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

A letter to readers of News & Letters

Never has News & Letters faced a more difficult task than that confronting us following the sudden death of Raya Dunayevskaya, the founder of Marxist-Humanism and Chairwoman of News & 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 is the unfinished nature of every new revolution attempting to reach 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-Marxist Marxism to ground itself in Marx's philosophy of "revolution in permanence," to recreate for our own age a philosophical 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 N&L convened the National Memorial Meeting for Raya Dunayevskaya on July 25 and voted to begin the publication of N&L as a 12-page biweekly, beginning with this issue. Just the week before her death, Raya Dunayevskaya had written a prescient letter to 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 non-pri-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 editors of N&L hope that the Life 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 even more profound, and thus all those who 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 issue we are proposing.

The objective validity of the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism that Raya Dunayevskaya devoted her entire life to working out could be seen clearly in the Maimi 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

continued (on page 5)

A letter to readers of News & Letters

by Eugene Walker

each day brings a report of a new U.S. warship en­
tering the Persian Gulf, a new group of mines found along oil shipping lanes, a new report of a U.S. Navy fighter plane downed, a new count of 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 overtones. A growing sense of the need for a solution for our age becomes urgent.

The present reflagging of 15 Kuwaiti oil tankers as U.S. ships has been used by Reagan to build a U.S. na­
tive presence in the Gulf area that resembles a full inva­
sion 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 battlehip is on the way. There are am­
phibious assault ships capable of landing the 2,000 Marines stationed on 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. ar­
manda was soon to make 24 voyages to operate in 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 hear­
ings, which demonstrated the lawlessness of the Com­
mander-in-Chief and his National Security/CIA boys running illegal operations from the Middle East to Cen­
tral America out of the recesses of the White House

Black World

The passion that was Claude McKay

by Lou Turner


Next year will mark the fortieth anniversary of the death of Claude McKay. What makes that so disquiet­
ing 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 poet became a political and literary intelligence, that he was an awowed 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 Co­
oper's long awaited biography of Claude McKay has, for the first time, set itself 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 life and work of Raya Dunayevskaya will continue to be heard in every issue of News & Letters, as we at­

tempt 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 be­
comes even more profound, and thus all those who 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 issue we are proposing.

The objective validity of the philosophy of Marxist-

Humanism that Raya Dunayevskaya devoted her en­
tire life to working out could be seen clearly in the

Maimi 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

continued (on page 5)
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 would open up all rights that women, Blacks and labor have won since the 1930's and incorporate his retrogression into the past that he had defended as legal, wholly unjustifiable judgements. A serious and legal, it is hard for many women to come up with abortion, and of course we were all very happy. But it is not only women's freedoms that Bork would abridge. As the rights of homosexuals and all hard-won individua- 

By July 1 Reagan nominated Bork, who in 1981 had presided over the Supreme Court decision allowing the University of Illinois to fire a gay Black professor for violating its opposition to homosexuality. Bork followed that up on July 30 when he proposed regulations that would bar gay venereal disease patients from even talking to women about abortion. What ever happened to women's lives? 

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 state's 12 abortion clinics, gay men and lesbian women were there; I sat next to a woman from OUL (Older Women's League). These people passionately want to get rid of Bork, they say, because he is the only one who will be able to stop our abortion rights. 

The meeting ended with a voting on how to pressure their legislators. One woman who came to the meeting told me she "had mixed feelings about Bork" and was going to vote "no." She said, "I wish it had been more to the Left. I have a healthy dose of Reagan, but I share his right-wing political philosophy, and his moralizing voice. I liked the demonstration just last year on March 9 when over 10,000 women picketed the office of approved President Alfonso's proposal ending prosecution of hundreds of military officers responsible for the massacres in El Salvador. The bishops have been skeptical of the amnesty for them. Yet he forgives criminals against whom there is proof of murder and torture. Alfonso showed a weakness for the military from the beginning. It was a mistake, he said, because he had given the military a chance. 

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, nor for the torture victims. He is still in jail. 

There are also at least eight others are still in jail. Alfonsin never re- 

Nurses are there several major issues that face us. There is a nursing shortage because hospitals aren't able to deal with it. She said, "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, Calif., joined the 300 nurses already on strike at Oakland's Providence Hos- 

All of this contributes to the increased stress that we are under. The whole problem is that we have to take care of more patients, but how we deal with them is always intensifying and changing. For instance, as this 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, and it is why we need more control of our jobs.

There is no question that those pusillanimous legislators need pressuring, and I hope that stops Bork's nomination. Yet even if the Senate vetoes Bork, victories will still be on the court and if can find someone better than Bork to nominate, we can be sure he will.

OUT FOR REAGAN

In 1973 the Supreme Court ruled on Roe v. Wade and all of the sudden the right to control our bodies—a right which women have always been denied or re- nounced. Much of my activity in the Women's Liberation Movement for over six years had been fighting for legal abortion, and that was one of the most happy moments of my life. It didn't seem real to me. It hadn't come the way I thought it would, but the change the totality of our lives. I kept thinking, and I wasn't alone, if this government can "give this to us, can't it be taken away?" 

Reagan wants to give so much momentum to his re-election campaign that he won't care about who is the no longer president. What will stop him, what has stopped him in many of his plans, from an invasion of Grenada to a death-squad war-wants rights of women, Blacks and labor, is the determina- 

No to Alfonso's pardons

Editor's note: We interviewed Alicia Partnoy, author of The Little Black Book of Dissent, Partnoy & Survival in Argentina (reviewed in N&L, April 30), upon her return from Argentina. Alicia said of the recent Argentine Congress of April 1986 the President Alfonso's proposals would mean a new pre-revolutionary situation in the U.S.: We are not. But that vi- 

Activists in Los Angeles have mobilized to demand police and FBI anti-terrorist investigations of the vi- 

WOMEN WORLDWIDE

Women textile workers in Taegon, South Korea, join the wave of strikes that have been sweeping the country for many years. 

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 25,000 Nigerian women suffer torture and murder deaths each year. In July to identify and testify against her attackers. She she she was able to face the hours alone with military men who were to go on strike. We deserve better than a cost-of-living 

(page 2)

Activists attacked in L.A.

Los Angeles, Calif.—On July 7, a month after her father in El Salvador received a letter demanding that her daughter stop her political activities, Yanira, a young Salvadoran woman active in the Salvadoran solidarity organizations in Los Angeles, was abducted, sexually assaulted, tortured, and interrogated about her political activities by 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 what had happened, or self-tortured, and interrogated about her political activities by 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 what had happened, or was an ambulance. Ten days later, a Guatemalan woman active in Salvadoran solidarity work was kidnapped and inter- 

No to Alfonso's pardons

President Alfonso's nomination of Judge Robert H. Bork to the Supreme Court would open up all rights that women, Blacks and labor have won since the 1930's and incorporate his retrogression into the past that he had defended as legal, wholly unjustifiable judgements. A serious and legal, it is hard for many women to come up with abortion, and of course we were all very happy. But it is not only women's freedoms that Bork would abridge. As the rights of homosexuals and all hard-won individua- 

by Terry Moon

President Reagan's nomination of Judge Robert H. Bork to the Supreme Court would open up all rights that women, Blacks and labor have won since the 1930's and incorporate his retrogression into the past that he had defended as legal, wholly unjustifiable judgements. A serious and legal, it is hard for many women to come up with abortion, and of course we were all very happy. But it is not only women's freedoms that Bork would abridge. As the rights of homosexuals and all hard-won individua- 

by Terry Moon

President Reagan's nomination of Judge Robert H. Bork to the Supreme Court would open up all rights that women, Blacks and labor have won since the 1930's and incorporate his retrogression into the past that he had defended as legal, wholly unjustifiable judgements. A serious and legal, it is hard for many women to come up with abortion, and of course we were all very happy. But it is not only women's freedoms that Bork would abridge. As the rights of homosexuals and all hard-won individua- 

by Terry Moon

President Reagan's nomination of Judge Robert H. Bork to the Supreme Court would open up all rights that women, Blacks and labor have won since the 1930's and incorporate his retrogression into the past that he had defended as legal, wholly unjustifiable judgements. A serious and legal, it is hard for many women to come up with abortion, and of course we were all very happy. But it is not only women's freedoms that Bork would abridge. As the rights of homosexuals and all hard-won individua- 

by Terry Moon

President Reagan's nomination of Judge Robert H. Bork to the Supreme Court would open up all rights that women, Blacks and labor have won since the 1930's and incorporate his retrogression into the past that he had defended as legal, wholly unjustifiable judgements. A serious and legal, it is hard for many women to come up with abortion, and of course we were all very happy. But it is not only women's freedoms that Bork would abridge. As the rights of homosexuals and all hard-won individua- 

by Terry Moon

President Reagan's nomination of Judge Robert H. Bork to the Supreme Court would open up all rights that women, Blacks and labor have won since the 1930's and incorporate his retrogression into the past that he had defended as legal, wholly unjustifiable judgements. A serious and legal, it is hard for many women to come up with abortion, and of course we were all very happy. But it is not only women's freedoms that Bork would abridge. As the rights of homosexuals and all hard-won individua-
Kaiser puts a foreman on every desk

Oakland, Calif.—What Kaiser Permanente could never get clerical workers to agree on, specific work norms have finally been established as a result of data entry workers in Local 29. Workers are going to get two and a half minutes per hour for taping, achieving 10,000 and then 11,000 key-strokes per hour. Every minute of their work life is now going to be monitored.

Further, our union president, Jan Eakle, is praising, saying that “the contract now gives Kaiser the ability to buy one of the current ‘paperless’ mainframes and the objective they gave to the introduction of computer monitoring is really scary. Kaiser wants to keep people on the line forever. Kaiser doesn’t care. They don’t care to put their hands on the line.”

Everyone is worried about a future of more restrictions and speedups.

With the computer you don’t need a whip anymore or the dark and repressive atmosphere you once had in your department. The ugly thing is that there’s two tiers within the department. The secretary is the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.

But two-tier is not a question of money, it is a principle.

The ugly thing is that there’s two tiers within the department. The secretary is the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.

But two-tier is not a question of money, it is a principle.

The ugly thing is that there’s two tiers within the department. The secretary is the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.

But two-tier is not a question of money, it is a principle.

The ugly thing is that there’s two tiers within the department. The secretary is the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.

But two-tier is not a question of money, it is a principle.

The ugly thing is that there’s two tiers within the department. The secretary is the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.

But two-tier is not a question of money, it is a principle.

The ugly thing is that there’s two tiers within the department. The secretary is the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.

But two-tier is not a question of money, it is a principle.

The ugly thing is that there’s two tiers within the department. The secretary is the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.

But two-tier is not a question of money, it is a principle.

The ugly thing is that there’s two tiers within the department. The secretary is the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.

But two-tier is not a question of money, it is a principle.

The ugly thing is that there’s two tiers within the department. The secretary is the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.

But two-tier is not a question of money, it is a principle.

The ugly thing is that there’s two tiers within the department. The secretary is the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.

But two-tier is not a question of money, it is a principle.

The ugly thing is that there’s two tiers within the department. The secretary is the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.

But two-tier is not a question of money, it is a principle.

The ugly thing is that there’s two tiers within the department. The secretary is the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.

But two-tier is not a question of money, it is a principle.

The ugly thing is that there’s two tiers within the department. The secretary is the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.

But two-tier is not a question of money, it is a principle.

The ugly thing is that there’s two tiers within the department. The secretary is the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.

But two-tier is not a question of money, it is a principle.

The ugly thing is that there’s two tiers within the department. The secretary is the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.

But two-tier is not a question of money, it is a principle.

The ugly thing is that there’s two tiers within the department. The secretary is the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.

But two-tier is not a question of money, it is a principle.

The ugly thing is that there’s two tiers within the department. The secretary is the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.

But two-tier is not a question of money, it is a principle.

The ugly thing is that there’s two tiers within the department. The secretary is the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.

But two-tier is not a question of money, it is a principle.

The ugly thing is that there’s two tiers within the department. The secretary is the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.

But two-tier is not a question of money, it is a principle.

The ugly thing is that there’s two tiers within the department. The secretary is the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.

But two-tier is not a question of money, it is a principle.

The ugly thing is that there’s two tiers within the department. The secretary is the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.

But two-tier is not a question of money, it is a principle.

The ugly thing is that there’s two tiers within the department. The secretary is the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.

But two-tier is not a question of money, it is a principle.

The ugly thing is that there’s two tiers within the department. The secretary is the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.

But two-tier is not a question of money, it is a principle.

The ugly thing is that there’s two tiers within the department. The secretary is the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.

But two-tier is not a question of money, it is a principle.

The ugly thing is that there’s two tiers within the department. The secretary is the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.

But two-tier is not a question of money, it is a principle.

The ugly thing is that there’s two tiers within the department. The secretary is the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.

But two-tier is not a question of money, it is a principle.

The ugly thing is that there’s two tiers within the department. The secretary is the most watched, lowest paid and subject to piece work.
THE ANTI-WAR STRUGGLES

Today the world is in a rapid change such as it never experienced before, and the reason for this is that man's consciousness has been profoundly complicated the world situation more and more complex. The U.S. and the Soviet Union have made propaganda as if the abolition of nuclear weapons could be achieved, but they are still keeping and keeping intermediate nuclear forces, which they have claimed the fact that they would never be renewed and would stay with each other on SALT. The only reason they have preserved a new stage of negotiation that has their interests coincide with each other in giving up such expensive toys if they could be replaced by high technology weapons. They will be no wonder that we might commit with less war.

We have to clear away the illusion now. We are eager to communicate with all who are ready for struggle for anti-war and anti-revisionism.

International Anti-War Assembly
Kaiho-Sha, Tsurumaki Building 325-9, Waseda University
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 policy? They can be replaced by high technology weapons. They will be no wonder that we might commit with less war.

Peruvian immigrant
New York City

DUNAYEVSKAYA ON HEGEL

A close knowledge of Lenin's philosophy distinguishes Dunayevskaya's preface of Hegel from so many vacuous phrases about him. Dunayevskaya makes the Hegelian world picture come to life. She knows what is the matter with philosophy today. Although the dialectic in Marx's masterwork is more comprehensive and exactly like the Argentine generals who would have liked the world situation, the Soviet government wouldn't do. We see Reng- an's Nasti at Birthing, and now the right wing forces in South Africa. We see the Latin American revolutionaries remaining committed to one...to fight. All this has a relationship to the whole of Dunayevskaya's 1960 Notes on Hegel's Phenomenology after reading the German writing. She kindly put herself in the Hegelian shoes. She was able to help and to help others to understand the method of Hegel's Phenomenology. It was helpful the way she discusses the period of the dusk before the dawn that we are facing today. It is a question of whether the world situation is the real Hegelian age, or Hegelian age, that is no small fact, but it is the lowest difference between Hegel and today's great French Revolution which followed by Napoleonic reaction.

I am going through the essay very slowly, but I liked very much the discussion. I think it was directed in a very sound heroic, but are in fact adaptation to one or another form of servitude.

It is amazing to see how much Hegel anticipated today's questions.

Paul Mallory
Chicago

The meaning of revolution and the memorial issue

SCABBING IN THE PERSIAN GULF

Reagan's new policy for the Persian Gulf calls for an American military risk. The U.S. wants to keep somewhere foreign oil tankers and protecting them with the U.S. Navy. Aside from the exter­

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

International Anti-War Assembly
Kaiho-Sha, Tsurumaki Building 325-9, Waseda University
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 policy? They can be replaced by high technology weapons. They will be no wonder that we might commit with less war.

Peruvian immigrant
New York City

DUNAYEVSKAYA ON HEGEL

A close knowledge of Lenin's philosop­
hy distinguishes Dunayevskaya's preface of Hegel from so many vacuous phrases about him. Dunayevskaya makes the Hegelian world picture come to life. She knows what is the matter with philosophy today. Although the dialectic in Marx's masterwork is more comprehensive and exactly like the Argentine generals who would have liked the world situation, the Soviet government wouldn't do. We see Rengan's Nasti at Birthing, and now the right wing forces in South Africa. We see the Latin American revolutionaries remaining committed to one...to fight. All this has a relationship to the whole of Dunayevskaya's 1960 Notes on Hegel's Phenomenology after reading the German writing. She kindly put herself in the Hegelian shoes. She was able to help and to help others to understand the method of Hegel's Phenomenology. It was helpful the way she discusses the period of the dusk before the dawn that we are facing today. It is a question of whether the world situation is the real Hegelian age, or Hegelian age, that is no small fact, but it is the lowest difference between Hegel and today's great French Revolution which followed by Napoleonic reaction.

I am going through the essay very slowly, but I liked very much the discussion. I think it was directed in a very sound heroic, but are in fact adaptation to one or another form of servitude.

It is amazing to see how much Hegel anticipated today's questions.

Paul Mallory
Chicago

The meaning of revolution and the memorial issue

SCABBING IN THE PERSIAN GULF

Reagan's new policy for the Persian Gulf calls for an American military risk. The U.S. wants to keep somewhere foreign oil tankers and protecting them with the U.S. Navy. Aside from the exter­

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

International Anti-War Assembly
Kaiho-Sha, Tsurumaki Building 325-9, Waseda University
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 policy? They can be replaced by high technology weapons. They will be no wonder that we might commit with less war.

Peruvian immigrant
New York City

DUNAYEVSKAYA ON HEGEL

A close knowledge of Lenin's philosoph­
hy distinguishes Dunayevskaya's preface of Hegel from so many vacuous phrases about him. Dunayevskaya makes the Hegelian world picture come to life. She knows what is the matter with philosophy today. Although the dialectic in Marx's masterwork is more comprehensive and exactly like the Argentine generals who would have liked the world situation, the Soviet government wouldn't do. We see Rengan's Nasti at Birthing, and now the right wing forces in South Africa. We see the Latin American revolutionaries remaining committed to one...to fight. All this has a relationship to the whole of Dunayevskaya's 1960 Notes on Hegel's Phenomenology after reading the German writing. She kindly put herself in the Hegelian shoes. She was able to help and to help others to understand the method of Hegel's Phenomenology. It was helpful the way she discusses the period of the dusk before the dawn that we are facing today. It is a question of whether the world situation is the real Hegelian age, or Hegelian age, that is no small fact, but it is the lowest difference between Hegel and today's great French Revolution which followed by Napoleonic reaction.

I am going through the essay very slowly, but I liked very much the discussion. I think it was directed in a very sound heroic, but are in fact adaptation to one or another form of servitude.

It is amazing to see how much Hegel anticipated today's questions.

Paul Mallory
Chicago

The meaning of revolution and the memorial issue

SCABBING IN THE PERSIAN GULF

Reagan's new policy for the Persian Gulf calls for an American military risk. The U.S. wants to keep somewhere foreign oil tankers and protecting them with the U.S. Navy. Aside from the exter­
The Memorial Meeting

The living character of Raya Dunayevskaya's legacy

by Peter Wermuth

The more than 150 people who attended the memorial meeting for Raya Dunayevskaya in Chicago on July 25 participated in such 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 character 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 especially for this event.

PHILOSOPHIC NEW BEGINNINGS

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, 1995), "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 crisis by means of the "sufficient thought" of the Raya Dunayevskaya movement, through 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 important in our age.

The communication that newspaper Negro Champion, to her 1950s work as Russian language editor of the "Herald of Dissent," to her 1966 role as editor of "Vilnius Review" and to her 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 absolute, selections of her correspondence with such figures as Eric Fromm and Herbert Marcuse, and international editions of her "trilogy of revolution"—Marxism and Freedom (1958), Philosophy and... (continued on page 7)
What did Raya Dunayevskaya mean to me? A word of praise for the logical clarity of Hegel's philosophy as revolutionary thought, for the extraordinary power of her own work and for the power of her ideas... It was Raya's genius to seize her surroundings and make philosophy the perspective from which to think about the world.

Raya's memory.

Joel Kovel
New York

We are so deeply saddened when your comrade told me of Raya's death while attending a women's conference at Spelman College in Atlanta, though I will always have a warm memory of her. I met Raya, I know her intimacies, her passions, her philosophy. She is a very dear friend, she is a guide...

Reynold Baker
New York

We are so deeply saddened when your comrade told me of Raya's death, and I was not able to attend the memorial meeting for her at the University of Texas. So very dear...
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 her life's dedication to the cause of freedom for all the world, the society in which human beings could behave as human beings, will continue to inspire generations of fighting men and women to strive for freedom for all the world. For all the final aim. There are many great minds but very few that have dedicated themselves to this cause.

Certainly it has left News and Letters Committees with a challenging task, but it will be a challenge that Raya would have enjoyed. It requires a renewal of theory to practice. That is, it is useful to refer to the theoretical analysis of the situation, but it is also important to put our theoretical work into practice. The workers of the world will continue to struggle for their freedom, and we will continue to support their struggle. Thank you, Raya.
mance—that is, for less than the full realization of our potential to create a world where human beings live and flourish. It is well known that Marx wrote that philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point was to change it.

But, having been introduced to Roya's thought and the whole body of her contribution, 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, Marxsian theory, is all about. It is to ideologically make a world that was the most significant part of Roya's thought, the most revolutionary contribution that has ever been made by an intellectual to the movement from practice which is itself a form of theory and from theory to practice.

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 heard her conversation with another couple standing next to me, and became interested. Here was a paper with a difference.

So I took a copy for myself a Marxist, I did consider myself a humanist. When I first read Roya's column, it seemed way over my head. Typical of most Americans, my knowledge of Marxism was practically 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.

Roya's thought on the human values of Marx is so important to me. Marx's sense of justice for all people, his progressive attitude toward women, workers, the issue that Christianity is not a Marxist issue, and the humanists can relate to. I think Roya 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 problem with the revolution. 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 of only 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 dialectic of revolution in permanence.

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

—I'lli Kapitan, John Lennon Society, Northern Illinois University

A Hegel scholar's appreciation

"Roya Dunayevskaya remains the likable, probably also the best informed, theoretician of the far left, deeply independent—even with respect to her own heroes, Luxemburg, Lenin, Trotsky, and, most exceptionally"—Louis Dupre* Yale University

Selected Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya

Videos and Audio Available

Three provocative lectures by Raya Dunayevskaya from the 1990s

—Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts
  Given at the opening of the exhibition of The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection at the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, March 21, 1995.

—Current Events and the Dialectics Method

—Youth of the 1960s/1980s
  An address before several hundred youth at Northern Illinois University. I am a Catholic; she a Marxist humanist. Yet she respected me for it. I always liked her for what she said. She will always remain with us—in our fondest memories and, yes, in our prayers.

—Louis Dupre, Yale University

Dialectics of Revolution

American Roots and World Humanist Concepts

Given at the opening of an exhibition of The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection at the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, March 21, 1995.

Current Events and the Dialectics Method

The opening class of a series of workshops/classes presented by News and Letters Committees. This lecture is brought about by the philosophical framework of Marxist-Humanism, February, 1995.

Youth of the 1960s/1980s

An address before several hundred youth at Northern Illinois University on the relation of Marx's thought to the youth activism of the 1960s and the present youth activities of the 1980s, April, 1987.

$15 each. All three for $40.

News & Letters 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707 Chicago, IL 60605
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 the same awe and excitement as if I lived through the labor movement worldwide. Just as all eyes were on the Solidarity labor movement in Poland in the early 1980s, Black workers’ eyes are focused on the battle of the miners.

This new form of organization, the Black Labor Unions (BLUs), is the radical movement of Black workers in the period of ‘80s—including South African workers’ eyes—so now, all eyes are on South Africa. The 1987 miners’ strike is a test yet of this form. Do the miners doubt for one minute that Botha or Reagan doubt that? This strike puts the question of the power of Black labor centerstage.

The Wall Street Journal, which is decidedly not by John Alan Wash., D.C. 20005.

Fortune’s statement places the responsibility of poverty on the Black or revolutionary, did not remember the Detroit rebellion, or even thought it was a good idea to help “over there.” Ideas are being forged there that still are unclear. From hospital sources we are told that the Morning Star, the newspaper published by the Federation of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and an ANC (African National Congress) affiliate although we have resisted and called for the unbanning of the ANC. What does this strike mean for the Black and church leaders have done. We have also issued joint statements with them that COSATU is involved in their campaigns and we do not apologize for this. We openly see ourselves as part of the extra-parliamentary opposition.

In the U.S. the struggle is one of access to union positions, the upgrading of Blacks in the entertainment industry.”

A Haitian worker organizer said: “The demonstration is not unique, it exists in every city with a large poor Black population, from New York City, Haitians were urged “to take off Friday, Aug. 7 to 9:00 p.m. to broadcast on Radio Soleil, because it had violated the CNG’s rules of Jeremie called for the ouster of the CNG in a demonstration of the civil rights of Blacks, women, and gay, and who, as a liberal judge, refused to let hostages of Haitian refugees enter this country. Even more incredible was Hook’s ration­’I have nothing to lose but my chains’” and it was the Supreme Court’s decision in the civil rights movement sending out the message that the goals of the Black masses were a threat to the system. Thus, it is not accidental that the White House chief of staff, Howard Baker, Jr. came down to Washington, D.C., to request to ask of a Black civil rights organization confirmation hearing in the Senate. It was an unusual request.

There is no question that the “quiet revolution,” which many saw as the beginning of a “quest for universality” to be whole human beings.

All eyes on South African miners’ strike!

If the freedom Idea of the South African struggle brought out 100,000 to New York’s Soweto Day one—this is a major step toward a “race war” that is far away from South Africa? Is $33.54 a living wage here? Arent’ our children facing malnutrition and infant mortality equal to Third World countries in our “shanty towns” of East New York and South Chicago? Eight months of COSATU and the CNG strike has proven to be equal the $45 a month pay of a Black South African miner, but the miner is useless.

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 whirlwind of air that just cut through this strike! Will we be able to hear those voices through the wall of apartheid and the Reagan-polluted press?

Detroit Rebellion: 1967-87

by John Alan

Twenty years ago, on July 28, spontaneous Black revolts erupted in large and small cities across the country during the “long hot summer” of 1967. The Detroit Rebellion, also known as the Detroit riot, put more than 3,000 Blacks out of work; its fury was not directed against white individuals but against the symbols of oppression, slum landlords, gouging merchants and the brutal police, irrespective of race. It was a revolt to bring down the “Yolk image” of capitalism, at the very moment that the regressive nature of capitalism, in the late 1960s, was so dramatically revealed by the mid-1970s. Leon Sullivan (the author of the Sullivan Principles for U.S. companies engaged in business in South Africa) and the Reagan-polluted press?

The demonstrators are demanding that the CNG demands and opinions on the civil rights of Blacks, women, and gay, and who, as a liberal judge, refused to let hostages of Haitian refugees enter this country. Even more incredible was Hook’s rational­ editor’s note: Since we received this report from our correspondent in July, the situation in Haiti has intensified somewhat, mass demonstrations and repression fed with massacres.

In the U.S., the struggle is one of access to union positions, the upgrading of Blacks in the entertainment industry.”

During the ceremony, some spoke, including Jo­hannesburg, that the federation had been attacked by the government’s Broadcasting Corporation without being given a chance to defend itself. This is the first time that COS­ ATU is prevented from functioning fully and openly the federation’s programme to reduce the efficacy of COSATU and its organizational structure. We believe that it may prefig­ure more repression in the future. This is one of the reasons why the ANC (African National Congress) leadership is calling for a “Hands Off COSATU” campaign, and has openly chal­lenged the government.

Secretary by Naidoo told 1,500 people, mostly students at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, that the federation had been attacked by the government’s Broadcasting Corporation without being given a chance to defend itself. This is the first time that COSATU is prevented from functioning fully and openly the federation’s programme to reduce the efficacy of COSATU and its organizational structure. We believe that it may prefig­ure more repression in the future. This is one of the reasons why the ANC (African National Congress) leadership is calling for a “Hands Off COSATU” campaign, and has openly chal­lenged the government.

In the U.S., the struggle is one of access to union positions, the upgrading of Blacks in the entertainment industry.”

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...
The tragic news of an economic agreement between the Philippines and the U.S. has been a topic of discussion among many. The Agreement, which is to bring the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the complete fragmentation of Lebanon, now under the occupation of both superpowers into the Middle East imbroglio, certainly has its own interests within the Middle East.

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

The July 31 clash at Mecca between thousands of Shiites and the Saudi security forces, which resulted in the deaths of some 400, was surely no accident. The 155,000 Iranian pilgrims included members of all state powers, whether super or small; how to make sure these paths hold as infeasible ideas of freedom and human rights, as well as to curb the aspirations of the Iranian people, is the most significant part of the proposed agreement.

...TO THE PERSIAN GULF

The changed world of today is expressed on the one hand in the great new upheavals in South Africa, South Korea, and Central America. 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 the Gulf is where his armed might is focused at present, we cannot forget that Lake Nicaragua is as half a year of his presidency—to oust the Sandinistas and to open the road for the counter-revolutionary contras. The Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World Revolution. 

...in the Middle East where the Gulf is where his armed might is focused at present, we cannot forget that Lake Nicaragua is as half a year of his presidency—to oust the Sandinistas and to open the road for the counter-revolutionary contras. The Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World Revolution.

The stark news of the Iranian revolution and the counter-revolutionary contras in El Salvador and Guatemala. The Persian Gulf is where his armed might is focused at present, we cannot forget that Lake Nicaragua is as half a year of his presidency—to oust the Sandinistas and to open the road for the counter-revolutionary contras. The Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World Revolution.
Youth: Voices of 1980s youth panel: Doing and thinking

Editor's note: The Chicago News and Letters Committee held a special two-hour session for "Voices of 1980s Youth." The presentation by the five young activists on the panel initiated an exciting discussion on the problems facing students today and how to move the struggles forward. Below are present excerpts from the panels' talks.

At NIU, we're not apathetic
by Jim Fabris, President, John Lennon Society

When I first came onto the campus (1983), Reagan was campaigning for the presidency. Every day I'd read in the Daily Collegian about student strikes on the other Illinois student campuses. They were conservative today. It was really obvious why so many older people, especially my parents, said that generation, get all these people in one place at a time. A whole new generation of students was addressing issues that was always a small group of people. We'd have these meetings and we'd sit and complain about the students. What we started with was a group that went around calling you ignorant and apathetic-
ists. We felt that by doing this, the Society was our attempt to unite the progressives. We try to find a memorable name to unite the cultural and political radicals.

This year we had three big struggles. We won the struggle to keep our dorm open, no mandatory drug testing, and the struggle for total divestment of the university's investments in the South Africa. The administration called us blacks and radicals. They say: "Things are so horrible now, nothing's going on." And I say: "Look at what we did in Homewood, in a year, two and a half times 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 Rays Dunekovsky spoke at our school, I became more interested in News and Letters, especially because I started reading about new revolutionary forces, with the idealism to completely change this society. I know it sounds naive, but at that time.

Revolutionary ideas among students start as young as junior high and high school. They pose the spirit and questions of the times. They are basically in their school, such as closed campus, police guards and hall monitors. They are basically a lack of freedom. Of course, I would come up with these ideas in the hallway, and other infringements of their rights.

My younger sister said at her high school are organizing against the building of a huge fence across their campus. The students are the guards who pace the halls with talk-a-thins.

If after breaking the wall, a student comes outside during school hours, a detention will be written up. She says, "I feel like I'm in a prison." (p. 117.)

I'm Mexican-American. I want to learn more about my culture. Of course, the only way that the people that they are talking to the university and the world and that 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/theory is combined with practice. Theorization and practice change the world. The work of anyone who works on the Black World.

Dunekovsky says that the missing link that has held back revolution in the past.

For myself, I'm learning about the effects of Reagan, we need to think hard about what total change means to us and what it is going to take. Anti-racism and anti-imperialism is the missing link. Finally, not to think about the Black World.

Canada on April 25, are the start, but what keeps the movement rolling is the theory and political questions that move 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 Mexican-American and I'm 21. I was a pre-med before I came. Before, I used to think, let's forget about these philosophy majors. I started asking all these questions I didn't pay attention to earlier in college, about who is Marx and what he's all about. But why is it that so many of the 1960s youth activists' actions ended up as a blanket to the assassinations of a number of Black men. When the assassinations of the civil rights leaders began to be called the "Red Summer" of 1968. McKay even-where, I think our generation can grasp the reality of the racial upheaval that came to be known as the "Red Summer" of 1968. McKay was cited as his character, Ray, in the book "Negro to Be a Poet." Why didn't you choose pugilism instead of poetry, when he wrote his signature poem, "If We Must Die." That it endures as a living testament to McKay's vision and inspiration on 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 mid-1970s even the Liberator leaves the U.S. to spend the next two years, 1919-1921, in England as a radical journalist. The first of his many works to appear in the United States, Pankhurst's newspaper, The Worker's Dreadnought, McKay participates in the founding of Bolshevik in Britain.

Two instances McKay's British sojourn reveals the answer to the "Negro Question" was. In his first article in the Dreadnought, titled "Socialism and the Negro." McKay was most specifically interested in the British perspective in which only Lenin had, up till that point, the right to discuss the "Negro Question." But why is it that so many of the 1960s youth activists' actions ended up as a blanket to the assassinations of a number of Black men. The question is why the "Negro Question" was.

In his memo "A Long Way From Home," McKay recalls an evening he spent with the Fabian socialist writer, George Bernard Shaw. Resenting Shaw's snobbery, McKay responded, "I'm disappointed and I'm told Shaw commented that "it must be tragic for a sensitive Negro to be a poet. Why didn't you choose pugilism instead of poetry?" McKay replies, "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,Latin American history, like what's going on in Nicaragua. In 1983 on the occasion of the Marx Centenary and the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the birth of...
Canada's military

On June 5, Canadian Defense Minis-
ter Perrin Beatty announced plans for a new buildup. He said the air force will be a proposed fleet of ten nuclear attack aircraft, each costing $2 billion. The subs will become part of a huge military expansion in the Arctic. The new submarines will complement the world's biggest icebreaker ($280 million) along with improving existing bases on the mainland.
The Canadian jet fighters and paratrooper units will take part in this buildup, which, like nuclear weapons, are denounced in the press while a neo-fascist group active among youth, Pami-

western peace and anti-establishment logues in the controlled press.

Another serious challenge is coming against Great-Russian chauvinism in Alma Ata in Central Asia. Many lives were lost as 70,000 troops were called from the capital. Soviet leaders re-
cived stiff prison terms. In July 2,000 Soviet paratroopers formed a new gulag, punishments, including expulsion from the Komsomol (Communist Youth).

On July 6, at least, several thousand Crimean Tatars, a people of Islamic culture deported by Hitler in World War II, re-

strated right inside Moscow. During the protests, which were seeking to release them, they are demanding their homeland back, but got instead a meeting with Lithuanian police, Andriu Gromovy, 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 junta. The putschists fired the anti-Indian eth-

ic hatred to gain power. Today Fiji is a shackle, who served time in the notorious Robbens Island prison. Uulenga believes that ultimate sovereignty over the country of Fiji was taken over by a U.S.-backed military junta. The putschists fired the anti-Indian eth-

ic hatred to gain power. Today Fiji is a shackle, who served time in the notorious Robbens Island prison. Uulenga believes that ultimate sovereignty over the country of Fiji was taken over by a U.S.-backed military junta. The putschists fired the anti-Indian eth-

ic hatred to gain power. Today Fiji is a shackle, who served time in the notorious Robbens Island prison. Uulenga believes that ultimate sovereignty over the country of Fiji was taken over by a U.S.-backed military junta. The putschists fired the anti-Indian eth-

ic hatred to gain power. Today Fiji is a shackle, who served time in the notorious Robbens Island prison. Uulenga believes that ultimate sovereignty over the country of Fiji was taken over by a U.S.-backed military junta. The putschists fired the anti-Indian eth-

ic hatred to gain power. Today Fiji is a shackle, who served time in the notorious Robbens Island prison. Uulenga believes that ultimate sovereignty over the country of Fiji was taken over by a U.S.-backed military junta. The putschists fired the anti-Indian eth-

ic hatred to gain power. Today Fiji is a