A subscription appeal

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Spreading News & Letters far and wide

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

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

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

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

National and International Dimensions of Black History Month

Black World

by Lou Turner

Within hours of the sudden death of Harold Washington, Chicago's first Black mayor, on Nov. 25, and the public mass outpouring of grief that went through the Black community like a shock wave, the truth of both was revealed—his leadership was here.

There had been no physical warning, only the portly and talkative man who so often delivered in the political largesse that the Black community warmly showered upon him. Never did he come to listen and speak to its concerns. I recall such a scene a year ago on Chicago's West Side.

MEANING VS. LEGACY

The stuffy auditorium on that summer's day was filled with Black folk, working people, community activists, and the occasional citizen—including and criticizing those glowing praises that make Black life what it is—employment, housing, education, economic underdevelopment, drugs, etc. Suddenly, if out of nowhere, there came Mayor Washington briskly striding down the aisle to the podium, smiling and waving, as only he could, seeming to take in the whole audience in that warm Black smile of his. He was at home here. I recall that, as usually the case on the West Side, the criticism didn't stop, nor did anyone bite. One thing became clear, the contrary, what Mayor Washington was not

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

(continued on page 9)

Uprising in Israeli-occupied territories

Can Palestinian struggle become a new revolutionary beginning?

by Olga Domanski

The Palestinian youth in the West Bank and Gaza, with nothing in hand but stones and a fierce determination to be free, have opened a whole new stage for the struggles in the Middle East. Beginning on Dec. 9 in the territories illegally occupied by Israel ever since 1967, their demonstrations soon engulfed the whole Palestini­an population, not only in the occupied territories but right within Israel itself. The 740,000-strong Arab com­munity joined with the nearly two million Palestinians in the occupied territories in a strike at the end of De­cember that shut down businesses, shops and schools in Arab areas on both sides of the so-called "Green Line," Israel's pre-1967 border.

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

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

The irrepressible revolt has brought the oppressive Is­raeli authorities to their knees at a sickening new point as well. Thus, the Israeli army's shocking response to a world-wide outcry against their brutal suppression of the stone-throwing uprising was the substitution of a ruthless and systematic chabbing of Palestinian men, women and

(continued on page 10)

Direct from South Africa

Freedom struggle

LIVING WAGE STRUGGLE

by Olga Domanski

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

"For years, workers in the furniture trade have been paid starvation wages. Thousands of these workers have only recently joined CCAWUSA. We are now strong enough to challenge exploitation in these stores, but we need your help. Ellerines, a giant in the furniture trade, is our target. 6,000 workers at Ellerines are our members. For a long time Ellerines has underpaid its workers. They have paid many workers even below the government's mini­ mum wage. Ellerines has been forced to pay back these workers or face legal proceedings. We know the govern­ment's minimum wage is not enough to live on. That is why workers have demanded a living wage.

-WORKERS' GRIEVANCES-


-COMMUNITY GRIEVANCES-

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

(continued on page 9)
Mainland China—The News & Letters you sent me gave me a good idea about Raya Donayevskaya and the goal of your organization. I admire her very much for her outspokenness and the courage she has shown over the world.

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

About 70 years have passed since the issue of women's liberation in China was raised. What has happened? With the help of the communist government, Chinese women have made great progress in the past few decades. Women's rights are clearly stated in the constitution and the law, and their participation in the labor market strongly supports their independence. However, as you know, China has a Communist Party. It is the problem of women's liberation movement entering a new phase.

The reforms started eight years ago by the Chinese government have not yet affected the entire country. What is more significant, they have challenged the tradition and even the status quo. Under this situation, the women's liberation movement is entering a new phase.

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How can workers fight unemployment, homelessness?

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

orraine, that the way the strike ended was the Interna­
tional's promise, and that means taking organi­
ization if life is to go on.

I ask myself how we can reach young workers through our newspaper, through listening and to record­
ing what they're saying on the picket lines and at the unemployment bureaus. If through showing them what self-development, and the self—movement of history. It is

We are meeting at a time when the world crises, the crises of labor here at home, and the crises in thought are alive. Am I the first welcome to a Plenum without the presence of our founder, Marya Dunayevskaya? This is sure to be a

I call these people deadheads, but the way I used to

The strike of the steel workers still continues and we

Kaiser's two-tier

Oakland, Cal.—Opposition to the two-tier wage system, which forced on workers by Kaiser Permanente management with collusion from the union, has been growing for years and one-half week strike in 1986, so persists in the work­place that management has been forced to reopen­

The union officials want to open the books to see if this is the case. They claim that there is no evidence of economism. They fail to oppose two-tier as a princi­ple, because they see it as a technology, a means to an end, and aired the issues of whether to sit it out or go with the demands and are confused on how to approach it. Some aren't even willing to stand back, but most raise the issue that resentment means organizing the companies to begin the battle of a two-tier. The official union is somewhere in-between.

All this is happening in the midst of the union's dispute in two facets: trying to keep the workers from giving in to management's plan for a two-tier system that management has been forced to reopen after a seven

GM plant is like jail

Editor's note: On Jan. 23, GM workers of UAW Local 686 in Van Nus, Cal., rejected a company/union "suggestion" proposal for a time-lapse layoff and a system of unsold cars on the sales lots and the beginning of talk about workers in that job who can't get to work or to school and the state pays GM. That's what it is all about.

With the "team concept," you have these team lead­ers who get $35,526 per hour more for just standing around. Then the workers come in and make you feel like a little kid who didn't do his homework. One worker, then $30,000, was able to write a letter to the company's president, a man named "team con­cept," they should have given everybody $100,000. We'd be better off to quit. It's like a jail. I've been in jail; there is no difference here, except you get paid. They put out liter­

Kaiser's two-tier

Oakland, Cal.—Opposition to the two-tier wage system, which forced on workers by Kaiser Permanente management with collusion from the union, has been growing for years and one-half week strike in 1986, so persists in the workplace that management has been forced to reopen the issue. The new workplace that management has been forced to reopen after a seven

I thought to myself about labor's struggle, from 1776

seen anything yet. Already we see

To me that is the most impor­

They stopped traffic to gain public attention and sup­

December through February is a slow time for freight drivers, yet the union is right now pushing for a mem­

When the group leader confronts you, he makes

As we go to press a second vote on the proposal is planned.

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and to go to the past office. You can't spend time with your

If you want to make doctors' ap­

I can call people deadheads, but the way I used to

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Readers’ Views

The discussion about Reagan’s “se­nility” is the mask to cover the senility of capitalism. A total uprooting of this social system is the only alternative, but it is masked by things like feminism, anti-war and anti-nuclear categories. These make post-Marxist feminism the most dangerous alias of Reaganism.

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

"Prey-Post-Plenum, i.e.—Executive Session Type of Talk" to be given in three parts:

I. The Philosophic Point

To understand today we must begin at the beginning, that is to say, as always, with Marx. Specifically the two periods are the last and the first, the first being the philosophical moment, 1844. That laid the ground for all future development. The last being the long hard trek and process of development—all the Revolutions, as well as philosophical-political-economic concretizations, culminating in Capital.

I. THE PHILOSOPHIC POINT

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

II. DIALECTICS OF ORGANIZATION

"So, what happened in 1853? Look at how the self-development of the idea that we now call Marxism has concretized itself when its greatest theoretical work, Capital, in its French edition, is finished, and that has philosophy spelled out in the most concrete terms from fetishism of commodities to the new passions and new needs that forces that go against the accumulation of capital. And he has the experience now of both political parties and forms of organization emerging spontaneously from the masses, plus philosophy.

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

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

In Hegelian dialectics, the philosophical moment is a determinant; even if the person who was driven to action knew that nothing can be done without the masses, and that the other groups were with them, but they [small groups] are theoreticians and they always seem to be a bit too fast, to be "in the objectivity which explains their presence, as the objectivity such as the spontaneous outburst of the masses." In a word, I was looking for the objectivity of subjectivity.

The one thing I did not mention in discussing 1953 is that Marx's work was the philosophical moment of his discovery of that new whole of 1848 and the Manifesto that anticipated it, are historical.

It is that historic period that changed when international workers got together to take a position on what was happening on a different continent. That too had a "manifesto," perhaps not as bold as the Communist Manifesto, thought Marx, which was actually the preamble to the Constitution and By-laws to the First International.
The analysis of the contemporary world, both theoretically and in practice, is set forth in the paragraphs below:

Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks. Humanist Essays of world historic importance, by including the first life of the Communist world, as well as the Black Revolution right after practice. Not only that; it served both as ground and roof for the Committees which ended with the completion of M&F, those heretofore formative years of News and Letters. The division between mental and manual. new passions and new forces, led me to conclude suddenly the general law of capitalist accumulation and the tack. I was not debating them or into that work, but into those last final syllogisms that Philosophy of Mind, that last paragraph, or CLRJ on the fact that he found ways, with what Marx said was most important in philosophy, on was. Instead, he said he had looked into the absolute of the bourgeoisie..." Therefore, what we were working on just as that meant the dialectic of bourgeois society, its opposites, they are not absolute opposites. At the point it reaches Marx's concept of the philosophy of Mind, going through the Schism of Logix with Lenin, but refusing to follow either Lenin in that last paragraph, or CLJR on the fact that he found ways, with what Marx said was most important in philosophy, but not the last final syllogisms that philosophy is, i.e. power in the hands of the workers at the point of production. The many paths to get there are not easy to work out...

Now return to our own situation, and think of the attack. A question: is it true that we state openly that even the one post-Marxist research decade dies into philosophy—Lenin—nevertheless did not do so, as the problem of the question of organization. In truth, he never renounced it even after the fact, and as late as 1902 in What is to be Done?, though he often criticized it. He profusely extended his new breakthrough in practice, and as late as 1902 in What is to be Done?, made it clear. Is the question of the dialectics of revolution, and yet never changed his position on the need for the "thin layer of Bolsheviks" as a vanguard party organization. In 1902 in Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, we critiqued Lenin politically. To fully work out the dialectics of post-Marxist organization for our age, it is now clear that this critique must dig deep philosophically.

The fact that even Marx's Critique of the Gotta Program, which remains the ground for organization, is the division between mental and manual. Marx's statement of the division between mental and manual. The epigones have been busy trying to say that the present was in the dialectics of revolution, and yet never changed his position on the need for the "thin layer of Bolsheviks" as a vanguard party organization. In 1902 in Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, we critiqued Lenin politically. To fully work out the dialectics of post-Marxist organization for our age, it is now clear that this critique must dig deep philosophically.

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Take Pannekoek. The Council Communists were certain that there was some kind of consciousness of the whole world historic importance, by including the first life of the Communist world, as well as the Black Revolution right after practice. Not only that; it served both as ground and roof for the Committees which ended with the completion of M&F, those heretofore formative years of News and Letters. The division between mental and manual. new passions and new forces, led me to conclude suddenly the general law of capitalist accumulation and the tack. I was not debating them or into that work, but into those last final syllogisms that Philosophy of Mind, that last paragraph, or CLRJ on the fact that he found ways, with what Marx said was most important in philosophy, but not the last final syllogisms that philosophy is, i.e. power in the hands of the workers at the point of production. The many paths to get there are not easy to work out...

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Part of audience at News and Letters 1988 Plenum that were not separated from the whole body of Marxist-Humanist writings, that philosophy will never again be "on the back burner" as we seek to carry out these organizational tasks.

1. In 1988, we seek to "become" a monthly 15-page paper in a very new way, where the book—Dialectics of Human Liberation—became the cornerstone for all organizational work for the year. But this will not only not be a classroom by the full participation of all our members, friends, and readers in the world of ideas. At the same time, a subscription drive for News and Letters can become a pathway to our growth if we new subscribers are the beginning of deeper dialogues with our readers.

ON JULY 25 WE published a memorial issue of News and Letters, 1988 Plenum, and a 100-page book containing all of Raya's writings of 1986-87 and to dig into the theoretical preparation needed for all the organizational tasks in the year ahead.

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

5. Because Raya's trilogy of revolution is nearing out of print, we are searching for a suitable publisher for all three volumes and...
Editor's note: Below we print excerpts from a review by Diane Lee, a Black feminist writer of Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution (1985).


From the title of the new work by Raya Dunayevskaya, one is led to believe that Black women were particularly striking: 1) the concept of Black working women as the vanguard of the women's liberation movement; 2) the concept of the international dimension of Black women and 3) the challenge Black women have issued to the revolutionary movement and their revolutionary activity as Black and theorists within the Black movement.

In her book, "The Women's Liberation Movement as Beast and as Revolutionary Force," Dunayevskaya quotes a Black working woman, Ethel Dunbar, who asked that she be sent a copy of the book because it is "positive and gives concepts of women's liberation that fail to include the dimension of color as well as gender:" "I can think of Black women who have struggled 25 weeks on the question of women's rights, where one white woman, an old politico, said she was not interested in a movement that had a color problem involving the problems of women in the shop. The question came up of Black women being paid higher wages than white men. Black men were getting higher wages than white men. Being a Black woman, it made me angry to have put it that way, because it sounded as though as women we should make more than Black men. Black men do hard, hard work. And yet there was something wrong with the whole thing about being a Black woman...White women have to make sure that they do not let white men take up their thinking." (WLDR, p. 54)

Ethel Dunbar is critiquing an elitist attitude that is prevalent not only among some women's liberationsists, but also among workers and socialist revolutionaries.

Dunayevskaya takes up the international dimension of Black women in a number of different ways. One is her discussion of the Igbo Women's War: "...take the African continent where it was not the educated, but illiterate women who added a new page to history, as women's rights—where one white woman, an old politico, said she was not interested in a movement that had a color problem..." (WLDR, p. 21)

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

"I'm not thoroughly convinced that Black liberation, the way it's being carried on will really and truly mean my liberation. I'm not sure that when it comes time to 'put down my gun,' that I won't have a bayonet shoved in my hands, as it was in my cousin sister's case." (WLDR, p. 51)

Dunayevskaya then comments: "She was posing the question of what happens after. That is what we have to answer before in the practice of our own organisations, our own thought and our own activity." "...women who are the vanguard of the process of Revolution: Reaching for the Future has a wide ranging discussion of Black women, but it is a book..." (WLDR, p. 67)

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


Volume XII: Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Raya Dunayevskaya's Last Writings, 1986-87:

"Toward the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy of Revolution" by Raya Dunayevskaya. 254 pgs.

Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future

Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future

Volume XII will form a Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection. It will be the first volume not organized by Dunayevskaya herself and will contain a collection of articles written by her colleagues. A microfilm of Volume XII will be available for purchase by libraries and individuals from Wayne State University. A new Guide—Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its Thought to the Present—will be available from the publisher. For more information, write to News & Letters.

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Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future

Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future

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American Civilization on Trial: Black Masstrs as Vanguard

"The current outburst of over-press­ured historical activity, coinci­dence by the 6 years of Reagan re­gression, and the 30 years of the North - and not only in Forth County, Geor­ gia, in the Bible Belt, but also in New York City, makes it imperative to reexamine the recent history of how American civilization continues to be driven by the same forces that serve as the subject of the main theme in this volume of the Marxist Historians Archives before you can see the other, absolute op­positionality Black Dimension as Opened."

January 36, 1987 Letter from Raya Dunayevskaya

Special offer for Black History Month
Three Marxist-Humanists on the Black Dimension

- Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought
- Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions (by Raya Dunayevskaya)
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James Baldwin's death in France, in December, brought forth an outpouring of articles by his friends and fellow writers and serious attempts to evaluate Baldwin as a writer. Aside from obvious and obvious, slight andsubtle laudatory testaments to the "sainted" father of the "trick-deep Marxisms" who attempted to take over the Black Movement and move free will from black lower-class thought, none have ventured to deal seriously with the significant in­fluence that Baldwin had on the thought and action of his generation. The fact is that it was Baldwin alone, among all the prominent Black authors, who became totally in­volved in his generation's struggle for a radical leap in Black consciousness and activity to uproot a two-century-old system of racial oppression.

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Can Palestinian struggle become a new beginning?

(continued from page 1)

children in places of the automatic weapon fire that had, in six weeks of demonstrations, left 36 dead, hundreds injured, thousands arrested. The vicious new policy that Defense Minister Yitzhak Shamir (Reu­ bbul's parliament) in mid-January was openly aimed at crushing hands, arms and legs—all as a more effective procedure. He had kept his "demilitarizing" immigrant mobilized longer. Within the first two days alone they thrashed their hands and legs, and the numbers since them are countless. (Nor did it stop the use of five ammunitions as well. As we go to press come reports of the deaths of between 100 and 200 Palestinians in the "white helicopters while bicycles swoop overhead to tear gas.

ISRAEL—A TRANSFORMATION IN DEBT

As correspondents from all over the world reported—the beatings of men, women and children with fists, that 66 youths and 160 army reservists had refused to serve in the streets, in daylight as well as at night to avoid television coverage, the visage of South Africa loomed over the for providing a new form of national self-deter­ with whom they were "protected" by the army. The num­ years of compulsory national service, and enough of the economy—state-capitalist, occupier-oppressor of 1987-88 has so many new, decentralized, spontaneous forms of organization have sprung up, which still hold illusions about old forms—which are able to give them the traditional trac­ tic, state-capitalist, occupier-oppressor of 1987-88 has so many new, decentralized, spontaneous forms of organization have sprung up, which still hold illusions about old forms—which are able to give them the traditional trac­

At the same time, in an effort to pressure striking Palestinian workers who do nearly all the hard laboring in the agricultural sector, scores of workers have organized a cultural field work in Israel—Labor minister Moshe Katsav announced the imprisonment of 200 Palestinian workers in Israel and Portugal and the mobilization of high school students to pick oranges and grapefruit. The executive economic hard hit hitherto by the intifada is now ready to launch a new attack. The Palestinian authorities now pledge to the students as a "symbolic" gesture—"in­

Nothing better demonstrates the tumult now taking place inside Israel than the fact that, while polls contin­ued to show the Likud bloc in overall control, Israeli public supported the "iron fist" policies of Rabin, over 50,000 workers in the construction industry paral­ling torches and bannieread: "Stop Israeli Apartheid Now." The same day 10,000 Israeli Arabs staged a protest outside the prime minister's residence.

A TENSIONS INTENSIFY

These new events in the West Bank, in Gaza, and within Israel itself, form the most necessary back­ground for understanding the complex new dynamics in the Middle East from the head­lines. But every tension there remains, intensified by these newest events. Thus, while Reagan has been more or less left in power, the militarism and anti­war sentiments in the United States continue to press the U.S. from the left. The U.S. moves to contain the new clampdown on the revolutionaries in Iran has already killed over one million on both sides—many of them women and children. The youth movement in the Philippines and in Nicaragua have been filled with new subjects of revolution, new forms of organization, new expressions of mass creativi­ty. The richness of the movement from practice, which Marxist-Humanism singled out as a "form of theory" only then for the first time in its history, has been a "sign of the times." The whole of the anti-establishment, spontaneous forms of organization have sprung up, which still hold illusions about old forms—which are able to give them the traditional trac­

The transformation into opposite* from the Israel of the 1950s, where it was possible to mobilize the young against the old and the poor against the rich, has been filled with new subjects of revolution, new forms of organization, new expressions of mass creativi­ty. The richness of the movement from practice, which Marxist-Humanism singled out as a "form of theory" only then for the first time in its history, has been a "sign of the times." The whole of the anti-establishment, spontaneous forms of organization have sprung up, which still hold illusions about old forms—which are able to give them the traditional trac­

THE UNFINISHED REVOLUTIONS IN LIFE AND IN THOUGHT: THE "ONE-1980S" ORGANIZATION AND PHILOSOPHY

The Third World revolutions are what have shaken the world in the 1980s. The revolutionaries of the 1980s have been filled with new subjects of revolution, new forms of organization, new expressions of mass creativi­ty. The richness of the movement from practice, which Marxist-Humanism singled out as a "form of theory" only then for the first time in its history, has been a "sign of the times." The whole of the anti-establishment, spontaneous forms of organization have sprung up, which still hold illusions about old forms—which are able to give them the traditional trac­

The complex regional conflicts in the Gulf region

* The full Perspectives Thesis is available from N&L for 75c.

THE "ONE-1980S" ORGANIZATION AND PHILOSOPHY

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How can we become thought-divers?  

by Sheila Fuller

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

As we begin 1988, youth have been in the forefront of many struggles for freedom worldwide. In South Africa, the students from the tens of thousands arrested and detained by the fascist apartheid regime are children as young as ten. In South Korea, youth along with workers are battling the sham elections that have brought Chun's appointed successor Roh Tae Woo into power. In Haiti and the Philippines, the youth are bearing the brunt of Duvalierism and the counter-revolutionary gun squads that never left their lands. We have also seen even more international movements in the protests of Chinese, Russian and East European youth against their governments, a reflection of the 17-year-long youth who are fighting the Israeli government's attacks on them.

FACING A CHANGED WORLD

Youth have not had a youth movement on a scale comparable to those international, so we have a great deal more protests against Reagan's attacks on Central America. And in December, we have had a great deal more protests against fighting the Israeli government's attacks on them. Indeed that concept of youth as thought-divers is a contradiction of what President Reagan's Marxist-Humanism. This is why I'd like to talk more about last writing by the, the June 1, 1987 presentation that is the central tenet of the Marxist-Leninist Perspective. We write about the sin-gling out of youth as revolutionary force in the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s. She writes: 'We singled out youth as revolution­

Youth in Revolt

by Franklin Dimitriev

Anti-war demonstrations in South Africa and Leinigrad and the Ukrainian City Live held demonstrations in December to oppose the draft and demand the withdrawal of invasion forces. Published and distributed by the 19-year-old Yelena Grigoriev was hospitalised after being beaten by the police. In Warsaw, Poland, about 20 members of Freedom and Peace held a two-week hunger strike to protest the shooting of 123 workers in a factory.

On Nov. 27, a student at the University of the Andes in Bogota was shot to death by police. Students rioted and burned from their homes and had to be set on fire. In police attacks against and against society, we have killed and hundreds wounded. All schools in the country were closed indefinitely. Major demonstrations were in progress.

Students occupied the University in Kansas, South Korea, for 43 days to demand the dismissal of the administration. On Jan. 8, 1,500 police stormed the campus at dawn, arresting 119 students. Hundreds of family members and professors then took to the streets to protest the attack, and later 100 more students again seized five buildings to keep the occupation going.

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

We reported that the Young Student Revolutionary Alliance of the University of Michigan called a "Changed World," not only in the great demonstrations in "thought-divers" that has turned the clock back on all rights and is engi-noning in ominous wars from Central America to the Persian Gulf. We have written about international students and have to face the fact that, as this year's Marxist-Humanist Draft Perspectives put it: "there can be no new dynamic for the student movement without new begin­nings in thought."

That Dunayevskaya never ceased appealing to the youth activists to become thought-divers and very specifically gave two public talks on youth and youth in the late 1940s and early 1950s. She related these remarks to the youth as the determinant for all our activities. I believe that the Supreme Court ruling on this issue will more easily allow schools to censor opinions they disagree with and suppress issues which may interest to students but not to them.

The school riot in Los Angeles is one of the only ways for a student to voice his or her opinions. The only other alternative is through a underground newspaper, but this is unfair not only because of the obvious difficul­ties in maintaining something like that, but also because it is a pretty big waste of time for an experimental student. I think that society that suppresses my rights and tells me what to do without giving me many oppor­tunities to voice my opinion. With this ruling, I have fewer options and sharper limits.

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

One thing this country always goes on about is, "We don't cause them. But as into the schools and people try to justify censorship. They say things like, "You will eventually have freedom of speech," or "People in other countries don't have freedom of speech, but it's all because of what you have." Yet freedom of speech is so important that if anyone tries to put rules against it, people will break them. There are so many things to speak out against.

The couple of us were putting up signs in our school saying, "If they won't give you freedom of speech, take it!" Our school has its own authority sys­tem. You have to get permission to put things up on the walls. They said posters for our S.O.S. Racism group, "We're sick and tired of being plotted up because it makes them think it's racism in the school."

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

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Students fight out against Supreme Court censorship

Los Angeles, Cal.—The Supreme Court has made it clearer than ever how limited freedom of speech is for youth in this country and how few rights we have. By a 5-3 vote, the Court ruled in January in favor of the principal of Missouri's Hazelwood High School, Robert Reynolds, who had censored as "inappropriate and unstable" an article for the school newspaper about teenage pregnancy that included personal ac­counts of three students from the high school.

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

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

The House of Representatives barely delayed President Reagan's demand for $36 million for Nicaragua's contras to allow a roll call, by a 211-219 vote on Feb. 3. While Reagan's military and economic proposals are not binding, the vote was a damaging defeat for the opposition. Earlier a Senate and House subcommittee report supported whatsoever within Nicaragua, which the administration has supported in part because of the strong support of the contras by the U.S. government.

Despite the House action, President Ronald Reagan and Richard N. Timmons, chairman of the Appropriations Committee, said they are supportive of the Administration's position.

Some House Democrats have been encouraging the Reagan administration to issue a more stridently pro-Contra speech about the situation, but the President's message has been one of conciliation.

In a speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors on Feb. 2, Reagan said: "I come today to urge all Americans to look at the realities of the situation in Nicaragua. There is no other solution than support of the contras."

Reagan's speech was not without its critics. "I'm having a hard time thinking about how to institutionalize" the contras, said one congressman. A letter from a correspondent in Czechoslovakia, which attacks "targets of opportunity," appears to have gained any advantage, the Central American regional "peace talk" is not growing, especially when the Sandinistas appear to have gained the advantage, much less a month of breathing space. While his Administration is keenly interested in the situation, the concern is with the other countries involved, the unrest within itself and the land reform process. White House, nothing has been said about the recent murders of human rights activists in El Salvador and Honduras, or the unanswered questions to Gorbachev, "a real question whether or not there will be new elections in Nicaragua," one congressman said.

Once so-called "humanitarian aid" is now called "non-lethal" aid and includes everything from helicopters to army boots.

In the political arena Reagan has done everything possible to sabotage the Central American regional "peace talks". Reagan and Gorba­

czhev "are talking," says one congressman, "but they are not talking about the issue of the con­

tras in El Salvador and Honduras, or put any pertinent question to Gorba­

czhev to speak about.

Letter from a correspondent in Czechoslovakia.

Report from Haiti

Editor's note: The Jan. 17 election farce staged by Haiti's military-run National Governing Council, which handed power to their hand-picked candidate, Leslie Manigat, has been called "a new Stalinist demonstration com­

bined with the murderous Tontons Macoute, a group of all the words on "reconstruction," of all the words on "reconstruction," Reagan and earlier presidents—capable of massacre, pillage and murder—by the military to give the victory to their hand-picked candidate, Leslie Manigat.

The day before the election a more accurate poll was taken when a group of students completely shut down the capital, Port-au-Prince. But the unarmored faces proving the contempt for the election was staged by Haiti's military-run National Governing Council, which handed power to their hand-picked candidate, Leslie Manigat, has been called "a new Stalinist demonstration com­

bination," i.e. Stalinist, demonstration com­

bination, yet felt free also to criticize. Hurriedly, the Communist Party gathered up the posters and arresting 100 activists­

from peace and human rights groups together with the murderous Tontons Macoute left out from the Danilier regime. The following after the election, Jan. 17.

Haiti, Prince—The in­

sanity of the new "elected" presi­

dent has been fixed for Feb. 7. Marc Bazin, General Raoul Cédras, and Louis Delpe, all of them presiden­

tial candidates, decided not to partici­

pate in these elections and are demand­

ing the resignation of the National Gover­

ning Council.

Thus, a few days before the Jan. 17 elections, the situation still remains confused. Haiti—schools and universi­

ties are closed, the Catholic and Prote­

tist groups are severely criticized by the government, youths affiliated with democratic organizations are accused of Communist affiliations, and all theﺿra­

tions are also expected. The election, which were to take place in Haiti after 30 years, were not able to take place because of the terror unleashed by the Haitian Army.

According to information furnished by the Haitian State University Hospital, 26 people were killed and 83 were wounded. Underlining the fact that the Haiti Army—which was responsible for the security of the elections—did nothing to protect the students, the pro-­

nine members of the Provisional Elec­

toral Council, Alphonse Jean-Hilaire, one of them, in a communiqué dated Nov. 29, the NGU dissolved the CEP, the organiza­

tion designated according to the constitu­tion to organize the elections in Haiti. Note that at this moment the situa­

tion is serious. A climate of fear is being installed among the Haitian pop­

ulation which will follow the candidates and form them.

Bangladesh protests

Police gunfire killed 17 anti-government protesters and wounded 500 others in two days of clashes in Chittagong Jan. 24. The next day opposition and government leaders agreed on a general strike totally shut down Chittagong and then a general strike, which was called by the opposition groups.

The city government center was set on fire. Also in protest against the mass arrests and student violence, protesters fought pitched battles on the streets with police.

Ever since November, massive strikes and demonstrations have been unleashed by the opposition against the government's reaction to the reactionary military dictatorship of General Zia, further compounded by the government's "electing" by massive fraud and intimi­

ation. Ershad plans another election for February after his party's candidates swept a group vote to oppose his fraudulent elections.

Coming Next Issue

In-person report of new sponta­

neous workers' movement in Italy.