South African bannings impose choke-hold on mass movement

by Peter Wermuth

The South African government, on Feb. 24, of 17 anti-apartheid organizations from engaging in "any activity whatsoever" and its placing of restrictions upon was to join Thatcher's Britain in vetoing a United Nations Security Council resolution, on March 2, that would have imposed an oil embargo upon South Africa. Reagan demurred that there was "nothing we could do" about the events in South Africa because "they are a tribal affair." That the banning was imposed but a month prior to the third anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, that the third anniversary of the Uitenghage massacre is hardly accidental, for one of its provisions is to make any economic activity whatsoever "and its placing of restrictions upon freedom struggles is more threatening than ever. As one member of the new-banned Deltatex Parents' Parental Support Committee (which helped spread word of the plight of the Sharpeville 6) put it, "the lights are finally going out on the last vestiges of freedom to criticize or resist in any way the suffocating tentacles of apartheid."
The response of Reagan and his administration to this was to join Thatcher's Britain in vetoing a United Nations Security Council resolution, on March 6, that would have imposed an oil embargo upon South Africa. Reagan demurred that there was "nothing we could do" about the events in South Africa because "they are a tribal affair." That the banning was imposed but a month prior to the third anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, that the third anniversary of the Uitenghage massacre is hardly accidental, for one of its provisions is to make illegal any commemoration of significant dates in the anti-apartheid calendar. And yet that didn't stop more than a million South Africans from going out on their jobs—five times the number in 1986! In 1987 numerous major and militant strikes erupted, from retail workers to rail-workers.

(continued on page 3)

Black World

20 years after the death of King

by Lou Turner

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Stride Toward Freedom

A three-month-long Black commercial boycott in Natchez, Mississippi over segregated education, growing Black protests in Cleveland, Texas over the police killing of a Black man while in custody, and a Black student taking over a campus building at the University of Massachusetts in response to racial incidents, may all appear small in the face of the civil rights victories of the Civil Rights Movement than intimations of a new dawn. However, on the 20th anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., they magnify the racial impulse American civilisation has reached in this Reagan era.

Indeed, what we have witnessed on the eve of the 20th anniversary of King's death, is Reagan's recent veto of the Civil Rights Restoration Act. His veto got the narrow support of each of the Republican presidential candidates. At the same time, the Moral Majority—which which launched an all-out lobbying campaign in support of Reagan's veto which became so vociferous and threatening in its racism, sexism and homophobia that it even repelled Republican senators into voting to override Reagan's veto.

SECOND LOOK AT RETROGRESSION

And this is at a time when the majority of this country's homeless and "underclass" has become so desperate that we cannot do otherwise than find in the historic mirror its reflection in the Poor People's Campaign that Dr. King was preparing when he was shot down in Memphis, Tennessee, while leading a march in support of striking sanitation workers. The historic rent strike goes further. For Martin Luther King was assassinated dur-

(continued on page 9)
International Women’s Day: fight for freedom deepened.

U.S.A.

DeKalb, Ill.—On March 8, International Women’s Day (IWD), the John Lennon Society organized “The Women’s Liberation March” in DeKalb, which included 18 men and women traveled to various areas of DeKalb which included a series of lectures on Black women’s history and a Black women’s writers conference.

Another stop was the school newspaper, The Northern Star, which engages in sexist reporting and which bared the world into “If She Says No, It’s Rape.” —Participant

The Philippines

More than 1,000 women in Manila, the Philippines, observed International Women’s Day by marching near the Presidential Palace.

Chile

In Chile on IWD several thousand demonstrators, marching under the banner “International Women’s Day, We Deserve Battle!” marched through the center of Santiago, as well as in Valparaiso. Violence against women increased in the wake of the civil war, those whose complexions were noticeably lighter, or rather who understood rather than followed U.S. orders and kill their own people.

Ideeological pollution’ in our movement

by Terry Moon

In celebration of International Women’s Day (IWD) and the year of 1987 in which the Chicago Local of News & Letters Committee held a panel discussion that included a woman from development, a young woman who was not African American, and an African American student. Their talks will appear in future issues of News & Letters.

So far this year we have heard of IWD demonstrations in El Salvador, the Philippines, the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Arab East Jerusalem. Each demonstration printed the previous day, that one of the worst demonstrations but all ignored.

The last stop was downtown DeKalb at the local newspaper store. There demonstrators were handed papers, which they distributed in a mock attendance sexuausal assault. The tour guide guided historical examples of how pornography has led to sexual assault. The tour guide gave historical examples of how pornography has led to sexual assault. The tour guide gave historical examples of how pornography has led to sexual assault.

The WLM has shown us that it is through those “philosophic new beginnings” that Dunayevskaya spoke of, and the fact that we will not be able to meet those economic and political tasks.

PHILOSOPHIC NEW BEGINNINGS

One thing that can help us work out those philosophic new beginnings is a new way that Raya looked at Karl Marx’s 1844 Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts. Marx saw in his Essays not only the discussion of what it means to be human, but what Raya spoke she called Marx’s concept of the man/woman relationship. She incorporated Marx’s vision into her philosophy, and deepened and broadened the very idea of what freedom is/can become as she grounded her philosophy in Marxism and tested it against the movements for freedom—including the WLM.

It is not an abstraction that philosophy gives action a direction when you see what philosophy showed was important about our movement. Raya summed up both the WLM and the whole of Marxism in its entirety when she wrote in 1970 of our refusal to subordinate the WLM to another movement, and that it is indeed a “revolutionary force for change” that the West Bank’s liberationists were opposed to the old society and “for a totally new society founded on human foundations.” If we saw that as our contribution and that we had had a responsibility to develop the ideas of freedom within a philosophy of freedom, then I don’t think we would be at an impasse today, or allow what happened to Tawana Brawley to be fragmented and to thus help fragment her.

To help the idea of freedom experience self-develop­ment is not an easy task. Raya Dunayevskaya not only did this her whole life, but tried to make explicit what she called “The abysmal lower depths that the Reagan retrogression has sunk the world into” and the fact that the movement has not responded, revealing its ideological pollution. But as we develop the idea of freedom and the new concept of what Marxism is, and the new concept of what it means to be human, but as well what she called “The abysmal lower depths that the Reagan retrogression has sunk the world into” and the fact that the movement has not responded, revealing its ideological pollution.

The Diary of Alice Dunbar-Nelson


At the age of 46, Alice Ruth Moore Dunbar-Nelson (1878-1932) was married to Paul Laurence Dunbar, the “Cerebral Youth,” and they moved to Chicago. Their marriage floundered, and Alice, as having an extensive collection of IWD, published and collated and published the Wil­lamburg, Del., Advocate with her third husband, Journalist Robert N. Nelson.

Her activities ranged from participating in anti­lynching campaigns and attending annual NAACP conventions in the 1920s and 1930s, to being a part of the American Southern Labor Congress, to teaching and counseling young women at the Industrial Workers of the World. Nelson was also involved in helping counseling on abortion. She had a “circle” of friends, including Robert F. Dunbar, B.W. Dunbar, Carter G. Woodson and Langston Hughes.

While the diary is an important document, the reader needs familiarity with Dunbar-Nelson’s work and with those of the civil rights movement. What did this happen to Tawana Brawley to be fragmented and to thus help fragment her.

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News & Letters is a union shop.
Farm crisis: everyone's battle

Mt. Carroll, Ill.—I think the farm crisis is getting worse and is not fixed. People are killing themselves, and it is not something that they say in the newspapers, which is what they want you to believe. Many people here are now losing the farms they once owned.

I lost my farm which I had owned and operated for 33 years. I went to the judge to find out if I could sell the tractor. The judge realized a shock to realize that the judicial system will not work, that judges won't do anything about the bank. I had to go to the bank while he was supposed to be representing me in the foreclosure proceedings.

When I went to court, the judge ruled against me and I appealed it and lost. Then I won in the 7th Circuit Court, but the judge who would have decided it just sat on it. It turned out he went over it with him. It turned out he was afraid the bank will find out if they come to our county. We marched around the courthouse and it made the news media, so they did release the farmer. And the tractor was saved.

At our support group meetings, we break into small groups and I'm given the opportunity to tell my story of what's happening to me. The main thing is for people not to think it's their fault. The system has failed— not the individual.

There have been suicides right here, and the media covers them up. One man I knew was staying in his barn and he had a ticket for a bill for attorney fees of $100,000. Another farmer was milking 12 cows. When he was finished milking, he threw himself against a wall and said in his own behalf. He lost everything. Then he took a truck driver job, and he too was killed in a single car accident.

NO LAWYERS OR BANKERS WELCOME

For many years, I've tried to get help, but it's no use. When you go out and try to sell your property, the buyers are afraid the bank will find out if they come to our county. We meet once each week and we are open to listening, but we don't welcome lawyers or bankers.

Our support group decided to have a meeting, that this is a good man and makes money every year. He wanted to buy his brother's share of the farm, so we went over it with him. It turned out he owed $3,000 an acre when you figured in depreciation of his equipment. And he didn't even know he was in trouble!

This isn't just the farmer's problem. It's everybody's bank problem. They won't put a loan in for a railroader, or in a packinghouse, or on a computer. Every man, woman, and child, owns a piece of this country and all the debt. It has to change. We're now behind the labor unions. We can see we were in error believing they were the right vehicle to get us out of the labor debt. Every body in America has to work together to make the change.

—Illinois farmer

Worker unrest in Dominican Republic

Dominicans harvesting sugar cane.

Eighteen months into President Balaguer's administration of the Dominican Republic, the government has been beset by ceaseless demonstrations, strikes, barricades and street battles between protesters, police and army troops, led by the president, as of late, against a broad spectrum of protesters and seeking of public buildings centering on demands for lowering the impossibly-high cost of living.

In February, a peasant strike spread to the whole community in the province of María Trinidad Sánchez, with riots and violent actions against the government. It was like a war. The toll on working people is too much. Nerves are shot. The system has failed—not the individual. The toll on working people is too much. Nerves are shot.

Here at the Post Office we know what the reality is. There have been suicide attempts by postal workers. We hear the truth? Competition is dangerous to our health. It's not like we're going to be doctors or nurses. We have a three-year training period. That doesn't make you a doctor. They have a three-year training period. That doesn't mean you're a doctor. They have what they wanted, they would shut down this plant.

We did get raises in the last contract, but we also have a three-year training period. That doesn't make any difference. You're still going to be a serf. They're just like any other meat packers. Then the company does things like putting the Ford name on a meat product to attract enough operators. The new people don't get paid the rate for the job, but they all have that aggravation.

There's a screw. Even if you don't like a job, you have to do it. The Ford Foundation is here to give education or something, you're stuck. To me it's like being in a concentration camp.

The serfs didn't have anything at all. We have cars and TVs, but it's still the same to me. You're still tied. You still have to work. In a concentration camp, you might have to work.

I am ready for a revolt right now. I want to see everybody in the country up in arms. I want to see nationwide demonstrations and widespread strikes.

—Wendy postal worker

Ford's sham profit sharing

Editor's note: The following letter was printed in the March 11, 1988, Detroit Free Press.

I am a 35-year-old married woman who worked at Eckrich Michigan Truck Plant for 17 years. On Feb. 19, it was announced that I would receive a $3,700 profit-sharing check for my work in 1987. My plant has worked 10-hour days for the entire year. With lunch, preparation and driving time, that is a 13-hour day. The truth? Competition is dangerous to our health. I have worked at the Ford Michigan Truck Plant for 25 years. I am an older woman who was put on a job of hauling 56-70 pounds at a time. I guess she's not considered attractive.

Where are they? Are most of the Black, Latino and younger workers in one plant like GM-Van Nuys, being fired? At least there are comments from a postal worker. It's not just the government, it's the whole economy.

The serfs didn't have anything at all. We have cars and TVs, but it's still the same to me. You're still tied. You still have to work. In a concentration camp, you might have to work.

Seniority: what does it mean today?

Ford workers
I. BEGIN REWRITES HISTORY

No sooner was the world preoccupied with the counter-revolution in Poland on Dec. 13, as the Polish rulers utilized the worker movement, than it was called on to show its solidarity, as discussed in an earlier essay. The Israeli Occupation forces acted quickly to suppress the Solidarity movement in Poland, just as they had done in Hungary and Israel's invasion of the Suez. The haste with which Begin, in concert with his own party leaders and the Israeli government, invaded Suez, was an undermining of any attempt by anyone, including the dominant ruler, to halt the Israeli occupation of the Middle East. In 1956, when Russian tanks had driven through Hungary to destroy that revolution, the Israeli authorities unleashed martial law against the Polish masses, followed closely on the heels of the invasion of Suez. Here, however, is how Begin is rewriting history: "In 1946 an English general named Barker lived in this country and he wrote, 'Israel is more of a threat than terrorism.' It wasn't Reagan who called the Irgun terrorist acts. It was the Labour party in the British government in 1939 who labeled the Irgun as terrorist acts. Begin had been a Member of Parliament in that Labour government, and he certainly isn't letting them stand in his way when he is attempting, at one and the same time, to create a new myth of his own making. Begin has no new ideology, except present state policy of the State of Israel..."

II. FOCUS: COUNTER-REVOLUTION/REVOLUTION

No doubt what Begin saw in the AWACS sale was so great a gift to Saudi Arabia that it assured him the form of a global shift in U.S. policy. That had an element of truth in it was clear from the fact that U.S. imperialism had indeed other interests in the Middle East than defense of Israel "in and for itself." What is pivotal for U.S. imperialism is, first, the struggle with Russia for single monopoly control of the world and, above that, opposition to revolution. Reviewing the tragic conclusion of Begin's statement [of Dec. 20 to Ambassador Lewis] and a letter addressed to Reagan and Bush, we can once again see the double act of a man who does not make it a majority. Quite the contrary. Not only are there a great diversity of Jewish views in Israel, and a mass peace movement, but even Zionists are emigrating from Israel as they find the religious fanaticism unbearable. The stories they told were not only about the bombing of the King David Hotel, but Irgun terrorist acts against individual Jews who were struggling to found a socialist republic, as well as pressures exerted also against the Irgun and the young left Polonizae—for attempting to work also with the Indian nationalists, which were unbearable. It isn't that either the Arabs accepted those Jews who were trying to establish a secular state for Jews and Arabs, or that the Jews accepted the religions they came from, as the Irgun showed: there can be no solution of the Arab problem as long as there is a land where Arabs lived. Instead, they spoke of it as if it was "assigned to the Jews by God." The Labour party in Britain was the first to work for the formation of a secular socialist republic, or even for a secular state, they were driven out because it was from there, Israel. Here, of course, is how Begin is rewriting history: "In 1967 a German general named Barker lived in this country and he wrote, 'Israel is more of a threat than terrorism.' It wasn't Reagan who called the Irgun terrorist acts..."

The fact that Israel has taken advantage of the world's preoccupation with an immediate counter-revolution to carry out its counter-revolution in the Middle East is not a mere difference between six hours and six days. No, it was not the Polish rising that reassured him, not even its attempt to reassess its benefactor—U.S. imperialism—to pressure Israel to give up any of its war booty, come away with the results of the war, and work toward a peaceful settlement. The real feat of the hooligan, like the bolder skelter-appointive, is that liberal and reactionaries, Begin himself, were notprovoked. Nor did it suddenly issue out of Begin's head. It was a calculated, premeditated, and long planned "act of God". How far backward does Begin intend taking Israel to its pre-Israel founding?

Since the comrades found it impossible to work for a socialist republic, or even for a secular state, they were fighting for a socialist republic, or even for a secular state, they were driven out because it was from there, Israel. Here, of course, is how Begin is rewriting history: "In 1946 an English general named Barker lived in this country and he wrote, 'Israel is more of a threat than terrorism.' It wasn't Reagan who called the Irgun terrorist acts. It was the Labour party in the British government in 1939 who labeled the Irgun as terrorist acts. Begin had been a Member of Parliament in that Labour government, and he certainly isn't letting them stand in his way when he is attempting, at one and the same time, to create a new myth of his own making. Begin has no new ideology, except present state policy of the State of Israel..."

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Protests against U.S. troops in Honduras

Bay Area: mass arrests

San Francisco, Calif.—Almost immediately as the news spread of Reagan's sending troops to the Nicaraguan border on March 17, nearly 1,000 people gathered at the Federal Building, stopped traffic and knocked over a fence. Many in the crowd were Thai refugees, expressing the intense feeling of the demonstrators that the U.S. was not only using force, but that the invasion comes to war. Nearly every day since, people returned to skirmish nonviolently with police. By Monday, March 28, 400 people were arrested.

The demonstrations triggered actions by other groups. On the following Tuesday, 2,000 in a crowd, led by gays and lesbians marched through the city chanting, "We're dykes and faggots and we're here to say, With down the Contras CIA!" At the airport, were soldiers being sent to Honduras chanted, "Don't fight Nicaragua! They are our friends. The authorities were on the defensive all week, not because they weren't brutal in beating and attacking demonstrators, but because the focus was on a question a lot bigger than the local police.

On Wednesday a rally of 400 students on Berkeley campus, outside the ROTC building, reading an eviction notice like the one local officials used to remove a group of homeless squatters in a vacant building. Police attacked egg-throwing students with billy clubs. The march then poured into Sproul Hall for a sit-in. Twenty-three were forcibly removed by the police as headquarters regrouped on the outside steps to march through Berkeley streets.

—Demonstrator

Chicago: clash of ideas

Chicago, Ill.—I was one of 50 people who were arrested March 18 in the demonstration of over 500 protesters against the U.S. government's sending of 3,500 U.S. troops to Honduras. The Pledge of Resistance organized the demonstration but many of the thousands of protestors had come in solidarity with the people of Central America also participated. The demonstration was peaceful since it expressed massive outrage at U.S. foreign policy. After the arrest the demonstration over the demonstration was also a failure, since we didn't disrupt the workings of the city for any extensive period of time.

In jail we had considerable time to ponder the reasons for this effort to understand the number of potential demonstrators. But the police didn't, for a time, understand the difference. I believe their preparation shows how the bourgeoisie understands the objective conditions better than some leftist politicians. It is to one's credit that they managed to keep us from disrupting traffic. But it is to the detriment of the Left that the displaced people in downtown Chicago had tied up traffic for more than four hours.

Second, many of us were surprised that the cops were so hostile. Some suggested that the police force has been tied up traffic for more than four hours. It felt to me that the police were essentially treating the Left with violence. It is interesting to note that the cops simply side with Reagan's policies.

Last, many of us were unsure why Reagan sent the troops. Why did he say that the invasion was necessary? Many believed that a more justifiable because it now shows its roots in the past, but such an inwardizing and projecting of Marxism of whom Raya asked, 'Why a center? Why a center? Why a center?'

—Jeffrey Wright

New York City rally

New York, N.Y.—Two thousand angry New Yorkers protested Reagan's sending troops to Honduras to threaten the Nicaraguan Revolution, at a demonstration March 18. We rallied at the Times Square Army recruiting station and marched across 42nd Street toward the U.N. just as the Times Square news flash, "Scores arrested as thousands protest across country."

—New York Marxist-Humanists

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—From the Introductory Note

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Twilight of capitalism

by Peter Mallory

The government's $1 billion bailout of First Republic bank of Texas shows what a crisis the U.S. economy is in. First Republic is not a rare event to discover a company these days that has not changed its name, been taken over or amalgamated with another. Behind these financial manipulations lies the concealed failures of hundreds of small companies. The banks alone that have failed number into the hundreds, covered up by the FDIC, with the government bailing out these bankruptcies.

The national budget for the next year has been set at $1.1 trillion; the Reagan years have squandered more money than all other administrations before it combined. Yet Reagan is but the symbol of a capitalist system that is out of control and headed to bankruptcy. The U.S. deficit is larger than all of the combined Latin American countries.

Every week the U.S. government borrows billions of dollars to pay the war and to spend it instead to fight a year just in interest on the debt, and every month the trade deficit increases at a rate of $8-10 billion. Japanese and German export trade bills do nothing, since most imports are from American companies who moved their plants to foreign soil to undercut American labor. The very statistical basis on which we judge the health of the economy has become altered and distorted. It is so much more of a trade Average of which we once looked at to gauge the strength of the industrial system now includes McDonald's hamburgers. The Gross National Product figures which formerly were an indication of how much consumer goods were being produced now includes everything the military bases, planes, tanks and battleships—and indicates nothing.

When the hoopla and voting is over in the 1988 elections, the U.S. will have a new President, but nothing fundamental in the American economy will have changed. It will be a relief to get rid of Reagan and his rotten gang, but there is little hope that the new gang will be any better.
Crisis in Black Reality/Black Thought

The "Crisis in Black Reality/Black Thought" (March N&L) is an urgent problem here. A number of things have combined to create the crisis in Detroit as the "gradual crumbling to pieces" of Black society. Detroit is the "last city standing" in the neighborhoods where the "torturing to fall" and "crawling to pieces" have already taken place. Despite Mayor Young's much-touted war on "crack," it is pretty much business as usual. A very upscale development has moved into business or new ones sprung up in vacant homes. In this same area, Black residents are losing their homes on a block openly admitted burning down a house. They collected $10,000 to put out the fire and purchase gasoline. They face $20,000 fines. TheMicrosoft corporate lawyers, who everyone I talked to applauds their action.

The economic opportunities here are limited to fast food jobs or selling your body on the street. Most Black intellectuals don't want anything to do with that idea.

The Black Dimension is not an "un-achievable" goal because only Blacks need be concerned. It is the problem of the unfinished American revolution. The problem of ideas in the decade of Reaganism is within Black America also. Louis Turner's analysis of the "false cod" (March N&L) shows the material base of our ideas. Our ideas have stripped of their pretensions, that Blacks need to start out as small shopkeepers and save up, not as Black masses are vanguards of the most radical and pointed elite. Most Black intellectuals don't want anything to do with that.

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**Dialogues of the Working Class**

Executive Editor

**LABOR STRUGGLES: IN THE U.S....**

By Michel Chodorn, New York

"Get off my back Bob McGuire!" Mr. Turner writes like all the rest of us. Mr. Turner's article "Black workers have unions, union bureaucrats" (March N&L) gave me a much needed breath of fresh air. Only because Mr. Turner doesn't know about P-9 have I been about for three years. I'm just starting to get through with an article like this. It is the truth, produced in a good paper, read by people who understand Black workers. (Original P-9 Hormel striker)

Bob Guccione's article in the March N&L discussed the strike at International Paper Company, and the fact that workers in different local unions and Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) assessed themselves $10/month to help out the UPIU, and at my plant I regret to say that the company is telling ourselves $10/month for the strikers.

We do support the strikers' effort morally—but financially speaking, we had a raise in over four years, while the union struggles have been going on without any increase in representation. Even jobs classification has been frozen for over three years. So, the company is stating that workers are doing the work of two with no more pay.

We need a new form of workers' organization, one that crosses national lines, that strikes at the heart of the company or the union bureaucrats.

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**BASIC FACTS ABOUT SHAKA**

Black Student

Over seven years Reaganism has really changed the rhythm of life, even the way the Left thinks. The Democratic primaries were a good show. But now it is time to get out for Jackson. I went to a "Run, Jesse, Run!" video, but I felt it was a poor presentation of the Jackson campaign because Jackson is out to attract middle-class whites by saying he's "for labor." This is a lie and it's not going to really touch on racism.

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**LABOR STRUGGLES: IN THE U.S....**

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We need a new form of workers' organization, one that crosses national lines, that strikes at the heart of the company or the union bureaucrats.

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**A HUMAN JOURNEY TO HAITI**

Haiti-Progress

The economic opportunities here are limited to fast food jobs or selling your body on the street. Most Black intellectuals don't want anything to do with that idea.

The Black Dimension is not an "un-achievable" goal because only Blacks need be concerned. It is the problem of the unfinished American revolution. The problem of ideas in the decade of Reaganism is within Black America also. Louis Turner's analysis of the "false cod" (March N&L) shows the material base of our ideas. Our ideas have stripped of their pretensions, that Blacks need to start out as small shopkeepers and save up, not as Black masses are vanguards of the most radical and pointed elite. Most Black intellectuals don't want anything to do with that.

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The commemorative meeting here in Los Angeles was well organised and fairly well attended. When I pressed particularly about the participants was that for most part they were that you would call intelligentsial. In a sense it was an underlying fact of the meeting reflected also in the News & Letters and the organi-
generation. I know it was im-
perative that Raya and her refs. bions territory in microcosm what has always been the dream of the Marxist-
movement, a society when there is no longer the separation between brain and 

As we know, the intellectual leaders of the working class beginning with Marx himself envisioned such a future society. At the same time they worked to develop new forms and types in the working class movement through encouragement of study, self-

This was a theme that was expressed by the participants in one or more another at the commemorative meeting. It is natural that this should be so for a movement that demands and encourages us to be philosophers.

Angela Terrano 

New York City

...N&L should be commended for pub-
lishing Raya Dunayevskaya's 1986 letter to George Armstrong Kelly on her "new 

When I think of Raya it is to recall a

She displayed, the "Talking to Myself" documents from Raya's last, unfinished writings. Those of News & Letters & Time & News & Letters treasure table—allowed us to visualize the foundation and development of these ideas.

The speakers who came forward also held that challenge to be their main fo-
cus. Current events, from Reagan's re-
gression in the U.S., to the Palestinian 
currents, to the undeniable need to 

Raya's death is a severe blow. We are that you're going to go on with her ide-

The Feb. 25 Commemorative meeting in San Francisco for Raya Dunayevskaya 
demonstrated the development of Marx-

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NEWs & LETTERS

Page 7

APRIL, 1988
I. THE EARLY YEARS, 1954-57

From the beginning Raya had posed the question of Hegel's Absolute Idea, which Marcuse sharply criticized in his 1955 book "One-Dimensional Man." Dunayevskaya writes: "We have reached the age of absolutes that are not in heaven but concretely in life when the question [can] man lead the scene of the world," for the ordinary worker asks. With that letter, Raya also sends a copy of her translation of Hegel's "On the Dialectic of the Absolute Idea." In this letter, Raya expresses her thoughts on the absolute negativity of Hegel's Absolute Idea as the pathway to the dialectics of liberation for our age. Thus, by 1953, she had penned her translation of Hegel's "Absolute Idea." (RD, Collection 1957-1958)

II. NEW DIFFERENCES OVER HEGEL

As early as July 1956, "Marxism and Freedom" had been published, and her first lecture tour on the book was completed. Dunayevskaya is back writing several long articles on Marxism and Freedom and then returns to "The Dialectic of the Absolute Idea." She makes clear that Marxism and Freedom did not exhaust the Marxist-Humanist dialectics as first elucidated in 1953: "You once told me that what I wrote in the first letters in 1953 on the Absolute Idea and what appeared in Marxism and Freedom is a crude version of a whole body of thought, in a sense, it is. No public work, popular or unpopular, can contain the intricacies of thought as they develop in this period. So, the critics filled with more concrete content. And no doubt also part reason of leaving it in its fragmentary form, it was finding none but 'dumb workers' agreeing while the theoreticians were sly away. But I do mean to follow up the book with further development." (RD to IMF, July 15, 1958)

The correspondence now breaks off for two years while Raya goes to Europe, but in August, 1956, Marcuse responds to the dialogue around what was to become in 1964 his book "One-Dimensional Man." Dunayevskaya answers in detail on the wretched state of the societal labor in the U.S., giving a lengthy critical summary of current sociological works. Marcuse also criticizes Denby's "Workers' Battle Auto-Biography: a view into August-September, 1960 special issue of News & Letters.

Marcuse had in March, 1956, penned his essay "A Note on the Dialectic," as the Preface to a new edition of Reason and Revolution. In this 1956 essay, Marcuse repudiated the working class as revolutionary subject, trying to substitute for it what he saw as a "Great Historical" of bourgeois society in avant-garde culture and poetry.

On the other hand, in the original 1941 text of Reason and Revolution, Marcuse had in the section on Marx written as follows, in line with a view of the future in the present even amid the horrors of Nazism and Stalinism: "The revolution requires the majority of the people to be able to see the option of stepping out of the revolution which is the subjective force, namely the revolutionary class itself. The realization of freedom requires the free rationality of those who achieve it." (p. 319)

By 1960 he breaks with the magnificent vision of dialectical Reason he had presented in 1941, going so far as to revise it in his new Preface: "I believe it is the idea of Reason itself which is the unadulterated element in Hegel's philosophy." (xii) Three years later, in her 1969 essay "The Newness of Our Philosophy-Hegel," Dunayevskaya singled out this passage repudiating dialectical Reason as a key case in Dunayevskaya's answers in detail on the wretched state of the societal labor in the U.S., giving a lengthy critical summary of current sociological works. Marcuse also criticizes Denby's "Workers' Battle Auto-Biography: a view into August-September, 1960 special issue of News & Letters.

Marcuse was not only abandoning the proletariat, but also even going on to say that dialectical Reason he had presented in 1941 was "one-dimensional." While Dunayevskaya certainly was aware of Marcuse's abandonment of the proletariat, he seems to miss the point that Marcuse's abandonment of dialectical Reason philosophy, arguing that "Marcuse's 1956 preface, 'A Note on the Dialectic,' is a turning point, a rationalizing 'Great refusal' that is rooted in the Hegelian-Marxist concept of dialectics," which stress either aesthetics or "pure" philosophy, mummifying the revolution as New Beginnings.

Herbert Marcuse

In the same July 1958 letter, Marcuse makes clear that Marxism and Freedom did not exhaust the Marxist-Humanist dialectics as first elucidated in 1953: "You once told me that what I wrote in the first letters in 1953 on the Absolute Idea and what appeared in Marxism and Freedom is a crude version of a whole body of thought, in a sense, it is. No public work, popular or unpopular, can contain the intricacies of thought as they develop in this period. So, the critics filled with more concrete content. And no doubt also part reason of leaving it in its fragmentary form, it was finding none but "dumb workers" agreeing while the theoreticians were sly away. But I do mean to follow up the book with further development." (RD to IMF, July 15, 1958)
**Freedom for Moses Mayekiso!**

**Black World**

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**Brooklyn protest against killer cops**

presser, told us that the solution to the drug problem begins in the factories not the schools. Employers may pay $50 a day or less, but with $600 a day in overtime and who's left over to buy children what they need and buy drugs and sell drugs, and some people will choose it. One young Puerto Rican worker, earning $4.25 an hour, talked about how crack was being supplanted with other drugs, and some people will choose that.

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**Black/Red-View**

*by John Alan*

Andrew Hacker's two lengthy essay/review articles—"American Racism in the 1980s"—published respectively in the December, 1987 and March, 1988 issues of the New York Review of Books—are "electronic loudspeakers in the isolation of the masses." Hacker discusses 14 books and reports written by white sociologists, political scientists and a virtually unmentionable sociologist, "electronic loudspeakers in the isolation of the masses." They all conclude that the Black family is only the first act, the preliminary in the field of race relations. Hacker's statistical plunge into the crisis of the Black family is the first act, the preliminary scene in the field of race relations (for historians), recorded with electronic fidelity, the "science" that starts from an abstract norm, in this case, White America. The Black family is not in the crisis created by capitalism, but in the lack of opportunity that Black teenagers have in meeting the white standards of workers are fighting for in South Africa. Racial relations are not measured by the number of "facts" that can be quoted, but rather by the class/race bias. He opposes seeing the objective movement of history and aligning himself with it. **Ted Herbst**

botha's banning hits at mass movement

(continued from page 1)

way that transnational labor, and from three differ­
ent postal strikes to the student strike in Pretoria workers in August. This strike wave was met with brut­
ality by the police, who were in charge of "mine security" by the bosses. It is seen in the discussions on the relation of the'

to oppose the apartheid regime anew.

By early 1988 it became clear that the Left was making a "reaching toward the future.

The continued re-emergence of Hitler's visage, 1978 to the

News and Letters Committee local nearest you (see page 5) for location and dates of meetings

Join our four-part class series on

Raya Dunayevskaya's Marxist-Humanism in the Changed World of the 1980s

"The abysmal lower depths that the Reagan retro­
gress has sunk the world into throughout the seven
years of this decade, has polluted the ideological air not only of the ruling class, but restricted the Left itself. Such a deep retrogression demands that, along with the economic and political tasks facing us, we look to the philosophical horizon.

—Raya Dunayevskaya, June 5, 1987

News & Letters Committees invites you to take a journey through the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism as part of the effort to reach for "philosophic new beginnings" in the face of today’s challenge. Below are excerpts from Dunayevskaya’s writings of the 1980s for grappling with her whole Marxist-Humanist philosophy of liberation.

Class 1: The Changed World and the Dialectical Method

Class 2: Marxist-Humanist’s Philosophical Challenge to, and Participation with, all Forces of Revolution: the Black Dimension and Women’s Liberation

Class 3: Dunayevskaya’s Challenge to Post-Marxist Marxism: New Perspectives of Lenin’s Philosophical Ambivalence

Class 4: Toward a Dialectic of Organization and Philosophy

Classes are being held in Chicago, Detroit, New York, San Francisco-Bay Area in April and May 1988

Contact the News and Letters Committee local nearest you (see directory, page 5) for location and dates of meetings, as well as to receive a Syllabus of the class readings.
**Youth**

by Sheila Fuller

In the past month, there have been new protests against racist attacks on campuses around the country. **Confronting campus racism**

- At the University of Massachusetts students held a five day sit-in at the New Africa House, following racist attacks on Black and minority students. They ended the sit-in with a two day moratorium on classes in order to allow the students to concentrate on their studies. The administration then inspired a sit-in against racism at Hampshire College the following week.

- In New Hampshire, students forced the suspension of Republican vigilantes who had last year attacked the students' anti-racist demonstration, leading them to begin harrassing an Afro-American music professor. During the last sit-in, the students were told: "Since the sit-in has ended, the racial attacks on this campus have actually increased, at all times of the day and night. The minority Resident Assistants have been harassed, and today a Black man was attacked in a situation that is now being investigated. (See person report from U. of Mass. in March N.A.L.)

This is what a teacher at the U. of Michigan said of the declining campus enrollment in the nation's universi­ties: "Last year there were only 120 Black students in the entire university, in a state with a large Black population. There is also a decline in the number of low income students no matter what their race. Schools like the U. of Mich, are trying to attract students from the middle classes." This situation is a result of the continuing racism in the country.

- In February marking the anniversary of the Sharpeville Six, we will see three of us standing around in a group, the security guards will come over and say: "Can you pass me your identification? We are trying to locate the people who had last year attacked the students' anti-discrimination demonstration, leading them to begin harrassing an Afro-American music professor. During the last sit-in, the students were told: "Since the sit-in has ended, the racial attacks on this campus have actually increased, at all times of the day and night. The minority Resident Assistants have been harassed, and today a Black man was attacked in a situation that is now being investigated. (See person report from U. of Mass. in March N.A.L.)

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U.S. troops out of Central America!

Editorial

(continued from page 1)

100,000 Nicaraguans took part in a two-week-long, Sandinista-led general strike against Somoza in the first half of 1978. Weeks of street fighting followed, and by November 1978, Somoza's hold on Managua was in tatters. The forces loyal to Somoza began to disperse, and on November 17, 1979, Nicaragua's Sandinista government was proclaimed.

In the years 1978-80 the many dimensions of the idea of freedom were evident not only in Nicaragua, but also in El Salvador and in Guatemala as well. People in whole regions have thought anew about the relationship of forms of organization to the demands of freedom, and as a result, social struggles went on for dialogue with those in the U.S. who share their vision.

The huge turnout in 1988 has shown the greatest labor unrest in years. Workers are particularly active in the call for U.S. troops out of Central America, but U.S. labor unrest is just one of many signs that workers worldwide are pushing the political leaders to act.

Irish 'war of cities'

In response to the bombing it was catalyzed by the Irish Republican Army. Last year the people of Halabja rebelled against their government, which was at war with Iraq. The rulers of this have a stake in the survival of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and a premium on the survival of its allies in the region.

The imperial powers, whether in the Gulf or in Afghanistan (as well as the Gulf rulers) are to the Islamic Republic's advantage. In December a tentative agreement was reached which created the conditions that the United States and the Soviet Union have sought so long to achieve the aims of freedom, equality, independence and national unity in Central America.

The huge turnout in 1988 showed exactly what this means for the community. It is a demand for freedom, for the development of new human consciousness, and for the creation of a new world order. It is a demand for freedom, for the development of new human consciousness, and for the creation of a new world order. It is a demand for freedom, for the development of new human consciousness, and for the creation of a new world order. It is a demand for freedom, for the development of new human consciousness, and for the creation of a new world order.