

# NEWS Theory/ Practice & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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## RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

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## UAW hacks sound more like General Motors

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

The United Auto Workers' negotiation committees have begun work with General Motors and Ford Motor Co., with their ritual handshakes at the bargaining tables.

According to all the reports, the "Number One" issue at the bargaining tables is job security. UAW President Owen Bieber said: "The 1987 talks take place against a backdrop of rapidly expanding auto investment in plants and facilities outside the United States by both GM and Ford. All of this activity translates into one simple thing for our members—job insecurity."

### UAW PROTECTS WORKERS ONTO STREET

Bieber is right that auto workers are insecure about their jobs. Almost 200,000 workers in the U.S. auto industry have lost their jobs since 1979, and the plant closings and lay-offs still continue. But it will take a lot more than a new contract with GM to guarantee job security for workers—and by job security I don't only mean no lay-offs, I mean our ability to at least hold on to the wages and benefits for workers and retirees that we have fought so hard to gain over the past 50 years.

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### Black World

## The passion that was Claude McKay



by Lou Turner

*Claude McKay: Rebel Sojourner in the Harlem Renaissance* by Wayne F. Cooper. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987; pp. 441.

Next year will mark the fortieth anniversary of the death of Claude McKay. What makes that so disquieting an anniversary is that in a very real sense McKay's "life" had only begun with his death here in Chicago, forty years ago. For it was only then that the Black petty bourgeois, Stalinist and literary intelligentsia, that he was an avowed enemy of, could finally close its circle of obscurity around him and fabricate the pallid image of McKay's life that has come down to us. Wayne Cooper's long awaited biography of Claude McKay has, for the first time, restored the passionate colors to McKay's image and given us a living portrait of one of the most revolutionary poets of our age.

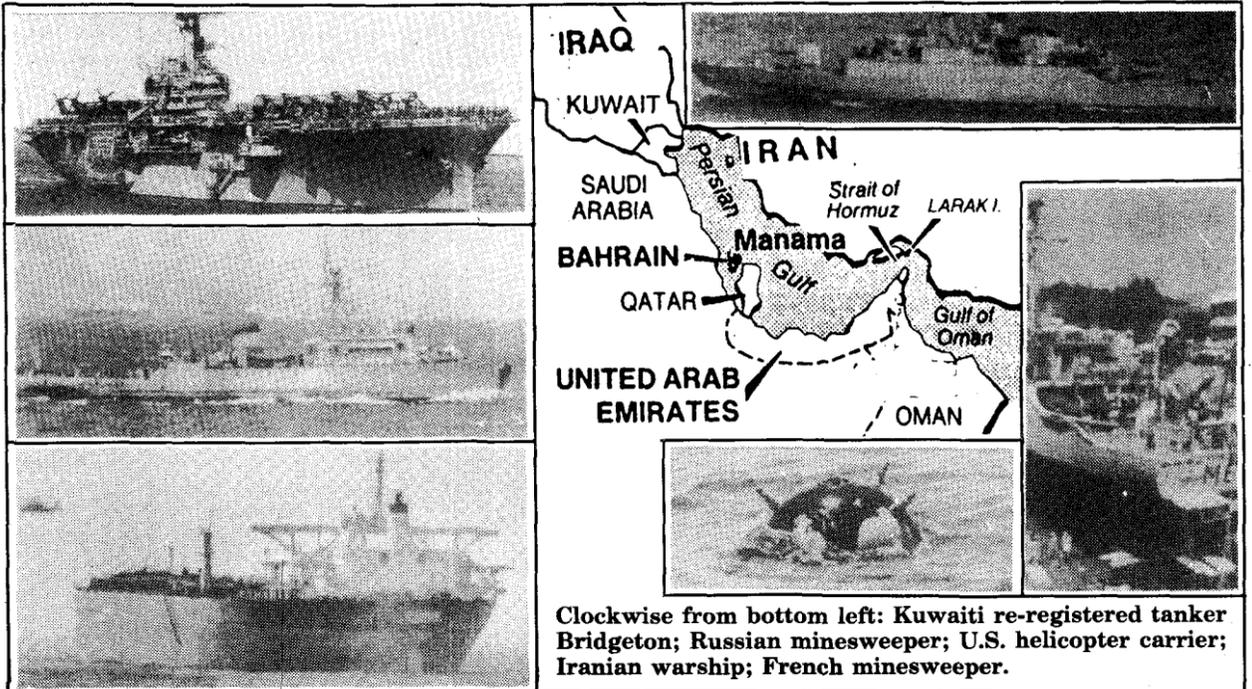
Cooper opens his account of McKay with a 1921 article McKay wrote on the Irish Revolution in which, like Marx 50 years earlier, he maintained that the British Left couldn't really understand the Irish Question. For his part, McKay explained that, "My belonging to a subject race entitles me to some understanding of them... I was born and reared a peasant; the peasant's passions for the soil possess me, and it is one of the strongest passions in the Irish revolution." (p. 1.)

### ROOTS OF REBELLION

In looking back at Claude McKay's early Jamaican poetry, published in his *Songs of Jamaica* and *Constab Ballads*, Cooper points to this passionate rebellion in McKay's rich and original use of the Jamaican vernacular.

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## Will U. S. armada in Persian Gulf lead to war with Iran, Russia?



Clockwise from bottom left: Kuwaiti re-registered tanker Bridgeton; Russian minesweeper; U.S. helicopter carrier; Iranian warship; French minesweeper.

by Eugene Walker

Each day brings a report of a new U.S. warship entering the Persian Gulf, a new group of mines found along oil shipping lanes, a new report of a U.S. Navy fighter plane firing on Iranian aircraft. With the invasion of dozens of ships of Reagan's navy, with the new Russia-Iran agreement, with the clash between Iranian pilgrims and Saudi police at Mecca, with the warships of country after country in the area, the Middle East has been brought to its most explosive point since the Iranian Revolution of 1978-79—but with only the most ominous counter-revolutionary consequences in view.

### THE U.S.'S MILITARIZED MIDDLE EAST PRESENCE...

The present reflagging of 11 Kuwaiti oil tankers as U.S. ships has been used by Reagan to build a U.S. naval presence in the Gulf area that resembles a full invasion force. In the Persian Gulf and North Arabian Sea there are numerous cruisers, destroyers and frigates, all equipped with guided missiles. There is an aircraft carrier in place, and a battleship is on the way. There are amphibious assault ships capable of landing the 2,000 Marines stationed in the fleet. There are missile-carrying submarines. There is even talk of B-52 bombers flying missions from Guam via the island of Diego Gar-

cia, 2,000 miles away in the Indian Ocean. The U.S. armada will soon have 24 vessels and some 21,000 military personnel in the region.

This huge build-up of U.S. forces in the region is no mere escort service for Kuwaiti tankers. Nor does it simply provide a diversion from the Iran-contra hearings, which demonstrated the lawlessness of the Commander-in-Chief and his National Security/CIA boys running illegal operations from the Middle East to Central America out of the recesses of the White House basement.

The U.S. invasion of the Persian Gulf and North Arabian Sea is, no doubt, in part a show of force against Iran, and a way of showing U.S. resolve to the oil producing states in the Gulf region, most especially Saudi Arabia. But overriding all is Reagan's preoccupation with Russia as the enemy, as the force to be challenged. It is Reagan's obsession that Russia is "everywhere," whether that be within the indigenous forces fighting U.S. domination in Central America, within the anti-apartheid forces in South and Southern Africa, or within the Middle East cauldron. All other realities, of concrete conditions of life and labor, of the unfreedom masses of human beings endure, are non-existent to this Rambo-on-

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## A letter to readers of News & Letters

Never has *News & Letters* faced a more difficult challenge than the task that confronts us following the sudden death of Raya Dunayevskaya, the founder of Marxist-Humanism and Chairwoman of News and Letters Committees, since our founding in 1955. The world we face is one in which the myriad crises of our degenerate capitalist-imperialist society deepen daily. What confronts us is not only the threat of a nuclear holocaust which Reaganism and Gorbachevism could unleash at any moment they are "ready," as their tentacles reach into every corner of the globe. What confronts us as well is the unfinished nature of every new revolution attempting to reach to freedom—from Haiti to the Philippines, from South Korea to South Africa, from Latin America to the Middle East. Above all, we face the utter failure of post-Marx Marxists to ground themselves in Marx's philosophy of "revolution in permanence," to recreate for our own age a philosophy of revolution without which a new human society cannot be won.

It is in the face of this objective/subjective situation that the continuation and expansion of *News & Letters* as the expression and practice of the philosophy of revolution for our age becomes urgent.

It was toward that end that the National Editorial Board of *News & Letters* met directly after the Memorial Meeting for Raya Dunayevskaya on July 25 and voted to begin the publication of *N&L* as a 12-page monthly, beginning with this issue. Just the week before her death, Raya Dunayevskaya had written a presentation for the Resident Editorial Board of *N&L* in which she had proposed that, at the conclusion of "the year of the biweekly," which we had undertaken last January, *N&L* "become a monthly 12-page paper in a very new way." That new way was to be one in which the work she was laboring on at the moment of her

death—which she had tentatively entitled "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy"—would become 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 the recording of the events and their experiences, but the meaning of those events and experiences and their direction in a global context."

We have no illusions that this issue of *N&L* comes up to the challenge Raya posed, but it is that goal we have set ourselves to fulfill with your help. The critical need never to separate philosophy and revolution, never to separate philosophy and organization, has been a hallmark of Marxist-Humanism that Raya never stopped deepening and working out throughout her entire life. It is how to continue that pathway she cleared that is our formidable task.

The voice of Raya Dunayevskaya will continue to be heard in every issue of *News & Letters*, as we attempt to continue the magnificent legacy she has left us in her writings and in her archives. But without her corporeal presence, the task she set before us becomes profoundly more difficult than any we have ever faced throughout our history. It is for that reason that we felt we could not wait until a full year of the biweekly had passed before we began the task of trying to transform ourselves into the new kind of monthly she proposed.

The objectivity of the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism that Raya Dunayevskaya devoted her entire life to working out could be seen clearly in the Memorial Issue we published last month and in the unique Memorial Meeting, which you will find described in this issue on page five. The continued outpouring of

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# Organizing to fight Reagan-Bork attempt to rollback abortion rights, human rights

by Terry Moon

President Reagan's nomination of Judge Robert H. Bork to the Supreme Court is his latest attempt to roll back all rights that women, Blacks and labor have won since the 1930s and incorporate his retrogressionism into unbreakable laws.

Reagan's latest lie is the one he gave on TV on Aug. 12 when he said Bork "is being opposed by some because he practices judicial restraint. That means he won't put their opinions ahead of the law; he won't put his own opinions ahead of the law."

It is just the opposite. Bork was nominated because he shares Reagan's right-wing political philosophy, and his opposition to women's right to control our bodies is as deep as Reagan's. Bork was nominated precisely because he will put his and Reagan's and big business's "opinions ahead of the law." He has already done so. Nor is it only women's freedoms that Bork would destroy. His nomination imperils Black civil rights as well as the rights of homosexuals and all hard-won individual freedoms.

On July 1 Reagan nominated Bork, who in 1981 declared that the Supreme Court decision allowing women to do legally what we had always done illegally—that is, have abortions—is an unconstitutional decision, a serious and wholly unjustifiable judicial usurpation of state legislative authority."

Reagan followed that up on July 30 when he proposed regulations that would bar those family planning clinics that receive federal funds from even talking to women about abortion. What ever happened to free speech?

## MOBILIZATION AGAINST BORK

As part of a nationwide mobilization against Bork there was a meeting in Chicago on Aug. 5. Well over 250 people crowded into a downtown hotel to show their opposition to his nomination. Women from the abortion rights movement, many who worked in abortion clinics, gay men and lesbian women were there; I sat next to a woman from OWL (Older Women's League).

These people passionately want to get rid of Bork, although the focus of the meeting was only to pressure their legislators. One woman who came to the Chicago meeting told me she "had mixed feelings about the focus of the meeting." She said, "I wish it had been more to the Left. I have a healthy dose of cynicism when it comes to dealing with the legislature. However, since it is the Supreme Court and the Senate votes on it, it makes sense that you have to deal with it." She said, "Even now, with abortion legal, it is hard for many women to come up with the \$200 or more needed to get an abortion."

## Calif. nurses strike!

*Editor's note: On Aug. 7 more than 900 nurses at Alta Bates and Herrick Hospitals in Berkeley, Cal., joined the 300 nurses already on strike at Oakland's Providence Hospital. The California Nurses Association, which represents the striking nurses, is also in the midst of contract negotiations for more than 1,300 other nurses in the Bay Area. Below a striking nurse speaks to the issues.*

Hospitals and medical care are now big business. Everyone in the community knows that Alta Bates is growing and expanding. They are branching out into nursing homes in Sacramento, for instance. They want to become the GM and IBM of medical care, and as part of that they want to get rid of the unions.

As nurses there are several major issues that face us. There is a nursing shortage because hospitals aren't willing to pay nurses for the work we do. Yet when we went into negotiations management only offered us a 1% cost-of-living increase. That is outrageous since the cost-of-living in the Bay Area is officially at 5½%. After months of bargaining, the highest they would go was 3%. They wanted to force us to go on strike. We deserve better than a cost-of-living increase and are asking for 7% each year for the next two years.

Another big issue that we face is more control over patient care and working conditions. As hospitals have become big business our jobs have become more intense and less personal. Lots of times we will be working to capacity and management will come up to us and say that they are putting two more patients on our floor. Even after we tell them that we can't handle two more patients, they do it anyway. That's not fair to the patients or to us. We would like to be able to say how many patients we can handle at a time.

All of this contributes to the increased stress that we are working under now. It isn't only that we have to take care of more patients, but how we take care of them is always intensifying and changing. For instance, as the hospital expands they set up new kinds of intensive treatment centers like open-heart surgery units. This means learning to use new equipment and skills, but it also means that the patients we are working with need more critical care. The job is more intense and demanding. That is why we need more control of our jobs.



There is no question that these pusillanimous legislators need pressuring, and I hope that stops Bork's nomination. Yet Reagan will still be there, the vacancy will still be on the court and if he can find someone worse than Bork to nominate, we can be sure he will.

## OUR VISION OF THE FUTURE

In 1973 the Supreme Court ruled on Roe v. Wade and all of a sudden the right to control our bodies—a right which always should have been ours—was finally recognized. Much of my activity in the Women's Liberation Movement for over six years had been fighting for legal abortion, and of course we were all very happy. But it didn't seem real to me. It hadn't come the way I thought it would, as part of a revolution that would change the totality of our lives. I kept thinking, and I wasn't alone, if this government can "give" this to us, can't they take it away?

Reagan wants to give so much momentum to his retrogression that it will continue even after he is no longer president. What will stop him, what has stopped him in many of his plans, from an invasion of Nicaragua to totally rolling back the hard-won rights of women, Blacks and labor, is the determination and desire of everyday women and men for a society that really does express their vision of the future.

There is no question that many of those who came to that meeting in Chicago have a vision of a society that is very different than this so-called democracy we live in today. We saw that same desire for a different world at the demonstration just last year on March 9 when over 100,000 women marched in Washington, D.C., for keeping abortion legal and, unseparated from that, against Reagan and his policies. (See N&L, April 1986.)

We can't pretend that we are living in a pre-revolutionary situation in the U.S.; we are not. But that vision of a new society is what we have to preserve and to fight for, so that it will become a reality.

## No to Alfonsin's pardons

*Editor's note: We interviewed Alicia Partnoy, author of The Little School: Tales of Disappearance & Survival in Argentina (reviewed in N&L, April 24), upon her return from Argentina. Earlier this year, the Argentine House of Deputies approved President Alfonsin's proposal ending prosecution of hundreds of military officers responsible for the murder and torture of thousands of people in the late 1970s. Below are excerpts from Partnoy's interview.*

I arrived home the day the military began its attempted coup. The military did not mean to bring down the government, but to win an amnesty against any more trials for their conduct during the military regime. Their action reopened all the scars left by the disappearances, and everyone was very moved. Hundreds of thousands of people demonstrated against the military. It was encouraging to see all the people in the street opposed to the amnesty, but depressing to see the president give in and support it.

The things we did to show the military we wouldn't take it when they were in power—and now the civilian president forgives them, and continues to hold political prisoners. One woman political prisoner was released about a month ago because of international pressure, at least eight others are still in jail. Alfonsin never requested amnesty for them. They refused to ask for amnesty for fear it would include amnesty for the military; they only asked for review of their cases.

President Alfonsin refused to pardon them even though their confessions were made under torture. There are also at least two writers in exile who are still barred from the country. He didn't ask for an amnesty for them. Yet he forgives criminals against whom there is proof of murder and torture.

Alfonsin showed a weakness for the military from the beginning. He chose to give them a chance, when the need was to restructure the country, to subject that elite to the civilian government. They are still put forth as the saviors of the country in a political crisis.

Demands for justice continue. The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo (relatives of the disappeared) demonstrate every week. But in my home town, Bahia Blanca, all the media is controlled by the right wing. The general I am going to testify against there is on trial because he was too vicious for even the right wing.

I keep in touch with the children of my disappeared friends. Adriana [whom we met in Partnoy's book: "When her grandparents visited the authorities to request information about their children, this girl, then four years old, furiously pounded the table and demanded: 'Sir, give me back my parents and my little brother.'"] has been very involved in trying to get justice. There is a whole new generation of children and friends involved. I'm scared about what our society is showing them. It is painful to hear people talking about democracy when the destruction of lives is continuing, when the consequences of the past go on.

The press is McCarthyite and people are afraid to discuss socialism and revolution. It will take years to rebuild what the military has destroyed. We can criticize the opposition movements of the 1970s, but we don't renounce their attempt to change the political system.

Subscribe to N&L, see p. 12

## Activists attacked in L.A.

Los Angeles, Cal.—On July 7, a month after her father in El Salvador received a letter demanding that his daughter stop her political activities, Yanira, a young Salvadoran woman active in Central American solidarity organizations in Los Angeles, was abducted, sexually assaulted, tortured, and interrogated about her political activities by two Salvadoran men. They then released her, "to let them know we're here," they told her.

The police, who found her gagged and in shock, did not get her medical attention because she could not explain clearly what had happened; a stranger called an ambulance. Ten days later, a Guatemalan woman active in Salvadoran solidarity work was kidnapped and interrogated by masked, armed men.

"Hit lists" naming 30 local Central American activists have been delivered to some of these activists' homes, and others have received telephone death threats. Father Luis Olivares, pastor of a church known as a sanctuary for Central American refugees, received a letter bearing the initials EM, Escuadron de la Muerte, or Death Squad, the symbol used as a warning by the death squads in El Salvador.

In spite of these and many other threats and acts of violence, Harold Ezell, Western Regional Commissioner for the Immigration and Naturalization Service, has insisted that the claims of death squad activity are lies and publicity stunts. "One [woman] was molested," he said, "but that happens all over the state." El Salvador's Ambassador to the U.S., Ernesto Rivas Gallont, echoed: "They claim it's death squad activity, but you have to admit rape is an everyday occurrence in the U.S."

These attacks on political activists in Los Angeles mirror increased right-wing violence in El Salvador against protesters against the Duarte regime. A death squad threat against student leaders was made as a public announcement, the office of the Mothers of the Disappeared (COMADRES) was bombed, and a labor demonstration was fired on by the Salvadoran National Guard.

Activists in Los Angeles have mobilized to demand police and FBI anti-terrorist investigations of the violence here—though some question the "good faith" of the FBI, which is known to have given information on political activists to the Salvadoran National Guard!

Acting under community pressure, the L.A. City Council voted to give \$10,000 in financial relocation aid to Central American immigrants who have been threatened, and an outpouring of support has brought in an additional \$30,000 in donations for housing, medical and legal costs.

Demonstrations are planned, and Central and North American political activists are determined not to be intimidated by this latest horror and manifestation of Oliver North-style "freedom" and "democracy."

—Ana Maillon



Women-Worldwide



Women textile workers in Taejon, South Korea, join the wave of strikes that have been sweeping the country for over a month.

Depo-Provera, a birth control drug for women, banned in 1978 because it causes cancer, is still being used today on Native American women. It is being prescribed to Indian women by the U.S. Public Health Service, Indian Division.

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Carmen Gloria Quintana, the young Chilean student brutally burned by soldiers a year ago when demonstrating against the Pinochet regime, returned to Chile in July to identify and testify against her attackers. She said she was able to face the hours alone with military prosecutors because she felt "accompanied by all the people of Chile."

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Women's groups in Nigeria are fighting against arranged marriages of girls, many as young as 11 to 13 years old. It is estimated that over 20,000 Nigerian women suffer from vesicovaginal fistula, a disabling condition caused by obstructed labor that tears a hole between the birth canal and the bladder. Women who have children before 15 years old are particularly susceptible to this condition.

# Kaiser puts a foreman on every desk

Oakland, Cal.—What Kaiser Permanente could never get clerical workers to agree on, specific work norms, it is introducing now with computer monitoring of data entry workers in Local 29. Workers are going to get a 25 to 50 cent bonus over their \$9.10 per hour for achieving 10,000 and then 11,000 key-strokes per hour. Every minute of their work life is now going to be monitored and reported out by a computer.

Further, our union president, Jan Eakle, is praising it, saying "everyone is thrilled with the new standards," now that with computer monitoring "it's fair." The people I talk to in data entry think it is outrageous. With base pay so low the "bonus" is a misnomer. Everyone is worried about a future of more restrictions and speedup.

With the computer you don't need a whip anymore or the kind of harassing supervisors we have in our department. The ugly thing is that there's two tiers within the union. Those who work the hardest are the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.

But two-tier is not a question of money, it is a principle. When we were out on strike for many weeks in a solid rejection of a two-tier wage system at Kaiser hospitals, it was a total rejection of a two-tier society. The 9,000 Kaiser workers, staying away from work and out in the cold in November and December in 1986, had nothing to gain personally.

But the union bureaucrats capitulate, as in our recent Local 29 contract, to the demands of the Kaiser bosses, as though everything can be sweetened with a bonus. Jan Eakle spelled out the union bureaucracy's true place and purpose in the capitalist structure with her statement to us opening those contract negotiations. The union, she said, "must ride with the times and the prevailing economic tide...that in times of economic upswing, the unions can and should fight for a share of the economic gains...and likewise, when the economy takes a bad turn, the union must bite the bullet and wait for better times."

However much paid or unpaid, all capitalist labor is forced labor, every minute of it. That's what computer

monitoring is trying to realize literally. Bonus or no bonus, computer monitoring of workers must be seen for what it is. The "fair" and "objective" stamp they gave to the introduction of computer monitoring is really tyranny with a human face. —Local 29 worker

## Rouge Steel's 'team' pact

Detroit, Mich.—A contract at Rouge Steel was recently ratified after almost a year of stalemated negotiations. Little information filtered down to us in the plants from our representatives. The workers usually first get our information from the media. Of approximately 4,000 workers, around 1,000 didn't vote, and the contract was approved by a margin of only seven.

Some union reps boasted that no concessions were made, yet if a worker signs to leave Rouge Steel and go to Ford and is called back to Rouge Steel when laid-off at Ford, he or she must work four-and-a-half years starting at 85% of what they formerly made at Rouge Steel.

Affecting the skilled trades and other classifications are clauses that enable the company to have traditional distinctive trades doing other skilled trade work that was once taboo and over which grievances could be filed when someone was caught so doing. This is worded as "team concept." The company said this will make them more competitive, but it is widely viewed as merely burdening workers with more labor and enabling the companies to lay off still more workers.

The "team concept" business might be a tad more palatable if profits and bonuses were equally divided amongst all levels of management and the work force, as was brought up by a union negotiator at the Ford-UAW opening negotiation session and at which a Ford rep reportedly laughed. Truer still to fundamental unionism would be shortening the work day and employing rather than displacing workers.

Contracts are reflective of the class nature of society, and until we make a reversal of which class makes the major decisions concerning our very livelihoods, we are likely to see contracts become more confining, restrictive and dictatorial. How democratic is it when major decisions are determined by who has the most shares of stock, i.e., who are the wealthiest, rather than those who actually make the product? And when they inflict their will through our contracts, they merely contribute to a revolting situation. —Rouge Steel worker

## U.S. Auto lay-off unfair

Detroit, Mich.—U.S. Auto Radiator announced the indefinite lay-off of an entire department on Aug. 14. Workers with ten years seniority can bump; anyone with less time in that department has to take the lay-off.

People are saying that one customer rejected a very large number of bad radiators, but I blame the company, they push so hard for production and pass radiators that are no good.

I don't think it is fair for someone with two years to keep working, while people with five or seven years are laid-off. The UAW may be talking about company-wide seniority, but they haven't even won plant-wide seniority for us. —U.S. Auto worker

## UAW runs non-union local

Long Beach, Cal.—Ever since last May, when the UAW International took control of our local (Local 148, at Douglas Aircraft, or McDonnell Douglas-Long Beach), working conditions in the plant have grown worse and worse. Both the company and the International had sent out letters just before local elections, criticizing incumbent president Bob Berghoff's strategy of a "work-to-rule" slowdown that had been our way of putting pressure on the company to negotiate a better contract (see N&L, May 22). When Berghoff won, the International stepped in, declared that there had been election irregularities, and took control of the local.

Supervisors now tell us that there is no union in the plant anymore, and they can do what they want to. The company now demands that every worker be on the job two to three minutes before starting time. At the end of the day, there's no more working ahead and lining up at the time clock to clock out, and no washing up until the whistle blows.

The company went so far as to take all the doors off the bathroom stalls, and foremen now check through the bathroom to see that no one is in there reading or relaxing!

Workers are feeling it's a hopeless situation. We've lost this battle, with both the company and the International against us. Local elections are scheduled for Aug. 12, and despite the fact that he has now been fired, Berghoff is still running again. But what will change?

The International stabbed us in the back. The company feels it's in a no-lose situation, and is turning up the pressure. I feel so angry and disgusted. The UAW had a chance to make history, to put a stop to all these concessions contracts.

But the International reps don't know what it's like to be a worker on the assembly line, and don't care. They're too busy jet-setting around the country, eating, drinking, chasing women. All they're concerned about is preserving their bureaucrat jobs, while we stay hard at work and continue to lose our contract benefits.

—Bitter and angry McDonnell Douglas worker

# How long must workers' day be at Swift-Eckrich?

Chicago, Ill.—I work on second shift making hot dogs at Swift-Eckrich. You would think that we would be working steadily through the summer season at least, but there have been two layoffs since April. While we are there, they work us to death.

Our contract allows a mandatory 12 hours per day, six days a week, although the company usually limits the hours to ten a day during the week. But on the last day, whether that is Friday or Saturday, we work until the meat is finished, sometimes 13 hours or more. They do not come around and ask you if you want to work overtime. They don't even come around and tell you that you're going to stay. You just know that you will keep working until all the meat is done.

The threat of a long night or, better yet, the hope for a short one (and I mean only less than ten hours) spurs us to work harder. The company benefits from that in two ways: first, we produce more for the same rate of pay each hour we're there; second, we save the company from paying us for the hours and minutes we would have worked. Putting most of the overtime on the second shift saves Eckrich, too, because those people are the new-hires, the lowest-paid people in the plant.

The rumor is that we'll work until Labor Day with all this overtime plus Saturdays and then there will be another lay-off eliminating second shift. The people who remain will continue to work overtime. My question is: Whatever happened to the idea that no one works overtime when people are laid-off? Whatever happened to the eight-hour day? —Eckrich worker

## Save lives, boycott grapes

Chicago, Ill.—The United Farm Workers (UFW) are calling for a national boycott against all table grape growers. "We are asking people to boycott all table grapes, red, green or concord," said Frank Ortiz, Coordinator for the Midwest Grape Boycott. "In 1975 we agreed to dismantle our national boycott in exchange for the passing of the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) act. Now we can't get anything done through them."

Under the leadership of Dave Stirling, Gov. Deukmejian's choice to take over the ALRB, 90% of all claims brought by farm workers are dismissed, and the few claims that are dealt with are settled for as little as 10 cents on the dollar. Stirling has campaigned against the grape boycott, using public funds to fly to a national religious convention and using his staff to write letters.

The UFW wants five pesticides banned: Captan, Parathion, Phosdrin, Methyl Bromide and Dinoseb. These pesticides have been found to cause cancer, brain damage and birth defects. In 1986, 1,516 cases of pesticide poisoning were reported by farm workers, a percentage the UFW believes is only 1% of the total cases. Many times workers who are exposed to pesticides are not told of it, lied to, or threatened with being fired if they report the illness. The burden falls hardest on the grape pickers, exposed to the heaviest doses of pesticides.

Occupational Safety and Health Administration and Right-to-Know laws do not cover farmworkers, who often enter fields with little or no protection, and in most cases don't even have access to running water to wash their hands with. Exposure to pesticides comes from drifts from aerial spraying or from re-entry, when farm workers are ordered to start picking grapes, sometimes as little as an hour after a field has been sprayed.

The only way worker safety can be enforced is with a strong union. The growers following Deukmejian and Stirling's lead have resorted to such vicious union-busting tactics as stealing ballot boxes, beating up election overseers, intimidating workers and murdering workers who vote for the union. With the current ALRB the growers have nothing to fear, except a boycott.

"So far we've been pretty successful, grapes are selling at an all-time low. We are looking for 17 million people to help us like in 1975," commented Ortiz.

Donations and requests for information can be sent to Cesar Chavez, P.O. Box 62, Keene, CA 93531-9989. The UFW also has a moving 14-minute VHS videotape called the Wrath of Grapes which is available for free to interested groups. —Wat Tyler

## Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

Capitalism cannot give this security to us. Only when workers control production will we have "job security."

The way I see things shaping up in the 1987 negotiations, the union bureaucrats will trade away our benefits for some contract language they can then tell the workers means "job security." What gets me is that these bureaucrats don't even pretend any more to see that the interest they supposedly represent, labor, is in conflict with management, with capital.

UAW Vice-President Donald F. Ephlin stated that "adversarial" labor-management relations belong to the past, because that would only make the industry more vulnerable to "competition." Even New York Times writer John Holusha had to write that Ephlin sounds "more like a company negotiator than a union executive!"

Ephlin talks just like management, because he thinks just like management. Ephlin's whole thinking is how to keep GM making more profits. These labor leaders don't have one thought of their own; everything is dictated from capitalism.

### THE ENEMY IS AT HOME

The workers through their union dues are paying for the corporation's propaganda campaign against "foreign competition"—as if competition on the world market were suddenly something new! Now these damn capitalists and union bureaucrats are saying that the capitalists are vulnerable to "competition," and that is the main enemy of the American worker.

They are all joining together and trying very hard to keep us brainwashed, that our enemy is another worker somewhere else and that our ally is these thieving corporations that steal our labor, our sweat and our blood in speed-up on the production line.

It's very true that the big corporations continue to move their operations overseas, in search of cheaper labor, while at the same time they automate the plants here at home to eliminate workers altogether. Does that prove that the foreign worker is our enemy and the company our friend?

If American rank-and-file workers go along with the bureaucrats' thinking, and lose the human way of thinking, this whole world could be lost. We all know how ready the capitalists are to send the sons of the working class to make war on another country that is too "competitive." We all know how eager Ronald Reagan is to send American troops all over the globe to protect American business interests.

### LISTEN TO KOREAN WORKERS

Luckily, if we American workers are forgetting how to think for ourselves, the working class in other countries is helping to remind us what class struggle is all about. The striking, sitting-down South Korean workers include those at Daewoo Motor Co.—whose auto-manufacturing division is 50% owned by GM, where they make the Pontiac Le Mans.

That type of militant labor thinking and movement is what worries not only GM but the UAW bureaucrats who are afraid that we might remember that the UAW was also started by sit-down strikes. Our goal then, 50 years ago, was worker control of production. We seem to have lost sight of it for half a century, but it is what we need to think about, and practice, now, if we want to live like human beings.

## News & Letters

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

Charles Denby, Editor (1955-1983)

Olga Domanski, Mike Connolly, Co-National Organizers, News and Letters Committees  
Eugene Walker, Managing Editor  
Felix Martin, Labor Editor



News & Letters is printed in a union shop.

## THE ANTI-WAR STRUGGLES

Today the world is in a rapid change such as it never experienced before, and the chain reaction in politics has consequently complicated the world situation more than ever. Both the powers of the U.S. and the Soviet Union have made propaganda as if the abolition of nuclear weapons could be possible if they keep reducing intermediate nuclear forces, while they have covered the fact that they would never be reconciled with each other on SDI. The only reason they have thrust a new stage of negotiation is that their interests coincide with each other in giving up such expensive toys if they could be replaced by high technology weapons. They will be able to kill more with less weapons. We have to clear away the illusion now...

We are eager to communicate with all who are ready to struggle for anti-war and peace.

International Anti-War Assembly  
Kaiho-Sha, Tsurumaki Building  
525-9, Waseda, Tsurumaki-cho,  
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo, Japan

\*\*\*

Reagan says he is against communism and for democracy, but he never says much about hunger, poverty, or war. The war in Central America is killing people. And what about those who don't get amnesty under the new immigration law and have to go back to Latin America? Reagan doesn't think about the human situation that people face.

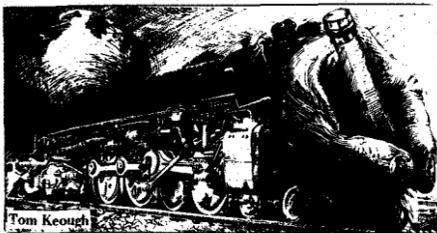
Peruvian immigrant  
New York City

\*\*\*

Artists for Mideast Peace organizes the creation, exchange and exhibition of peace art by Jewish and Arab children. Visitors to our exhibitions who are depressed and desperate from angry rhetoric, bomb scares, air raids, assassinations, invasions and hijackings, are often elated by the sentiments the children's posters reveal, and take courage from their powerful images. Our dream is to see posters created and exchanged by tens of thousands of Jewish and Arab children. Can our children help their parents and their nations take important steps on the long and difficult road to peace?

Artists for Mideast Peace  
99 Burlington St.  
Lexington, MA 02173

## THE MEANING OF REVOLUTION AND THE MEMORIAL ISSUE



Dunayevskaya's ideas and writings should be presented to people so the meaning of revolution and the meaning of Marx's work can be seen as the liberating force it is. The worst anti-Marxist influence in the world is the reputation of the politicians of many countries who call themselves Marxists...

Tom Keough, political artist  
Brooklyn

\*\*\*

We of the revolutionary movement suffer a great loss in the death of Raya Dunayevskaya. Her persistence and courage during her entire lifetime in developing and extending Marx's theoretic principles have significance for the broadest layers of our society.

Nettie Kravitz  
Detroit

\*\*\*

I have two copies of the splendid issue of N&L devoted to the life, work, and testimonials of Raya Dunayevskaya. I am very proud to have had my little letter included in it, even as a friend and comrade who is not a Marxist. The extensive and devoted responses from people of all races and walks of life bear witness to the extraordinary position Raya occupied in the political life of the 20th century. I was glad to see that an opportunity is afforded to contribute in her memory.

George Armstrong Kelly  
West Barnstable, Mass

\*\*\*

In Raya Dunayevskaya's "On Political Divides and Philosophic New Beginnings" (N&L Memorial issue, July 25) I

## Readers' Views

## SCABBING IN THE PERSIAN GULF

Reagan's new policy for the Persian Gulf calls for putting American flags on foreign oil tankers and protecting them with the U.S. Navy. Aside from the military idiocy of this policy, U.S. maritime law calls for vessels flying the U.S. flag to be manned by U.S. sailors, members of U.S. maritime unions. The oil companies have been avoiding U.S. law for years by flying under foreign flags. Now Reagan's Persian Gulf policy adds scabbing to his long list of crimes.

Peter Mallory  
Chicago

## DUNAYEVSKAYA ON HEGEL

A close knowledge of Lenin's philosophy distinguishes Dunayevskaya's interpretation of Hegel from so many vacuous explanations that are disseminated here in the West. She knows what is the matter with philosophy today. Although the dialectic in its Marxist version was my secret target in my own writings, I came to see that side with greater approval, given the present poverty of thought.

Hegel scholar  
Germany

\*\*\*

Everything is so ominous both sides have to pretend they are for "arms control." Now we hear testimonies from people like General Secord that sound exactly like the Argentine generals who "patriotically" did what the civilian government wouldn't do. We see Reagan's Nazi affinity at Bitburg, and now the extreme Right victory in South Africa. We see the Latin American revolutions remaining unfinished... To me, all of this has a relationship to Dunayevskaya's asking "Why Phenomenology? Why Now?" (N&L, May 8, Special Supplement). Didn't many of Lenin's comrades think he was "crazy" when he returned to Hegel when the world was falling apart in 1914—and didn't it prove to be his preparation for the revolution?

Women's Liberationist  
Los Angeles

## THE LABOR SCENE

I was incensed when I learned how Hormel tried to impose its corporate interests on the July 4 celebration in Austin, Minnesota. It was particularly offensive that a car carrying a banner declaring that "Chicago loves Spam" was included in the parade. Who selected those people to represent my tastes and interests? I work in a meatpacking plant in Chicago and am intimately familiar with the conditions of labor in the industry—automation speed-up, high injury rates, lay-offs and plant closings, reduced wages. That's what Austin workers struck against. Far from "loving" Spam, I will continue to boycott all Hormel products.

Meatpacker  
Chicago

\*\*\*

Last month I saw two young white men picketing Herman's sporting goods. I asked what their strike was about. The first thing they said was, "Herman's really discriminates against Blacks! And the sexual harassment is terrible!" They said they were stock workers and made \$3.50 an hour and that Herman's had offered a \$1 raise over six years.

Recently the NAACP and other organizations announced their opposition to the lower wages Herman's pays Black workers. Don't buy Herman's!!

Marxist-Humanists  
Detroit

\*\*\*

I learned a lot about Lowndes, Wilcox and Sumter Counties from Lou Turner's articles on the Alabama Black Belt and Mississippi Delta. The reality is startling. Enclosed is my sub.

Attorney  
Mississippi

## A CORRECTION

Your In Memoriam to Lefty Morgan captured his spirit beautifully but had one error. He won his case for reinstatement after a three year fight. It was an important fight, not only for him, and he was justifiably proud of winning it. He retired from the railroad in 1980 when he was 65. By then he was working on some bylaws for the union which was formed to take over from the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers—the Canadian Union of Transportation Employees. He was still working on them when he died. They will probably stand as the most democratic of any such.

Margaret Morgan  
Vancouver, British Columbia

## 'THE IDEA IN SCIENCE'

I want to thank Jane Marie Dignan for correcting, in her attack on my discussion of "the idea in science," (see N&L, May 8 and June 5) any "impression" I may have given that Sandra Harding "related the birth of the modern women's liberation movement to the civil rights and anti-war movements" especially because the need to begin with this objective presence of the freedom idea was my point of departure with Harding.

Whether or not Dignan feels that Kuhn's view of scientific revolutions has anything to do with negation of the negation, one thing he did do was to project that the prevailing idea in science as a whole is in crisis. That didn't happen "long ago" but in our era, when Kuhn's view continues to be a pole of attraction for those looking for a way to oppose science's total threat to humanity.

Dignan knows that Marx was guilty of writing about the idea in science. Quite the opposite of any aura around the "very word 'science'" was Marx's turn to critique the idea in the science he had most regard for, mathematics, where he revealed the determinant is not math's formalism but Hegel's negation of the negation. In the state capitalist age, when science, especially mathematical formalism, is inseparable from the machinery of war, capitalist commodity production and its false consciousness, isn't Marx's view of the idea in science a way to make explicit that "the dialectics of liberation is one with life and labor" which is how Dignan defines our task?

Ron Brokmeyer  
Bay Area



## 'THE WOMAN ACTIVIST'

Recent issues of *The Woman Activist*, put out by Flora Crater, have contained rich and detailed information on the anti-woman nature of Reagan's effort to lower or even abolish the minimum wage. She quotes a reactionary expert's testimony before Congress in 1970 that it "would be much better for those two young people to be earning \$20 a week for 20 hours, each of them, than their mother to be earning \$80 in a 40-hour week." Crater notes acutely that this "perpetuates a stereotype of the typical minimum wage earner as an untrained teenager, newly entering the world-of-work, while dismissing as irrelevant a group that (in 1970) comprised 43.4% of the labor force: women." She also notes that as of the 1980 census, women compose 59.6% of those employed fulltime at the minimum wage.

N&L readers might be interested in this little-known publication subtitled "An Action Bulletin for Women's Rights," and available monthly for \$10 per year (2310 Barbour Road, Falls Church, Virginia 22043).

Librarian  
Chicago

## A THANK YOU TO RAYA

Since the early 1950s, whenever Raya was on a lecture tour in the San Francisco Bay Area, she was a guest in my home. I maintained a position as an independent, unaffiliated revolutionary. My activity as an individual continued for all freedom struggles, including organizing meetings for Charles Denby and for Raya.

Raya, again on tour in 1969, finally confronted me. Sitting together at my kitchen table, I had recited a summary of my current activities. Was I expecting a pat on the head? I can still hear her words, loud and clear: "Activity! Activity! Activity! And what comes after the issue is over? Everyone goes home and waits for the next demonstration. How can you call yourself a revolutionary if you do not belong to an organization with a philosophy of revolution, dedicated to the total uprooting of capitalism?" The next meeting I joined News and Letters Committees. Thank you, Raya, for bringing philosophy into my life.

Lillian B. Willis  
Oakland, Calif.

# The Memorial Meeting

Editor's Note: The following are excerpts from talks given at the Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Meeting held in Chicago on July 25, 1987.

## Detroit rebellion, 1967

If Raya were here today, she would probably say that out of death emerges new movements, new dimensions in the struggle for human liberation. I would like to very quickly provide my perspectives, or should I say the perspective of a Black intellectual from the city of Detroit, on the Black dimension of Raya Dunayevskaya's works. Twenty years ago from today the city of Detroit was struck by a riot, and Raya provided a very insightful and very accurate analysis of the riot of 1967 in her book *Philosophy and Revolution*. She described the riot as a spontaneous revolt, an explosion that was caused by racism and oppression in this country.

Out of the ashes of that riot emerged a new movement, a new beginning, a new dimension in the struggle for human liberation. For those of us who were involved in that struggle, we rejected the old movements. We rejected the Civil Rights Movement as too conservative, offering constitutional changes instead of human rights. We rejected Stalinism as offering just another form of oppression and dehumanization.

We searched for new ideas, new theories, new philosophies of humanism in our struggle against dehumanizing conditions.

Some of us found that new theory of humanism in the works of Raya Dunayevskaya. It was a friend of mine who was an active participant in the riot that introduced me to her works. I was enthralled over Raya's recollections of Black movements and her recollections of W.E.B. DuBois and Kwame Nkrumah.

In my view the movement was not just all spontaneity. I think Raya had some influence. Indeed, Raya had a profound influence over my perspectives and my thinking. Let me say that out of this death hopefully will emerge new movements, new beginnings and new dimensions in the struggle for human liberation.

Carter Wilson  
University of Toledo

## A stunning originality of thought

I am indeed honored to have been asked to make a presentation here today. I've spent a good part of my life studying and thinking about philosophy, so I've tried to put together in this brief time allotted a few of my thoughts about and reactions to Raya's writings and her concept of philosophy.

Reading Raya Dunayevskaya's books is like being in an earthquake. The stunning originality of her thought shatters even the bedrock of mental servitude. On page 49 of *Philosophy & Revolution* Dunayevskaya wrote: "To Marx what was crucial was that man was not merely object but Subject. Not only determined by history but its creator."

This statement is a concise expression of Dunayevskaya's central insight regarding both the relation between Marx and Hegel and the meaning of the new continent of thought discovered by Marx. Compared to academic institutionalized prose, Dunayevskaya's writings commit the sin of simultaneously containing many levels of discourse and many modes of address; they seem to move incessantly from one topic to another, from one text to another—here quoting, there expostulating and everywhere lacking the high seriousness appropriate for weighty subjects.

Today, the French philosopher Jacques Derrida is the lionized, perhaps leftist philosopher of the moment. His so-called philosophy is called "deconstruction." It is said that he has destroyed forever the distinction between philosophy and other disciplines and in so doing, has supposedly smashed the philosophically generated rationalist idols which have perpetuated the reign of terror called history.

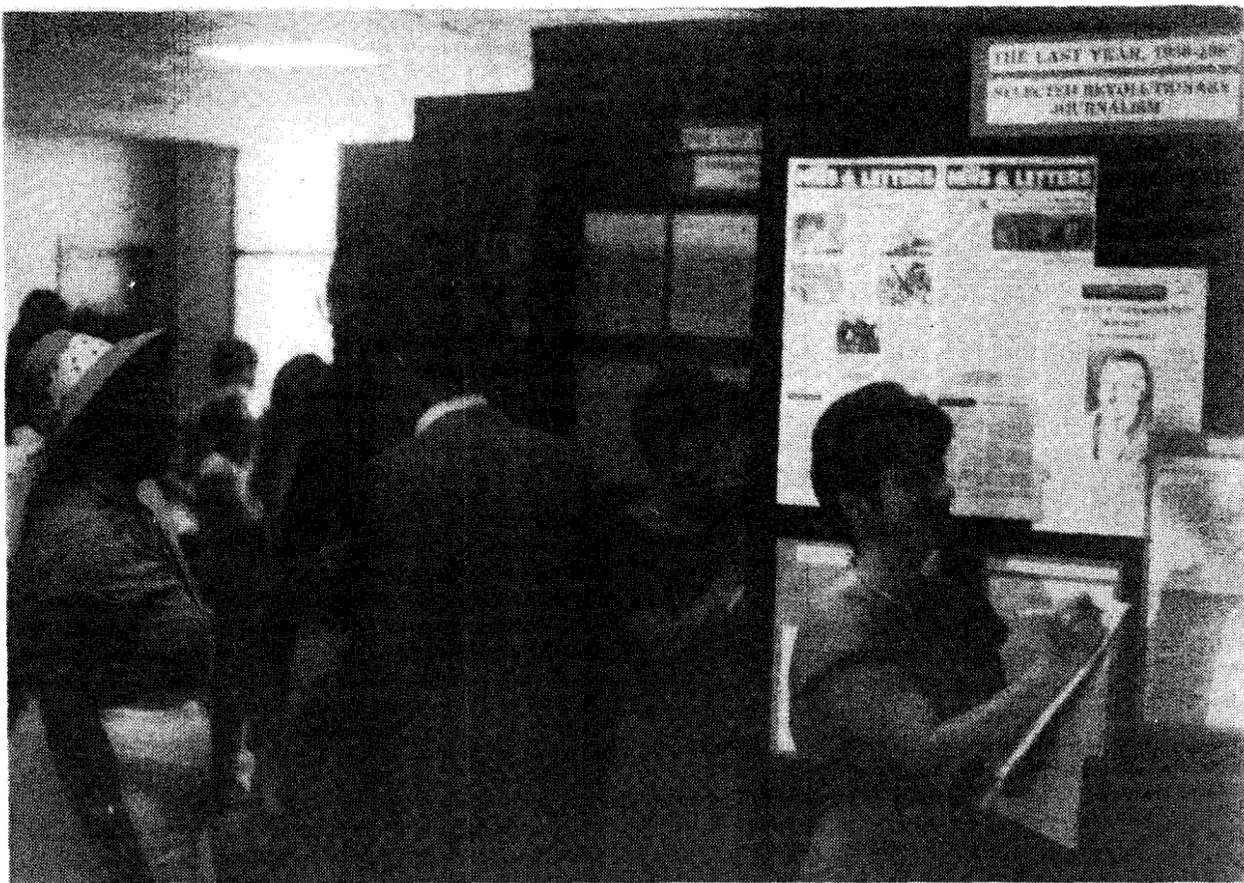
In particular, it is said that he has smashed the idol called the Subject. It remains to be seen whether or not vulgar materialism lies coiled within the much lauded deconstruction since vulgar materialism is, as Raya Dunayevskaya showed, precisely materialism without the Subject. What does not remain to be seen, for it is perfectly evident, is that Derrida's arcane prose in which everything stands for everything else, his computer language, conveys the message that the Subject is dead because it attempts to kill the Subject—the reader.

But Dunayevskaya does not deconstruct the Subject. The earthquake experience of her writings is the experience of being born finally as a Subject—the experience of the new beginning which we are, the revolution in permanence, the bursting forth within us of the new continent of thought. Dunayevskaya wrote that Hegel discovered that the counter-revolution is within the revolution and that this is also one of the things Marx learned from Hegel. Dunayevskaya saw and showed us that this is the meaning of Marxism as dialectical and historical materialism—ever new beginnings—ever new attendings to the actual lives of human beings, Subjects, as they are lived and in particular to the spontaneous struggles that ever and always well up from within the people struggling now.

To struggle for a revolution against capitalism, it is necessary to understand that capitalism was a revolution against feudalism which contained the counter-revolution within itself. We need to know this because we ought to never settle for less than the revolution in per-

(continued on page 8)

# The living character of Raya Dunayevskaya's legacy



Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Meeting Archives Exhibit: Panels from "The Last Year, 1986-1987."

by Peter Wermuth

The more than 150 people who attended the memorial meeting for Raya Dunayevskaya in Chicago on July 25 participated in so rich an intercommunication with Dunayevskaya's life and work, that the experience is sure to have ramifications well into the future.

The audience came from across the country (and in some cases, from overseas), representing many of the dimensions touched and transformed by Dunayevskaya's development of the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism in the course of its half-century of world development—autoworkers and philosophers, South African revolutionaries and North American feminists, anti-war youth and old radicals. They came to encounter the living charac-

ter of Dunayevskaya's legacy, in listening to some 20 speakers who discussed the impact of her ideas, in hearing Raya speak for herself in the form of excerpts read out from her books, and in an Archives exhibit on her life and work created specially for this event.

## PHILOSOPHIC NEW BEGINNINGS

The intercommunication that emerged between Raya's legacy and the voices of forces of revolt could not help but speak to the realities of the ongoing world objective situation. The very first speaker, Peter Wermuth, N&L Resident Editorial Board member, noted that Dunayevskaya's death on June 9 came at a most perilous moment in the world situation, with Reaganism still rampant at home, Gorbachev trying to impose his own version of Reaganism under the guise of "glasnost" abroad, and with war clouds forming over Central America and the Middle East.

Dunayevskaya's response to such events was never separate from her critique of what is at the heart of the world crisis—the crises within the revolutions, within the unfinished freedom struggles, within Marxist thought. As she put it in her very last "Theory/Practice" column (see *News & Letters*, July 25, 1987), "such a deep retrogression urgently demands that, along with the economic and political tasks facing us, we look for philosophic new beginnings."

On July 25, the effort to face and transform today's crises by reaching for "new philosophic beginnings" through a deep internalization of the body of ideas Dunayevskaya left us with, became the challenge addressed throughout the memorial meeting.

## MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES AND EXHIBIT

One of the first speakers was Dr. Philip Mason, Director of the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs in Detroit, where Dunayevskaya's massive 10,000-page Archives collection is housed. Mason recalled his first discussions with Dunayevskaya concerning the donation of her Archives in 1969: "She really didn't have to be convinced about the need to preserve her papers and writings; she realized their importance to future generations." That comment reminded the audience of how unique was Dunayevskaya's concept of Archives, for she donated hers and made them available for viewing while she lived, thereby enabling thinkers and activists to grasp the process of her development of Marxist-Humanism as it unfolded. That concept of Archives, unprecedented anywhere in the Marxist movement, has become of even greater significance now.

It was that which dictated the creation of a special Archives Exhibit on her life and work for the memorial meeting. The documents and photographs on display traced through the full range of her work, from her 1920s activities as a youth in Chicago, where she wrote for the newspaper *Negro Champion*, to her 1930s work as Russian language secretary to Leon Trotsky in Mexico, to her 1940s original analysis of Russia as a state-capitalist society. Central documents in the creation and development of the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism were displayed, such as her 1953 *Letters on Hegel's Absolutes*, selections of her correspondence with such figures as Erich Fromm and Herbert Marcuse, and international editions of her "trilogy of revolution"—*Marxism and Freedom* (1958), *Philosophy and*

(continued on page 7)

## Letter to N&L readers

(continued from page 1)

responses and expressions of solidarity from all over the world—from trade unionists and women's liberationists, from Black revolutionaries and student youth, from scholars and activists alike—overflows in this issue as well.

At every critical point in our existence—from the moment N&L was founded in 1955 in the midst of McCarthyism, to last year when we had asked for your help to transform N&L into a biweekly—it has been our unique relationship with our friends and readers that has been central to our organizational life. Breaking down the barriers between "inside" and "outside" has been our principle from our beginnings and was never more urgent than right now!

All subscriptions will, of course, be extended to the full number of issues ordered. At the same time, we appeal for your help:

- in writing us your ideas and in sending us your stories,
- in helping us to build a special **Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund** to preserve and present her documents and assure that her published writings will remain in print,
- in contributing as well to our Sustaining Fund to assure the continuation of N&L,
- in finding others who will join together with us to distribute N&L, participate in our discussions, and help to bring the revolutionary dialectic to a full realization in our age.

PLEASE—LET US HEAR FROM YOU. HELP US CONTINUE AND EXPAND NEWS & LETTERS!

Send to: NEWS & LETTERS, 59 E. Van Buren, Rm. 707, Chicago, IL 60605

I want to help News & Letters to continue and to expand. Enclosed is my contribution:

- an article or report for N&L
- for the Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund
- for the News & Letters Sustaining Fund
- of names to receive a sample copy of N&L

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

## Illuminating trajectory of revolutionary theory

With the death on June 9, 1987 of Raya Dunayevskaya, the tradition of Marxist-Humanism has lost one of its major theorists and activists. Dunayevskaya's life and work spans the entire history of revolutionary socialism in the twentieth century. Few thinkers have reflected so deeply and written so insightfully on the trajectory of revolutionary history from Marx's day to our own, and perhaps no other writer and activist has contributed so significantly to illuminating the trajectory and dynamics of contemporary revolutionary theory and history.

For my own generation of New Left activists, Dunayevskaya's book *Marxism and Freedom* (1958) served as one of the key introductions to Marxian revolutionary theory. Dunayevskaya's emphasis on the revolutionary humanism of the young Marx and insistence on the continuity of the Hegelian-revolutionary philosophical roots of Marxism throughout Marx's writings deeply influenced us, and provided what I still consider as one of the best introductions to Marxist thought and one of the most illuminating interpretations of the work and contributions of Karl Marx.

Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution* (1973) theorized the period of the upsurge of Third World Revolutionary struggles that began with the Cuban Revolution and that was continuing in the Vietnamese and other revolutionary struggles of the time. Her studies showed the linkage between actual revolutionary struggles and revolutionary philosophy, and thus also provided important theoretical and political guidance for contemporary revolutionary theory and practice by underscoring the importance of revolutionary theory for the revolutionary process.

Dunayevskaya's connection with two other theoretical mentors of the New Left—Herbert Marcuse and Erich Fromm—sheds light on the multifaceted nature of her work, relationships, and influence. Dunayevskaya carried out a voluminous correspondence over three decades with both Marcuse and Fromm. She perceived these European exiles from fascist Germany as two of the only people in the United States who possessed a high level of knowledge of Hegel and Marx, and thus perceived them as individuals with whom she could develop a productive theoretical and political relationship. Her extremely rich correspondence with Marcuse and Fromm contains fascinating insights into her own struggles with the complex and difficult tradition of Hegelian Marxism, and sheds light on her efforts to relate Hegeli-

### Next issue:

*Mihailo Markovic, Yugoslav Marxist, writes on Raya Dunayevskaya*

an and Marxian philosophy to current theoretical and political problems.

While Dunayevskaya often engaged in sharp polemical exchanges with Marcuse, he had the utmost respect for her and frequently consulted with her on theoretical and political issues. In 1957, Marcuse wrote a Preface for the first edition of Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom* and, when several years later he was writing on the studies that became *One-Dimensional Man*, he wrote her on Aug. 8, 1960 requesting information on contemporary American literature on "the transformation of the laboring class under the impact of rationalization, automation and, particularly, the higher standard of living." Dunayevskaya answered Marcuse on Aug. 15, 1960 with a five-page single-spaced letter summarizing recent work by Marxist-Humanists on the problem and describing in detail a wealth of other literature on the topic from a variety of positions.

Dunayevskaya also conducted a long and voluminous correspondence with Fromm who had much more respect for Dunayevskaya than Marcuse (indeed his letters to her are full of criticisms of his one-time colleague in the Institute for Social Research). Fromm invited both Dunayevskaya and Marcuse to contribute to his symposium *Socialist Humanism* which was published by Doubleday in 1955; this collection contains a wealth of studies which exhibit the international range of humanistic Marxism. Dunayevskaya's contribution "Marx's Humanism Today" contains a characteristic attempt to make the tradition of Marxist-Humanism come alive for the present political situation. On Nov. 30, 1968, Fromm volunteered to provide any potential help with publishers for "I have great respect for your knowledge, your penetration, your honesty and your courage and I believe that you have something to say which should be known as much as possible."

Dunayevskaya's correspondence with Fromm and Marcuse has been collected and is available in the microfilm collection which can be purchased from the Marxist-Humanists. I would urge all of those interested in contemporary Marxism to ask their libraries to purchase this collection, and look forward to articles and discussion of the correspondence.

Raya Dunayevskaya combined tremendous intellect, learning, and political experience in a life devoted to revolutionary theory and activism. Her contributions are enormous and provide a living heritage of revolutionary Marxist-Humanism. While she will be missed, her ideas and tradition will live on in the revolutionary struggles of the present and future as we move out of the Reagan era into a new age of revolution.

—Douglas Kellner  
University of Texas



Raya Dunayevskaya at the News and Letters Convention, 1986

### Guide To The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection

Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century  
of Its World Development

Wayne State University Archives  
of Labor and Urban Affairs  
Detroit, Michigan 48202

#### NEWLY ADDED:

- Volume XI: 1981-1985—*Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts*
- Volume XII: *Retrospective and Perspective—The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, 1924-1986*

\$2.00

Guide prepared by:  
News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren St., Chicago, IL 60605

• Guide to the 10,000-page microfilm collection is available from *News & Letters*, 59 E. Van Buren, Chicago, Ill. 60605 for \$2.

• The complete microfilm of 5 reels is available from Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Detroit, Mich. 48202 for \$100.

Today I found out that the precious scholar and developer of Marxism, Raya Dunayevskaya, had passed away. Having become familiar with this searching Marxist through the Iranian Marxist-Humanist group, Anjuman Azadi, and because of the closeness that I felt between my views and hers, I had previously requested some Farsi translations of her works. Her radical positions on the Iranian Revolution and her analyses made me interested in her. At the time of the revolution many of the political forces who claimed to be Marxist had deep deviations and mistakes in their evaluation of the Khomeini regime and held rightist and councilionist positions...

The sudden passing of this Marxist leader has caused a stronger desire in me to become familiar with her fundamental works not yet translated into Farsi. I have been able to learn English better to be able to read her works...

Iranian exile  
Holland

Only last fall Raya had written us about her enthusiastic involvement with her new book despite her not robust health. We had hoped with her that she would have a few more productive years to complete the book. Still, we are fortunate to have had her for so long. She was a remarkable woman and she produced many works of unique and lasting value. Her tying together of Humanism with Marxism was a most creative contribution to the thinking of all who work to change society, so that human values may prevail... We are sending a contribution to N&L in Raya's memory.

Fay and Rowland Watts  
New York

I was shocked and saddened to hear of Raya Dunayevskaya's death. As I think you know, I have always held her in greatest esteem and I have, for years, used her writings in my classes and to stimulate my own thinking. I never met her, but her humanity and political spirit have always been evident through her writing.

Harry Cleaver  
University of Texas  
Austin, Texas

## Responses from Readers and Friends

What did Raya Dunayevskaya mean to me? The idea that Marx had realized Hegel's philosophy as revolutionizing practice is an extraordinarily powerful one; and it was Raya's genius to seize this notion and pursue it relentlessly. Her approach provided a rigorous philosophical framework within which a materialistic approach to the psyche could be taken, and this became very important to me in the development of my own work.

She was that rarest of creatures: a philosopher-militant. Theory and practice were indissoluble for her. The true greatness of her work lay in its realization that the struggles of workers, of blacks, of women and of the peoples struggling against imperialism were at heart one and the same. For Raya, philosophy was the perspective from which one could see those struggles as one. It guided practice and flowed from practice—a practice devoted to the revolutionary cause of the oppressed all over the world. May she long be remembered!

Joel Kovel  
New York

I was deeply saddened when your comrade told me of Raya's death while attending a women's conference at Spelman College in Atlanta. Though I never met Raya, I came to know her intimately via her writings, which profoundly informed my thinking and helped shape my consciousness. The Movement will eternally be grateful to Raya's uncovering and translating Marx's writings on Humanism.

Gwen Patton  
Montgomery, Alabama

A dedicated teacher and scholar, as well as an energetic and engaging personality, Raya Dunayevskaya has left a significant and lasting impression on those of us who have known and learned from her. As teacher-scholars

ourselves, we have particularly benefited from studying Raya's published works and from discussing *Capital* with her in seminars. She had a truly profound understanding of Marx's works. She also had a special gift for clear oral and written expression. Where we have lived and worked, from Detroit to Dar es Salaam, Raya's unwritten texts and continuing commentaries will be missed. Her archives at Wayne State University will remain with us.

Our deepest loss is Raya herself, her physical presence, her direct and dynamic personality, her incisive and informed mind, her inspiring example... To Raya we can only say "Asanta Sana." With friends whom she has left behind we now understand that "A Luta Continua."

James D. Graham and  
Vincent B. Khapoya  
African and Afro-American Studies  
Oakland University  
Rochester, Mich.

We cannot say how sorry we are to hear of the death of Raya Dunayevskaya, for whom we have always had a considerable respect and affection. Her profound commitment to humanism made her a compelling socialist advocate, and she helped many of us to discover how far the ideas of Karl Marx had been distorted in the tortured evolution of the 20th century.

Ken Coates  
Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation  
Derbyshire, England

I admired Raya's strength and her ability to write about philosophy and Marxist and feminist issues. I feel that what Adrienne Rich wrote about her is very true; we learned a lot from her, and from her attempt to give a more inclusive definition of freedom. I remember how impressed I was by reading her works, particularly her study on Rosa Luxemburg. Perhaps for a woman to

think of the biography of another woman inevitably means also a kind of "feedback" because there is the encounter of two projects. I felt that in this work she tried to indicate a way of being woman in a revolutionary process of liberation.

She was such an admirable example of coherence and vehement opposition to any kind of "break" in the struggle against injustice...

Valeria Russo  
Florence, Italy

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Thank you for inviting me to the Memorial Meeting for Raya. It was a great meeting and praise goes to all those people who set it up. I am glad I was able to attend and hear all those speeches from so many people of diverse interests and backgrounds. As I sat there listening to testimony after testimony of how Raya had touched this one and that one, I felt that this was no sad occasion, but a celebration, celebrating a life well-lived, a full life of one who devoted herself to the liberation of mankind.

Phyllis Ntantala  
Michigan

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Here is a \$77 check for the Memorial fund, to commemorate every year of Raya's creative life. She was so incredibly productive that we could not imagine that her work could end—and of course it could not, thanks to you who have so long and loyally helped realize her ideas. I first heard Raya speak soon after I had moved to Detroit in 1954, and though I did not fully understand her ideas I worked with her for several years, helping to edit *Marxism and Freedom*, because her philosophy seemed to offer hope for worldwide human liberation. Even after doubts led me from Marxism to Buddhism, Raya remained a kind friend and correspondent, always interested in my family, books and ideas... The world has not yet turned out as we had hoped, but there's still time!

Morgan Gibson  
Japan

Direct from South Africa : **Freedom Journal**

**Johannesburg, South Africa**—It is with great sorrow and distress to write this statement after hearing about the sudden death of one of our most cherished Marxist-Humanists, Raya Dunayevskaya.

We in South Africa mourn the actual death of our comrade and pledge our solidarity with those who are in the family, in the News & Letters Committees, and the staff, not forgetting the masses who are readers of Raya Dunayevskaya's work. Deep down in our hearts we will miss the founder of a world philosophy called Marxist-Humanism. May her soul rest in peace.

We in South Africa have read books such as **Marxism and Freedom, From 1776 until Today** (1958); **Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and From Marx to Mao** (1973) and many others by Raya Dunayevskaya. We have found these materials very inspiring and relevant to our way of struggle in South Africa. For us comrade Raya Dunayevskaya was an eye opener. She gave us all what we needed in times of repression and exploitation from both the capitalist and the Botha regime. We have fought our way through and still are fighting the reactionary forces of South Africa Defence Force together with their allies, kitsconstables plus vigilante groups formed by the government.

We hope and trust that News and Letters Committees will continue where Raya Dunayevskaya left off. We are already feeling the loss of our comrade Raya and as for our women, they have lost their true leader in Raya Dunayevskaya.

—South African activist

**Johannesburg, South Africa**—As women in South Africa we send this anxious message in regard to the mourning of our great Raya Dunayevskaya. This is a momentous period for women around the world.

We spiritually share together with those in the United States our sympathy even if we fail to present our-

**Marxist-Humanist Archives**

*Raya really didn't have to be convinced about the need to preserve her papers and writings. She recognized their importance to future generations. She was eager also to facilitate their use by having microfilm editions made so they could be sent to libraries throughout this country and the world. The only point of difference with Raya was what should be included in her collection. At first she only wanted her publications and official papers preserved. I urged her to broaden her collection to include information about her early years and her personal life. Although her first response was that the only biography that mattered to her was the biography of an idea, she finally agreed to reconsider and added to the collection hundreds of documents from the 1920s and 1930s, which added to the human dimension of her life.*

—Dr. Philip Mason, Director  
Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs

Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, see ad. page 6.

selves in certain issues. We salute Raya Dunayevskaya for her bravery that penetrated into our hearts, her sparkle that brightened our minds, her political educational books that opened our eyes and also our granddaughter's for ever and ever. We call ourselves not orphans for we gained a lot from her as our bread for tomorrow and our spear to fight for our civil rights until our emancipation.

It is now our time as women of the liberation struggle to illustrate that our woman soldier Raya Dunayevskaya had done a lot in her life which adhered to women in the world by following her bravery and humanity to ensure our enemies that we are real revolutionaries and that Dunayevskaya bore ripe fruits.

—Message from South African women

**Raya & The Gambia**

**Banjul, The Gambia**—I learned with great shock of the death of the consistent and hardworking Marxist-Humanist Raya Dunayevskaya from Dixon Colley. She passed away at a very crucial era when we, the youth especially, need her assistance. It is very true she left a lot with us but still I believe there was much left.

Raya was born in a land that changed the course of world history and died in a land of the most advanced imperialist power which is itself an historical journey that must be cherished. For it is through the brutal eyes of America that she saw her historical mission. Thus Marxist-Humanism was born.

Raya has not gone leaving us empty handed and in this way, she is immortal. She needs no tears, no sorrows from us but hands to pick up the spears she left behind.

Extend my very best revolutionary solidarity and salutation to all the members of the committee. May her soul rest in perfect peace.

Yours in struggle,  
Ba-Karang

The history of Raya's contribution to humanism is to be admired by all who knew her personally and internationally.

Her friends and colleagues were highly honoured when, during the election campaign of 1962, she joined both the United Party and People's Progressive Party leaders, Mr. P.S. N'Jie and then Mr. D.K. Jawara respectively. The latter now president of the Republic of The Gambia.

Although she left the country before the election results to keep to another assignment, she was the first to report it in the international press, notably, in **Africa Report**, a periodical published in the U.S.A.

Having introduced The Gambia to her colleagues, **News & Letters** became interested in The Gambia and the progress of **The Nation** newspaper since then. In all forms of trials that **The Nation** encountered, her colleagues have been always ready to support.

Deepest sympathy from **The Nation** newspaper and personal grief for Raya. To her colleagues and other sympathisers **The Nation** urges continuation of the good work left behind.

—Dixon Colley  
**The Nation** newspaper

**From a Marxist in Italy**

**Milan, Italy**—Raya possessed one of the best minds of our times, and all of her work, her life and herself was dedicated to the creation of a new human society in which human beings could behave as human beings in their social relations and in which personal freedom for all was the final aim. There are many great minds but very few that have dedicated themselves to humanity as Raya has done.

Certainly it has left News and Letters Committees with a great challenge and task to meet. There will no longer be the exceptional intelligence and theoretical ability of Raya to act as a sort of guide. Fundamental to Raya's Marxist-Humanism is that every new event requires a renewal of theory to practice. That is, it is useful to refer to the theories and philosophy of the dead, but it takes the living to revive these theories in relation to new historical events and transform this new consciousness into revolutionary practice. Equally important to Marxist-Humanist theory is the self-development of every individual; the self-consciousness of his or her personal freedom in relation to the society in which one lives—all of the questions on self-determination and freedom that Raya brought up in her works and above all in her recent analysis of Hegelian philosophy. All of this has to be continued not only as theoretical analysis but in the personal practice of our everyday lives.

Yes, it is a challenge, but I think it can be met. In recent years the lead articles in N&L have shown much more theoretical competence than in the past and, just as important, the correspondence and brief articles show a profound consciousness of the real problems of our age.

—Margaret Ellingham

**A French intellectual**

**Paris, France**—We are very moved by your letter on the death of Raya Dunayevskaya and we share the grief of those who worked with her. This news was for me the occasion to understand, in re-reading certain chapters of her three principal works, to what point she knew how to unite practice and theory by insisting on the fundamental kernel of the dialectic in the absolutely contradictory labor process faced with the logic of capital. Through this, she traced all the economic arguments and in this way found the subjective activity of the worker which is at the same time the experience of the dialectic as an absolute.

As you know, I had arrived at an interpretation of Marx close to your Chairwoman at a time when I did not yet know her work. She understood better than anyone else that the foundation of the Marxist analysis cannot be separated from a humanist concept. Therefore we need to pay attention to what takes place in daily social practice as also an expression of the Hegelian conceptual movement reflected in the real world.

In this way, reading **News & Letters** allows us to understand the daily life in the U.S. better than the reports in **Le Monde** and **Liberation**. No doubt I am more skeptical than you are about the possibility of escaping from the logic of the commodity and alienation. But perhaps you will be able to continue your activity, taking the new beginnings which she found and worked out as your point of departure.

—Professor Pierre Lantz  
University of Paris VIII (Vincennes)

**The living character of Raya Dunayevskaya's legacy**

(continued from page 5)

**Revolution** (1973) and **Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution** (1982). But perhaps the most exciting part of the exhibit was the section "The Last Year, 1986-87," which constituted nearly a third of the 20 panels.

That section revealed a tremendous outpouring of creativity and labor on the part of Dunayevskaya in her last year, which will take much time and effort to absorb. In 1986-87 she was working on a book-in-progress, "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy," as well as being engaged in intensive philosophic correspondence and analyses of ongoing world events. Even though the materials on display were but a fraction of her enormous output in 1986-87, the topics taken up—from studies on Hegel's **Phenomenology of Mind** to notes on literature, from analyses of the Iran-contra scandal to studies on Marx's concept of organization and the historic-philosophic contributions of Marxist-Humanism—showed that the task of grasping the fullness of Dunayevskaya's Marxist-Humanism is one that is before us.

**A DIVERSITY OF SPEAKERS**

The very diversity of speakers at the memorial meeting testified to the breadth and multi-dimensionality of Dunayevskaya's body of ideas. Thus, John Allison, an autoworker from Detroit, said "Raya was the first person who introduced Marx to me. Since I met her, I have learned that I cannot live on this planet without running into Karl Marx."

A meatpacker with Local P-9 on strike against Hormel spoke at the meeting, as did Felix Martin, Labor Editor of **News & Letters**. Martin recalled first meeting Raya during the 1970 strike against GM: "I discovered for the first time a group of people who were interested in what a worker had to say. Raya would listen."

Marilyn Nissim-Sabat, a philosopher from Lewis University, provided a different vantage point in discussing what a first encounter with Raya's writings was like: "Reading Raya's books is like being in an earthquake—the stunning originality of her thought

shatters even the bedrock of mental servitude." Several others who could not attend sent in statements to be read out, such as Douglas Kellner, Mihailo Markovic, Louis Dupré, and Adrienne Rich. Dupré noted that "her own Marxist-Humanism...reconnected a theory of action with its intellectual source—above all, Hegel's philosophy. For her the transition from theory to practice, far from abandoning philosophy, was itself a philosophical move, or as she daringly expressed it in her last book, 'the self-determination of the Idea.'"

The impact of the self-determination of the Idea of Marxist-Humanism was shown in the array of speakers who took the floor, ranging from those who knew her in the 1930s (like Mark Sharron) to Black youth influenced by her ideas in the 1960s (such as Carter Wilson, now a professor at the University of Toledo) to youth who heard her last public talk, on "Youth of the 1980s, Youth of the 1930s" last April (such as Steve Kapitan). One of the statements sent in from South Africa (by a workers' group) reflected the impact her ideas have presently: "The sudden death of Raya Dunayevskaya is a great loss to the national struggle and to Marxist-Humanism. In truth, I've never met Raya, but my heart grieves more than for any ordinary person I've ever known or seen."

**CARRYING ON THE MARXIST-HUMANIST LEGACY**

The challenges that Dunayevskaya's ideas pose for all forces of revolution were a theme developed by several speakers who had been deeply influenced by her through their participation in News and Letters Committees. Thus, Lou Turner spoke of how Raya's digging deeply into philosophy is unique among Marxists, while Michelle Landau discussed Raya's contributions to the Women's Liberation Movement, and Sheila Fuller spoke of Raya's challenge to the youth of the 1980s to become "thought divers and activists in the movements for freedom." From these speakers one was able to see the truth of Dunayevskaya's statement that the voices of revolt sound louder when in the context of a philosophy

of revolution.

Indeed, the intercommunication between the voices of those present with Raya's own voice characterized the whole event, as selected passages from Raya's works were read out at intervals throughout the meeting. The readings ranged from the passages in **Marxism and Freedom** on the 1955 Montgomery Bus Boycott through the discussion in **Philosophy and Revolution** on the 1953 breakthrough on the Absolute Idea, to the critique of "post-Marx Marxism" in **Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution**. This live interchange between the readings, the Archives Exhibit and the various speeches opened up a pathway towards giving continuity and development to the body of ideas Raya created and developed.

That did not mean that Raya's memorial meeting was unmindful of the tremendous difficulties facing those who aim to give voice and continuity to her ideas in the period before us. The final talk of the meeting, given by Olga Domanski, National Co-Organizer, on behalf of News and Letters Committees, stressed that "it was certainly not that Raya didn't think constantly of what had happened throughout history after a founder was no longer corporeally present. That concern certainly helped to shape her truly original category of 'post-Marx Marxism' not as chronology, but as pejorative....The truth that ideas do not die does not mean that the path to the future, making real the Idea of freedom, carrying on the legacy left to us, will be easy. Far from it."

The fact that the path before us is an untrodden one only underlines its historic urgency and challenge. Foundations have been laid that can help us in that task, beginning with the memorial meeting itself. The outpouring of voices, the focus on internalizing the legacy Raya left us, the new relationships initiated with the 150 who attended, testified to the kind of relationships we will work to deepen in the months to come. We ask you to join in the task we have set for ourselves—to bring the revolutionary dialectic to full realization in our age—by continuing and deepening the dialogue that emerged on July 25.

# Responses from the Chicago memorial meeting

(continued from page 5)

manence—that is, for less than the full realization of our potential to create ourselves and in so doing humanize the world.

It is well known that Marx wrote that philosophers have understood the world but that now we must change it. Vulgarians use this statement to interpret Marx as an anti-intellectual, a man who wanted to separate theory from practice and who wanted us all to be the slaves of the dictatorship of a mindless proletariat. Dunayevskaya showed that this statement by Marx does not mean that Marx repudiated philosophy. The heart and mind of Dunayevskaya's concept of Marxist-Humanism is that philosophy is the unity of theory and practice, manual and intellectual labor, and that we are all, as Subjects, philosophers. Thus, we all have the potential to create ourselves and live a fully human life.

Raya Dunayevskaya was a philosopher—"philosophia"—a lover of wisdom, and she shared her wisdom with us all. For wisdom is sharing.

—Marilyn Nissim-Sabat  
Professor of Philosophy  
Lewis University

## "Introduced me to Marx"

I wish to thank all of you for giving me this opportunity to say a few words over a great lady. I have been trying very diligently to figure out some way to tell the story the way it should be told. I'll confess to you right now, I have found that way. But a friend of News and Letters I met many years ago in the shop told me something that sang in my mind like a bird. I never could quite forget it.

I was head of the educational department in my local union, and Raya came and taught a class. Her topic was "What should man do to make a living?" When she explained all of the things that we were doing and all of the things that people around the world were doing just to eke out a living, it started everybody to thinking.

Bill Brownley was an old Wobblie. He told me one day after Raya had come, "John, one thing about it...history will tell us what she is doing" and he said, "the dead lays heavy upon the minds of the living." I didn't really understand it until I heard of her death. I'm telling you, it lays heavy upon my mind because she was the first person that introduced Karl Marx to me. I thought Karl was a wonderful looking fellow that had a beautiful beard, but I really didn't know anything about him. Since I met her I have learned that I cannot exist on this planet earth without running into Karl Marx.

—John Allison,  
autoworker and labor activist

## An Iranian activist

I'm here to say a couple of things about myself as an Iranian activist who has been involved in many years of the struggles in Iran and abroad, and also as a psychologist. I really feel that I've been deeply touched and transformed by Raya Dunayevskaya's ideas. And in order to fully understand that, I think one has to be familiar with the total political situation in Iran. Just to put it in a nutshell, sometimes I feel that Iran has been and it still is the capital city of Stalinism and vulgar Marxism. At this point I feel that after what has happened in the past, since the revolution of 1979, the po-

litical activists, the revolutionaries in Iran are making two choices: either total inactivism or repeating the tragic past as it's going now.

But, having been introduced to Raya's thought and the whole body of Marxist-Humanism, I feel that they do have another choice, and that is the only choice that they have to make. And that's exactly what Marxism, Marxist-Humanism is. If I were to identify one total idea that was the most significant part of Raya's thought, the most revolutionary contribution that has been made since Marx himself, is the idea of dual movement from practice which is itself a form of theory and from theory to philosophy.

—Ali Atesh  
Organization of Iranian Democrats Abroad

## From a student activist

Five years ago at a demonstration in Chicago protesting Reagan policy in El Salvador, I was first exposed to News & Letters. When the woman distributing the paper offered me a copy, I declined as my pockets were already bulging from leftist papers screaming monotonic hyperbole. Then I overheard her conversation with another couple standing next to me. I became interested. Here was a paper with a difference.

Although I did not consider myself a Marxist, I did consider myself a humanist. When I first read Raya's column, it seemed way over my head. Typical of most Americans, my knowledge of Marxism was practically

## A Hegel scholar's appreciation

*New Haven, CT*—Few people are fully alive from morning to night, from youth to old age. Raya Dunayevskaya was one of those exceptional human beings. She was so brim-full of life that one forgot she also had to die some day. She had recently informed me of serious health problems. Yet through all her troubles she remained so triumphantly, energetically alive that death appeared to have no grasp on her. Her enormous vitality, ebullient enthusiasm, never discouraged by adversity, appeared to give her a perennial youth. This is what we shall miss and what we shall remember—regardless of our political convictions or social positions.

Her sharp intelligence early on detected essential aspects in Marx's theory that had been neglected—not only by reformists but also by Lenin and, indeed, by her own former mentor, Trotsky. Her youthful, unflagging commitment enabled her to convert this fresh vision into praxis. Her own Marxist Humanism may well have been, among contemporary interpretations of Marx, the one that most heavily relied on theory. It reconnected a theory of action with its intellectual sources—above all, Hegel's philosophy.

For her the transition from theory to practice, far from abandoning philosophy, was itself a philosophical move, or, as she daringly expressed it in her last book "the self-determination of the [Hegel's] Idea" (*Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* p. 125). She, like no one else, has rendered justice to the continued impact of Hegel's thought upon Marx. *Capital*, she felt, had to be understood through the *Logic*. With this position she drew a clear line between herself and orthodox communist doctrine that remained satisfied with "applying" Hegel's dialectic. Not long ago I wrote about her work:

nil. My appreciation of her contribution to Marxist-Humanism didn't really hit me until this past April when I had the good fortune of seeing her speak at Northern Illinois University.

Raya's emphasis on the humanist values of Marx is so important to me. Marx's sense of justice for all people, his progressive attitude toward women, workers, the issue of racism is something that progressive non-Marxists can relate to. I think Raya understood the importance of this link to the dominant culture in the United States.

Let's face it: we Americans all to some extent are the product of a culture that is capitalist with a Judeo-Christian influence. It is with this environment that we, human beings, all must operate irrespective of ideology. I think that this is the challenge that Raya was talking about in her final column when she said:

"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 deepening theory to the point where it reaches Marx's concept of the philosophy of revolution in permanence."

My appreciation for, and knowledge of, Marx has been greatly enhanced by my exposure to Raya Dunayevskaya, and I hope that I can learn further from her, even as she is gone.

—Steve Kapitan, John Lennon Society,  
Northern Illinois University

"Raya Dunayevskaya remains the liveliest, probably also the best informed, theoretician of the far left, deeply committed to her Marxist cause, yet remaining fiercely independent—even with respect to her own heroes, Luxemburg, Lenin, Trotsky, and, most exceptionally Marx."

The remarkable thing about this "theoretician" is the inventive way in which she succeeded in translating her insights into practice. The causes to which she turned—immigrant workers, conditions in American factories, U.S. policy in South America, racial discrimination, feminism—showed a social awareness as astute in practice as the theoretical insight by which she supported her action.

All of this still does not capture the real person. Raya was not merely a theoretician who wrote philosophical books, or a woman of action who edited a newspaper, lectured, organized, got things going. To me she was in the first place a person one could not but like—warm in her friendship, enthusiastic like a young girl, with the mild sense of humor that only the wisdom of a truly good person can provide. Raya genuinely cared. She cared for the oppressed—all over the world. She cared for all, especially for her friends. These personal qualities, more even than her exceptional talents, secured her the enormous loyalty of followers and friends.

I enjoyed the privilege of being a friend. We differed fundamentally in our outlook on the world. I am a Catholic; she a Marxist humanist. Yet she respected me for what she was not; and I liked her for what she was. She will always remain with us—in our fondest memories and, yes, in our prayers.

—Louis Dupré  
Yale University

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Direct from South Africa  
Freedom Journal

# All eyes on South African miners' strike!

by John Marcotte

When 340,000 Black miners have decided to take history into their hands and strike, stopping gold and coal production in apartheid South Africa, I can only feel that we are on the threshold of a possible new stage for the labor movement world-wide. Just as all eyes were on the Solidarity labor movement in Poland in the early '80s—including South African workers' eyes—so now, all eyes are focused on the battle of the miners.

The press reports the miners' demands as "economic": 30% raise, 30 days paid leave, danger pay, death benefits. When your family is faced with malnutrition on a steady diet of cornmeal and cabbage, "economic" is not a small word! But listen to a few Black miners to whom a *Newsday* reporter managed to speak:

"The mines are not safe. There are too many rock falls, and we breathe artificial air underground. It affects our lungs." And: "When we say we want more money, we are politicians. It is political, this thing." Another said: "The white miners do nothing underground. They sit around and earn much more. We do all the work."

This new form of organization, the Black Labor Unions, was created by the Black workers in the period of the Soweto Uprising. This strike may be the greatest test yet of this form. Do the miners doubt for one minute that when they cut off the gold and coal, they are putting their hands on the jugular vein of the fascist, militarized monster of apartheid? For that matter, do Botha or Reagan doubt that? This strike puts the question of the power of Black labor centerstage.

Even more important for us in the American labor movement, these Black unions have raised profound questions of what happens after the overthrow of apartheid. They have shown the Reason of Black workers in motion, questioning what their role would be in creating the new society, how to avoid a one-party state, even questioning some of the tactics of the township youth (see *N&L*, June 5, 1987, and December 1986). What new questions and ideas will come out of this strike? Will we be able to hear those voices through the wall of apartheid and the Reagan-polluted press?

It was Marx who showed that class struggles are a "quest for universality" to be whole human beings. Raya Dunayevskaya singled out from our age of automation the question the U.S. coal miners raised in their strike against the continuous miner "man-killer": "What kind of labor should a human being do?"



South African miners on strike

If the freedom idea of the South African struggle brought out 100,000 to New York's Soweto Day one year ago, it wasn't only because of a feeling of wanting to help "over there." Ideas are being forged there that have something to say to our problems here. Are we so far away from South Africa? Is \$3.35 a living wage here? Aren't our children facing malnutrition and infant mortality equal to Third World countries in our "shantytowns" of East New York and South Chicago? Eight years of concessions and plant closings may not yet equal the \$45 a month pay of a Black South African miner, but the misery is real.

When freedom is in the air, that is when the orderly arrangements of society slip out of place, and suddenly the ideal doesn't seem so far from the real. It's a whiff of that air we can get on this side of the ocean. Send support to: *South African Miners Aid Fund, c/o United Mine Workers, 900 15th St. N.W., Wash., D.C. 20005.*

## 'Hands Off COSATU'

*Johannesburg, South Africa*—The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) has launched a "Hands Off COSATU" campaign as it battles to survive a test that began when 16,000 members of one of its affiliates in the railway went on strike five months ago. The chronology of attacks on COSATU's property and organizational structure is a story which began in March of this year. In May, COSATU embarked on a "Hands Off COSATU" campaign, and has openly challenged the government.

General Secretary Jay Naidoo told 1,500 people, mostly students at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, that the federation had been attacked by the government and smeared by the South African Broadcasting Corporation without being given a chance to defend itself. Mr. Naidoo said: "COSATU is not an ANC (African National Congress) affiliate although we have insisted and called for the unbanning of the ANC. We have met with the ANC, just as businessmen and church leaders have done. We have also issued joint statements with them. COSATU is involved in politics and we do not apologize for this. We openly see ourselves as part of the extra-parliamentary opposition."

In the background are accusations that COSATU is an ANC front and an affiliate of the United Democratic Front. The federation has noted: "There is a sinister programme to reduce the efficacy of COSATU and its organizational structure. We believe that it may prefigure more direct action against COSATU itself. If COSATU is prevented from functioning fully and openly the new era of labour relations is doomed." While also facing a one million rand repair bill to make its bombed Johannesburg headquarters safe, COSATU faces a test of survival as the largest worker federation in the country.

## Haiti's summer of protest and repression

*Editor's note: Since we received this report from our correspondent in July, the situation in Haiti has intensified with more mass demonstrations. The army has responded with massacres.*

*Port-au-Prince, Haiti*—The Autonomous Federation of Haitian Workers (CATH) resumed its activities after having been closed down by the government for several weeks. On June 23 the National Governing Council (CNG), led by Gen. Henri Namphy, shut down CATH because it had organized a two-day general strike all across the country. On the same day, several labor activists had been arrested and incarcerated at the Casernes Dessalines.

After this repressive action by the government, the people protested by organizing anti-government demonstrations across the land. Faced with this situation, on July 6 the government informed CATH that it could resume its union activities if it "respected the constitution." Thus on July 16 a re-opening ceremony was organized at CATH headquarters on Rue des Casernes, attended by several thousand people.

During the ceremony, many spoke, including Joseph Manucy Pierre, information secretary of CATH; Frantz Jean of the National Peoples Assembly (APN); and Fr. Jean Bertrand Aristide. Fr. Aristide denounced the oppression of the CNG. He demanded that all of the CNG members and some of the top officers of the Army (Jean-Claude Paul of Casernes Dessalines and Isidor Pongnon of Fort Dimanche) be put on trial.

There are three big union federations in Haiti, of which only the CATH is a genuine federation, combative and independent. It includes industrial workers, peasant groups and public employees all across the country. Despite CNG efforts to change its leadership, General Secretary Yves-Antoine Richard and the other duly-constituted CATH leaders continue to hold their posts.

The strike to demand freedom for the CATH leaders arrested on June 22 was respected all across the country. Faced with this situation, the government decided to release the people arrested during the June 22 strike called by CATH. All across the country, the demonstrations remind us of those of January 31, 1986 just before the fall of Jean-Claude Duvalier.

The demonstrators are demanding that the CNG step down. In Cap-Haitien, the second largest city, 25,000 people took to the streets to demand the ouster of the CNG. On June 30 Bishop Willy Romelus of Jeremie called for the ouster of the CNG in a broadcast on Radio Soleil, because it had violated the new 1987 constitution.

On July 2, the CNG abrogated its election decree, but the people continued to demonstrate to call for the ouster of the CNG. The toll from these demonstrations is still unclear. From hospital sources we are told that 30 people were killed by bullets and 115 wounded, including two babies: Dimy Evens, nine months old, and Katia Monbrun, four years old. Two journalists from Radio Cacique were wounded by bullets fired by soldiers from Fort Dimanche. Many foreign journalists have received threats. On July 4, the Association of Haitian Journalists demanded protection for the local and foreign press.

—Renan Hédoouville  
Correspondent

## Black/Red View

## Detroit Rebellion: 1967-87

by John Alan

Twenty years ago this past July, spontaneous Black revolts erupted in large and small cities across the country during the "long hot summer" of 1967. The Detroit rebellion was clearly the high-point of those revolts; its fury was not directed against white individuals simply as the other, but against the immediate symbols of oppression, slum landlords, gouging merchants and the brutal police, irrespective of race. It was a revolt to end poverty in the inner-city slums as well as to establish, in American society, truly new human relations without exploitation and racism.

None at that time, other than Marxist-Humanists, saw the Detroit rebellion as the birth of a new idea in the consciousness of urban Black masses about the concreteness of freedom, one which revealed how sharp was the contradiction between the goals of the Black masses and the Black middle-class leadership of the Civil Rights Movement.

The retrogressive policies of Reaganism, and the re-emergence of overt racism has not narrowed the gap between the Black masses and middle-class leaders, which was so dramatically revealed by the mid-1960s urban rebellions. In fact, it has become the obvious, accepted duality in the Black movement, to such an extent that traditional Black leaders such as Rev. Leon Sullivan (the author of the Sullivan Principles for U.S. companies engaged in business in South Africa) told the Urban League Convention in Houston in July that, "The Black bourgeoisie has failed the black masses."

Both the NAACP and the Urban League national conventions were further manifestations of this class division. Neither of these conventions even alluded to the Detroit revolt, or even thought it was a good idea to look back at the last two decades. In the words of Benjamin Hooks, head of the NAACP, what is important now are "contemporary issues...involvement of Blacks in the mainstream of industry through the decision making positions, the upgrading of Blacks in the entertainment industry."

These "contemporary issues" of Hooks' are essentially the program of the Black middle-class, a "quiet evolution" thoroughly cleansed of any revolutionary idea of freedom and wholly committed to middle-class "successes." There is total disregard of reality in this "folk image" of capitalism, at the very moment that the regressive nature of capitalism, in the form of Reaganism, is destroying the economic base for human existence in inner-city Black communities.

The *Wall Street Journal*, which is decidedly not Black or revolutionary, did remember the Detroit rebellion of 1967 and sent a reporter to find out what had happened in that city 20 years after the revolt. He found that race and economic problems continued to plague the city and that poor inner-city Blacks are worse off than ever, although Blacks are in political power. One out of every four Black workers in the labor pool is unemployed, and Mayor Young's prescription to build a "healthy downtown core," to attract jobs in finance, commerce, etc. has done little to change perma-

nent Black unemployment. The Detroit situation is not unique, it exists in every city with a large poor Black working-class population.

When these conventions did focus on the Black poor, it was done as social workers and "moralists," stressing the importance of self-reliance and programs which, according to John E. Jacob of the Urban League, "aimed at improving Black student education, job training for welfare mothers..." Hooks, of the NAACP, emphasized "self-help of economic development." The tenor of these statements places the responsibility of poverty on the Black poor, and unemployment on the Black worker, without ever confronting the magnitude of the problem or seeing that capitalism produces poverty.

There is no question that the "quiet revolution," "shifting of the focus," and "redefining the goals" of the civil rights movement is sending out the message that the goals of the Black middle-class do not pose a threat to the system. Thus, it is not accidental that the White House chief of staff, Howard Baker, Jr. was allowed to come and urge the NAACP convention to withhold judgement on Robert H. Bork's nomination to the Supreme Court until after the confirmation hearing in the Senate. It was an unusual request to ask of a Black civil rights organization that is knowledgeable of Bork's adverse legal decisions and opinions on the civil rights of Blacks, women, and gays, and who, as a federal judge, refused to let boatloads of Haitian refugees enter this country. Even more incredible was Hooks's rationale: "Blacks have to listen to both sides of an issue, even if they disagree with the ideas."

Twenty years later, the Detroit rebellion remains a pivotal high-point in the history of the on-going American revolution. It is only from such high-points that a new beginning in the Black movement for real freedom can start.

## Haiti Liberte!

*Editor's note: In leaflets distributed throughout New York City, Haitians were urged "to take off Friday, Aug. 7 to participate in a demonstration for true freedom in Haiti and to help the people of Haiti to rid themselves of the military provisional junta (C.N.G.). Below is a story from two Haitian women participants. The day-long activities drew about 1,000 activists, mostly Haitians of all ages.*

*New York, N.Y.*—We want the whole world to understand our plight. The military is killing unarmed people, including babies and old people. The C.N.G. was supposed to organize free elections. But one thing they never intended to allow was for the population to organize elections. Actually, they want to stay forever. Right now, it is hurting each and every one of us.

**In Haiti it is the youth who have been trying hard to keep fighting from the beginning. Here, more Haitians are getting involved. It's only since 1986 that I've really become active in everything to help the Haitians.**

The Haitians have a long history of freedom struggles since 1804. Things are going to change. Let the Haitians live like human beings—with freedom!

# Will U.S. armada in Persian Gulf lead to war?

(continued from page 1)

life and labor, of the unfreedom masses of human beings endure, are non-existent to this Rambo-on-the-loose.

This is not to say that there has not been the intrusion of both superpowers into the Middle East imbroglio. Russia certainly has its own interests within the Middle East.

## ...AND RUSSIA'S POSSIBLE LAND BRIDGE TO THE PERSIAN GULF

The startling news of an economic agreement between Russia and Iran, coming precisely in the midst of the U.S. naval build-up, should not be underestimated. The most significant parts of the proposed agreement are for oil pipelines and a railroad linking the Russian border with the Persian Gulf. An oil pipeline would mean that Iranian oil could be exported to Europe via a pipeline rather than relying exclusively on tankers going through the Gulf.

But most provocative is the possibility of a railroad line from Russia to a warm water port on the Gulf. The railroad would be a route for exporting industrial goods and military equipment to a port that would not be closed by ice in winter.

Shortly after Gorbachev came to power, News & Letters printed in our "Marxist-Humanist Draft Perspectives" written by Raya Dunayevskaya, in a section entitled, "Mikhail Gorbachev, the New Russian Ruler, Shifts to a New Global Outlook," the following:

"Mikhail Gorbachev, the new player in nuclear global brinkmanship, is about to attempt so new a chapter in the relations between the two nuclear Behemoths as to actually shift Russia's world relations from West to East—and to the Middle East and the whole Third World...

"Central America may be geopolitically too far removed from Russia and too close to the U.S. for Gorbachev to wish to challenge the U.S. there...But what about the Middle East, where Khrushchev did achieve totally new relations ever since 1955 by selling them arms? In the Middle East, while Russia 'lost' Egypt as an ally, Syria is not only its ally but is the key element for Lebanon, and has such influence in all of the Middle East that, for the moment, the U.S. cannot embark on any move there without paying serious attention to what Syria's role would be. There are many, many other points of contact for Russia, from Lebanon to Iran, from Afghanistan (which means also harassing Pakistan) to India." (News & Letters, August-September, 1985.)

The numerous political mine fields within the Middle East terrain are far more explosive than the physical ones being laid in the Persian Gulf. None are more so than Khomeini's latest extension of his Islamic counter-revolution to challenge that most reactionary and feudalistic of Arab states: the ruling royalty of Saudi Arabia, who are to be "uprooted."

## THE CLASH AT MECCA: IRAN'S NEW CHALLENGE

The July 31 clash at Mecca between thousands of Iranian pilgrims and King Fahd's Saudi security forces, which resulted in the deaths of some 400, was surely no accident. The 155,000 Iranian pilgrims included members of parliament and thousands of relatives of Iranians killed in the continuing, seven-year-old Iran-Iraq War.

If Khomeini is striving to win over sections of the Islamic masses in the Arab world to his cause, there surely is no more appropriate target in the Middle East than the ruling Saudi family. If the battle is to be Shiite Moslems against Sunni, then the attack on the Wahhabi sect of Sunni Islam, which counts the Saudi royal family among its adherents, brings to the fore the fact that these Sunnis preside over the holy shrines of Mecca and rule over substantial numbers of Shiites in Kuwait, in Bahrain and in the oil-producing eastern province of Saudi Arabia.

The target was as well "the Great Satan," the United States, which Iran immediately accused of complicity in the Mecca killings. It is U.S. warships which are now escorting Kuwaiti oil tankers through the Persian Gulf. Iran quickly sent out its "Revolutionary Guards" to hold naval maneuvers in the Gulf under the code name "Operation Martyrdom."

It is not the first time that the holy shrines of Mecca have been used as a focal point for the grave contradictions within the Middle East. In 1979, hundreds of insurgents seized the Great Mosque at Mecca and denounced the Saudi regime. It took nearly two weeks to fully subdue the takeover. As News & Letters wrote in our Draft Perspectives the following year:

"Whether the Islamic world, as Khomeini envisions it, or the pseudo-Islamic-Russian-influenced, as South Yemen sees it; whether Iraq, which certainly itself hungers to become 'the leader of the Arab world,' was in any way involved in the Mecca occupation, or whether there is an actual youth movement that people thought about as far back as 1975 when the nephew murdered the King, none believed Saudi Arabia's explanation that it was only an isolated religious fanatic who did it. In many respects, short of the Iranian revolution itself, the Mecca occupation is the most significant phenomenon, both religious and social, that has occurred in the Middle East and related to global problems."

The year 1987 is of course not 1979, and that attempted occupation of the Great Mosque was far different from the latest clash in Mecca. But the significance of "both religious and social" phenomena in the Middle East, and as they relate to global problems, has become even more intense in the seven years since the occupation of the Great Mosque.

The decade of the 1980s in the Middle East has brought the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon and

the complete fragmentation of Lebanon, now under Syrian occupation, with a powerful Israeli presence in the south. The Iranian Revolution which threw out the Shah and U.S. imperialism has become a counter-revolutionary Islamic fundamentalism.\* The Iran-Iraq War has through the 1980s reached a death toll of over one million. And these same 1980s have had Ronald Reagan as Commander-in-Chief of U.S. forces, including nuclear ones, determined to oversee a U.S. return to the Middle East with the present largest military build-up since the Iranian Revolution.

It is within the context of all that has happened in the Middle East during the 1980s that we must view these events in the Persian Gulf, especially with regard to the maneuvers of the two superpowers.

The point is that we cannot allow ourselves to be caught within the pull of the superpowers and end up "taking sides," whether it be in the Middle East or any other part of the world. Instead the challenge for revolutions and revolutionaries everywhere remains: how to work out pathways to freedom that are independent of all state powers, whether super or small; how to make sure these pathways hold as inseparable ideas of freedom and activities of freedom.

## THE WORLD CONTEXT: UNFINISHED REVOLUTIONS, COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY DANGERS, NEW VISIONS OF THE FUTURE IN THE PRESENT

The explosive danger of the Middle East is by no means limited to that geographic area. It is within a world context, not only because both the U.S.'s and Russia's stifling superpower reach is global, but, as well, due to the unfinished nature of the revolutionary movements of the 1980s that have encompassed all continents—from South Korea, Haiti and South Africa, to Central America, the Philippines and Poland.



Forty-thousand South Korean workers struck Hyundai Group in Ulsan

Raya Dunayevskaya, in the final pamphlet from her pen, *The Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World since World War II*, captured the problematic faced by today's revolutions in her introductory paragraph which began:

"The changed world of today is expressed on the one hand in the great new uprisings in South Africa, South Korea, Haiti and the Philippines, and, on the other, in its exact opposite—counter-revolution spearheaded by Ronald Reagan, including the most ominous U.S. imperialist adventures in Libya. It is this which makes it urgent not alone to fight Reaganism, but to create new visions of the future in the present."\*\*\*

In the year since that was written, new uprisings have flowered, and against them, counter-revolutionary actions have proliferated. Thus:

- In South Korea, the masses' rebellion against the U.S.-sponsored Chun dictatorship succeeded in winning concessions after months of mass demonstrations. But it is precisely now, when the movement has involved hundreds of thousands in the streets, that the danger of the movement remaining unfinished is the greatest. A new constitution and new elections do not meet the aspirations of the Korean people for new conditions of life and labor. It is now when new visions of the future in the present need to be most fully worked out and articulated within the movement. A most exciting recent dimension has been the August spread of spontaneous strikes in a whole series of factories, some where there have previously been no organized unions. (We plan to print a report on the meaning of the events in South Korea in the near future.)

- In Haiti new mass demonstrations, especially of the unemployed in July, have been met with the most vicious repression, both from soldiers of the government and from elements of the Tonton Macoutes still left from the Duvalier dictatorships. The marches of thousands upon thousands have demanded that the government resign and that the electoral process not be usurped. But as yet a full banner for liberation has not been raised. (See in-person report from Haiti, page 9.)

- In the Philippines, the unfinished nature of revolution is overwhelming. Soldiers and private death squads have once again been mobilized against left-wing guerrilla forces. Land reform, a crucial ques-

tion in the Philippines, with a few large-land-holding families and masses of peasants with little or no land, has been untouched since the ouster of Marcos almost two years ago. Only in the past few weeks has there been a land reform decree proposed, and even this mild reform may not be instituted, as it has already been actively opposed by landowners. The heavy hand of U.S. military presence at Subic Naval Base and Clark Air Force Base remains intact, unchallenged by the Aquino government.

- In South Africa a massive strike in the gold and coal mines has shown how intertwined are the economic and the political. At the same time the liberation movements in all of Southern Africa face the most continuous intense repression. Within South Africa the Botha government continues a crackdown, detaining leaders of the United Democratic Front and forcing leaders of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) underground. From Namibia, South African-led security forces have raided southern Angola, killing Angolan troops and guerrilla fighters from South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO). The United States has continued sending arms to the Angolan right-wing rebels and has begun new contacts with the South African-backed Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo), which just massacred some 380 people in a coastal town in Mozambique. (See "Freedom Journal—Direct from South Africa," p. 9 for reports.)

- In Central America, the latest peace proposals need to face one overwhelming reality: Ronald Reagan has had one passion in the region for the entire six and a half years of his presidency—to oust the Sandinistas and open the road for the counter-revolutionary contras in Nicaragua. To this end he has not only illegally funded the contras with money procured by arms sales to Iran and funds solicited from reactionary governments worldwide, but has turned Honduras into an armed camp, and supported the suppression of freedom movements in El Salvador and Guatemala. While the Persian Gulf is where his armed might is focused at present, we cannot forget that Lake Nicaragua is as well where he is aiming to have his armada moored. (See report on Reagan and Central America, "Our Life and Times," p. 12.)

No matter where we turn to on the globe, the unfinished nature of revolution is the overwhelming reality. It has become most clear in the Middle East where more than thirty years of the post-World War II world has meant incomplete revolutions from Egypt and Iraq to Lebanon and Iran, which have left a counter-revolutionary trail in their wake, and where black gold, oil has meant the intrusion of many outside powers.

These revolutions remain unfinished not only because of counter-revolutions from without, but from aborted revolutions and outright counter-revolutions from within. It is for this reason that we must again focus on "new visions of the future in the present" and not limit ourselves to only stating what we are against. These new visions of the future need to be worked out concretely within the uprisings that are occurring in our changed world. That is the task if we are to escape from the cycle of incomplete revolutions that set the ground for Ronald Reagan and his ilk to move in with counter-revolutionary consequences.

"New visions of the future in the present" are no utopian dreams. Instead, they revolve around the hard serious, demanding labor of working out a philosophy of revolution to enable the mass freedom movements that are emerging from below to reach the fullness of human freedom in our time.

No revolutionary movement can hope to succeed today without working out such a vision concretely in a way that elicits all the talents that upsurge from women and men moving toward full human liberation. Only such an absolute vision, concrete for our time, can help us find the untrodden pathways to the new, human societies waiting to be born.

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\*For a full Marxist-Humanist analysis of the events in Iran see *Iran: Revolution and Counter-revolution*, Political-Philosophic Letters by Raya Dunayevskaya, 1978-1981, in *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, Microfilm #7219.

\*\* *The Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World since World War II*, by Raya Dunayevskaya (Chicago: News & Letters, September 1986), p. 2.

Youth

'Voices of 1980s youth' panel: Doing and thinking

*Editor's note: The Chicago News and Letters Committee held a special panel, "Voices of 1980s Youth." The presentations by the five young activists on the panel initiated an exciting discussion on the freedom struggles and ideas of youth today and how to move the struggles forward. Below we present excerpts from the panelists' talks.*

**At NIU, we're not apathetic**

by Jim Fabris, President, John Lennon Society at Northern Illinois University (NIU)

When I first came onto the campus (1983), Reagan was campaigning for the presidency. Every day I'd read in the paper or see on TV about how students in college campuses are conservative today. It was really obvious to me that that was a myth created by corporate America and Reagan's campaign. A lot of students have given up, a lot don't feel they can change things. But that doesn't mean they're conservative.

A lot of students are very dissatisfied. And there are also a lot of students who are downright radical in their beliefs but they don't know there are other students out there like that. When I was living in a residence hall I always wondered, Why am I the only person putting "Free South Africa" up on the window?

What I started thinking was that it's not apathy and it's not that all students are conservative, it's just that they're isolated. So I started trying to break down that isolation, get all these people in one place at one time.

A campus peace group was addressing the issues but was always a small group of people. We'd have these meetings and we'd sit and complain about the students. What started occurring to us was, would you join a group that went around calling you ignorant and apathetic? I don't think so. So the John Lennon Society was our attempt to unite the progressives. We wanted to find a memorable name to unite the cultural and political aspects of the movement.

This year we had three big struggles. We won the struggle for better treatment and education, no mandatory drug testing, and the struggle for total divestment. The racist incidents on campus erupted into a huge outpouring of people. We had a rally and about 1,000 people showed up. It was a big surprise.

So often I run into an older person who's been out of the movement for years and years, and they say, "Things are so horrible now, nothing's going on." And I say, "Oh, yeah, things are going on, it's getting better every day." The last five years, the national student movement has been really increasing incredibly.

**Youth idealism and theory**

by Laura, a student at NIU

After Raya Dunayevskaya spoke at our school, I became more interested in News and Letters, especially because of her faith in youth as new revolutionary forces, with the idealism to completely change this society that institutionalizes racism, sexism and oppression.

Revolutionary ideas among students start as young as junior high and high school. They pose the spirit and spontaneity to protest totalitarian aspects of their school, such as closed campus, police guarded doors and hallways, and other infringements of their rights.

My younger sister said students at her high school are organizing against the building of a huge fence around the campus to keep students in, and against the guards who pace the halls with walkie-talkies. If a student merely approaches a doorway leading outside during school hours, a detention will be written up. She says, "I feel like I'm in a prison."

I think it's important that N&L covers protests in the high schools such as these, because youth learn about similar protests all over the world and how students their own age are reacting to their government and the oppression within the capitalist system.

For myself, the most important part of Marxist-Humanism is its emphasis on theory/philosophy combined with practice for total change to be possible. I think Dunayevskaya calls this "the missing link" that has held back revolution in the past.

For youth of the 1980s fighting the effects of Reaganism, we need to think hard about what total change means to us and what it is going to take. Anti-racism and solidarity rallies, like the ones in Washington and Canada on April 25, are the start, but what keeps the movement alive? I plan to continue researching theory and movements to answer this question and hopefully come up with some answers myself.

**April 25 rally: 'I'm not alone'**

by Cristina, a student at the Univ. of Illinois at Chicago (UIC)

I'm a Mexican-American and I'm 21. I was a pre-med bio major but now I'm a pre-med history major. The reason I changed my major is because I started reading N&L.

I started asking all these questions I didn't pay attention to earlier in college, about who is Marx and what are communism and socialism, and about the Central American crisis and the South African crisis. Also, because I'm Mexican-American I want to learn more about Latin American history, like what's going on in Mexico, why is the peso being devalued.

April 25 was my first real rally I've ever attended. It was incredible because there were so many high school students and I thought it was great. I thought people

weren't aware but then I saw all these students and church organizations and workers all together for one thing, to show the public that there are people out here who are very against what Reagan's doing and how he's spending our tax dollars in fighting the Sandinista government in Nicaragua.

There were all kinds of organizations with different newspapers. At first I thought, this is great, we're all unified because we're all here for one purpose, we all have the same ideas, and then I started walking around, and people were arguing. Here I am hearing all these different perspectives, philosophies, ideologies.

Before, I used to think, let's forget about these philosophies and just stick to what's important. But a Marxist-Humanist talked with me about what I had said and it made me change my view about that. You need to have a philosophy because it's important to understand how to support a revolution, how you're going to continue a revolution, after you win the war.

I think that's important. A lot of these people support certain philosophies that have failed in revolutions. Philosophy is important. April 25 was really a great experience because I realized that there are people out there that think the way I do, and I'm not alone, and I'm not strange.

**Black Studies and Marxism**

by Jeffrey Wright, a student at University of Illinois

I want to talk about how I became a Marxist. I guess the first thing you all notice is that I'm a Black person. That's no insignificant fact. The first thing that shaped my consciousness was the presence of racism and the fact that I was born in the era of the civil rights movement. I had a fascination with everything that went on in the 1960s.

When I got into college, I took Black Studies classes and began learning about other political movements, slavery, colonialism in Africa and so forth. Later, I got an interest in Latin American literature, which is considered a very political literature.

Then I took this Black Studies class a couple of years ago. One of the texts was Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth*. The instructor had the impression that Fanon was the great Black militant in the sense of the '60s, who would totally scorn Western civilization.

However, when I read the text, I discovered that wasn't the case at all. It had a tremendous impact on me, the way Fanon addresses the whole impact of U.S. imperialism in the Third World, the way he talks about culture and writers and their relationship to the masses of the Third World. It was what made me start reading Marx himself.

Even then, I was pretty naive about the political situation in this country, the Leftist movement here. For me all Marxism was the same. I decided that it was time to become politically active and see what some of the organizations out there were doing. I had the luck of meeting several organizations on campus that I was "befriended" by, you might say.

With one Marxist group, I ended up debating whether Stalin was a great Marxist. Then I had an experience with another group. They believe that Albania is the only true socialist state. Then I met the Marxist-Humanists there, who helped give me a perspective on the political divisions that are out there. I began to learn that it's not all simply Marxism. Philosophy is an important aspect of revolution.

**Philosophy is crucial**

by Sheila Fuller, N&L youth columnist

We are always told that youth activism on a world scale in our age began with the 1960s, but for Marxist-Humanism the 1960s youth movements have their roots in two very historic events involving youth in the 1950s: the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Hungarian Revolution. At that time, all others still ridiculed youth as the Beat Generation. . .

In the 1960s, we saw the birth of a new generation of revolutionaries in the U.S., in the Black Revolution. And in pamphlets like *Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves* and the *Free Speech Movement* and the *Negro Revolution*, which News and Letters Committees published at the time, you can see how it was Black youth who inspired the Free Speech Movement and the anti-Vietnam War Movement.

But why is it that so many of the 1960s youth activists became attracted to theories of guerrilla warfare as a shortcut to mass revolution and did not take seriously Marx's new Humanism? This is why I think Dunayevskaya's response to the 1960s youth movements, her book, *Philosophy and Revolution*, is so crucial for today's youth. It points to how we can begin anew with such a total philosophy of freedom that we don't stop with unfinished revolutions.

In the 1980s we have seen the birth of mass youth movements in South Africa, South Korea, the Philippines and Haiti. And in the U.S. many of us have been participating in anti-war and anti-apartheid activities. It is true we don't have a youth movement on the scale of the 1960s in the U.S. yet, but we are raising more mature questions.

To me, the maturity of our generation can be seen in the response that Dunayevskaya got to her lecture tour in 1983 on the occasion of the Marx Centenary and the

publication of her new book *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, and this year, in her lectures on "Youth of the 1980s, Youth of the 1960s."

This is why I think our generation can grasp the reason why News and Letters Committees made a category of youth idealism as a "a most precious source of our development," in its constitution as early as 1958. To us youth are not just an energetic and enthusiastic force; rather, their idealism, their seriousness about the philosophy of freedom and transforming this oppressive society makes them a very important Reason of revolution.

**Black World**

(continued from page 1)

lar. Speaking for himself, McKay wrote in the preface to *Constab Ballads*: "Not that I ever openly rebelled; but the rebellion was in my heart and it was fomented by the inevitable rubs of daily life... To relieve my feelings, I wrote poems, and into them I poured my heart in its various moods." (p. 42.) Far from McKay's dialect poetry expressing any accommodation with the dominant colonial society, rebellion permeates his verse.

It was that rebellious passion that McKay brought to the U.S. in 1912 when he came as a student of Tuskegee Institute. Because Tuskegee's "semi-military, machine-like existence" repelled him, McKay left after only six months and enrolled in Kansas State College. In his two years there, 1912-1914, he became acquainted with socialist ideas, and after coming to New York joined the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), sometime in 1919.



The year 1919 was a turning point in American Black history, and Claude McKay was at the center of the racial upheaval that came to be known as the "Red Summer" of 1919. As McKay wrote of his character Ray, in *Home to Harlem*, McKay's "own being was something of a touchstone of the general emotion of his race," when he wrote his signature poem, "If We Must Die."

That it endures as a living testament to McKay's genius is seen in the following passage: "...McKay had written a poem that immediately won a permanent place in the memory of a beleaguered people. Because of it, American Blacks embraced him and have ever since claimed him as their own. 'Indeed,' McKay eventually concluded, 'that one grand outburst is their sole standard of appraising my poetry.' White America has remained less impressed. As late as September, 1971, *Time* magazine could report that rebellious black inmates at Attica State Prison in upstate New York had 'passed around clandestine writings of their own: among them was a poem by an unknown prisoner, crude but touching in its would-be heroic style, entitled 'If We Must Die.'" (p. 101.)

**'THROUGH AN AFRICAN TELESCOPE'**

That same year, 1919, not only marks McKay's dramatic entrance onto the Black and radical political stage with the publication of his poetry in both Garvey's *Negro World* and Max Eastman's *Liberator*, but by the fall of the year McKay leaves the U.S. to spend the next two years, 1919-1921, in England as a radical journalist. Working on the revolutionary feminist Sylvia Pankhurst's newspaper, the *Worker's Dreadnought*, McKay participates in the founding of Bolshevism in Britain.

Two instances during McKay's British sojourn reveal how compelling his political/literary response to the "Negro Question" was. In his first article in the *Dreadnought*, titled "Socialism and the Negro," McKay set the "Negro Question" in the dialectical perspective in which only Lenin had, up till that time, posed it. McKay wrote that "although an international Socialist, I am supporting the (Garvey) movement, for I believe that for subject people, at least Nationalism is the open door to Communism." (p. 117.)

Later, in his memoir *A Long Way From Home*, McKay recalled an evening he spent with the Fabian socialist writer, George Bernard Shaw. Resenting Shaw's racial chauvinism, McKay wrote that at one point Shaw commented that "it must be tragic for a sensitive Negro to be a poet. Why didn't you choose pugilism instead of poetry for a profession." McKay later wrote: "He no doubt imagined that it would be easier for a black man to win success at boxing than at writing in a white world. But looking at life through an African telescope, I could not see such a great difference in the choice." (p. 128.)

McKay's return to the U.S. to work on the *Liberator* brought into sharper focus the relationship between Black and Red, race and class, on native soil and set the stage for his 1922-23 plunge into the Russian Revolution. Its impact on Claude McKay had far-reaching ramifications for the course of his development and that of Black thought and literature, from the Harlem renaissance to Negritude. We will take that up in the second part of this column next month.

## Our Life and Times

# Reagan vs. Central America's struggles

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

U. S. President Ronald Reagan, in his August 12 televised speech, sent a clear message to Central America: for his last 17 months in office, he intends to pursue his aim of overthrowing the Nicaraguan government. While claiming he welcomed the recently concluded accords reached by five Central American governments, Reagan said flat out that he remains "totally committed" to the contras.

Only the self-deluded, such as many U. S. Congressmen, believe that Reagan has undergone a change of heart resulting from revelations of the Iran-contra arms deal morass. The Central American representatives—from El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Guatemala—were infuriated when Reagan popped his own surprise "peace plan" on Aug. 4, the very day they convened their meeting to discuss Costa Rican Pres. Arias' proposals which were first circulated last February.

The Reagan "peace plan," on the other hand, was crafted primarily for the U.S. Congress. Contra funding for this year expires Sept. 30. The terms of Reagan's "peace plan"—including elections in Nicaragua in 60 days!—had to be fulfilled by that non-negotia-

ble date. If not, the Reagan administration's next step was to ask for more contra aid.

The truth is that long before Reagan's imperial upstaging in Central America, and long before the Iran-contra hearings ended, the administration was pressuring Congress on behalf of the contras. This time Reagan wants aid expanded to \$150 million, and he further intends for the funding period to continue into the next U.S. president's administration.

What Reagan seems not to have counted on is that the Central American summit would produce an agreement. But an initial accord was signed Aug. 7. The foreign ministers of the five nations will reconvene Aug. 23 to begin talks on implementation. The accords aim ultimately at political reconciliation within the region, but they do not touch on the very real underlying social economic problems in each nation.

Labor struggles in El Salvador have brought these irreconcilable conflicts into the open. A strike called June 1 by workers at the Social Security Institute (SSI), the agency running hospitals and clinics for workers, directly challenged the government of Pres. Jose Duarte, a favorite of the Reagan administration.

The SSI workers demanded a pay raise promised by Duarte in January; a new hospital facility to replace the

one destroyed in last October's earthquake; and improved conditions and medical care for patients. Duarte responded to the strike by calling out the army, which shot at the SSI workers and their supporters—students, peasants and other workers—during July demonstrations. The government has fired over 100 workers and begun a lawsuit to dissolve their union.

Duarte has claimed that the demonstrations are but a tactic of the FMLN, which is also the line of the Reagan administration. But even U.S.-funded trade unions in El Salvador have become disenchanted with Duarte as workers' conditions of life and labor continue to disintegrate.

It is unlikely that a regional accord could end the civil war in El Salvador. The proposals do not address the desires that Salvadoran workers, students, peasants and women have fought and died for since 1979. But it may be that Reagan's blatant imperial attempt to sabotage the Central American summit has undercut his own timetable, at least for the moment.

Whatever happens in the immediate period ahead, one thing is certain: Ronald Reagan, world outlaw, will pay even less attention to the rulers of Central America than he did to the U. S. Congress when he violated the law prohibiting aid to the contras.

## Canada's military

On June 5, Canadian Defense Minister Perrin Beatty announced plans for a marked military build-up. The lynchpin will be a proposed fleet of ten nuclear attack submarines—to the tune of \$7 billion. The subs will become part of a huge military expansion in the Arctic. The government also plans to build the world's biggest icebreaker (\$280 million) along with improving existing air bases and building a number of new ones.

Canadian jet fighters and paratrooper units, along with U.S. and NATO air units, already are using the northern regions to stage maneuvers at a stepped-up rate. Low-level flights by the jet fighters have been particularly damaging to the northern native peoples, disrupting game herds and hunting.

The Inuit people have staged protests earlier this year against the screaming jet fighters. And Mary Simon, president of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, told Beatty in June that the Inuit of Canada, Alaska and Greenland oppose his plans for militarizing the Arctic.

This year of increased overflights in the north coincides with the push to establish two autonomous provinces out of the Northwest Territories. But the current military expansion seems to indicate that ultimate sovereignty over the north will always revert back to Ottawa, and not the inhabitants.

## Gorbachev's 'glasnost'

Gorbachev's "glasnost" policy, whereby the totalitarian state loosens its grip slightly in order to allow more rapid scientific and technological (state-capitalist) development to keep up with Reagan's America, is being tested by the masses at home and found wanting. Even a mild pro-Gorbachev dissident journal such as Sergei Grigorants' small publication entitled *Glasnost* has met with sharp attacks from party ideologues in the controlled press.

There has also been restlessness among those youth who identify with western peace and anti-establishment movements and lifestyles. These youth are denounced in the press while a neo-fascist group active among youth, Pamiat, anti-Semitic and "patriotic," is merely slapped on the wrist.

Another serious challenge is coming from non-Russian Asian peoples, who will soon be a majority in the land. Last December, riots by Kazakhs broke out

against Great-Russian chauvinism in Alma Ata in Central Asia. Many lives were lost as 70,000 troops were called in, and several perceived leaders received stiff prison terms. In July 2,000 Kazakh youths received other forms of punishments, including expulsion from the Komsomol (Communist Youth).

Most recently, in July and August, several thousand Crimean Tatars, a people of Islamic culture deported by Stalin to Central Asia in 1944, demonstrated right inside Moscow. During their deportation 100,000 died. Today they are demanding their homeland back, but got instead a meeting with the aging Stalinist Andrei Gromyko, who stonewalled them.

## Fiji coup: the U.S. role

Last May the South Pacific island country of Fiji was taken over by a U.S.-backed military coup, whose leaders fanned the fires of anti-Indian ethnic hatred to gain power. Today Fiji is nearly forgotten by the press, but it needs to be remembered as a chapter in the unceasing U.S. effort to stop a nuclear-free zone in the area.

The May 14 coup in Fiji was portrayed as a legitimate uprising by indigenous Fijians (47% of the population) against Indian Fijians (49%). The actual unfolding of events there tells a different story:

• Since independence from Britain in 1970, Fiji has been ruled by a corrupt, pro-U.S. and pro-British Prime Minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, and his ethnic Fijian Alliance Party.

• Recently a new multi-racial Labor Party was formed, led by ethnic Fijian Timoci Bavadra, who declared in 1986: "Since independence the strategy of the big parties has been that of racial polarization. The Alliance Party has identified itself more and more with the capitalist elite, conservative and pro-American."

• On April 12, 1987, Bavadra's Labor Party and its allies in the Indian-based National Federation Party won a decisive victory at the polls, on a platform of anti-corruption, nonalignment, opposition to nuclear weapons, and social reform. A spokesperson announced that the first act of the new government would be to stop calls by U.S. nuclear ships.

• On April 29, U.S. ambassador to the UN and former CIA official Gen. Vernon Walters visited Fiji, in a vain attempt to dissuade the government from its anti-nuke stand.

• For two weeks after the election, defeated conservative Ratu Rama visited Hawaii, and met with U.S. diplomatic, military and labor bureaucrats. He later joined the military regime.

Today a military dominated provisional government is in place, fanning ethnic tension to a murderous pitch. But the student youth, the sugar workers and much of the Indian community remain opposed to the military regime, and determined to reverse this retrogressive move.

## Namibian workers

Even as the white South African occupation forces were boasting that they were winning their 20-year battle against the African freedom fighters of SWAPO (South West Africa Peoples Organization), claiming that they had killed 20,000 guerrillas (in fact many of them civilian non-combatants) since 1966 versus 640 of their own deaths, a new revolutionary element has arisen in 1987 in Namibia—Black labor.

A new SWAPO-backed National Union of Namibian Workers has already signed up 8,500 members out of a mining work force of 14,000. It seeks union recognition in the Tsumeb copper mines of the north as well as the diamond mines of Oranjemund and the strategic uranium mines at Rossing.

The union's general secretary, Benjamin C. Uulenga, is an ex-SWAPO guerrilla, who served time in the notorious Robben Island prison. Uulenga believes that rather than one dominating the other, the union and SWAPO "should work parallel with each other."

## India in Sri Lanka

In August, as 3,000 Indian troops suddenly arrived, an extremely shaky cease-fire was hammered out between Tamil rebels of northern and eastern Sri Lanka and the Sinhalese-dominated government. The presence of Indian troops compelled both the Tamil revolutionaries and the Sri Lankan government to accept Rajiv Gandhi's "peace" proposal.

Under it, India would save the Sri Lankan state from dismemberment by directly intervening in the name of "peacekeeping." The Tamils would have their movement curtailed by the Indian Army, while the murderous Sri Lankan Army would supposedly keep its distance from Tamil areas.

Stopping far short of the rebel goal of a separate Tamil nation, the new peace agreement promises regional autonomy for the Tamils in the north and the reinstatement of Tamil as an official national language alongside Sinhalese, spoken by the Sri Lankan majority. The Tamil guerrilla groups, including the largest one, the Liberation Tigers, were forced to surrender

at least some of their weapons. The agreement signals a new attempt by India to prove itself a regional power.

The roots of the conflict in Sri Lanka lie in the ambiguous character of the independence movement from Britain. The overwhelmingly Buddhist Sinhalese majority (70% of the population) gradually froze the mainly Hindu Tamil minority out of power after independence was won in 1948. To this day, the Sinhalese-dominated bourgeois as well as Left parties refuse to recognize the legitimate aspirations of the Tamils, condemning them as separatist.

Beginning in the 1970s, new Tamil movements for autonomy and even basic democratic rights were met by repression. Murderous mob violence in 1977 and 1983 left thousands of Tamils dead. This violent repression created new recruits by the thousands for the then-small Tamil guerrilla groups, which several times answered terror with terror, in brutally massacring innocent Sinhalese civilians.

The question now is: How can India, oppressor of nationalities, castes, and tribes inside its own borders, be a guarantor for the autonomy of the Tamil people of Sri Lanka?

## British miners wildcat

In mid-July, 14,000 coal miners went on a wildcat strike in South Yorkshire, shutting down pit after pit with flying pickets. After a week the National Union of Miners succeeded in getting them back to work to wait for a strike ballot, but workers complained bitterly of a sellout by the leadership.

The strikes were against new repressive work rules by the National Coal Board which allow miners to be fired after a single warning, enable management to choose which union officers can represent workers at disciplinary hearings, and allow workers to be disciplined for brushes with the law outside of work. After five workers at the Frickley mine were suspended on July 14, the strike began when their 900 colleagues went out in solidarity. Workers have labeled the new code of conduct a slaves' charter, and are searching for a way to turn back this latest regressive move.

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