

## Theory/ Practice **NEWS & LETTERS**

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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### A subscription appeal

## We need your help!

Spreading News & Letters far and wide

Never was there a greater need for News & Letters' revolutionary journalism to be spread far and wide. Today more than ever, we live under the impact of objective, human crises that encircle the world from South Africa to the occupied territories of Gaza and the West Bank, from Haiti to embattled Nicaragua, from Russia and Eastern Europe to China in turmoil. Right here at home in the United States we have experienced Reaganism's seven-year-long rollback on Black rights and women's rights, as well as the deep, pervasive dimensions of homelessness and unemployment. Thus we are witness to the two worlds of oppressor and oppressed, of revolt and the iron heel, that is the truth of each country.

All of these crises, abroad and at home, have been made profoundly deeper by the loss of Raya Dunayevskaya, the founder of the philosophy of liberation for our age, Marxist-Humanism. Yet the Idea—the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism that Raya Dunayevskaya labored to create—has never been more alive and compelling than today.

Under the impact of these objective/subjective events, the National Editorial Board (NEB), together with the membership of News and Letters Committees, held its national meeting the weekend of Jan. 9-10, 1988 to work out our Marxist-Humanist Perspectives.

In this issue, beginning on p.5, you will find the heart and core of that discussion—the last presentation Raya had prepared for a June 1 meeting of the Resident Editorial Board of N&L, and the tasks for 1988 that flowed from it. It was in that presentation that Raya had called for N&L to become a monthly twelve-page paper in a very new way, where the book she had been working on, "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy," "...becomes the dominant force not only in essay-articles, but in every activity we undertake, especially in discussing with subscribers, with not-yet Marxist-Humanists, not just as the recording of the events and their experiences, but the meaning of those events and experiences and their direction in a global context."

(continued on page 7)

### Uprising in Israeli-occupied territories

## Can Palestinian struggle become a new revolutionary beginning?

by Olga Domanski

The Palestinian youth in the West Bank and Gaza, with nothing in hand but stones and a fierce determination to be free, have opened a whole new stage for the struggles in the Middle East. Beginning on Dec. 9 in the territories illegally occupied by Israel ever since 1967, their demonstrations soon engulfed the whole Palestinian population, not only in the occupied territories but right within Israel itself. The 749,000-strong Arab community joined with the nearly two million Palestinians in the occupied territories in a strike at the end of December that shut down businesses, shops and schools in Arab areas on both sides of the so-called "Green Line," Israel's pre-1967 border.

Above all, it has been the youth, the thousands of teenagers, whose actions have stunned not only the Israeli authorities but the older generation of Palestinians and the organizers and agents of the PLO. These are the children born after the 1967 war, who have lived their whole lives under occupation in the crowded and miserable refugee centers. Here is how the former dean of students at Bir Zeit University (Munir Fasheh) describes them:

"This new generation of kids is saying, even to the Palestinian leaderships, 'You cannot decide our fate, because our fate is much more complex than a simple political solution. You can make all the political decisions you want, but that is not what is going to change our lives.'" And another on the scene says, "When you talk about frustration in the West Bank, don't include the young people. It is the over-40 crowd who are the frustrated ones, not the young. They are full of confidence."

The irrepressible revolt has brought the oppressive Israeli government to a sickening new point as well. Thus, the Israeli army's shocking response to a world-wide outcry against their brutal suppression of the stone-



A Palestinian teenager in the West Bank shoots marbles from a slingshot at Israeli troops.

throwing uprising was the substitution of a ruthless and systematic clubbing of Palestinian men, women and (continued on page 10)

## National and International Dimensions of Black History Month

Black World

### Black Chicago after Washington



by Lou Turner

Within hours of the sudden death of Harold Washington, Chicago's first Black mayor, on Nov. 25, and the public mass outpouring of grief that went through the Black community like a shock wave, the shame-faced scramble for his political mantle was on.

There had been no physical warning, only the portly spread of a man who openly delighted in the political largesse that the Black community warmly showered upon him whenever he came to listen and speak to its concerns. I recall such a scene a year ago on Chicago's West Side.

#### MEANING VS. LEGACY

The stuffy auditorium on that summer's day was filled with Black folk, working people, community activists, youth and senior citizens, all discussing and criticizing those gnawing problems that make Black life what it is—unemployment, housing, education, economic underdevelopment, drugs, etc. Suddenly, as if out of nowhere came Mayor Washington briskly striding down the aisle to the podium, smiling and waving, as only he could, seeming to take in the whole audience in that warm Black smile of his. He was at home here.

I also recall that, as is usually the case on the West Side, the criticism didn't stop, nor did anyone bite their tongue because the Mayor was here. On the contrary, what Mayor Washington heard was not

praise—he didn't come for that, nor did he need it. He had come to listen, as well as to speak. More importantly, he was accessible. That is the meaning such scenes had for Black Chicago, that were recreated on numerous occasions during Harold Washington's historic tenure. And yet, long before the present political turmoil, it was clear that none of his "political heirs" had grasped the significance of Harold Washington's relationship to Black Chicago.

(continued on page 9)



Mass protest at Chicago City Hall on the night deals were made on the election of a new mayor.

Direct from South Africa  
**Freedom Journal**

### Living wage struggle

Editor's note: We received the following workers' leaflet from furniture workers belonging to the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa (CCAWUSA).

For years, workers in the furniture trade have been paid starvation wages. Thousands of these workers have recently joined CCAWUSA. We are now strong enough to challenge exploitation in these stores, but we need your help.

Ellerines, a giant in the furniture trade, is our target. 6,500 workers at Ellerines are our members. For a long time Ellerines has underpaid its workers. They have paid many workers even below the government's minimum wage. Ellerines has been forced to pay back these workers or face legal proceedings. We know the government's minimum wage is not enough to live on. That is why workers have demanded a living wage.

#### -WORKERS' GRIEVANCES-

1. Low Wages; 2. No Basic Minimum Salary for Sales Staff; 3. Job Security; 4. Annual Leave; 5. Time Off...

#### -COMMUNITY GRIEVANCES-

•Insensitivity displayed by the furniture trade towards its customers.  
•Customers who are in arrears have in some cases had their belongings illegally repossessed. Our members have been forced to repossess goods against their will.  
•Various entertainment events such as Miss Ellerines and Town Talk Mapantsula contest are exploitative and sexist.

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## Feminist writes from China

**Mainland China**—The News & Letters you sent me gave me a good idea about Raya Dunayevskaya and the goal of your organization. I admire her very much for the work she did and her influence on people all over the world.

The philosophy of Marxist-Humanism interests me a lot, since in China for a long time in the past humanism was separated from Marxism and labeled as "bourgeois." I would like to know more about the philosophy.

About 70 years have passed since the issue of women's liberation was raised in China. With the help of the communist government, Chinese women have made great progress in the past few decades. Women's rights are clearly stated in the constitution and the law, and their participation in the labour market strongly supports their independence. However, as you know, China has such a long history of feudalism. The remnants of the sexist tradition still function in present China and prevent women from further advancement.

The reforms started eight years ago by the Chinese government have brought about changes in every part of the country. What is more significant, they have challenged the tradition and even the status quo. Under this situation, the women's liberation movement is entering a new phase.

Due to the differences in culture, political system and social environment, the women's liberation movement in China takes a form different from that in the western countries, although the ultimate goal may be the same. Here the movement is regarded as one of the state affairs and therefore it is guided by the government and organized by a governmental agency named the All-China Women's Federation.

Partly owing to this, the movement is on the whole moderate, dependent, and lacking women's broad involvement. It has a relationship with the international women's movement, for example, it receives visitors active in the women's movements in the West and sends its representatives to international women's conferences. However, overemphasizing "Chinese characteristics" has no doubt reduced its communication with women in other countries.

Women's situation in China varies from class to class. Some women in the countryside still suffer from poverty and marriages of convenience. Women workers are challenged by the economic reforms and are having a difficult time. Women intellectuals are struggling between their "two jobs." The relations between man and woman are indeed under a trial. In addition, women form the major part of the country's illiterate group and the same situation is likely to continue for several reasons. These are the specific questions we are addressing today.

To deal with the problems, the All-China Women's Federation has organized numerous workshops to help women learn skills that may enable them to make a better living or to keep pace with the social develop-

ment. Some university women are working to establish women's studies in China's academic field. By writing and publishing books on women they hope to provide a solid ground for the new stage of the movement.

I am one of those women who is aware of the unfinished task of the liberation movement and who feels it necessary to do something about it. It is not an easy job to do. Besides restrictions from various bureaucrats, we are confronted with women's low consciousness—many women haven't realized their predicament and show no interest in women's activities. We have come to understand that women's liberation means not only political and economic rights, but also the awakening of women's consciousness and the fulfillment of women's values.

—Chinese women's liberationist

## Los Angeles nurses strike

*Editors note: On Jan. 26, a majority of the 4,000 nurses in Local 660 of the Service Employees International Union, working for the Los Angeles County public hospital and clinic system, went out on strike. A court order ended the three day strike Jan. 29. Below is one nurse's story from the picket line at County-University of Southern California Medical Center.*



Striking L.A. nurses walking to the picket line.

**Los Angeles Cal.**—We work very hard. This is one of the busiest hospitals in the city. Conditions are poor and our wages are low. It has taken us so long to go out on strike—we've been without a contract since September—and we feel it is the only way.

Sometimes two RNs (Registered Nurse) have to take care of 30 patients. Wards where we should have six patients have ten. It's unbearable. By the time you leave work, you're exhausted. You go from 7:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. without any food because you don't have time to take a break.

On night duty there is one RN for 28 patients. You always end up working by yourself. It's not safe. Patients' lives are on the line. Patients who call for nurses sometimes have to wait 30 to 40 minutes.

We are demanding better staffing and higher wages. We earn 22% less than other nurses in Los Angeles. They can't get staff here because wages and conditions are so terrible. We didn't even have medical benefits until the last contract. Sometimes we work 12-hour shifts or work holidays with no extra pay.

The patients are supporting us. They know how frustrating our job is. We can't go on this way.

—Striking county nurse

## Women demonstrate, debate 15 years after Roe v. Wade

**Chicago, Ill.**—"Right to life," that's a lie! You don't care if women die!" Over 150 women and men demonstrated in front of a phony abortion clinic chanting that slogan and others as we marked the 15th anniversary of the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, *Roe v. Wade*.

We marched in the cold that Friday, Jan. 22, because we are sickened that Reaganism has allowed these phony clinics that lie to women—even about the results of their pregnancy tests—to exist and we marched to show our disgust that abortion has become so difficult to obtain that many poor and minority women don't know that it is still legal.

One woman I spoke to said, "I always make sure that I do something on this day to keep abortion legal." You could see in the determination of the older women the importance of what had been a slogan at the demonstration in 1986 when 100,000 women marched in Washington, D.C. against Reaganism and for the right to have legal, safe abortions: "Never again!"

"Never again!" women had yelled as they held hangers as symbols of what women used when they had no recourse to a legal safe abortion and tried to abort themselves; "Never again!" to the fear of failed contraception; "Never again!" to the desperation caused by a society that forces a woman to make a "choice" between having a child she does not want or can not have or submitting to a back-alley butcher abortion. "Never again!"

That same anniversary evening of Jan. 22, 700 people jammed into a University of Chicago (U of C) auditorium to hear a panel discussion. "The Struggle for Repro-

## Typesetting speed-up

**Chicago, Ill.**—I work for a typesetting company in Chicago. Out of more than 100 workers, the typesetters and clerical staff (mostly women) are the only ones without a union. Our wages are very low, yet the company is spending millions to renovate their building and they tell us they can't afford to raise our pay.

The speed-up is incredible. The work just piles in every day or there are slowdowns where everything seems to stop. When there is a lot of work we are under enormous pressure. The typesetters and paste-up workers have to account for every minute of the day.

Each worker has a time sheet and we record every job. Lunchtime is 30 minutes and we have to fill in what breaks we take by writing the words "no work." All our times are recorded in a computer. The boss tells us every three months what areas we are "slow" in or if we take too many breaks. What is so terrible is we are timing ourselves.

There seems to be a misunderstanding as to what a typesetter does. We don't sit and type all day. Years ago typesetting was considered to be a skilled craft but now everything is produced like piecework. All jobs are pre-timed by the bosses. They decide ahead of time how long the job should take. If they say three minutes and you spend five on the job it goes on your record.

The problem is that a job may appear to be a simple job but it actually takes an enormous amount of time to set up. For example, a business card looks simple—it has very few words on it. But every single word on that card has a very specific place. That means if we are off just one point the job is sent back to us to typeset again. Do you know how infinitesimal a point is? There are 72 points to an inch.

I'm wondering if this kind of speed-up is going on in other print shops today? What about workers in shipping departments or in a bindery? What kinds of pressures do they face? We need to raise questions about the work we do in printing. It needs to become the kind of creative work that can come in a new society when we, through revolution, end the division between mental and manual labor.

—Typesetter

## Filipino women workers

**Philippines**—I am involved with a group of Filipino women workers called KMK or women workers' movement. It is a non-governmental organization, militant and nationalist in orientation, aimed at pursuing the specific demands of Filipino women workers.

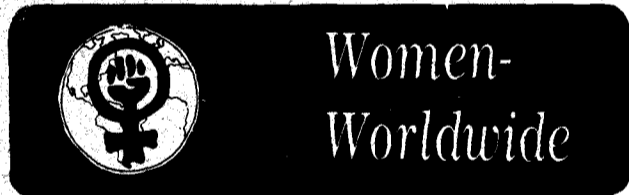
Some of these demands include the guarantee of a regular job for those who have rendered service six months or over, a four month maternity leave and access to free social services like day care and child centers. All these demands are addressed to the government and the capitalists. The realization of these demands would be one of the contributions of KMK in advancing the labor movement in our country.

As a principle overriding gender differences, KMK established working ties with KMU (May First Movement). Through this, KMU is able to confront the issues of women workers.

In working with KMK I have had a lot of insights on how women workers could contribute to the depth of what revolution means to them. For instance, it's common knowledge now that workers' wages are not enough to meet the high cost of living, especially those workers who have irregular jobs or are paid below the minimum of 64 pesos a day (\$3.20 a day). What happens if they get sick or their children get sick? They have every reason to point to the state's responsibility.

Some radicals tend to warn KMK of manipulation or of being used by the ruling elite. On the other hand, the question remains: how do women pursue their demands to their realization so that such demands do not remain generalities?

—Correspondent, Philippines



"Bravo for the Supreme Court of Canada! Bravo for the women of Canada!" So spoke Dr. Henry Morgentaler whose 20 year fight to legalize abortion bore fruit Jan. 28 when the Canadian Supreme Court ruled that Canada's restrictive abortion law was unconstitutional. How this victory will effect the lives of Canadian women remains to be seen.

Meanwhile, two U.S. nuns, Barbara Ferraro and Patricia Hussey face dismissal from their religious orders. Of the 30 priests and nuns who challenged the church's anti-abortion position in a New York Times ad in 1984, they are the only ones who refused to recant.

The Women's Center in Nigeria has launched a massive door-to-door education drive warning women about the direct connection between AIDS and genital mutilation. Of the 98,000 reported AIDS cases in Africa since 1984, 75% are women from areas where genital mutilation is widely practiced. To help the Center continue their work contact Mrs. Hanna Edemikpong, Women's Center, Box 185, Eket, Cross River State, Nigeria, West Africa.

Women in Boston are up in arms against the Copley Plaza Hotel for ordering 42 domestic workers to wash bathroom floors by hand. The workers, mostly minority women over 40, have been joined in their protests by the Mobilization of Pride, NOW, The Alliance Against Women's Oppression, the Cambridge and Boston Women's Commissions, and Women for Economic Justice. One supporter said: "They are forcing us down onto our hands and knees after we worked so hard to get back up."

—from Gay Community News

Serbian women protested against Fadil Hoxha, head of the Albanian Communist League in Kosovo province, Yugoslavia. Hoxha had said the growing number of rapes of Serbian teenage women by Albanians were provoked by the women themselves. He claimed the women were prostitutes and "joked" that Albanian men should satisfy their urge to rape with Serbian women. After the women's protest marches, Hoxha was removed from the Communist Party.

ductive Freedom: *Roe v. Wade* 1973-1988." That panel revealed how close we are to losing the legal right to abortion, as well as the contradictions right within the pro-choice movement, especially when it is narrowed to a legalistic debate. The panel consisted of Sarah Weddington, who argued *Roe v. Wade* before the Supreme Court; two lawyers who have since argued abortion cases; Catherine MacKinnon, feminist theorist and law professor; and Eleanor Smeal, past president of the National Organization for Women.

In her talk, MacKinnon said *Roe v. Wade*, rather than being argued on the ground of the right to privacy, should have been argued on the ground of sex equality. But when Eleanor Smeal spoke of lobbying state and national legislators, she drew a picture of men who were deeply misogynist, who, at their very best, just didn't give a damn about what happened to women.

Panelists and audience were both drawn into an abstract debate on legalisms when the reality is that this administration cares nothing for what is legal or illegal. It could care less—and need not care at all now that the Supreme Court is about to be stacked with Reaganite anti-abortionists for decades to come—whether a case is argued on the right to privacy or equality.

We didn't win *Roe v. Wade* because of clever legal maneuvers. It was a decade of struggle and 50,000 women marching down New York's Fifth Avenue and in scores of other cities. Our victories came from fighting on our ground both before the Supreme Court decision 15 years ago and ever since. We demand safe, legal, free abortion on demand!

—Terry Moon



by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

*Editor's Note: Below we print brief excerpts from the Welcome delivered by Felix Martin, Labor Editor of News & Letters, to the 1988 national gathering of News and Letters Committees.*

We are meeting at a time when the world crises, the crises of labor here at home, and the crises in thought are worse than I can ever remember. And this is the first welcome to a Plenum without the presence of our founder of the Marxist-Humanist philosophy, Raya Dunayevskaya. In this welcome I am extending to each one of you, I am saying that we have to try to carry forward this philosophy, and that means taking organizational responsibility for these great ideas of freedom.

**NO JOB SECURITY, NO HEALTH PLANS**

On Oct. 19, we saw the sharpest plunge on Wall Street in history, and I read in the *Los Angeles Times* that 33 top economists are saying that that was just the beginning, we haven't seen anything yet. Already we see the auto industry with double the normal amount of unsold cars on the sales lots and the beginning of talk about more large layoffs. The contract that the UAW union leaders talked the workers into buying—because there was supposedly "job security"—is just a bedside story. There is no job security as long as capitalism exists. With the two-tier wage system, part-time employment and minimum wage jobs, we now see workers with families in southern California renting garages to live in, for up to \$400 per month, with no water and no heat. Thousands are living in the streets in vans or any place they can find to protect themselves from the cold weather. This is true of every city in the U.S.

The largest number of workers since medical insurance became part of contract negotiations are now with no coverage at all. When members of their families get sick they are denied medical care. In fact, medical coverage is becoming a benefit for only the special privileged. What do young working men and women face today getting married, raising a family? This system of capitalism in its stage of militarism tears them apart.

We must see how this stage of capitalism is destroying every speck left that is human. Reagan and Gorbachev have been allowed to build up a nuclear power that can destroy the world many times over. This must be stopped if life is to continue. But the signing of the Reagan-Gorbachev agreement, to reduce a small percent of destructive power, doesn't mean anything. Only the people themselves can stop or change—I mean abolish—these governments; and it will take this kind of action if life is to go on.

**WORKERS SELF-DEVELOPMENT**

Today under Reaganism it is the mental laborer as well as the manual worker who is being dehumanized, and who is also fighting back. Look at the nurses; nurses' aides jobs don't exist anymore. The nurses have to do the job of the nurses' aides, as well as the job of two nurses. Doing two jobs and all this extra work is part of the breaking down of the medical treatment for those workers who can afford the luxury to go to a hospital when they're sick. When nurses go on strike, they are striking for the patients as well as for themselves.

Thirty years ago in *Marxism and Freedom*, Raya Dunayevskaya wrote that we live in the age of absolute terror—on the threshold of absolute freedom, out of absolute terror. Today, what the absolute has brought is that workers can't make a living only working one job. This system will destroy us unless we uproot and destroy it.

**Kaiser's two-tier**

*Oakland, Cal.*—Opposition to the two-tier wage system, which was forced on us by Kaiser Permanente management with collusion from the union after a seven and one-half week strike in 1986, so persists in the workplace that management has been forced to reopen the issue. Now management wants to unilaterally institute pay rate readjustments that will selectively upgrade certain jobs where they find it difficult to recruit workers, like pharmacy tech. or med tech.

By the end of 1986 Kaiser wanted to cash in on Reagan's new world of two-tier and trickle-down demanding a two-tier concession to extend their monopoly of the California health care market. Since that strike, I have a concrete sense of workers' general rejection of Reaganism, as they turned Nancy Reagan's anti-drug slogan around to "Just Say No To Two-tier."

The union officials want to open the books to see if this limited break with two-tier is justified on grounds of economism. They fail to oppose two-tier as a principle. The Local 250 steward subcommittee had debated and aired the issues of whether to sit it out or go with the demands and are confused on how to approach it. Some rank-and-filers are saying not to hold these wages back, but most raise the issue that readjustment means opening the whole contract and the whole discussion of two-tier. The official union is somewhere in-between.

All this is happening in the midst of the union's duplicity, its two faces. On the one hand, it poses as a fighter for wages and the rank-and-file. On the other hand, no one can fail to see that the local is under trusteeship, that the way the strike ended was the International coming in and suspending the local's by-laws and putting off the elections, thus ending Local 250 as a democratic entity.

—Kaiser worker

**How can workers fight unemployment, homelessness?**

I ask myself how can we reach young workers through our newspaper, through listening to and recording what they're saying on the picket lines and at the unemployment office, through showing them what is self-development, and the self-movement of history. It is very urgent because the rest of the Left doesn't consider the self-development of the individual, especially workers, nor do they try to break down that barrier between workers and intellectuals, between mental and manual labor that Marx had started to work out, and that Raya continued for our age, since the 1949-50 Miners' General Strike. Without that philosophy, the revolution will not be able to bring forth a new way of life.

I am seeing how working out these new ideas in this organization has nothing to take a measure from, because this has never been done before. We have a very full two days ahead of us. We want everyone to speak in discussion. I now declare this Plenum open.

**Roll the Union On**

**A Pictorial History of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union**

*As told by its co-founder H. L. Mitchell*

**Roll the Union On: A pictorial history of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, by its co-founder, H.L. Mitchell, can be ordered from Charles H. Kerr Publishing Co., 1740 W. Greenleaf Ave., Suite 7, Chicago, IL 60626. Price is \$7.95 paper, \$19.95 hardcover.**

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**H. L. Mitchell will speak in Chicago on Friday, February 26, at 7:30 p.m. at the IBEW Hall, 600 W. Washington.**

**Teamsters—a brotherhood?**

*Whittier, Cal.*—I was at the Teamsters Union hall the other day, and noticed that they had on the wall a big poster warning against "Communists" trying to take over the union. The poster said that labor has struggled through all these years of movement, and it would be a sad day if the union was taken over by subversives.

I thought to myself about labor's struggle, from 1776 when the United States came from a revolution, through the Civil War, all the way to today. I have an eight-year-old son, and in school he never hears about labor in U.S. history. But to me that is the most important part.

Who are the Teamster bureaucrats calling Communists and subversives? Our union needs some people with new ideas! The union today really pisses me off! When they're getting you to join, you hear all about a union, what it's supposed to mean, all you hear is "brotherhood." But then once you've joined, you find out that all they want from you is your union dues!

December through February is a slow time for freight drivers, yet the union is right now pushing for a membership drive, even though there aren't enough jobs for those of us who are already members! The union is run just like a business. It's capitalism.

I call these people deadheads, but the way I used to think, not really aware of what's going on, I call myself a deadhead too. I was on the outside looking in. It took for me to get real sick and be in the hospital, and not be able to pay the rent, have the state disability payments walk out the door, and go through all this struggle, before my thinking changed.

—Truck driver

**Meatpackers' ask, 'When does my day end?'**

*Chicago, Ill.*—This week at Swift-Eckrich most of the lines in the packaging departments are working fewer than forty hours. Just two weeks ago everyone was working overtime—up to 12 or 13 hours for some lines on some days. Part of the problem is that you never know when you walk in there at 6:00 in the morning when you will walk out. They don't have to tell us whether we'll be working Saturday until Thursday, and even then they can change their minds.

You can't plan anything. You can't make doctors' appointments or schedule your car for repairs. If you work from 6:00 until 5:00 or later, how can you pay your bills or go to the post office? You can't spend time with your children. You come home cold and tired, eat, clean up, take a shower and go to bed. And if you dare to plan something for Saturday, that will be the one Saturday we'll have to work.

Do you know what the overtime provision in our contract is? One sentence: "Employees will be re-

**GM plant is like jail**

*Editor's note: On Jan. 23, GM workers of UAW Local 645 in Van Nuys, Cal., rejected a company/union "solution" to planned lay-offs whereby all workers would work only 50% of their regular hours. The vote, promoted by both GM and the UAW, pitted the older workers with high seniority against the younger workers who now face indefinite layoff. As we go to press a second vote on the proposal is planned. Below are the comments of a worker at the plant.*

*Van Nuys, Cal.*—A lot of guys voted "no" so they could keep their jobs but they're going to get bumped too. Wait and see.

This place ought to be condemned. When it rains, it floods in here. GM brings in sophisticated people with suits on and shows off the clean, painted areas. They ought to check out the rest of the plant! When you complain to the union you're told, "Well, there's nothing I can do."

I think some of these union guys are paid off by management. They promote the company's plans. They tell us, "Your jobs are in danger; you've got to vote this and that." But these company plans are just a big tax write-off. The guys from the union are looking out for themselves.

A year ago we got the Japanese "team concept" here. We had schooling to teach us about it which amounted to time to program us, to psych us up. When school was over, we were supposed to sign a paper so that GM could collect \$300 from the state for every student. I didn't want to sign. I didn't learn anything. You go to school and the state pays GM. That's what it is all about.

With the "team concept," you have these team leaders who get 35¢-50¢ per hour more for just standing around. When the group leader confronts you, he makes you feel like a little kid who didn't do his homework. Out of the \$20 million they spent on this "team concept," they should have given everybody \$100,000. We'd be happy to quit!

This place is like a jail. I've been in jail; there is no difference here, except you get paid. They put out literature saying the young employees are taking too much time off. Hell—what do you expect? There's so much stress.

—Young Van Nuys worker

**German steel strike**

*Bonn, West Germany*—I'm sure you are aware of the massive lay-off policies in the German steel industry and the struggles of Krupp workers. This new round of worker lay-offs, according to official statistics, will increase the rate of unemployment in Duisburg and Reinhausen from 16% to 24% and threatens 10,000 workers with unemployment. On November 26, 1987, the owners of Krupp, Mannesmann and Thyssen announced cutting off steel production in Reinhausen.

Once again the rationale of the capitalists is that the steel industry is losing profits. According to claims by Kromme, the president of Krupp industries, this company has "lost one billion Marks (600 million dollars) since 1980." But in the year 1986 alone, Krupp made 800 million dollars of new investments, and in the same year, made a profit of 71 million Marks (43 million dollars). According to the policies that the three above-mentioned companies follow, in the future, close to 35,000 jobs in the steel industry will be destroyed, and the German steel industry will be concentrated in Niederrhein and Duisburg.

The news of the steel workers' lay-offs was announced during the negotiations for a 5% wage hike and a 35-hour work week. This was the management's trick to turn back the workers' demands and to create divisions among them.

On Nov. 27, workers of all industries in Reinhausen and in Bochum stopped work. On Dec. 1, Krupp workers in Siegen demonstrated in support of the strikers. On Dec. 4, students went on strike to support the steel workers, and on Dec. 10, striking workers closed all main roads and freeways to Reinhausen and Duisburg. They stopped traffic to gain public attention and support.

The strike of the steel workers still continues and we as Marxist-Humanists declare our solidarity with the striking workers, by participating in the solidarity actions in different cities and by reading a statement.

—Observer, W. Germany

quired to work the overtime scheduled in the job t. which they are assigned." That's almost worse than having no contract or union at all, because now we have two bosses—the company and the union—telling us that we have to do it.

I have a friend who works for a paper company where ten hours a day and 48 hours a week is the limit, not because the contract says so—but because the workers say so. If the company schedules someone for ten hours a day plus Saturday, and the person works her ten hours during the week, she may or may not come in on Saturday, and there is nothing the company can do.

Some people seem to feel that there is something special about working in a packinghouse, that the hours have to be long and irregular because meat spoils and we work depending on what orders come in. Well, maybe that only means that the solution lies in a change somewhere beyond this one plant.

—Eckrich worker

## THE REAL STATE OF THE UNION, 1988

Reagan keeps wanting the U.S. to compete with the rest of the world. He seems to be competing to see who can increase poverty fastest. You can see the results in the millions of homeless, in workers not being able to make a living, in the decline of health care. A new movement is coming and we have to make sure it doesn't abort like it did in France in 1968. A new way of thinking has to be worked out now. I look forward to the day when we can all develop to be real human beings.

Retired worker  
Los Angeles

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The change that I feel in the air in New York City I believe is not merely a "subjective" feeling on my part but the truth of Black/white relations here. There is an edge of violence that one can feel on the streets that became apparent in Bensonhurst, Queens just before Christmas when two Black men were attacked by a gang of white youths. The difference in "temperature" was that an anti-racist demonstration was outnumbered by a vicious fascist counter-demonstration, worse in its racist vitriol and abuse than I had ever seen. This violence in the air has permeated throughout NYC, and outbreaks of racist violence are sure to continue to grow this year.

Alarmed  
New York

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The hypocrisy of Reaganism is so deep and systemic that it literally makes you sick. On the one hand Reaganism decided that the Federal law banning sex discrimination in universities that receive Federal funds meant only the specific program that discriminated, and thus the college or university that allowed such discrimination to happen could still have federal dollars flowing in. On the other hand, Reagan's new rules governing funding to family planning clinics "extends to all activities conducted" in the clinics.

This means that if a clinic wants to talk to a woman about the full range of her legal rights—including the right to have an abortion—the discussion on abortion would have to take place in a totally "physically and financially separate" place or that clinic will not receive any federal funds. Such reactionary hypocrisy makes you want to cry, but the better thing to do is get rid of Reaganism.

Women's liberationist  
Chicago

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When the CIA comes to DePaul University in February for the purpose of recruiting students for "overseas employment" we hope to deter them. We intend to be at the downtown campus to present our views and talk to any prospective candidates. The CIA is the main agency through which the Reagan Administration has carried out its wars in Central America and around the globe. Allowing them to recruit at our campus is assisting them in murder.

Students for Peace and Justice  
DePaul University  
2324 N. Seminary Ave.  
Chicago, IL 60614

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Reagan sounded as if he was going to keep pushing until the end for some kind of workforce bill that attacks ADC

families. Workfare is not a way out of poverty and everybody knows it, but the arguments about welfare are as old as capitalism. Ever since the 1830s when there were debates over the poor laws, capital has blamed its problems on the masses of the poor.

Black writer  
Oakland, Cal.

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Government as we know it to this day is a farce. They play games with us. In my economics class we were reading about capitalism—and in print it all looks nice and pretty. But that's not reality. Reagan blames the Communists for everything, but he's just using that as a scapegoat. The American capitalists do the same thing. They say we have freedom of speech, but that's only up to a certain point, and if you're young the Supreme Court just ruled you have no right to free speech at all.

I've been attracted to anarchism, at first through anarchist punk bands. There are a lot of bands talking about things, from animal liberation to South Africa, that we never discuss in school at all.

High school student  
Santa Monica, Cal.

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I was outraged, listening to Reagan's State of the Union Address. Raya Dunayevskaya had already warned us last year that Reagan is not a lame duck, and wants to carry his retrogressive agenda through to the 21st century. But what angered me is that Reagan dares to talk about "the power of an idea." That man has never had a single idea in his mind. Rather, what he has is an ideology which Marx called "false consciousness." Hegel answered counter-revolutionaries like him best when he wrote: "Only that which is an object of freedom may be called an idea."

Student  
Chicago

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The hundreds upon hundreds who marched, chanted and sang early on a cold, wet morning in front of the Federal Building in Chicago to protest any form of continued aid to the *contras* demonstrated a magnificent spirit. Scores chose to sit in front of building entrances to symbolically stop the government aid and were arrested. Whether Congress will once again capitulate to Reagan on Nicaragua or not, the demonstrators, particularly the huge number of youth from high schools, made one feel that the Movement is very much alive and ready to burst out in new ways.

Participant  
Chicago

## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

I turn to *Our Life and Times* on the back page each issue, after seeing what Marxist-Humanism is discussing at length in the Lead, to see in abbreviated form what world events have been chosen to illuminate the past and present and anticipate the future. It was distressing to see the changed form, without any explanations, in the December 1987 issue...

Given that drastic change, I wished

## IN MEMORIAM: DIXON ADAMS, 1918-1987

Dixon Adams, Marxist-Humanist, became an anti-war activist during his student days at Stanford, where he wrote his graduating thesis on Lenin. When he joined the Socialist Workers Party in San Francisco he discovered the opposition State-Capitalist Tendency within the Trotskyist movement, co-founded by CLR James (Johnson) and Raya Dunayevskaya (Forest). At the time of their split it was Raya he evaluated as both serious philosopher/theoretician and serious revolutionary. He became a founding member of the Bay Area News and Letters Committee.

When members of his bourgeois family denounced him to the FBI and forced the management where he worked to fire him, calling him "a traitor to his class!" Dixon cheerfully acknowledged the definition as he conti-

nued his activities in all the Liberation struggles—anti-war, gays, women, blacks and the civil rights Movement—and participated in Marxist intellectual discussions. His last years, spent in a convalescent hospital, did not deter his struggles for justice. He published a scathing indictment of the conglomerate buyers of the institution, which forced concessions for the employees and needy patients.

Dixon maintained his membership in News and Letters Committees and took an active interest in Marxist-Humanist philosophy and activities until the day of his death in December. At his Memorial Meeting, friends of the Old and New Left came together to share memories of a very courageous comrade.

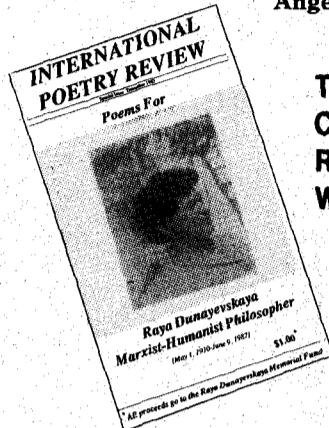
Lillian B. Willis,  
Berkeley, Cal.

# Readers' Views

that the long article there had been more seriously worked out. Isn't it part of the ABCs of Marxist-Humanism that Stalin was not an aberration but was himself a revolutionary, genuine or otherwise? Hasn't Marxist-Humanism shown for more than 30 years the development of revolutions transformed into their opposites, revolutions aborted, counter-revolution coming from within revolution itself when it is without a Marxist philosophy of revolution? It is the author's "loose phraseology" which I think has to be addressed.

Angela Terrano  
New York

## TO CONTINUE RAYA'S WORK



We have put together a small pamphlet of six "Poems for Raya Dunayevskaya" which we are selling for \$1 a copy with all the proceeds going to the Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund. Would you please let News & Letters readers know they can be ordered from International Poetry Review, 503 W. 175th St. #6, New York, N. Y. 10033.

Terrence Shelly,  
Special Edition Editor  
New York

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What the South African Scooter and Transport Allied Workers Union feels about the loss of Raya Dunayevskaya is beyond words. You can understand the spirit of survival from her writings. She contributed much to the most exploited and oppressed of people here in South Africa...The South African government has sought to introduce a bill this year, aimed at the trade union movement, restricting all methods of solidarity actions. The Pretoria regime misjudges our spirit, especially the spirit among our youth who have been in the forefront of all our struggles. Although change is pain in Africa, change to a free non-racial society is certain.

SASTAW Union  
Doornfontein, South Africa

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I learned of Raya Dunayevskaya's death when I was on a tour to Haryana. Although I never met her, I came to know her intimately through her writings in N&L which helped to shape my consciousness. I am glad to know you have set up a Memorial Fund for the continuation of her unfinished work and I enclose a small contribution in her memory. Please let me know more about her writings so that I can use them to teach her work to the poor peasants of my country.

All India Youth Forum for  
Peace and Solidarity  
New Delhi, India

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Editor's note: Donations to help keep Raya Dunayevskaya's works in print and to preserve and publish her documents should be made out to The Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund, and sent to 59 E. Van Buren #707, Chicago, IL 60605.

## POST-MARX MARXISM

At a recent Conference here called "Out of Apathy: 30 Years of the New Left in Britain," a talk by Charles Taylor on the subject of "Socialist Humanism" turned out to be a critique of Marxism. Taylor recognized Marxism as a humanist philosophy but argued that it centered on self-development and underestimated human needs such as life in a community, that increasing human control over nature was anti-ecological and that Marx's view of the future was too conflict-free. Later he insisted it was impossible to define socialism. I put the view that Marx's Marxism and official "Marxism" were not just different but opposites, and pointed to Marx's recognition of multi-dimensional revolu-

tionary forces. While it isn't possible to have a blueprint for the future or tell future generations how they are going to live, we can and do have a definition that a new form of society would have to satisfy—classlessness, non-racism, non-sexism, means of production appropriated by the whole population, freely-associated labor, production for need, not profit.

Richard Bunting  
Oxford, England

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The discussion about Reagan's "senility" is the mask to cover the senility of capitalism. A total uprooting of this society is the only alternative, but it is masked by those who usurp Marxist categories. It makes these post-Marx Marxists the most dangerous allies of Reaganism.

Observer  
Detroit

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The news that the Polish dissident Jacek Kuron has written an essay which responds positively to Gorbachev's "reforms" did not surprise me. Although Kuron is known for his break from the Communist Party, he never broke from the mentality of telling people what to do. I remember when, in 1981, the students of Poznan University heard of Warsaw University students going on strike and joined them. The officials convinced the other students to end their strike, but we at Poznan University did not do so. Our strike lasted another four weeks and teachers, nurses, tenants, workers, almost everybody, joined us. Kuron traveled 100 miles from Warsaw to our town and asked "who gave you permission to go on strike?" The strike was suppressed. When martial law was declared, there was not much we could do.

Solidarnosc activist in exile  
Berkeley, Cal.

## NEWS & LETTERS

### WE NEED YOUR HELP

UMTAPO Centre is a non-profit organization dedicated to advice and leadership training, information and research, cultural and community programs. We have read News & Letters and would like to get it regularly. We will send you in exchange the latest edition of our publication, *Umtapo Focus*. Can you encourage your readers to subscribe to our newsletter? We will do the same for you, although we know you are aware of the great difficulty in disseminating relevant literature in this country. Forward to a Free Azania! Your readers can get information about our publication by writing to us at:

Umtapo Centre  
314 Grey Street, 1st floor  
Durban 4001, South Africa

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I enjoy N&L very much and I am sorry to see it only monthly and only twelve pages. I agree with the draft perspectives that a revolution in thought is a prime necessity for activism today. To me Dunayevskaya's dialectic is not just dynamism as it was for the Greeks but a movement today. I will help you in activities around youth.

New subscriber  
Berkeley, Cal.

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I want to thank News & Letters for creating within me a philosophic awareness. This framework in which I now view events and history as a dynamic process illuminates the myriad conflicting relationships. Take a talk I heard here by the former prime minister of Jamaica, Michael Manley. It pertained to disarmament, development and debt and their impact on the Third World. He took up the global emergence of the U.S. after World War II, decolonization, the search for a national management system. His analysis was admirable, but it lacked any philosophy of liberation. Thanks for being in existence.

Supporter  
The Bronx, N.Y.

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Please consider the enclosed check for \$50 to help you in your work as my donation of Surplus Labor Credits.

Subscriber  
Chicago

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Editors note: Can you become a sustainer-subscriber? Donate a sub for our international readers? Send a gift sub to a friend? Introduce N&L to your friends at work or at school? We need your help to get N&L to new readers everywhere.

Theory/  
Practice

# NEWS & LETTERS

Human Power is its own end—Marx

## Special section

### Marxist-Humanist Perspectives

- *Raya Dunayevskaya's Final Dialogue with us*
- *Marxist-Humanist Tasks for 1988*
- *Bulletins available from News and Letters 1988 Plenum*
- *Announcement of Supplement to the Marxist-Humanist Archives, the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*

# RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA'S FINAL DIALOGUE WITH US

The following document was a presentation written for the June 1, 1987 meeting of the Resident Editorial Board (REB) of News and Letters Committees. It became the central part of Marxist-Humanist Perspectives 1988 adopted at the News and Letters National Plenum, Jan. 9-10, 1988. The manuscript Raya had prepared for what she intended to deliver orally was not checked by her for presentation in printed form. It has not been edited, except for obvious typographical errors.

"Pre-pre Post-Plenum, i.e.—Executive Session Type of Talk" to be given in three parts: I. The Philosophic Point, II. Dialectics of Organization, III. Untrodden Paths in Organization.

The chaotic and informal form of presentation tonight is not due to lack of deliberation and working out, much in advance of the time necessary to draw a balance sheet for the Plenum. Rather, it is because so many different and yet interrelated topics are reaching for solution, that I felt it very necessary to consult with you in this seemingly "off the top of my head" talk.

### I. THE PHILOSOPHIC POINT

To understand today we must begin at the beginning, that is to say, as always, with Marx. Specifically the two periods are: the first and the last, the first being the philosophic moment, 1844. That laid the ground for all future development. The last being the long hard trek and process of development—all the Revolutions, as well as philosophic-political-economic concretizations, culminating in Capital. Yet the full organizational expression of all came only then, i.e., the last decade, especially the 1875 Critique of the Gotha Program. Why only then?

Take first another look at 1844—the philosophic moment for all of Marx's Marxism, including organization. Throughout Marx's life he reached to concretize it. But none of the concretizations, whether 1848 with the Communist League, or 1864 with the First International, or even 1871 with the Paris Commune, fully reached to the level of the philosophic moment of 1844. Only with the Critique of the Gotha Program in 1875 did Marx fully return to that moment as it was concretized for organization, and even then, he did not call it philosophy, but "principle."

The specific point that I'm singling out from the 1844 founding of a New Continent of Thought and of Revolution is when Marx articulates the great merit of Hegel in discovering the "negation of the negation," and the great demerit of this same Hegel in enveloping it in such mysticism by dealing with it as various stages of consciousness, rather than as men and women thinking. Marx, on the other hand, declares himself not only against capitalism and "vulgar communism," but proclaims his philosophy to be "a new Humanism."

To this day 1844 was the philosophic moment of Marx's discovery of that whole new continent of thought and of revolution that "Marxism" certainly lacked, and instead singled out one of the developments—economics—so that we didn't know "new humanism" until the Depression. But in fact, it is that which was the ground for organization throughout his life, from the moment he did "experience" the philosophic moment, even if it was only correspondence (letters) soon to become international correspondence.

Seriously, however, as organization, and that organization—the Communist League—accepted the challenge to the existing capitalist world, and that not separated from all political tendencies and parties. I'm referring, of course, to the Communist Manifesto, whose second part is a critique of utopian socialism, etc. What we want to do here is to compare the 1847 Communist Manifesto to the 1864 First International [and in 1871] hailing the Paris Commune as the form, the working existence, the communal non-state as needing only release of all the mental, manual and emotional potentiality.

Why then is the actual concretization of a new unity so sharply critiqued as in the Gotha Program? That becomes the whole rub and urgent problematic of our day which must be worked out.

First, enter history. In 1847 critique meant the ruthless critique of all that exists that he spoke of in his philosophic break with the bourgeoisie and Hegel, concretized on the level of the existing "parties" in that period. (As we were to see in 1860 in his letter to Freiligrath, when Freiligrath, in refusing to get involved in the Vogt Affair, said he didn't belong to the party any longer. Marx's reply was: Neither am I, to any existing party. I didn't mean it in the ephemeral sense, I meant it in the historic. Clearly, Marx meant that no one could re-write the history, and both the revolution of



Raya Dunayevskaya at 1986 News and Letters Convention

1848 and the Manifesto that anticipated it, are historic.)

It is that historic period that changed when international workers got together to take a position on what was happening on a different continent. That too had a "manifesto," perhaps not as bold as the Communist Manifesto, thought Marx, which was actually the preamble to the Constitution and By-laws to the First International.

At the same time Marx didn't hesitate a second once the Paris Commune broke out, and some trade unionists didn't share the enthusiasm, to write them out of the First International, and not only to declare the need to go lower and deeper, but insist that they didn't represent the majority of the masses; the Paris Communards did, and it is that Idea that defines history now as both ongoing and the future.

### II. DIALECTICS OF ORGANIZATION

So, what happened in 1875? Look at how the self-development of the Idea that we now call Marxism has concretized itself when its greatest theoretical work, Capital, in its French edition, is finished, and that has philosophy spelled out in the most concrete terms from fetishism of commodities to the new passions and new forces that go against the accumulation of capital. And he has the experience now of both political parties and forms of organization emerging spontaneously from the masses, plus philosophy.

**Critique of the Gotha Program:** There is no way now, no matter how Marx kept from trying to give any blueprints for the future, not to develop a general view of where we're headed for the day after the conquest of power, the day after we have rid ourselves of the birthmarks of capitalism when a new generation can finally see all its potentiality, put an end once and for all to the division between mental and manual labor.

[Here on her outline for the talk, Raya had written: "Let me now state something general from Hegel on the question of The Philosophic Point which would also apply to us."]

In Hegelian dialectics, the philosophic moment is a determinant; even if the person who was driven to articulate the Idea of that "moment" was very nearly unconscious as to its depth and its ramifications, it remained the element that governed the concretization that follows the laborious birth that poured forth in a torrent nevertheless.

Specifically and concretely, in our case the moment I'm referring to is May 12 and 20, 1953. The Idea is in demystifying the Absolute as either God or the closed ontology, as the unity I singled out, a dual movement, from theory to practice, from practice as well as from theory.

We were so overwhelmed with the movement from practice that we were hardly as enthusiastic or as concrete about the movement from theory, if not actually forgetting it. I therefore wish to go into great detail about those two letters in 1953, not as the small coin of concrete questions, but as the many Universals inherent in it, so that we can see what is still new in it that we must develop for the book.

Everyone has heard so much about 1953 as the stage of breakthrough on the Absolute Idea that you may think: what else is there to be said? The whole point, however, about the philosophic point that became a philosophic determinant, and not just the ground of, but became so startlingly new and clear with Marx, that looking at it for this age, specifically ourselves, it began to appear in an altogether new way. Here is what I mean:

Heretofore what we stressed when we pointed to 1953 as source was the important point of 1955, when there was an actual organizational break-up. Then what became clearer was that actually, insofar as the words "Marxist-Humanism" are concerned, we couldn't say 1955, but as it was expressed in written form in Marxism and Freedom (M&F) in 1957. Now what is clear is not that any of the other dates are wrong, but that each time it is a specific period that makes one realize that actually what wasn't clear was what was in the philosophic moment, and only when the objective and subjective merges is it "proven." Oh, the source, the ground, really also had a roof. But the context in between, the structure, couldn't be controlled without the objective situation. But that, on the other hand, made it very clear that we are back to focusing on the philosophic moment.

1987 AND THE IMPERATIVENESS OF BOTH THE OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE URGENCY NOW MANIFESTS THAT WHAT HAS BEEN AN UN-TRODDEN PATH ALL THESE YEARS, BY ALL POST-MARX MARXISTS, INCLUDING LENIN—WHO DID DIG INTO PHILOSOPHY, BUT NOT THE PARTY, AND LUXEMBURG, WHO DID DIG INTO SPONTANEITY, BUT NOT PHILOSOPHY—IS ORGANIZATION, the Dialectics of Philosophy and Organization.

Why did we think once we took the big step of separating, indeed breaking, with the elitist party, that it is sufficient to do so politically without doing so philosophically?

Wasn't it because we actually had not penetrated the dialectic of organization in its relationship to dialectics of philosophy, though we certainly never stopped using the word "dialectics"? In a word, even when we used "Absolute" in relationship to method and definitely stressed that we do not mean just a tool or application, we did think that it was not just the threshold of the Absolute Idea, but the Absolute Idea as its ultimate, as if Absolute Mind was no more than what Absolute Idea was in the "Logic" and Hegel didn't need to tell us that we better not stop there and instead go to Philosophy of Nature and Philosophy of Mind.

No wonder that when CLR James (CLRJ) said that he looked into Philosophy of Mind, he concluded that he found nothing there "for us." I must have felt dissatisfied, since that is where I went, and precisely, I might say, on the question of what we called "dialectics of the party," specifying however, that I wasn't interested either in the mass party, which the masses will build, or in the elitist party, which we definitely oppose, but in what happens to a small group "like us" who know that nothing can be done without the masses, and are with them, but they [small groups] are theoreticians and they always seem to be around too. So, what is the objectivity which explains their presence, as the objectivity explains the spontaneous outburst of the masses? In a word, I was looking for the objectivity of subjectivity.

The one thing I did not mention in discussing 1953 is that the letter of May 20, where I suddenly speak on the Philosophy of Mind, came after CLRJ had said in his Notes—or the letter accompanying his Notes—that he had looked into Philosophy of Mind, and found nothing there "for us" (naturally that means Johnson-Forest Tendency). So why did I go to the Philosophy of Mind after connecting the end of the last few pages of Science of Logic with Philosophy of Mind? And that was directly after I just repeated what JFT had worked out, that Lenin said Marx's development in the section of commodities not only bore resemblance to Hegel's syllogistic UPI [Universal-Particular-Individual],

(continued on page 6)

# Raya Dunayevskaya's Final Dialogue With Us

(continued from page 5)

but moreover, what is further to be noted is that just as Lenin had noted that Chapter One—and we noted Chapter One including fetishism bore resemblance to UPI—so the accumulation of capital, its General Absolute Law, was based on the Absolute Idea, holding that just as that meant the dialectic of bourgeois society, its end by the revolt of the workers, so Marx “also set the



G.W.F. Hegel

limits to the dialectic of the party, which is part of bourgeois society and will wither away with the passing of the bourgeoisie...” Therefore, what we were working on was not just a book, but a philosophy, a whole new philosophy of dialectics for our age of post-WWII, and that, of course, meant cracking the Absolute. That is where we all stopped. CLRJ promised he would do it, but he didn't. Instead, he said he had looked into the Philosophy of Mind and found nothing in there for us.

So, whatever it was that was driving me in 1953 to write those letters of May 12 and May 20, it suddenly became the whole of Hegel's work, beginning, as always, with what Marx said was most important in Phenomenology of Mind, going through the Science of Logic with Lenin, but refusing to follow either Lenin in that last paragraph, or CLRJ on the fact that he found nothing in Philosophy of Mind, and delving not only into that work, but into those last final syllogisms that nobody, including bourgeois academia, had seriously tackled the next decade. I was not debating them or what they did or did not do; in this case, my “ignorance” saved me from having to argue with them or anybody, but, again it was Marx who, though he broke off his manuscript before the final section of Philosophy of Mind, his very sharp digging into Capital, especially the general law of capitalist accumulation and the new passions and new forces, led me to conclude suddenly that the dialectic of the Party as well as of the contradictions in the Absolute Idea itself, resulted in my seeing what I called “the new society,” i.e. the end of the division between mental and manual.

Thus, that philosophic moment was the core for those heretofore formative years of News and Letters Committees which ended with the completion of M&F, where we saw that the little phrase “the movement from practice” set the whole structure of M&F. Not only that; it served both as ground and roof for the analysis of the contemporary world, both theoretically and practically, including the altogether new voices from both the proletariat and the new revolts in the Communist world, as well as the Black Revolution right here in the U.S. I'm sure I don't have to repeat that to this day that first edition had one banner-raising event of world historic importance, by including the first translation both of Marx's Humanist Essays and Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks.

[Here Raya said—on June 5, from her hospital bed—that she wished to include parts of her “Theory/Practice” column written that day. She called special attention to the paragraphs below:

I returned to the final Chapter 12 of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. Its penultimate paragraph read:

“It isn't because we are any ‘smarter’ that we can see so much more than other post-Marx Marxists. Rather, it is because of the maturity of our age. It is true that other post-Marx Marxists have rested on a truncated Marxism; it is equally true that no other generation could have seen the problematic of our age, much less solve our problems. Only live human beings can recreate the revolutionary dialectic forever anew. And these live human beings must do so in theory as well as in practice. It is not a question only of meeting the challenge from practice, but of being able to meet the challenge from the self-development of the Idea, and of deepening theory to the point where it reaches Marx's concept of the philosophy of ‘revolution in permanence.’”

It was at that point that I asked that the following paragraph be added:

“There is a further challenge to the form of organization which we have worked out as the committee-form rather than the ‘party-to-lead.’ But, though committee-form and ‘party-to-lead’ are opposites, they are not absolute opposites. At the point when the theoretic-form reaches philosophy, the challenge demands that we synthesize not

only the new relations of theory to practice, and all the forces of revolution, but philosophy's ‘suffering, patience and labor of the negative,’ i.e. experiencing absolute negativity. Then and only then will we succeed in a revolution that will achieve a classless, non-racist, non-sexist, truly human, truly new society. That which Hegel judged to be the synthesis of the ‘Self-Thinking Idea’ and the ‘Self-Bringing-Forth of Liberty,’ Marxist-Humanism holds, is what Marx had called the new society. The many paths to get there are not easy to work out...”

Now return to our own situation, and think of the attacks that we will be facing in 1987, when we state openly that even the one post-Marx Marxist revolutionary who did reach deeply into philosophy—Lenin—nevertheless did not do so on the question of organization. In truth, he never renounced his position on the vanguard party set out in 1902 in What is to be Done?, though he often critiqued it himself. He profoundly extended his new breakthrough in philosophy to a concretization of the dialectics of revolution, and yet never changed his position on the need for the ‘thin layer of Bolsheviks’ as a vanguard party organization. In 1982 in Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, we critiqued Lenin politically. To fully work out the dialectics of philosophy and organization for our age, it is now clear that that critique must dig deep philosophically.

The whole truth is that even Marx's Critique of the Gotha Program, which remains the ground for organization today, was written 112 years ago. What is demanded is not mere ‘updating,’ after all the aborted revolutions of the post World War II world. ‘Ground’ will not suffice alone; we have to finish the building—the roof and its contents. This is what I am working on now in the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy. I would appreciate hearing from our readers on their thoughts on this.

—June 5, 1987]

Now, then, it seems to me that in a certain sense we could call it a shock for me to have experienced this in this year 1987, when a great deal of research was done by others—Eugene, Mike, Peter, Cyrus, Kevin, Sheila, Olga—on the many ways that spontaneity appeared in the forms of councils, soviets, committees, communes, and so forth, not only to say the generalization: Yes, the party and the forms of organization are opposites, but they are not absolute opposites. The change in the title to Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy really means that the absolute opposite is philosophy, and that we have not yet worked out organizationally. Because...

Take Pannekoek. The Council Communists were certainly earlier on the scene and directly opposed Lenin in a friendly way, on the question of a single form of organization, insisting that when it comes to production, the people at the point of production must maintain their power after the revolution. But, did they ever give up their party? Didn't they, along with Rosa Luxemburg, think that spontaneity is no substitute for the wholeness of internationalism and theory? On the contrary, they took that for granted. What not only was not taken for granted, but never even approached in any way whatever, unless one calls “approached” a total rejection, was philosophy. Except, except, except...

The except of course, refers to Lenin. But he too kept to [the] old and Plekhanov when it came to Russia.

One must not hem in a new duality into an old reality because of the similarities of abstract opposites colliding. It is the collision of concrete opposites that demands a new unity. Without that philosophic moment there is no way to hew out a new path. And for Lenin there was no philosophic moment insofar as organization was concerned.

In the case of organization, every Left was grabbing at some old contradictions, and with them, some old solutions. Which is why the most cogent moment for our problematic, and for showing up more than ambivalence in Lenin, was the fact that Pannekoek (and Gorter), with that creative new concept of council communism, i.e. power in the hands of the workers at the point of production, came [to] the old, vulgarized, abysmally narrow, imperialistic philosophy of Lenin's 1908 Materialism and Empirio-criticism, as against Lenin's great new philosophic breakthrough on the Larger Logic, and as if that self-movement of ideas and of people was a “betrayal” of the class struggle. And to this day, that is what Council Communists are swearing by (see Lenin as Philosopher).

Lenin, too, never raised philosophy directly in relationship to organization. It was at most a phrase, like the famous reference in the Trade Union Debate, where he brings in, in a general way only, dialectics and eclecticism (see page 65 of Volume IX of Lenin's Selected Works, on “a glass cylinder”).

And the epigones have been busy trying to say that whereas it was correct for Lenin not to touch the question of the party when there was the great phenomenon of Soviets, “we” must no longer avoid the question of party. Whereupon, they end up just with two more reasons for being in favor of the vanguard party.

### III CONCLUSION: UNTRODDEN PATHS IN ORGANIZATION

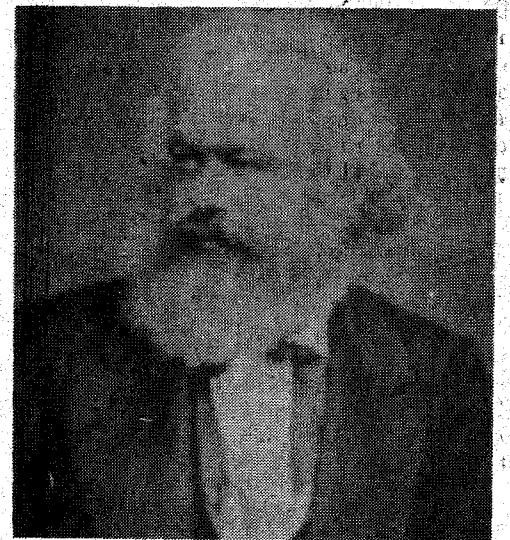
In a single word, we must go into these untrodden paths. We must not, I repeat must not, look for a crutch just because a new epigone is using the word

“democracy” to mean more than one party, and a Mao is espousing at one and the same time, “bombard the headquarters” and “the Party remains the vanguard” (+ vs. bureaucratization...).

Since Marx himself laid the ground—and that, remember, is 112 years ago—in other words, the whole of post-Marx Marxism beginning with Engels has not built on that ground. And Engels, you must remember, did fight hard to have the Critique of the Gotha Program published, in if “moderated” form, and yet assented to the establishment of the Second International. And the German Social Democracy had been forced to publish it, but only as a “contribution to the discussion,” not as ground for organization.

Lenin did return to Marx's roots in Hegel, and did see that the Critique of the Gotha Program had never really been concretized as the smashing of the bourgeois state, without which you could not have a revolution. In a word, he certainly worked out the dialectics of revolution, and made it be in Russia. But, but, but—he didn't touch the question of the party. On the contrary, it didn't even go as far as his own varied critiques of What is to be Done?, once the Bolsheviks gained power.

With Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, we alone showed that Marx had created the philosophic ground for organization. But we need not only ground but a roof. And we have all these 112 years of void on organization



Karl Marx

and philosophy. There is no time in a nuclear age to put it off for another day.

1988 is the year of the book, and not as in 1980 just as challenge to post-Marx Marxists, but the actual presentation of the dialectics of philosophy and the book as one, and for that it needs a whole organization, and not just the author. The whole does not mean...

The real point is the meaning that this is not a question of the “author,” but the whole organization. I want to stress the word, “the whole,” not in the sense that each one is going to write a chapter, but rather that the context of each person's activity and special point of concentration—be it labor, Women's Liberation, youth, Black, etc.—will be inseparable from the meaning of that activity, and that meaning, whether of an objective event or the subjective activity, will be projected to those not-yet Marxists-Humanists, because in meaning, i.e. philosophy, is both ground and roof of all we do, survey, strive for, as we prepare for that “revolution in permanence.”

The philosophic nucleus, the attempt to become “practicing dialecticians,” did have a good beginning in the 1980s. But the test is very different now, not because that is not what we need. We certainly do. But because the type of need involves first the whole organization which this year has been so preoccupied with making a success of the biweekly that the organizational growth from which it was supposed to be inseparable was very much separated. It suffered that because what got put very much on the back burner, and back to only me writing it, was philosophy.

I want to repeat, because philosophy has not permeated the paper, therefore, it didn't permeate the organization.

Therefore, I would very strongly suggest that the Plenum consider that beginning in January, 1988 we become a monthly twelve-page paper in a very new way, where the book—Dialectics of Philosophy and Organization—becomes the dominant force not only in essay-articles, but in every activity we undertake, especially in discussions with subscribers, with not-yet Marxist-Humanists, not just as the recording of the events and their experiences, but the meaning of those events and experiences and their direction in a global context. That is what we will have to project when we have conversations with subscribers. That is what has been missing—the whole new concept of “post-Marx Marxism as a pejorative”—it just laid there in Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

To assure that such essay-articles would be forthcoming, we ought to suggest or have people volunteer in September at the Plenum, on what they would do for the issues beginning in January, 1988. I have had a chance to speak to some on this already. By raising it this early, it means I not only want to hear from you today, but we will continue the discussion at the next REB, when I will bring in a draft of the Plenum Call. And once the Call is out, then the full Plenum discussion is open to all.

# News and Letters plenum: Marxist-Humanist Tasks for 1988

The following document, "How Can We Close the Gap Between Philosophic Breakthrough and Organizational Expression? Marxist-Humanist Tasks for 1988," was adopted as Part III of Marxist-Humanist Perspectives 1988 at the News and Letters Plenum, held Jan. 9-10, 1988, attended by the entire membership of the committees.

With her presentation written for the June 1, 1987 Resident Editorial Board (REB) meeting, Raya situated our tasks for the year to come not only in the context of the current world objective-subjective situation, but in the context of nearly two centuries of struggle to realize the idea of freedom—from Hegel through Marx to Marxist-Humanism. This was so not because she took world events in 1987 "for granted." Rather, it was in part because Raya's own work of 1986-87 so internalized all the new developments—whether with the "Two of a Kind, Reagan and Gorbachev," or by delving into "Whither China?", whether in her writings on the South African revolution or in her speeches to student activists in the U.S.—that the imperativeness of fully concretizing Marxist-Humanism organizationally became her driving passion.

The year 1988 confronts us with the dangers of Reagan's imperial presidency as it nears its end. As we reach the end of the 1980s, we see that the politically "changed world" of Grenada, Libya, the Falklands, and now the Persian Gulf, extends also to what Raya called a "pollution of thought itself within the Left...including the illusion of technology as having reached some sort of post-industrial 'information' world."

**THE DISORIENTATION OF** so much of the Left under Reaganism, the "pollution of thought itself," is the current manifestation of the category Raya singled out at the beginning of this decade—"Post-Marx Marxism as a pejorative, and beginning with Engels." How difficult a journey it is to fully overcome that Engelsian heritage, and then to concretize Marx's Marxism for our age as Marxist-Humanism, is seen in Raya's sharp critique of our own organizational practice in the period of the biweekly. As she began to outline our tasks for the Plenum she fully expected to attend, Raya characterized our perspectives as "untrodden paths in Organization." And that was true both for the newspaper, News & Letters, and for our organization, News and Letters Committees. Now we face those "untrodden paths" without her corporeal presence, but with her legacy, her half-century of labor to create the Marxist-Humanist body of ideas.

We do have the great advantage of her archives. None in the revolutionary movement before Raya sought to share the process of the development of the Idea—its method, its test in world events, and its battles with other ideas, while they lived. The whole history of News and Letters Committees is the history of a struggle to create what Raya had called "a philosophic nucleus" for the projection of Marxist-Humanism. It is that struggle that we must now attempt to follow-through on, as we face the first Plenum without Raya's attendance.

Since June 9, we have sought to comprehend the discontinuity of her death, and to set our organization on the path to working out a thorough-going continuity with Raya's work of 1986-87.

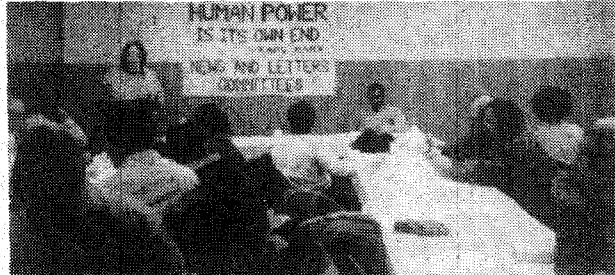
We began with a preparation of the typescript of her presentation written for the June 1 REB meeting, the text which became the mediation for the Draft Perspectives. Since then we have sought to both inventory and organize Raya's writings of 1986-87 and to dig into the theoretic preparation needed for all the archives work to come.

**ON JULY 25 WE** published a memorial issue of News & Letters, which gave voice both to Raya's last writings and to the first of the many profound responses to her life's work that poured in to us from all over the world. The Memorial Meeting for Raya held in Chicago July 25 continued that deep, multi-dimensional inpouring and underlined the objectivity of Raya's legacy for revolutionary struggles and thought. Our response to

that in-pouring has proved far more difficult than the follow-through we spoke so much about at our last Convention, when we saw that wherever there is a revolutionary movement there is a new interest in a dialogue with Marxist-Humanism. The inpouring to us since June 9 is directly on Raya's life and legacy. While we have no illusions that those who responded are "the answer" to the problem of organizational growth, the dialogue can be a pathway to both inwardizing and projecting the Marxist-Humanist body of Ideas.

Nor do we have any illusions that, when the National Editorial Board voted to end the biweekly and turn to the publication of a monthly, 12-page newspaper, we have, in the issues since August-September, yet succeeded in creating the new kind of newspaper Raya projected.

The task that remains to be done—whether on organization or journalism, on archives or on the "dialectic proper"—is to so fully dig into the work of Raya's last



News & Letters photo

## Part of audience at News and Letters 1988 Plenum

years, not separated from the whole body of Marxist-Humanist writings, that philosophy will never again be "on the back burner" as we seek to carry out these organizational tasks for 1988:

● 1. In 1988, we seek to "become a monthly 12-page paper in a very new way, where the book—Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy—becomes the dominant force not only in essay-articles, but in every activity we undertake, especially in discussion with subscribers, not-yet Marxist-Humanists, not just as the recording of the events and their experiences, but the meaning of those events and experiences and their direction in a global context." While we will not have the book as "book," we do have both Raya's writings of 1986-87 and, inseparable from that, the whole body of Ideas over three decades of Marxist-Humanism. The special column we have established as "From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya—Marxist-Humanist Archives" becomes of central importance in the task we have set ourselves.

● 2. What cannot be separated from that goal, is the need to project Marxist-Humanism to those not-yet Marxist-Humanists in such a total manner that News and Letters Committees experiences organizational growth. It demands our full participation with all the forces of revolution—Labor, the Black Dimension, the Women's Liberation Movement and Youth—never separating movement activities from the discussion of freedom ideas. At the same time, a subscription drive for News & Letters can become a pathway to our growth if both new subscriptions and renewals are the beginning of deeper dialogue with our readers.

● 3. Early in 1988 we aim to make a new donation to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection at Wayne State University. This donation, of Raya's 1986-87 writings, the first that will not be organized by Raya herself, demands the kind of presentation of all material submitted after June 9 that makes clear the uniqueness of the full 12 volumes that Raya had presented.

● 4. To explore the centrality of Raya's 1986-87 writings to all our organizational tasks during the year ahead, we will undertake a series of classes this Spring, which could include such writings as her 1980s Introductions/Overviews, "Why Phenomenology? Why Now?", letters to non-Marxist Hegel scholars, and The Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear

World since World War II pamphlet.

● 5. Because Raya's trilogy of revolution is nearly out of print, we are searching for a suitable publisher for all three works.

● 6. Two special funds are necessary for our work this year. We will need a Sustaining Fund of \$30,000 to assure that News & Letters continues until our next Convention on Labor Day weekend, 1988. To assure that Raya's work remains available to all those searching for a philosophy of revolution for our age, and to continue the work with her archives, we have established the Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund, which we will seek to expand in 1988.

These are the tasks that we will seek to further work out...as we attempt to close the gap between Raya's philosophic breakthroughs and our organizational expression of them.

## A subscription appeal

(continued from page 1)

Though the book Raya was working on cannot now be completed, the first two tasks adopted by our NEB meeting undertook the responsibility of becoming this new kind of monthly newspaper, unseparated from the projection of "Marxist-Humanism to those not-yet Marxist-Humanists in such a total manner that News and Letters committees experiences organizational growth." One pathway we singled out to do this is a subscription-drive for News & Letters.

**IT IS THIS SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE WHICH IS AT THE HEART OF OUR APPEAL TO YOU.**

Subscribing to N&L has never been a question only of finances for us, as necessary as every penny is to help us cover the ever-rising costs of publication. Subscribing to N&L is a way to help us work out the Idea of Marxist-Humanism at this critical point of history, by having your own dialogue with our ideas. We urge you to study, especially, the column we have titled "From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya, The Marxist-Humanist Archives," which will appear within each issue, and to send us your thoughts. Your comments on everything you find in N&L and your views of all the ongoing world events are important to share with our readers.

If you are already a subscriber to News & Letters, there are many ways you can help us spread our paper far and wide:

• You can help us with international subscriptions, especially to the Third World. News & Letters reaches around the globe, both in articles received—this issue has in-person reports from a women's liberationist inside China (page 2) and from furniture workers direct from inside South Africa, (page 1)—and in where we send the paper. But often our overseas readers cannot send money out of the country, or simply cannot afford the price of a subscription. We need donors here in the U.S. to help defray the expensive postal cost of sending our paper to readers abroad.

• You can become a Sustainer-Subscriber. Each issue of N&L costs us well over \$1,000 to publish, and all our costs are rising although all our work is performed with a volunteer staff. Because subscriptions and sales cover only part of this cost, a subscriber who sends us \$5, or \$10 or \$25 regularly, each month, can help us to cover the ever-rising difference.

• You can send gift subscriptions to some of your friends to begin their acquaintance with Marxist-Humanist Ideas. With each new gift subscription we will send a copy of our Memorial Issue on Raya Dunayevskaya, founder of Marxist-Humanism—a truly special issue on the revolutionary philosophic/organizational work of Raya as seen both in her writings, and in the outpouring of discussion and solidarity that came to us from throughout the world.

• Finally, whether you are a new reader or a long-time subscriber, we would urge you to purchase the just issued new bound volume of News & Letters (\$20). It begins with June 1984 when Toledo workers poured out of the plants to blockade a scab plant and battled police, and goes on to trace world events and Marxist-Humanist philosophic developments throughout the mid-1980s, concluding with the Memorial issue to Raya of July 24, 1987. It is a living history of the period as both freedom activities and freedom ideas.

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## Documents from 1988 National Meeting

### Bulletin No. 1

- Perspectives and Organization: What is New and What is Not, Objectively and Subjectively, as we begin 1988, by Olga Domanski, Co-National Organizer
- Perspectives and News & Letters, by Eugene Walker, Managing Editor of N&L
- Perspectives and the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, the Marxist-Humanist Archives, by Michael Connolly, Co-National Organizer.

### Bulletin No. 2

- News and Letters Committees in the Field: How to Begin Anew, by Peter Wermuth, member, Resident Editorial Board
- Perspectives: Philosophy of the Black Dimension, 1988, by Lou Turner, "Black World" columnist, News & Letters
- The Battle of Ideas and Marxist-Humanism: A post-June 9, 1987 View, by Kevin A. Barry, "Our Life and Times" columnist
- Youth Report, by Sheila Fuller, Youth columnist
- Perspectives and Women's Liberation, by Terry Moon, Women's Liberationist columnist

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Reprinted from *Sage, A Scholarly Journal on Black Women*, Vol. III No. 1

# The dimension of Black women in Dunayevskaya writings

*Editor's note: Below we print excerpts from a review by Diane Lee, a Black feminist writer of Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution (1985).*

From the title of the new work by Raya Dunayevskaya—*Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future (WLDR)*—the reader may not suspect that Black women as workers, as thinkers, as activists, help to form its core and are integral to the passions and forces of revolution discussed within. And yet Black women are a powerful dimension of this book. This is not merely for the sake of "touching another base" by including Black working women. Rather, in these pages one becomes witness to Black women striving to have new human relationships, striving for a new society, and thus integral to any truly revolutionary "reaching for the future": in Nigeria, market women call a strike that confronts both British colonialism and their own chiefs; in Detroit, a Black woman auto worker poses questions of color, class and gender to white women's liberationists; in Soweto, a 16-year-old Black woman challenges apartheid by her refusal to accept a subservient heritage. Working out the relation of these "Subjects of revolution"—Black women, all women, indeed all humanity—to what Dunayevskaya calls a philosophy of revolution, beginning with Marx's Marxism, forms the central thrust of this 35-year collection of essays, talks and letters. That relation is what she terms "dialectics of revolution."

While reading this work three categories that Dunayevskaya has developed in relation to Black women were particularly striking: 1) the concept of Black working women as "reason" of revolution; 2) the forcefulness of the international dimension of Black women and 3) the challenge Black women have issued to the revolutionary movement, especially to women's liberation theorists and theorists within the Black movement.

In the essay entitled "The Women's Liberation Movement as Reason and as Revolutionary Force," Dunayevskaya quotes a Black working woman, Ethel Dunbar, which illustrates how Black women challenge narrow concepts of women's liberation that fail to include the dimension of color as well as gender:

"I was at a discussion several weeks ago on the question of women's rights...where one white woman, an old politico, said she had just left a caucus in her union which had been discussing the problems of women in the shop. The question came up of white women fighting for higher pay, because even Black men were getting higher wages than white women. Being a Black woman, it made me angry to have it put that way, because it sounded as though white women thought they should make more than Black men. Black men do hard, hard work. And there is something wrong with that whole way of thinking...White women have to make sure that they do not let white men mix up their thinking." (WLDR, p. 24)

Ethel Dunbar is critiquing an elitist attitude that is prevalent not only among some women's liberationists, but also among some who consider themselves revolutionaries.

Dunayevskaya takes up the international dimension of Black women in a number of different ways. One is her discussion of the Igbo Women's War:

"...take the African continent where it was not the educated men, but illiterate women who added a new page to history, when, in 1929, the British imperialists in Eastern Nigeria decided to tax the women. They got so furious they went on spontaneous strike—which was, of course, called a 'riot'. The great Aba riots. It was not only spontaneous, it was against all the advice of everyone, including the educated males. It was not only against British imperialism, but against their own African



Raya Dunayevskaya and Ethel Dunbar at Marxist-Humanist Archives Exhibit and Lecture, Wayne State University, March 21, 1985. Dunbar was the "Way of the World" columnist of *News & Letters* in the '50s and '60s.

chiefs, who had not defended them. Above all they crossed all tribal lines. And they won, though not until after 40 women were killed and countless others injured..." (WLDR, pp. 50-51)

Perhaps most provocative and revealing of how Dunayevskaya sees the dimension of Black women as being integral to the dialectics of revolution is her discussion of Black women challenging concepts within the revolutionary movement. In her essay entitled "The Black Dimension in Women's Liberation," she quotes a Black woman intellectual, Doris Wright, who raises questions of the relation of Black liberation and Black women's liberation and of what happens after the revolution:

"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 sure that when it comes time to 'put down my gun,' that I won't have a broom shoved in my hands, as so many of my Cuban sisters have." (WLDR, p. 51)

Dunayevskaya then comments: "She was posing the question of what happens after. That is what we have to answer before, in the practice of our own organizations, our own thought and our own activity."

*Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future* has a wide ranging discussion of Black women, but it is not a book "about"

Black women. If Dunayevskaya can write with insight about Black women, it is because she has dug deeply into the interrelationship of women's liberation and a dialectics of revolution and found Black working women within.

The entire work is given its direction, not through a chronological presentation of the essays, but rather because, as Dunayevskaya notes in her "Introduction/Overview," "...each of the four parts...involves the totality." The real unifying dimension of this totality is...Marxist-Humanism. It encompasses voices of revolt speaking for themselves unseparated from the full articulation and projection of Marx's Marxism recreated for today...Dunayevskaya sees the source of philosophy not only among those who call themselves theorists but among all of the new passions and forces. One can see her concept of philosophy's relation to voices of revolt in her most provocative presentation of Sojourner Truth:

"Today, when Women's Liberation is not just an Idea whose time has come but an actual movement, we naturally think that past history is but 'backdrop,' and yet if we look at even so simple a question of choosing a name and how we think we have achieved a great revolution by adopting our mother's maiden name instead of of our father's name, we have to stop and compare that with what Sojourner Truth did...She asked (God) what she should call herself...? His answer was supposed to have been: 'Sojourn the world over and tell the truth about American democracy. The Declaration of Independence says all men are free, but obviously they mean only white men, and women don't seem to count at all. Go tell the world the truth.' Since that was precisely the answer she was waiting to hear, she called herself from that moment on 'Sojourner Truth.' Which one of us...has chosen a name that expresses our whole philosophy?" (WLDR, p. 54)

What makes Dunayevskaya's study so thought-provoking is the contradictory reality we face today. On the one hand, there is Reaganism and Hitler's visage in apartheid South Africa. On the other, there are women's voices and actions in deep opposition globally to class-ridden, sexist, racist societies. Dunayevskaya forces us to begin to clear our heads, to look into our own revolutionary history as Black women activists and thinkers, not merely as "backdrop" but as part of a historic process that will aid us in working out a philosophy of liberation that together with today's "new passions and forces" will reach for a human society.

Announcing: In preparation and available in March

## Volume XIII of the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection— Raya Dunayevskaya's Last Writings, 1986-87:

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Volume XIII will form a Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection. It will be the first volume not organized by Dunayevskaya herself and will be donated to Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs by her colleagues. A microfilm of Volume XIII will be available for purchase by libraries and individuals from Wayne State University. A new Guide—Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development—will be available from *News & Letters*.

## SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS

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- The Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World Since World War II by Raya Dunayevskaya ..... \$2 per copy
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## The Marxist-Humanist Trilogy of the Black Dimension



### American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard

*"The current outburst of ever-present racism, brought to a new virulence by the 6 years of Reagan retrogressionism, not only in the South, but in the North — and not only in Forsyth County, Georgia but in Howard Beach, New York City, makes it imperative to look at the whole history of how American civilization continues to be on trial. This history is not just a matter of a book or a single period. It demands the whole of the Marxist-Humanist Archives before you can see the other, absolute opposite of this racism — the revolutionary Black Dimension as ON-GOING."*

January 26, 1987 Letter from  
Raya Dunayevskaya

### Afro-Asian Revolutions

*"Take Grenada, which won power on its own and maintained it for more than three years, and yet tailed one of the world super-power orbits, which meant silence on the crucial question of dialectics of revolution. The result was both that philosophy of revolution was degraded to the question of 'leadership methods' and that they were so dominated by the view of the 'back-wardness of the masses' that all discussions were kept secret from them. Can the left possibly not face the fact that the first shot of counter-revolution came from within the new Party which thus opened the road for U.S. imperialism's invasion?"*

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### Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought

*"We can understand why the Marxist-Humanists felt a need to call themselves not just Marxists but Marxist-Humanists, because the humanism has been removed from Marx to such an extent that people thought they could come with certain theories and ideas just from the top—the intellectuals theorizing and telling the people how to liberate themselves."*

Quotes from a group of  
South African revolutionaries

## N.Y. 'Days of Outrage'

New York, N.Y.—The verdict in the Howard Beach trial came and went with less fanfare than expected on Dec. 21, 1987. Three whites were convicted (and one was let go) for causing the death of Michael Griffith and assaulting his stepfather, Cedric Sandiford, two of three Black men attacked on the streets of Howard Beach, Dec. 12, 1986.

Instead, what grabbed the headlines on the day of the verdict was the city brought to a standstill at rush hour by 73 Black demonstrators who stood on subway tracks until arrested. The direct action on that "Day of Outrage" caught the imagination of people all around the country. Everyone has been asking "What next?"

Two protests served to focus on the outrage against growing racism in New York City, one on Martin Luther King Day, Jan. 18, and the other on the day of Outrage II, Jan. 21. The two protests also represented differing agendas for confronting racism, institutional and otherwise. On Martin Luther King Day, some 3,000 demonstrators gathered in a rally called by the New Yorkers for Racial Justice. There were two contingents of an anti-discrimination organization, S.O.S. Racism, from LaGuardia high school, the other from a Bronx high school.

For the second Day of Outrage, called by the Dec. 12 Committee, 500 people responded to a flyer that said: "Day of Outrage continues..."

Blacks have been attacked over and over in white neighborhoods in the city. Unmasked hate came to the fore when 450 marchers arrived Jan. 2 by bus in the Bath Beach section of Brooklyn to protest an attack there earlier on two Black men who were hunting for redeemable bottles. And in an assault shocking to any sensibility, 15-year-old Tawana Bradley was abducted, raped and left for dead with "KKK" scrawled on her body in upstate New York, in November. She said one of her attackers showed a police badge. Meanwhile, Mayor Koch defends the un-civilization of New York, uttering things like, whites are more often the victims of Blacks—a charge shown to be patently false by Police Department statistics revealing the majority of victims of racial attacks are Blacks.

## Living wage struggle

(continued from page 1)

### -WORKERS' DEMANDS-

1. R200 (Rand) across the board wage increase; 2. R550 minimum wage for all; 3. Sales target R2,500 for outside sales staff; 4. 10% commission for all sales beyond target; 5. Job guarantee and full pay for workers detained under the state of emergency; 6. Four weeks annual leave for workers with more than 5 years service; 7. Two days time off for all.

Ellerines workers-members of CCAWUSA will appreciate pledges of solidarity, as well as moral and material support. We appeal to all organizations regardless of political affiliation and to all trade unions, churches, community, youth, student and women's organizations to support us. Forward to a worker controlled society! Forward with a socialist programme of action!

—Drafted by Ellerines Shop-Stewards

## Black Chicago today

clusionary, backroom dealings that prevailed in the City Council election of South Side alderman Eugene Sawyer to succeed Washington, revealed more than Black Chicago's determination not to go back to the old Daley machine days.

The political crisis precipitated by the death of Harold Washington exposed the utter poverty of thought within his political coalition which never understood the dialectic of the movement that made his unprecedented election possible in Reagan's America in 1983 and his re-election, along with that of a number of Black and Latino aldermen, in 1987. The truth is that the grass-roots political process that emerged from the streets of Black Chicago to elect Harold Washington had long since been left behind by the Washington coalition.

Thus, in many respects the mass protests that erupted at the memorial rally for Washington the day of his funeral, and climaxed with the mass outpouring at City Hall the following night to oppose the City Council "coup" which elected Eugene Sawyer during a tumultuous all-night session, was as much an expression of the shock which accompanies the abrupt loss of an illusion, as it was an expression of outrage at the open betrayal of Washington's Black City Council coalition.

Illusions die hard, especially those propounded in the name of political reformism in a period when the general conditions of society cry out for a total transformation of the "prevailing scheme of things." So, in the final analysis, the significance of Harold Washington may be judged to have been that he brought the movement for Black political emancipation in Chicago to the point where it can no longer avoid facing the deeper historic-philosophic problematic which belies the question of Black political empowerment, namely, that while Black voting power will continue to manifest itself for the foreseeable future, why, nevertheless, does it remain the only "power" the Black community has been told is at its disposal?

The sobering reality is that that has proved ineffectual in face of the ravages of Black economic deprivation and underdevelopment. For that reason all Black political aspirants and leaders will have more to reckon with in Black Chicago than once again "getting out the vote," in the wake of the death of Harold Washington.

## Black/Red View

by John Alan

James Baldwin's death in France, in December, brought forth an outpouring of articles by his friends and fellow writers and serious attempts to evaluate Baldwin as a writer. Aside from Stanley Crouch's obviously absurd neo-conservative charge that Baldwin was the seminal father of the "trickle-down Marxists" who attempted to take over the Black Movement and "remove free will from black lower-class thought," none have ventured to deal seriously with the significant influence that Baldwin had on the Civil Rights Movement. The fact is that it was Baldwin alone, among all the prominent Black authors, who became totally involved and identified himself with the Movement. Baldwin exerted his influence naturally as a member of the generation that gave birth to a radical leap in Black consciousness and activity to uproot a two-century-old system of racial oppression.

Born Black and poor in a Harlem slum, Baldwin, more than any other Black American writer at that time, carried his generation to the depth of that historic oppression, not just into the experiences of poverty and white brutality, but into the agonizing experiences of being forced to play a universal subordinate role in all white/Black relationships. He argued that this is the "reality" that we had to face first, and that "all talk about sociology and economics is a lot of jazz."

Implicit in Baldwin's attitude was the desire to place the whole American civilization on trial. Placing American civilization on trial was exactly what young Black militants and writers of that generation wanted to do. They read avidly Baldwin's extraordinary collection of essays: *Notes of a Native Son*, *Nobody Knows My Name*, and *The Fire Next Time*. These essays were autobiographical, but they were also the bridge that connected Baldwin with the Black movement. He influenced the movement, as it influenced him.

And yet none of these essays were a call to action, neither did they deal with concrete issues to end racism. Baldwin's terrain of battle was between Afro-American subjectivity and the dominant white subjectivity that thwarted the full development of Black consciousness as a true expression of Black America's humanity.

Though all he wrote seemed to coalesce with the emerging Black consciousness at that time, Baldwin had in fact introduced a concept of Black consciousness that ran counter to the consciousness of the Black mass movement. If Black consciousness meant anything, it meant, the ending of the separation between the idea of freedom and the actual practice of freedom, i.e., a unity between the subjective and the objective, a new society in America. But Baldwin's concept of Black subjectivity was an unreconciled dualism.

In Europe, he discovered to his astonishment that he was "American as any Texas G.I." This discovery caused him to dig back to where he was in America. Later, suffering a near nervous breakdown, he listened to Bessie Smith records, something he never did in America, "...but in Europe she helped to reconcile (him) to being a 'nigger'."

However, Baldwin's re-discovery of his other identity does not open a pathway to liberation. He freezes the dialectic of his two identities and formalizes in his essay "Everybody's Protest Novel," his personal experience of dual consciousness to mean "that the oppressed and the

## James Baldwin: everybody's protest writer

oppressors are bound together within the same society; they accept the same criteria, they share the same beliefs, they both alike depend on the same reality. Within this age it is romantic, more, meaningless, to speak of a 'new' society as the desire of the oppressed, for that shivering dependent on the props of reality which he shares with the herrenvolk makes truly 'new' society impossible to conceive."

James Baldwin wrote the above early in his career. There is no doubt that the overall fatalism attached to the concept that a "new" society is impossible because the oppressed and oppressor have the same beliefs really never left his thinking. It permeated his last interview, given a few weeks before his death, and published in the *Village Voice*. He spoke as an alienated man "divorced" from what he thought he was, estranged from his generation and his American roots.

## Black World

(continued from page 1)

That is why two sharply contrasted views emerge when we look at the state of Black Chicago after Harold Washington. So much of what Chicagoans read in the daily press viewed the Washington legacy from the vantage point of the leaders and the political power structure, separated from the militant Black mass movement and political base that made Harold Washington the first Black mayor of the most segregated big city in the U.S.

This class division was manifested most glaringly at Mayor Washington's funeral, where local and national "dignitaries" were cozily transported in some 200 limosines past the throngs of Black mourners who had waited patiently in freezing rain—many overnight—outside the large South Side church where the services were held. Patience turned to indignation when it became clear that nearly all the seats had been filled by "dignitaries" and their families, people who, one angry Black mourner exclaimed, were the very ones who opposed Washington from the start.

### WHENCE THE CRISIS AROSE

However, the re-tooling of the old Cook County Democratic machine in Washington's last days was a development which sent a troubled signal throughout the Black electorate, not alone because in consolidating political power within the deeply fragmented Democratic Party, Washington was prepared to hand down an executive edict that "anybody who does not work for this ticket is not my friend," but because it signaled a new era of divisive political machinations by Black aldermen and community leaders within Washington's coalition.

With three years of "city council wars" behind him, the first steps taken by Washington to consolidate the political power that had remained out of reach in his first term disclosed the political divisions that would erupt into the open upon his death. In a word, all the conditions were present before Harold Washington's death for the political crisis that emerged full blown amidst the public outpouring of grief.

The crisis came to a head the night following Washington's funeral, when 10,000 angry Chicagoans encircled City Hall. Community outrage over the ex-

# Can Palestinian struggle become a new beginning?

(continued from page 1)

children in place of the automatic weapon fire that had, in six weeks of demonstrations, left 36 dead, hundreds injured, thousands arrested. The vicious new policy that Defense Minister Rabin announced to the Knesset (Israel's parliament) in mid-January was openly aimed at crushing hands, arms and legs—and skulls—as a more effective procedure than arrests for keeping "stone-throwers" immobilized longer. Within the first two days alone they succeeded in breaking 197 limbs. The numbers since then are countless. (Nor did it stop the use of live ammunition as well. As we go to press come reports of the army opening fire again on protesters in Nablus while helicopters swoop overhead to drop tear gas.)

## ISRAEL—A TRANSFORMATION INTO OPPOSITE

As correspondents from all over the world reported the beatings of men, women and children with fists, clubs and rifle butts, in house-to-house searches as well as in the streets, in daylight as well as at night to avoid television coverage, the visage of South Africa loomed large in Israel.

The transformation into opposite\* from the Israel of 1947-48, born out of the struggle for national self-determination against British colonialism, into the imperialistic, state-capitalist, occupier-oppressor of 1987-88 has so shocked some Israelis that teams of psychologists have been sent to work with soldiers in the territories, most of them 18 to 20-year-old conscripts doing their three years of compulsory national service, and enough of them balking at carrying out their orders to worry the army. By mid-January it had already been reported that 66 youths and 160 army reservists had refused to perform their service in the occupied territories.

At the same time, in an effort to pressure striking Palestinian workers—who do nearly all the manual construction, blue-collar factory and agricultural field work in Israel—Labor minister Moshe Katsav announced the importation of strikebreakers from southern Lebanon and Portugal and the mobilization of high school students to pick oranges and grapefruit. The executive committee of the Histadrut labor federation dared to pledge to join the students as a "symbolic gesture"—in scabbing.

Nothing better demonstrates the turmoil now taking place inside Israel than the fact that, while polls continued to show that an overwhelming majority of the Israeli public supported the "iron fist" policies of Rabin, over 50,000 marched through Tel Aviv on Jan. 23 carrying torches and banners reading: "Stop Israeli Apartheid Now." The same day 10,000 Israeli Arabs staged a peaceful demonstration in Nazareth.

## ALL TENSIONS INTENSIFY

These new events in the West Bank, in Gaza, and within Israel itself have, for the moment, pushed all the other contradictions in the Middle East from the headlines. But every tension there remains, intensified by these newest events. Thus, while Reagan has been forced, reluctantly, to the mildest of criticisms of Israel's actions in the occupied territories, it is the U.S. that continues to back Israel heavily both financially and militarily. It is an illusion to think that his "criticism" is anything more than not wanting to lose the new relations Reagan thinks he has gained with the Arab lands in relation to the Persian Gulf. At the same time, the bloody seven-year-long Iran-Iraq War, which has already killed over one million on both sides—many of them teenagers and younger—continues to be kept going with arms supplied by both superpowers and the regional merchants of death.

## The complex regional conflicts in the Gulf region

\* See Raya Dunayevskaya's Political-Philosophic Letter of Jan. 5, 1982 for an analysis of Israel's moves backward just before the invasion of Lebanon. It is entitled "Begin's Israel Moves Further and Further Backward to his Reactionary, Terrorist Beginnings," and is available from N&L and in the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection at Wayne State University, pp. 7392-7401.

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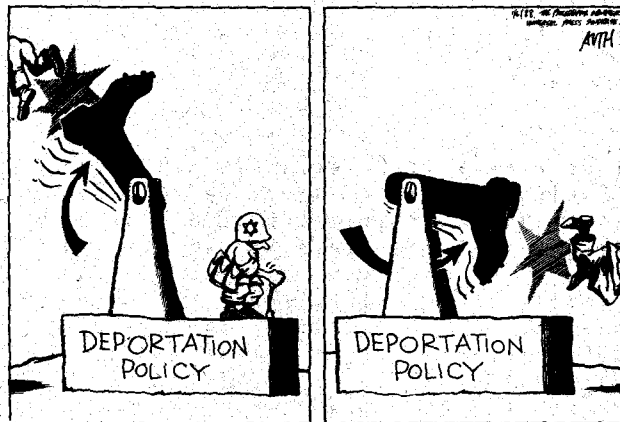
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all have their own logic, but what is important to recognize is that the Iran-Iraq War is not what brought the U.S. armada into the Persian Gulf. What drove Reagan to send in the U.S. armada in full force, as a signal of his commitment to the Gulf states to "protect" them, was his determination to try to push Russia out of an area in which it has gathered considerable influence ever since Gorbachev took power. What drives Reagan is his nuclear-armed competition with Russia—and vice versa. The machinations of the small powers mean nothing compared to that.

It is in the face of such lethal retrogression as this on the part of all the powers—whether that be the mighty



superpowers, or Israel, or Iran, or the Arab lands (who only last November at the Arab summit in Jordan had effectively relegated the "Palestinian question" to a non-issue)—that it is necessary to confront the contradictions within the freedom movements, as well.

There is no doubt that millions of Palestinians on strike in Israel and the occupied territories do portend a new stage. But can it be a new beginning without being rooted in a philosophy of revolution? Is it enough to act independently of the old organizations like the PLO, as the youth have done, while the death grip of Islamic fundamentalism lies in wait? All the old forms are constantly waiting to absorb the new unless the new is in thought as well as activity. The latest events thus bring a new urgency to the Marxist-Humanist Perspectives which were set at the national gathering of News and Letters Committees on Jan. 9-10—in particular, to the question of the unfinished nature of all the revolutions of our age.

What follows are excerpts from one section of Part I of those Perspectives.\*

## THE 'UNFINISHED REVOLUTIONS' IN LIFE AND IN THOUGHT and THE 'DIALECTICS OF ORGANIZATION AND PHILOSOPHY'

The Third World revolutions are what have shaken up the whole decade of the 1980s. These revolutions have been filled with new subjects of revolution, new forms of organization, new expressions of mass creativity. The richness of the movement from practice, which Marxist-Humanism singled out as a "form of theory" over three decades ago, continues to pour forth. At the same time, all of these struggles confront the most brutal and entrenched retrogressionism both from their own rulers and from U.S. imperialism's reach.

Nowhere can that be better seen than in the vibrant opposition to the outright fascism in South Africa. Out of the Black trade union movement, which in the 1980s has become a mass movement, challenging not only the racist apartheid Botha regime, but all political tendencies in South Africa, has now come worker poetry. [See December 1987 N&L, p. 8, for an article by South African worker-poet, Alfred Temba Qabula.]

Nearly two years after the overthrow of Marcos in the Philippines, the revolutionary movement from below remains powerful, diverse and creative, in its drive to deepen what has thus far not changed their real conditions of life and labor. Along with the half-million-strong new trade union movement known as the KMU (May First Movement), have sprung up dozens of women's organizations like Gabriela, as well as tribal and national movements for autonomy in Mindanao and in the Cordillera. Nearly a year after the assassination of union leader Rolando Olalia, the KMU succeeded in organizing the first national "welgang bayan" (people's strike) against Aquino, forcing her to rescind fuel price rises. Yet, by the end of 1987, the Philippine masses found the Aquino government only marginally distinguishable from the military that ceaselessly plots to overthrow her.

In Haiti, the struggle has intensified since Duvalier's overthrow. The Haitian masses, workers, peasants, and especially the youth, took as their banner the word, "Dehouke"—uproot—and have shown they have no intention of accepting the U.S.-backed General Namphy, whom they rightly see as "Duvalierism without Duvalier." Despite the outright terrorism of the current rulers, they were able to organize a general strike of half a million this July. [Since this Thesis was written, the counter-revolution in Haiti has escalated, with a blood-bath by the Tontons Macoutes that prevented an election on Nov. 29. The openly fraudulent Jan. 17 election that followed was boycotted by 95% of the electorate after peasant, labor, student and religious groups organized a national strike that shut down all of Haiti the day before (see story, p. 12).

BUT THE CHALLENGE FACING all the unfinished revolutions of the 1980s is not limited to the political, military, and economic oppression of this retrogressive

decade. As Raya Dunayevskaya posed it in our Marxist-Humanist Perspectives last year, in discussing the new revolt in the Philippines: "How many tendencies are there now, fighting without a philosophy of revolution? And without a rigorous tracing of the historic past as well as the present of those using the term Marxism-Leninism?" In Haiti today, one could add: How many new, decentralized, spontaneous forms of organization have sprung up, which still hold illusions about old forms—whether the Communist Party or radical tendencies in the Catholic Church?

What is needed to grasp the dialectic of these unfinished revolutions is to look at them in the context of the revolutions in life and thought of the 1980s. The years 1979 to 1982 brought forth new upsurges in Iran and in Nicaragua, in Poland and in Grenada. In those same years, as she worked out Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, Raya Dunayevskaya, the founder of Marxist-Humanism, developed what she had first characterized (in 1979) as a "contrast" between Marx's Marxism and Engelsian Marxism, into a whole new category (by 1982)—post-Marx Marxism as a pejorative, beginning with Engels. It was this category that Raya hurled as challenge, to all who heard her on her 1983 Marx Centenary Tour, to return to the totality of Marx's Marxism as pathway to liberation for our age.

Before the Marx-Centenary Year had come to a close, movement activists everywhere were shocked at events in Grenada, where the first shot of the counter-revolution came from within the revolution, as Austin and Coard's forces murdered their co-leader Maurice Bishop. It opened the door for an imperialist invasion that Reagan launched only days later...

CLEARLY, AS WORLD-SHAKING as the 1979 Iranian Revolution had been, and as closely as Raya had traced that revolution and Khomeini's almost immediate counter-revolution, something new was involved by the time of the 1983 events in Grenada. So objectively concrete had it become that neither elitist forms nor spontaneous forms of organization are able to avoid the counter-revolution when the revolution is bereft of philosophy, that it became urgent for Raya to work out all the conclusions she had reached in Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy Revolution.

The concluding Chapter 12 of that work had included a "1980s view" of the problematic of our age: "It is not a question only of meeting the challenge from practice," Raya said, "but of being able to meet the challenge from the self-development of the Idea, and of deepening theory to the point where it reaches Marx's concept of the philosophy of 'revolution in permanence.'" It set her on a whole new book she had tentatively entitled, *Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy*...

It is surely not only the movements from practice that must confront all the unfinished revolutions of the 1980s. It is the challenge of the unfinished revolutions in thought that we, in News and Letters Committees, need urgently to meet. Our age has been the first to demand an answer to "What happens after the revolution?"; the first to face the reality of revolutions turned into their opposite. There is no way to truly transform reality and overcome such lethal retrogressionism without meeting the challenge from the unfinished revolutions in thought as well as in life, in philosophy as well as in fact.

Part II of our Perspectives for 1988, Raya Dunayevskaya's final dialogue with us, appears in full beginning on page 5 of this issue.

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**Youth**

**How can we become thought-divers?**

by Sheila Fuller

On Jan. 9, I gave a report on youth to the national gathering of News and Letters Committees. I would like to share some ideas from it with you.

As we begin 1988, youth have been in the forefront of many struggles for freedom worldwide. In South Africa, one third of the tens of thousands arrested and detained by the fascist apartheid regime are children as young as ten. In South Korea, youth along with workers are battling the sham elections that have brought Chun's appointed successor Roh Tae Woo into power. In Haiti and the Philippines, the youth are bearing the brunt of Duvalierism and the counter-revolutionary goon squads that never left their lands. We have also seen even more international movements in the protests of Chinese, Russian and East European youth against their state-capitalist rulers, and Palestinian youth who are fighting the Israeli government's attacks on them.

**FACING A CHANGED WORLD**

In the U.S., even though we have not had a youth movement on a scale comparable to those internationally, we have had a great deal more protests against Reagan's attacks on Central America. And in December, we saw Black youth take over the Brooklyn bridge and

**MLK Day celebrations**



Students protesting against campus racism confront the University of Michigan Board of Regents.

Ann Arbor, Mich.—We joined with many University of Michigan students to recognize Martin Luther King Jr. Day, by boycotting classes (the university administration doesn't observe the holiday) and participating in alternative events. Black students were at the heart of the day's activities, especially the determined and spirited march and rally by over 1,500 students.

Martin Luther King Day was one expression of the movement against the stultifying and pervasive racism at the University of Michigan. Just the week before, Black students were outraged by the revelation of Dean Peter Steiner's remarks. About 60 students held an all-night sit-in at the office of the dean in January and protested against this racist statement: "Our challenge is not to change this university into the kind of institution where minorities would naturally flock in much greater numbers. I need not remind you that there are such institutions, including Wayne State University and Howard University. . . ." Students have called for Steiner's dismissal.

A Black student at the MLK Day march told us that the Office of Minority Affairs, established after last year's protests, has changed little at the university. He said such structural changes only serve to attempt to "reconcile" Black students with the administration, comparing such results to Jesse Jackson's campus visit last year, at the height of student protests against racism, with the aim of "calming the waters."

—News and Letters Participants

Los Angeles, Cal.—On Martin Luther King Day, Jan. 18, several hundred lively, determined demonstrators, mainly teenagers from 30 L.A.-area high schools, marched and chanted outside the South African consulate, demanding an end to the imprisonment of children in South Africa, and an end to the whole apartheid system. We all just told our friends, and they told their friends," one student said, in the energetic, diverse crowd of Black, white, Latino, and Asian protesters.

A rally following the demonstration featured thought and creativity as two Black South African students told their stories in their own words, joining the L.A. high school youth and speakers from Namibia and Nicaragua.

That afternoon about a dozen protesters slept overnight in the lobby of the consulate, and forced the consulate to close down the next day. While the consulate staff remained behind closed doors, the protesters confronted consulate visitors with the fact of children being tortured every day.

"People ask us why we're doing this," one protester said. "Some act like it's just a fad, and we'll all grow up to be the next generation of yuppies. They say, 'Are you committed? Are you serious?' We are. Children are being tortured in South Africa."

"It's not just South Africa," another teenage woman said. "It's this country too. Racism and civil rights is not just an issue of the past. This is our future." —M.L.

New York train stations to oppose the racism in New York City including the racist murder of Michael Griffith at Howard Beach.

We are facing what Raya Dunayevskaya called a "Changed World," not only seen in the great revolts internationally but in Ronald Reagan's retrogressionism that has turned the clock back on all rights and is engaging in ominous war acts from Central America to the Persian Gulf. We are living through unfinished revolutions and have to face the fact that, as this year's Marxist-Humanist Draft Perspectives put it: "there can be no new revolutionary beginnings without new beginnings in thought."

This is why Dunayevskaya never ceased appealing to the youth activists to become thought-divers and very specifically gave two public talks on youth and to youth audiences in what was the last year of her life. Indeed that concept of youth as thought-divers is unique to Raya Dunayevskaya's Marxist-Humanism. This is why I'd like to turn to the last writing by her, the June 1, 1987 presentation that is the central part of this year's Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, to see how it can give new directions to today's youth to transform this stifling reality.

In her June 1 presentation, Raya speaks of her May 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes, where she saw a dual movement from practice and from theory toward the new society, as the philosophic moment for all the future development of Marxist-Humanism. What is the relationship of this philosophic moment to youth?

In 1983, in a letter to the youth, Raya had written that "the breakthrough on the Absolute Idea helped us to perceive a new generation of revolutionaries in that so-called 'Beat Generation' of the 1950s who were rejecting a world they did not make." And in a 1984 letter to the youth she further illuminates this point where she speaks of the "why behind the singling out of youth as revolutionary force in the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s."

She stresses that we singled out youth as revolutionary at the time precisely because the youth, as against the tired radicals and the scholar revolutionaries who were being sucked up by careerism, rejected the existing society and "signalled a new age of revolutions."

**A CONCEPT OF YOUTH**

Indeed the proof of that was seen in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 which the youth initiated and which brought forth Marx's Humanist Essays on the historic stage. Raya singles out why our Constitution in 1958 called youth "a most precious source of our development" and recognized that "even though the youth are not directly involved in production, they are the ones whose idealism, in the finest sense of the word, combines with opposition to existing adult society in so unique a way that it literally brings them alongside the workers as builders of the new society." In the 1984 letter she asks us to tarry at the words, source, idealism, and combined with opposition to see that it wasn't only the youth we were singling out but the youth and the proletariat and in the specific historic period when Marx's Humanism had been brought on the historic stage. But the ramifications of Marxist-Humanism's philosophic moment for the concept of youth as revolutionary, were not limited to the 1950s..

How can we develop this concept of youth as thought-divers on our youth page and in all our activities and experiences but the meaning of those events and their direction in a global context. The Supreme Court ruling censoring high school student newspapers suppresses the voices and ideas of youth precisely because Reagan's retrogressionism is afraid of those ideas.

But we want to create room for the development of youth ideas. To me a way of developing an ongoing discussion and battle of ideas on the youth page is by not letting go of the content of Dunayevskaya's challenges to the youth as the determinant for all our activities. I have tried to address some of these questions in the youth report and would like to know your views.

**Youth in Revolt**

by Franklin Dmitryev

Anti-war groups in Moscow, Leningrad and the Ukrainian city Lvov held demonstrations in December to oppose the draft and demand the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan. Dozens were arrested and 17-year-old Yelena Grigoriev was hospitalized after being beaten by the police.

In Warsaw, Poland, about 20 members of Freedom and Peace held a two-week hunger strike to protest the detention of at least 100 youths for draft resistance.

On Nov. 27, a student at the University of the Andes in Merida, Venezuela, was reportedly dragged from his home and beaten to death by police. In police attacks against the ensuing protests, three others have been killed and hundreds wounded. All schools in the country were ordered closed indefinitely. Major demonstrations were planned for the end of January.

Students occupied Chosun University in Kwangju, South Korea, for 213 days to demand the dismissal of the administration. On Jan. 8, 1,500 police stormed the campus at dawn, arresting 119 students. Hundreds of family members and professors then took to the streets to protest the police action, and later 100 more students again seized five buildings to keep the occupation going.

**Students hit out against Supreme Court censorship**

Los Angeles, Cal.—The Supreme Court has made it clearer than ever how limited freedom of speech is for youth in this country and how few rights we have.

By a 5-3 vote, the Court ruled in January in favor of the principal of Missouri's Hazelwood East High School, Robert Reynolds, who had censored as "inappropriate and unsuitable" an article for the school newspaper about teenage pregnancy that included personal accounts of three students from the high school.

I don't understand how this article, or another one also censored, about divorce, can be considered inappropriate or unsuitable. Teenagers are obviously becoming pregnant and having children at a high rate as well as living through the divorces of their parents. How can these articles not be considered to have a "valid educational purpose," which is what Justice Byron White argued?

Although this case did not happen in L.A., I'm frightened as a student how much it will affect the high schools and colleges here. I believe that the Supreme Court ruling on this issue will more easily allow schools to censor opinions they disagree with and suppress issues which may be important to students but not to them.

The school newspaper is often one of the only ways for a student to voice his or her opinions. The only other alternative is through an underground newspaper, but this is unfair not only because of the obvious difficulty in maintaining something like that, but also because that's a way the school can corner and intimidate certain students.

I am living in a society that suppresses my rights and tells me what to do without giving me very many options to voice my opinion. With this ruling, I have even fewer options and sharper limits.

—Samara



Editorial board, Hazelwood High School, meets with journalism adviser, Justice Byron White.

New York, N.Y.—The decision by the Supreme Court shows the government is realizing the strength of the youth. There are so many things we thought we could say in class and in the school paper, and now we wonder if we can. They are talking about extending censorship to college students as well because they realize you can't stop trying to silence youth at 18, because youth after 18 don't stop rebelling.

One thing this country always goes on about is, "We don't censor." But go into the schools and people try to justify censorship. They say things like, "You will eventually have freedom of speech," or "People in other countries don't have freedom of speech, so be happy with what you have."

Yet freedom of speech is so important that if anyone tries to put rules against it, people will break them. There are so many things to speak out against.

A couple of us were putting up signs in our school saying, "If they won't give you freedom of speech, take it!" Our school has its own authority system. You have to get permission to put things on the walls. They said posters for our S.O.S. Racism group, which is an anti-discrimination group, should not be put up because it makes it look like there is racism in the school.

I think we should just put things on the walls and not ask. The school administration is not on our side, or else they would have done a lot more. And if the government was on our side, they would have done a lot more about racism. It's amazing what you can do about anything, about freedom—and they haven't.

—New York high school student

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## Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

### Reagan continues attack on Nicaragua

The House of Representatives barely defeated President Reagan's demand for \$36 million in *contra* aid through June, by a 211-219 vote on Feb. 3.

With and without Congressional approval, Ronald Reagan has bought (for 250 million "official" dollars so far) a *contra* military force with no popular support whatsoever within Nicaragua; which attacks "targets of opportunity" such as agricultural cooperatives; which kills civilians indiscriminately and more often deliberately; which has shrunk in the past year by some 2,000 soldiers.

Reagan is now planning the best way to "institutionalize" the *contras* so they will be on the next U.S. President's agenda as "the answer" to Nicaragua. Once so-called "humanitarian aid" is now called "non-lethal" aid and includes everything from helicopters to army boots.

In the political arena Reagan has done everything possible to sabotage the Central American regional "peace talks" which began last August, especially whenever the Sandinistas appeared to have gained any advantage, much less a minute of breathing space. While his Administration is genuinely unconcerned with the crises in the other countries involved, the unrest within each land has intensified. In the White House, nothing has been said about the recent murders of human rights activists in El Salvador and Honduras, or the Guatemalan army's latest "final offensive" against guerrillas and their supporters in the countryside.

Ronald Reagan continues to attempt to browbeat and manipulate "U.S. public opinion" which has remained opposed to his imperialist adventurism in Nicaragua. We should have no illusions about Reagan's determination to overthrow Nicaragua in his final presidential year.

### Czech 'perestroika'

*Editor's note: We received the following letter from a correspondent in Czechoslovakia.*

I am writing these words still under the impression of what I have seen on TV yesterday (Dec. 9) when it presented Gorbachev's "dialogue" with the American "intelligentsia" in Washington. I have not expected anything extraordinary but I was amazed both by what they did and what they did not speak about.

Are so many American intellectuals as naive and ignorant about the real life in the USSR that they were unable to put any pertinent question to Gorbachev—even if I take into consideration that they were selected? The whole show may not be important but I got

an impressive lesson on how *glasnost* and *perestroika* presented by Gorbachev can overwhelm men and women supposed to "think." Could it be partly because there seems to be quite a difference between those two showmen, Reagan and Gorbachev?

I'm still in the preparatory stage for an article on conditions here and the perspectives Czechoslovakia has at present. To sum it up, these perspectives are gloomy indeed, also because in spite of all the words on "reconstruction," *perestroika*, here too, there is no progress at all.

Though time is what is wasted more than anything else, people have to live on promises and empty slogans while the reconstruction of society, so badly needed now, is being put off. And it becomes more and more clear that an important root of the present difficulties lies in the fact that the counter-revolution of 1969 brought about a stagnation which is extremely difficult to change.

### In East Berlin Luxemburg 'lives'

The great revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg's magnificent concept of democracy after the revolution came alive once again on the streets of East Berlin, Jan. 17, the very streets where she had addressed revolutionary crowds before her brutal murder by rightwing officers in January, 1919. In the midst of an "official," i.e. Stalinist, demonstration commemorating her death, suddenly a new element appeared from the youth.

Posters were quickly unfurled from concealment. One of them read, most strikingly and simply: "Freedom is always the freedom for the one who thinks differently—Rosa Luxemburg." The quote was from Luxemburg's famous critique of aspects of the Russian Revolution and its leaders, Lenin and Trotsky, a revolution which she sup-

ported, yet felt free also to criticize.

Hurriedly, the Communist Party goons and police moved in, snatching up the posters and arresting 100 activists from peace and human rights groups. But that could not wipe away a beautiful moment where a great historical revolutionary had come alive once again.

Rosa Luxemburg's last words seemed to mock the new Stalinist overlords of East Berlin: "Order reigns in Berlin! You stupid lackeys! Your 'order' is built on sand. Tomorrow the revolution will rear its head once again, and, to your horror, will proclaim, with trumpets blazing: I was, I am, I will be."

### Report from Haiti

*Editor's note: The Jan. 17 election farce staged by Haiti's military-run National Governing Council drew a minuscule turnout, and then even those votes were rigged by the military to give the victory to their hand-picked candidate, Leslie Manigat. The day before the election a more accurate poll was taken when a general strike completely shut down the capital, Port-au-Prince. But the unarmed masses face a military clique—armed to the teeth by Reagan and earlier presidents—capable of massacre, either on its own or in league with the murderous Tontons Macoute left over from the Duvalier regime. The following is excerpted from reports we received before Jan. 17:*

*Port-au-Prince, Haiti*—The inauguration of the new "elected" president has been fixed for Feb. 7. Marc Bazin, Gérard Gourgue, Sylvio Claude and Louis Déjoie, all of them presidential candidates, decided not to participate in these elections and are demanding the resignation of the National Governing Council (NGC).

Thus, a few days before the Jan. 17 elections, the situation still remains confused in Haiti—schools and universities are closed, the Catholic and Protestant churches are severely criticized by the government, youths affiliated with democratic organizations are accused of Communism. Anti-government demonstrations are also expected.

The Nov. 29 elections, which were to take place in Haiti after 30 years, were not able to take place because of the terror unleashed by the Haitian Army. According to information furnished by the Haitian State University Hospital, 26 people are dead and 70 others wounded.

Underline the fact that the Haitian Army—which was responsible for the security of the elections—did nothing to protect the lives of the voters and the nine members of the Provisional Electoral Council (CEP). At the last minute, in a communiqué dated Nov. 29, the NGC dissolved the CEP, the organization designated according to the constitution to organize the elections in Haiti.

Note that at this moment the situation is serious. A climate of fear is being installed among the Haitian people. We will follow these events and inform you.

—Renan Hédoouville

### Bangladesh protests

Police gunfire killed 17 anti-government protesters and wounded 300 others at an opposition rally in Chittagong, Jan. 24. The next day, in response, a general strike totally shut down Chittagong, a seaport city of 2.5 million people. The city government center was set on fire. Also in protest against the massacre, students in Dacca, the capital fought pitched battles on the streets with police.

Ever since November, massive strikes and demonstrations have been unleashed by the opposition in an effort to topple the reactionary military dictatorship of Gen. H.M. Ershad, who got himself "elected" by massive fraud and intimidation. Ershad plans another election farce on March 3, but the opposition groups vow to oppose his fraudulent elections.

### Aborigines tell true Australian history



Aborigines protest the re-enactment of white settlement of Australia.

Over 15,000 Aborigines marched through Sydney, Australia, to protest the invasion of their land which began 200 years ago, Jan. 26, when Capt. Arthur Cook sailed into port with 800 British convicts. Carrying their own red, black and yellow flags, Aborigine people were voicing their national consciousness and history, and remembering how the British drove them off and killed them through two centuries.

Speakers representing native peoples in Canada and other parts of the world also addressed the demonstrators. Earlier in the day, protesters' chants drowned out an Australian flag-raising ceremony, and later fights with police broke out in the Aborigine community of Redfern. Thus opened Australia's bicentennial.

But the Aborigine movement to fight racial, cultural and economic oppression within Australian society began long before this Jan. 26. Most recently, outrage against so-called suicide deaths of Aborigines in police detention has forced the government to open an official inquiry.

Since 1980, at least 100 Aborigines and likely many more, have met death this way often jailed for nothing more than "drunken disorderliness." Many expect the investigation to end in a white-wash. One Aborigine organizer described Australian society as "no better than South Africa in its treatment of us...This policy or practice is the modern day version of genocide."

Aboriginal organizations have been fighting for the government to recognize their land claims against invasion, illegal seizure and over 200 years of "devastation and deprivation." One of the most important struggles involves the 6,000 Aborigines of Torres Strait, near Papua New Guinea, who voted to secede from Australia and become independent. Their area is strategically and politically important to the Australian government.

One Aborigine activist summed up the bicentennial's significance: "The government has made itself rich off our land. We can't wait another 200 years to get our point across."

### Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

Raya Dunayevskaya (1910-87), founder of the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism, became Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees from its founding to 1987. Charles Denby (1907-83), a Black production worker, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper from 1955 to 1983. Dunayevskaya's works *Marxism and Freedom...from 1776 until Today*; *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* 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.

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.

### Coming Next Issue

In-person report of new spontaneous workers' movement in Italy