared her fears that an organization like the ISO might put trade-union issues before her's and she wouldn't want her concerns as a lesbian to be ignored and then be told what to do on top of that. My problem with the ISO position was similar; I don't want "the revolution" to undermine the independent movement for gay liberation. I want to be able to live my life without homophobia and I have to fight for that

supposedly carrying out the oppressive policies of the establishment.

The largest event—and in some ways most open to spontaneous expression—happened Oct. 11, the day before Columbus Day. Some ten thousand demonstrators turned out to protest the annual reenactment at Aquatic Park of Columbus' landing.

After this rally, the participants marched to the Civic Center, picking up demonstrators along the way. Here, women speakers, this time Native Americans, declared, "Women shouldn't be treated inferior to men, and should be included equally in decision-making."

—Participant



Over 1,500 people filled the Denver, Colorado Civic Center Park vowing to lie down in front of the official Columbus Day parade, until 20 minutes before the starting time, when the parade's organizers gave in to the demands of the American Indian Movement and canceled the parade. AIM spokesman Glen Morris said, "We will never allow another Columbus Day parade in this city. This is proof we can stop it."

every day. If there aren't groups like Queer Nation and Act-Up, who will fight for gay liberation?

Some of Queer Nation's literature does link together homophobia and racism. But on the other hand, it bothers me that they don't address the link between capitalism and homophobia, or connect their struggle to uprooting society. To me gay liberation is connected to other struggles because it aims at totally changing society. Where I'm stuck as a gay liberationist and revolutionary is that the revolutionaries don't recognize gay liberation as an important aspect of social change, and groups like Queer Nation don't see their relation to

—Tom Williamson

Chicago City College students protest class cuts

Chicago, Ill.—Filling the streets with chants of "No education, no peace!" over 300 angry City College students from several schools throughout Chicago marched on Oct. 13 from Harold Washington College to the corporate headquarters of Helene Curtis to demand that Ronald Gidwitz, the company's president, be ousted from his position as City College board Chairman, and his plan to turn their colleges into a primarily non-college credit job training system be dropped. These "reforms" have resulted in 700 class cuts in the fall semester alone, turning away 15,000 students.

Summing up the mood, a student said, "We earn our rights the old fashioned way—we fight for them." Many signs attacked the view that they could only be a "trained work force" for dead end jobs like, "Big Business is Big Brother to City Colleges," "Opportunity: \$4.25 hr. jobs," above a cartoon of a human being who is transformed into a robot as he enters a door labeled "Truman College" and comes out a door labeled "Gidwitz University." Punning on Gidwitz's name, Olive Harvey students held a banner declaring, "Down with Get-rich!"

This demonstration of Black, Latino, and white working-class youth came after a year of an increasingly bitter struggle to defend their ever shrinking educational opportunities since Gidwitz was appointed.

At the core of his plan is what a Chamber of Commerce publication described as "a civic job training mechanism that asks businesses what skills they

DeKalb, Ill.

Despite continuous police threats and presence, over 200 Northern Illinois University students walked out of class on Columbus Day, Oct. 12, and staged a teach-in at the Martin Luther King Commons Mall. Lakota, Algonquin, various Latin American as well as Black American and Marxist-Humanist perspectives were articulated at the teach-in. Then students gathered at the Center for Latino Studies where a new mural was unveiled symbolizing the need for world peace and liberation.

—Marna Leber

MSU conference report

Feminist theories collide

Lansing, Mich.—About 100 women, mostly graduate students, met at Michigan State University Oct. 17-18 for the provocatively titled conference, "The Politics of Feminism: Beyond Universalism and Particularism." The conference had originated in a feminist theory seminar where students had raised critical questions about the political ramifications of postmodernist feminist theory. Questions about the relations between theory and politics reemerged throughout the weekend.

Maria Lugones kicked off the discussion in her keynote speech, "Purity - Impurity and Separation: Reconception of Separation and the Logic of the Politics of Identity." Drawing on Gloria Anzaldúa's concept of *mestizas*, women on the borders of identities, like Chicanas, Lugones discussed the "interlocking oppressions" of women's experiences. Dominant groups ignore such experiences by separating society into rigid categories which turn white, straight people into the "pure" and women of color and lesbians into the "impure" or mixed—*mestizaje*. Lugones urged Latina lesbians and others to use *mestizaje* as the basis for resistance.

Conference workshops ranged from feminist theory panels to workshops on the intersections of racial and sexual oppression to a presentation of Grace Poore's *Voices Heard Sisters Unseen*, a video on domestic violence against lesbians, prostitutes and deaf women. At a workshop on "Parallels and Intersections of Oppression," Papusa Molina argued for not only tolerating difference, but embracing it. Differences included everything from how we dress to cultural, racial and class differences. One woman raised the abstractness of the concept of "embracing differences" when she asserted that she would not embrace the difference of the Ku Klux Klan.

Other troubling and contradictory aspects of the weekends' discussions on interlocking oppressions and concepts of difference came out at a workshop Sunday called, "Walking the Talk: Feminism Across the Borders."

When a question was raised as to why this conference didn't attract Black women, a fiery debate ensued. Several Latina and Indian poststructuralists argued that, "By bringing that up, you are trying to make us invisible, you're perpetuating the dichotomy of Black/white as being the only racism in this country." However, other women asked why recognizing the specificity and importance of Black women's historic struggles for freedom in the U.S. meant denying other struggles and forms of racism.

The conference was important because in nearly all the sessions women who had been studying feminist theory while also active politically brought up challenging questions which call for much more discussion. Many of them revolved around the troubling positions we can end up in when concepts of identity, difference and diversity become abstract—disconnected from historic struggles to totally uproot oppression.

—Laurie and Maya

need and then develops programs to deliver those skills."

Yet the only thing this great innovation has been able to deliver so far is class-cuts, larger class sizes, and threats of more stringent entrance requirements. The 700 classes closed this semester were on top of 435 sections closed the previous semester to maximize class sizes. Moreover Gidwitz closed 67 off-campus classes. These literacy, English as a second language, and high school equivalency classes are supposedly the types of "remedial" programs Gidwitz is for, yet he has suggested closing over 200 more.

When the march reached the front door of the Helene Curtis building disagreements broke out between the organizers of the march and most of the marchers. The organizers had intended to rally the marchers to support the class action suit they had already filed, to support a non-binding resolution being made in the City Council, and to continue marching. The students, however, blocked the doors, and locked arms shouting, "Hell no, we won't go!" when police arrived with a paddy wagon.

During the march students spontaneously chanted, "No justice, no peace!" despite the more reformist slogans coming from the bullhorns. This division between leaders and ranks was expressed most starkly when an organizer tried to lead a chant of "Resolution!" but the crowd, following the lead of a young Black man, insisted on chanting "Revolution!"

—Jim Guthrie

Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

In a flowering of Native American consciousness not seen so sharply in many years, indigenous peoples organized demonstrations throughout the Americas around Oct. 12 to denounce the 500th anniversary of Columbus' arrival in the Western hemisphere and to celebrate half a millenia of resistance and revolt.

● **GUATEMALA**—Demonstrations were held in at least four cities. The Quiche activist and leader, Rigoberta Menchu, said that native peoples were marking "500 years of despoilment, destruction and discrimination." When she was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize four days later, she made clear her position on the struggle for self-determination: "I may not share pacifist ideas completely, that man should not act. I think he should, especially when it is war in America." Menchu hailed the freedom struggle of 30 million Indians in North and South America today: "We're not myths from the past...We are people, and we want to be respected." Menchu said she would use the prize to focus world attention on the over-three-decades-long civil war in Guatemala, where a brutal right-wing military has killed over 100,000 people, most of them Indians.

New horrors in Bosnia

The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina moves daily to new levels of horror. Organizations such as the UN are predicting up to 400,000 civilian casualties this winter from among those huddled in towns besieged by the genocidal Serbian forces. Already 40,000, most of them civilians, have died in the war in the former Yugoslavia, and two million people are refugees. The main victims are the Bosnian Muslim Slavs, who have been subjected to massacre, torture, concentration camps, gang rape and sexual slavery by their Serbian conquerors.

By Oct. 10, when the mainly Muslim town of Bosanski Brod fell to Serbian forces and was burned and pillaged by the victors, a still newer horror began to unfold. Croatian forces, up to now allied with the Muslim-led Bosnian government, struck a deal and suddenly retreated without informing the Bosnian defenders, opening the lines for the Serbs to overrun the city.

By late October, people were speaking of a Serbian-Croatian Entente to carve up Bosnia. Before the war broke out in April, Bosnia's population was 44% Muslim Slav, 31% Serb and 17% Croat. Today, Serbs control 70% of the territory, from which they have killed or driven out other groups as part of their so-called "ethnic cleansing." Croatian forces control most of the rest of Bosnia, except for Sarajevo and a few surrounding cities in central Bosnia, plus a pocket around Bihac in the northwest.

The poorly armed Bosnian forces are on the verge of being overrun completely, as they now have to battle Croatian as well as Serbian forces. The UN and the so-called international community have done nothing except deliver token food aid and impose an economic blockade on Serbia. In a situation reminiscent of Spain in the 1930s, the bourgeois democracies have condemned aggression verbally, but refuse to allow arms sales to the victim, all in the name of a general ban on arms sales. This gives the continued advantage to the well-armed Serbian forces.

Indian protests sweep Latin America

● **PANAMA**—3,000 Native Americans marched to the center of Panama City. They denounced celebrations of the Columbus anniversary and called for a "multi-national, multi-cultural, multi-lingual country."

● **MEXICO**—Indians from all over the hemisphere gathered in the old Aztec center of Teotihuacan. Some 500 came on foot from as far away as Alaska and Peru to, in the words of one, "restore our culture, to honor those who fought for indigenous rights."

● **COLOMBIA**—In Popayan, 4,000 people demonstrated. In Colombia and Ecuador, Indian sit-ins blocked traffic on the Pan American highway.

● **ECUADOR**—Indians called for a series of demonstrations around the country to mark "500 years of resistance." In Quito, thousands of students, human rights activists and others demonstrated with Indians. On Oct. 11, 5,000 Indians came together in the Andes to honor a 16th century Inca military leader killed by Spanish gold plunderers.

● **BOLIVIA**—Native American organizations led a massive demonstration in La Paz.



Indigenous protest in Mexico

Savimbi threatens Angola

In Angola Jonas Savimbi, once the darling of Jesse Helms and the U.S. ultra-Right, as well as the apartheid rulers of South Africa, lost the September elections with 40% of the vote and is now threatening to resume his terrorist war. The ruling MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) President Jose Eduardo dos Santos got 49.5%. In parliamentary elections, the MPLA defeated Savimbi's UNITA (National Union for Total Independence of Angola) 53.7% to 34.1%.

Some 800 international election monitors certified that the balloting results were free from tampering. Apparently refusing to accept anything except a win, Savimbi refused conciliatory meetings with dos Santos. Sporadic fighting broke out in Luanda, and several thousand UNITA troops reportedly surrounded the city.

A truce between the MPLA and UNITA, brokered by the U.S. and Russia in June, 1991, led to the elections. However, the civil war in Angola was not simply a product of the Cold War. When Angolans experienced a genuine revolution in 1975, which reached out to the rest of Africa and the world, the U.S. along with South Africa rushed in to strangle it by arming any and all opposition, including Savimbi.

● **CHILE**—In Santiago, thousands took part in a march denouncing "500 years of submission." In the city of Valdivia, six Mapuche Indians were arrested when they tried to take over a church mass.

● **PERU**—In Cusco, former capital of the Inca nation, thousands of Indians commemorated the victims of European conquest.

● **DOMINICAN REPUBLIC**—A trip here by the Pope to commemorate the Columbus anniversary was preceded by weeks of street protests. Part of the bizarre pomp included the dedication of the colossal Columbus Lighthouse built by the aging and authoritarian ruler, Joaquin Balaguer, at a cost of at least \$70 million.

At least 8,000 families were evicted to clear land for the lighthouse and its surrounding gardens. Another 20,000 families were evicted in Santo Domingo during a six-year demolition frenzy to "beautify" the area before a 1992 tourist boom which never happened. Police killed two people during the anti-lighthouse protests.

While the Pope, opening a special meeting of Latin American bishops, thanked God for the missionaries who followed Columbus to the Americas, youth set up flaming barricades and denounced Columbus as the "exterminator of a race." The entire indigenous population of Taino Indians were quickly wiped out after Spain set up its first colony of the "New World."

Most Dominicans, who are of African or mixed heritage, scorned Balaguer's fawning of the Spanish legacy. The Black Dimension also made its presence felt when a group of priests from neighboring Haiti published an open letter for the bishops meeting, which criticized the Vatican as the only government in the world to recognize the government that overthrew Haiti's democratically elected president, Rev. Aristide.

Millions strike in Italy

The Italian labor movement, perhaps Europe's strongest, has suddenly stepped into the forefront of national politics again after years of defeats and setbacks during the Reagan-Thatcher era. This was seen on Oct. 13, when no less than ten million workers took to the streets in a four-hour strike to protest austerity moves by the government coalition led by Social Democratic Prime Minister Giuliano Amato.

It was not only the sheer size of the strike, the biggest in two decades, that was so startling after so many years of defeats. It was also the fact that the demand for an open confrontation on the streets was coming from below, from rank-and-file workers, dragging along a reluctant labor leadership.

Last July, all of the leading union federations, including the CGIL (General Confederation of Italian Labor), led by the Party of the Democratic Left (the former Communists), had signed an agreement with capital and the state ending forever one of Italian labor's proudest accomplishments: the mobile scale which automatically pegs wage increases to inflation, first won as far back as 1946. A few days later, in the first sign of trouble for the government, the CGIL, the country's largest labor federation, was forced by rank-and-file pressure to reverse itself, killing the new wage-price accords and leaving the mobile scale in place. Bruno Trentin, the CGIL leader who had signed the new accords, was even forced to resign for a period of time.

But the Amato government, under severe pressure from international creditors as well as the German and French governments, went ahead with further austerity moves, including a plan to slash national health insurance and pension benefits. By September, 100,000 workers were demonstrating in Florence against austerity.

The government held firm for a few weeks, even succeeding in ramming its austerity proposals through one of the houses of parliament. But then the sheer force of the Oct. 13 demonstrations forced it to see reason. Three days later, Amato backed down.

Chinese Party Congress

The recently concluded 14th Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Congress reaffirmed rulers committed to what ex-officio leader Deng Xiaoping calls "reform," and what dissidents call "free market authoritarianism." China's economy, nurtured by the state, has grown at a hot-house 12% rate, resulting in rural dislocation, unemployment and strikes. No less than in the West, China's rulers are casting about for some way to deal with their own state-capitalist crises while crushing any revolt.

According to the 14th Congress line, "reform is also a revolution...whose goal is to liberate the productive forces." Jiang Zemin, the CCP General Secretary, further stated that "to accelerate economic growth we must...not get bogged down in an abstract debate over what is socialist and what is capitalist." One dissident observed that "preserving Communist Party rule is all that socialism means now."

It is significant that one of the three new people on the CCP Politburo Standing Committee, Liu Huaqing, is the first military man appointed to that group of seven men who rule over one billion people. The CCP Central Committee is now 25% military, and this doesn't only reflect their reward for crushing the 1989 Tiananmen Square uprising. It was Mao who put the Army on a par with the CCP. The military will likely be playing a major role when 88-year-old Deng's passing gives the go ahead to a new power struggle.

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

The new visions of the future that Dunayevskaya

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

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

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