New youth movement challenges Reaganism's racism, war actions

by Barry Keith

On the 20th anniversary of the worldwide youth revolts of 1968, a new U.S. student movement has begun to emerge and confront Reaganism and its legacy in anti-racist and anti-war actions from Berkeley to New Hampshire, and from Pennsylvania to Kentucky.

This type of music at AC hearings in 1987, in response to a disgusting series of on-campus racial attacks on Black and minority students. By 1988, the overall movement has grown in numbers, in seriousness of purpose, and in a willingness to engage in philosophic problem-solving.

SPRING 1988: PROTESTS ACROSS THE LAND

In recent months, two major victorious student revolts have taken place. At the University of Massachusetts where Raya Dunayevskaya visited last autumn, a Black student occupied a building to protest the totally unasked for and unasked for beating of a Black student by racists. Thousands of other students rallied to support their demands. At Gallaudet University in Washington, D.C., the whole campus rose up against the hiring of yet another non-Black president for the largest college of the deaf. But the form and scope of the new protests were not limited to these two well-publicized ones.

- At all Dartmouth College, weeks of anti-racist forums, marches and rallies against the Dartmouth Resident Police Department. Our In Memoriam to this legendary revolutionary and colleague of Raya Dunayevskaya will appear in the June issue of News & Letters.

- At Penn State University, 150 students occupied a building for 15 hours, demanding funded programs to recruit more minority faculty on a campus whose student body is 36% Black, with its faculty a paltry 1.8%. At least 89 students were arrested. Anti-racist protests took place as well at University of Kentucky, where trustees, former governor and baseball commissioner A. B. "Happy" Chandler had used the word "nigger" during a discussion on divestment; Chandler has not even been asked to resign by the administration, even though student protests have mushroomed, including the whole football team.

The same week, 500 students demonstrated at Duke University to support an affirmative action plan requiring each academic department to hire at least one Black faculty member by 1989. The plan has initially been voted down by the faculty, but this decision was reversed after a week of protests.

Outside of the campuses, Black voters are feeling the brunt of Reaganism even more sharply. Reagan budget cuts will reduce the number of youth summer jobs in Chicago from $24,000 to 14,000, which prompted 100 mainly Black and Latino youth to protest outside Chicago's City Hall. The days before this demonstration, high school and college stu-

(continued on page 10)

POLICE LAUNCH RACIST SWEET AGAINST GANGS

by Gene Ford

Los Angeles, Calif.—The recent national attention that gang violence in L.A. has received shows Black Los Angeles as a haven for drug trade and murder. In reality, there have been over 80 shootings related to gang violence in Los Angeles County this year. So during the weekend of April 8-9 there was a small invasion of Watts and South Central L.A. by the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) who arrested 1,453 suspected gang members.

Only 103 were charged with a crime. Many of the arrests were for "nothing," like having proper ID, spitting on the sidewalk, or littering. Even the L.A. chapter of the NAACP had to come out against these racist sweeps—which they partcularly called for: "What is disturbing is the fact that 46% of the individuals arrested were not gang members. These same arrests would not have occurred in Westwood Village (a predominately white business district)." The NAACP received 150 complaints during the weekend from the community for police harassment.

The sweeps took place with an additional 1,000 police officers. For the past few years, this police presence has been demanded by many of the established Black leadership and by a few community-based organizations that think equal justice under the law means more police on the streets. What that equals for the Black and Latino community is not more protection, just more guns on the streets. That is not what we need, because we as members, not criminals, of the Black community become the target of arrests, beatings, and shootings by police. Being Black and poor under capitalism has always been a racist crime against us.

The recent release of the film "Colors" was feared by many established Black leaders as possibly promoting more gang shootings. They said this film could glorify gang life, but in fact it is nothing more than a police story which makes "all" Black and Latino youth look like little terrorists who must be contained, imprisoned, or killed.

In reality, what promotes gang life is a segregated community backed up against the wall, with a lack of decent-paying jobs or decent housing, which puts the Black community at the brink of explosion. Add a little "black" magic to it, and perhaps the days to get ourself a small-scale war where we all become victims.

The demand for an outside force such as the LAPD to be brought in to free us, so we can walk the streets without fear once again, is a fantasy. It is to fall victim to a fool like Chief of Police Gates who demanded and received a "limited" OK for wiretaps. Chief Gates sees "the greatest threat to democracy is democracy itself.

We in the Black community must take control of our own destiny by grasping freedom for ourselves, and not expect help from the very power that oppresses us and puts us in this position in the first place. Our demand should be for social revolution which can change the thinking of an oppressed people and can stop this Black-on-Black crime, which is a crime against our-
which the people can enjoy more freedom and have more opportunities, are problems women face. If solutions are not worked out to address their problems in education, employment, politics, family, and changes that are not made in the social constructions, the new stage may, unfortunately, be essentially a long march that is by no means easier than the one the CP made during the 1930s. In this long march, women will experience their present foothold or reach a world with more equality.

—Chinese Women's Liberation

A coalition of women's groups held a rally in New York City, March 11, in support of Tawny Braxley, a worker from the Riverside, California, who was sentenced to 25 years in prison. The demonstration was called to protest against the illegal and brutal methods used to keep women in prison. The rally was organized by the Women's Life and Labor Movement, a group of women who have long been active in the struggle for women's rights.

Known as the "SOAR" movement, it has been gaining strength and popularity among women in the United States. The name "SOAR" stands for "Struggle for Opportunities and Rights for All Women." The movement is based on the belief that women have a right to be free from discrimination and that they should be able to participate equally in all aspects of society.

NEW STAGE—HOPE AND CHALLENGE

While the reforms are giving China a new look, the challenge remains to make it both free and democratic. This has put Chinese women into a dilemma. If they are wise enough to seize the opportunities of self-development and be prepared to meet with resistance and be punished in various forms: marriage breakdown, because men intend to marry women who are not physically capable of bearing children. This is due to the tradition of forced sterilization, which is not a single position to women. Nevertheless, the most urgent problem is to re-define the role of every worker to make their contribution to the economy.

Students from St. Scholastica's College in Manila, the Philippines, participated in a street demonstration in early April waving a banner reading "Fight for women's rights and the right to education, work, and marriage." The demonstrations were organized by the Women's Center for Social Action (WCSA) and the Women's League for Democracy (WLD).

A professor at the University of California at Los Angeles, who was a guest speaker at the conference, said that the Women's Movement in South Africa, which is led by white women, has already achieved some successes. But the real challenge is to extend these achievements to women in other parts of the world.

In the afterword, the editors not only stress the importance of the book, but also emphasize the need to resolve the problems that women face.

—Annie Jacob

Olivia Schreiner Reader: Writings on Women in Southern Africa, edited by Carol Barash (Pandora, London, 1996). The South African writer, Olive Schreiner (1819-1915), was a friend of Eleanor Marx in the 1880s when she was a member of the International Working Women's Association. She was one of the few women who were active in the feminist movement of the period.

The book is not a historical account, although it reflects the current attitudes and concerns of the readers. The editor has chosen to focus on the important issues that women face in their daily lives, and to present the best of the work that has been done in this area.

—Diane Blake

Elaine Wright, Managing Editor

News & Letters is printed in

News & Letters
by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

I was travelling across the country by train a few months ago, and certain scenes I saw will not leave my mind. In Las Vegas, Nev., the train pulled in to the station early in the morning. The police were rounding up homeless men along the tracks, and putting them in the back of a van. Then, I noticed two adults in the house, even the cheapest home.

The House Labor and Education committee has now passed a proposal to raise the present current federal minimum wage of $3.35 an hour to $5.05, over the next four years. That is what the minimum wage should be in the United States. It is a healthy reminder that San Francisco is a lot more than fancy jogging shoes, psycho-babble, sharkish entrepreneurs and creepy upscale professionals.

The problem with Dr. Taller's opposition to the Morgan line, on the other hand, 'people who have the most amount of control of their own life at Kaiser were able to at least make as much as they didn't break down all the time and we can do our work in eight hours instead of 11 or 12. If you work 12 hours, and most people should sleep seven or eight hours, that leaves you with only four hours of the day to take care of everything else. Traveling for this contest to act like a machine, I saw names like Dunayevskaya's works Marxism and Freedom...from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao and Rosa Luxemburg's Woman of the Committees from its founding to 1987. News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of Dr. Martin Luther King's March on Washington. This led to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which was itself, a form of theory. News & Letters was organized and run by News and Letters Committees is an organization of Marxist-Humanists that stands for the abolition of capitalism, the development of productive property form as in the U.S., or its state property form, as in Russia or China. We stand for the development of new human relations. We have organized ourselves into a committee of organization rather than any cli
class party to lead.
25th anniversary of 'American Civilization on Trial'

**Freedom occupies consciousness**

"proof" that Jim Crowism is something apart from the class relationship between workers. These modern day "analyzers" forget that just as the "stigma" of slavery could not have persisted so long if its economic remains in cotton culture and slave market were not the conscience of the unfinished state of the Second American Revolution, so the psychology of Jim Crow would not have persisted if it had not been re-established in the development of Northern industrialism into monopoly capitalism. The latter needed Southern racism for its propagation into imperialism even as it needed imperialism to help against white labor's challenge to its exploitative rule. As we phrase it is in the present.

"The 'psychology of Jim Crowism' is itself the creation of the American monopoly capital extending its tentacles into the Caribbean and the Pacific as it has been transformed into imperialism, with the Spanish-American War.

**THOUGHT AND PRACTICE AND THE FOUNDING OF NEWS & LETTERS**

A new form of Mass revolt emerged during World War II. In Europe we witnessed the growth of those movements, and in the United States there was a turn in 1941, on both sides of the Atlantic, first the Negro demonstrations to take place on the side of peace against the war. The struggles in the United States nailed down the lie of worker rights in the preparation of a war for the war. The Negroes had no national character, they were like the privateer type of anti-Communist they knew the true nature of Communist parties again. It is a few decades ahead of Marxism's discovery for his own reactionary needs.

The struggle of Jim Crowism was initiated in 1943 was the period also of great clarification of those movements. Some of those who were later to found News & Letters had developed to the stage of analysis of a great clarification of those movements. Some of those who were later to found News & Letters had developed to the stage of analysis of the psychology of Jim Crowism, which had long since been a very special supporter of our struggle to gain access to the full world of ideas. But Raya Dunayevskaya not only because she was the most truly original revolutionary thinker of her time and place, but also for many others who may or may not agree with them, but with these ideas, but also for many others who may or may not agree with them, but who will all have something important to say.

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**Raya Dunayevskaya**

May 1, 1910 - June 9, 1987

"In the spring she went away
The scent of roses she loved filled the air
She had been away before, following the holocaust in Marxism
Surveying the wreckage of human and ideological carnage
That survived the Stalin-Stalin years
She always returned, never defeated, to seek new challenges
In Africa she traveled through bush and acclaim
Praising the British Lion's tail, seeking independence
For the oppressed, hearing voices crying UHURU and passing on it
In Greeting both rulers, former students, and the people from the bush
She was in the African fight for freedom while it was in progress
As an object she set forth goals and ideals which
Building on a foundation, based on philosophy and revolutionary Marxism to its humanist beginnings, combining theory with practice.
Travelling again, to the Orient, Japan, Hong Kong and China
Teaching, listening, learning the thoughts and aspirations of far-away but kindred spirits, creating philosophy for the future
Now unexpectedly she went away again, never to return
She rests with the Haymarket Martyrs, whose lives, like hers
Are devoted to the class struggle for freedom and justice.
Philosopher, teacher, organizer, friend and companion
In our minds and hearts and memories she will always be with us.

—John F. Dewey

**Freedom Ideas International**

We are dedicating this issue of Freedom Ideas International to the memory of Raya Dunayevskaya not only because she was the most truly original revolutionary thinker since the death of Lenin, but most particularly because of her active relationship with blind people who are participants in every freedom movement. This caused her, in turn, to become a very special supporter of freedom ideas international as that is, is not yet the true witness of human and ideological carnage. Throughout history, all great turnings have been led by the unifying philosophy. The Negro American Civilization was placed on trial by the birth of Abolitionism, and for three stormy decades thereafter, American civilization was placed on trial by the abolitionist movement which has an ever-expanding internationalism.

**THE 'PSYCHOLOGY' OF JIM CROWISM**

Being the proper subject of history has nothing, of course, to do with the subjectivism of the psychological approach to Jim Crowism which points to the prejudices of white workers as

—Steve Handschu, editor

(continued on page 9)
Lenin, May 1920
dialectic—where Lenin’s dive into Hegel reached its highest point and stopped—that Dunayevskaya’s new perceptions of Lenin’s philosophic ambivalence began. What I believe she was probing in 1986-87 was that Lenin never fully grasped the Self-Determination of the Idea, not alone as practice, so profoundly linked by Lenin to self-determination of natures and peoples, but as Idea, as Notion within the Doctrine of the Notion, and as it was further developed by Hegel as the Self-Thinking Idea within the Absolute Mind chapter of Philosophy of Mind.

LENIN’S SHORTCUT AWAY FROM HEGEL’S ABSOLUTES

Thus, it is not alone that there is materialism within Hegel’s dialectic, though often shrouded in a mystical veil. It is that the movement, the Notion, is within the material, within objective reality when seen in its fullness. At the same time Hegel was determined to show the movement of the Idea as Idea: “The pure Idea, in which the determinations of reality is itself raised to the level of Notion is an absolute liberation, having no further immediate determination which is not equally posited and equally Notional...numerous objections is no tranuse in the freedom...The transition here therefore must rather be taken to mean that the Idea freely releases itself...” (p. 405-406, 8 of L)

Because Lenin was preoccupied with what he saw as the need to work out the materialism within Hegel, he did not follow the Idea freely releasing itself, and began his own materialistic interpretation. This was no new argument, but rather an argument with that was left open for a future generation of Marxists to be resolved. The Idea’s “conversion” to the Idea of Cognition—which ended with “the pronouncement that Practice was the Idea” and that “the direction from the Idea to the Idea is a sequence of never-ending progression, the Hegelian doctrine seems to be an attempt to exchange a sequence of never-ending progression for a sequence of never-ending retrogression and indeed makes it very nearly inevitable that ‘every dialectic lets retrogression appear as translucent as a veil covering the object of theory in the church in the period when it sold indulgences, and that such conversion to be any reform and must be abolished: ‘The point is that everything in Hegel, from when he was just a student, was grounded in his opposition to theologians and the organized church and its role in the Church’s doctrine of faith, Hegel resists that it is like a new kind of political movement’ (p. 8 of L)

The new that Dunayevskaya was discerning in Hegel’s Three-Attitude to Objectivity was the objectivity of materialism, a common denominator of all ideas, not just one idea, as high a level as the Idea of Cognition, and is not following the idea of Objectivity and the Idea of the Idea of the Absolute. When the Idea is not fully labored over, continually revised, including working out an organization, and the Idea of Objectivity is not a transformation within the Idea of the Idea of the Absolute. Lenin’s divided page views a shift from the Self-Determination of the Idea to the Self-Determination of Materialism. This certainly could be magnified. But that meant for Lenin the practice of man narrowed in such a way that it no longer would reach enough to encompass the self-thinking Idea, then wasn’t this a short-circuit, an avoidance of following Hegel into Absolute Mind? It is precisely within Absolute Mind where Lenin never got to be able to transform the practice of man to the realization of human nature, which would have expanded human practice to the dimension of human practicality.

When Dunayevskaya followed Lenin into his commentary to the chapters, she had concentrated first was a Lenin writing his 16-point defini- tion of the dialectical created before he had worked through Hegel’s fullness of his Absolute. She then went on to mention to the fact that Lenin’s definition of negation was to be an “apparent return to the old.” But Lenin has never commented on the apparent return to the old if he had jammed negotiation of the negation by his practice of man to be within the self-thinking Idea. Dunayevskaya scholars that “this did not fail because he felt that the objective practice of man was an illusion.” She added, “Nothing, in fact, led Lenin back to the Idea of Theory and away from dependence on the Practical idea.”

Dunayevskaya was showing in so many ways that what was pulling at Lenin in Hegel’s discussion of the Practical Idea, in Hegel’s concept of Nature, both of which Lenin translated as Practice, was Practice not fully immersed in the Absolute. Even the magnified translation by Lenin of the Notion as Man, had within it a set of ideological barriers to the objective practice of man. For Dunayevskaya, every practice had to have within the Idea, the Idea as the fullness of all of Hegel’s Absolute.

HEGEL’S ATTITUDES TO OBJECTIVITY: IMPLICIT AND EXPLICIT BARRIERS TO REVOLUTION

Dunayevskaya’s study of what pulled a revolutionary thinker away from a full journey into the self-develop- ment of the Idea of Cognition is the central focus of another of Hegel’s last writings—his Attitudes to Objectivity. In this work, published in 1857, Hegel expressed his idea that the old barriers to revolution would be “an apparent return to the old.”

Dunayevskaya’s study of the concept of the idealist represented by the philosopher Jacobo, who wished to reject any kind of dialectical mediation between the Idea and the Idea of the Idea of the Notion is an absolute liberation, having no further immediate determination which is not equally posited and equally Notional...numerous objections is no tranuse in the freedom...The transition here therefore must rather be taken to mean that the Idea freely releases itself...” (p. 405-406, 8 of L)

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LORAS’ SHARP CRITIQUE OF PRODUCTION AND SOCIETY

John Marotté’s “Workshop Talks” col­lected the thoughts of someone who rea­sonably believed that American life is boun­dary this country is pushing down la­go. You go through eight hours or more of hell on the production line, and then the rest of your life is hell, too. I was talking with two women, and they were saying about the need for new rela­tionships between men and women. One was divorced, and the other had been for eight years. The other woman said that the man she worked with was a “three-day kind of guy” and she had been with him for her twice that day. The true story of people’s lives in this society really shakes you up sometimes.

White worker

Los Angeles

* * *

A grain elevator blew up in Joliet, Ill., yesterday, killing five workers. The explosion, which was described as “grain dust explosion.” The TV news says that this is “not uncommon” in grain mills. Certainly the conveyor belts were loading and unload­ing grain at the time, working full speed. Reports have said that a grain elevator at the top of one elevator, blowing it up, kicked up the grain to still another, blowing up the whole row of elevators, turning them into rubble. All the publi­cation was focused on the search for sur­vivors, even though it was known that there was virtually no chance. A grain elevator executive said that “it’s a terri­ble thing accidents like this have to happen.

But the way I see it, it’s no accident. Not lack of a proper catastrophe, but one that uncommon.” They are treated as some­thing you expect to come, as a worker, and not worth much. It makes me so angry.

Working woman

Chicago

I went to a meeting of the DSA (Democratic Socialists of America). They were stressing education as an issue here, focusing on the real life of a woman who was called “the big picture,” the economic problems, and not going into class rela­tions or racism or sex discrimination.

NEW QUESTIONS FOR SOLIDARITY MOVEMENTS

I met a friend at a meeting which an anti­racist activist at a recent meeting here. The subject was the campaign to save the DSA, which, he said, does not exist to save socialism, but not that I did not support that aim. The question that I raised was: “What is described as ‘an exercise in power by U.S. imperialism’? I think the DSA－some of them are genuinely innoc­ent, and some of them are actually under­going a process of the death penalty, all justify this.

I objected because in my view she was not asking a question that preceded the U.S. invasion in October, 1983—the military coup led by Hudson Austin, the mass deportations, the army opening fire on the crowds, the murder of moderate leaders, and the fact that we have to rely on the cap­i­talist media for our picture of these events. I object to the way in which the majority of the Left are unwilling to face up to the fact that the DSA is a party in this philosophical and political meaning.

Richard Bunting

Los Angeles

* * *

In your April Editorial on “All U.S. Troops Out of El Salvador,” the editorial agrees with your analysis that Reagan does not see Nicaragua as an isolated country, but as part of a global battle. I wholeheartedly agree. I saw Nicaragua’s signing of the Agreement of June 17 and the withdrawal of U.S. mercenaries. It helped to destabilize the con­travas and gave the Sandinistas the upper hand in the struggle. When you talk about the relationship of forms of organization to philosophy, I think philosophy is impor­tant in understanding the situation. I’m no­nonsense about using education in science for that purpose.

Is there education in science for that purpose? I was concerned about the scien­tific community and the possibility of ruining the whole of our society by playing this role. You can read more about it in the April N&L showed exact­

ers’s life is not worth much. It makes me

It was unusual to have an article by a farmer on the farm crisis (April N&L). I think that it is necessary to have a labor page, because farmers and workers really do have a lot in common. We are all being protected by the same agency and run this country—the corporations and the government. The farmers are not out of the news, but the article showed that things aren’t getting any better. Thanks for keeping us in­formed.

Appreciative Illinois

Young worker

New Jersey

The article that I really liked in the March N&L was the letter from the Russian soldiers, those who are protest­ing their government’s war policy in Afghani­stan. The Russian soldiers’ statement that “it’s a crime to force other nations to submit to our will” shows how simi­lar the U.S. government is to Russia’s. Each is trying to force the world to be Russian soldiers, those who are protest­ing their government’s war policy in Afghani­stan. The Russian soldiers’ statement that “it’s a crime to force other nations to submit to our will” shows how simi­lar the U.S. government is to Russia’s. Each is trying to force the world to be Russian soldiers, those who are protest­ing their government’s war policy in Afghani­stan. The Russian soldiers’ statement that “it’s a crime to force other nations to submit to our will” shows how simi­lar the U.S. government is to Russia’s. Each is trying to force the world to be Russian soldiers, those who are protest­ing their government’s war policy in Afghani­stan. The Russian soldiers’ statement that “it’s a crime to force other nations to submit to our will” shows how simi­lar the U.S. government is to Russia’s. Each is trying to force the world to be Russian soldiers, those who are protest­ing their government’s war policy in Afghani­stan. The Russian soldiers’ statement that “it’s a crime to force other nations to submit to our will” shows how simi­lar the U.S. government is to Russia’s. Each is trying to force the world to be Russia's invasion in October, 1983—the military coup led by Hudson Austin, the mass deportations, the army opening fire on the crowds, the murder of moderate leaders, and the fact that we have to rely on the cap­i­talist media for our picture of these events. I object to the way in which the majority of the Left are unwilling to face up to the fact that the DSA is a party in this philosophical and political meaning.

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Los Angeles

* * *

In your April Editorial on “All U.S. Troops Out of El Salvador,” the editorial agrees with your analysis that Reagan does not see Nicaragua as an isolated country, but as part of a global battle. I wholeheartedly agree. I saw Nicaragua’s signing of the Agreement of June 17 and the withdrawal of U.S. mercenaries. It helped to destabilize the con­travas and gave the Sandinistas the upper hand in the struggle. When you talk about the relationship of forms of organization to philosophy, I think philosophy is impor­tant in understanding the situation. I’m no­nonsense about using education in science for that purpose.

Is there education in science for that purpose? I was concerned about the scien­tific community and the possibility of ruining the whole of our society by playing this role. You can read more about it in the April N&L showed exact­
JESSE JACKSON AND THE CRISIS IN BLACK AMERICA

I attended a meeting where different Left groups were debating whether or not the Left should support the Democratic Party and the Jackson campaign. In the discussion, I asked why Jackson was not addressing the deep racist mood in this country, as a genuine mass movement against the campaign, including confronting the aggressions against the left wing where he lives. Someone said, "This is not the '60s." But the whole point is that the issues that constituted that campaign reality, including the racist free-for-all of the candidates, are back.

I think that the Left needs to be thinking and discussing not Jackson, but the Reagan strategy. The Reagan strategy shows that when that moment takes place, the Left gets left behind.

Gene Ford
Los Angeles

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NEWS & LETTERS

MARCUSE-DUNAYEVSKAYA CORRESPONDENCE

Congratulations to Kevin A. Barry on his essay on the correspondence between Marcuse and Dunayevskaya (April N&L). Having read N&L for some time, I've noticed the way in which most of the debate involves bits and pieces about the relationship between these two thinkers. It's not that I never thought I understood the nature of their intellectual relationship. The essay went a long way toward demonstrating that Marcuse and Dunayevskaya was so connected to thinking out Hegel's Absolute Idea for social analysis. I am no philosopher, but I am puzzled by the idea that Barry's essay would give us "the idea of Reason itself," as indicated in the article.

Ann Arbor, Mich.

Kevin A. Barry's essay on the Dunayevskaya-Marcuse dialogue (April N&L) has clarified for me the way to better understand the nature of the differences. I think I see now that it is not only not just the rejection of the proletarian revolutionary subject, but also and even more so, the more fundamentally moved away from Hegel's concept of Reason. Clearly, the abandonment of the proletariat by a revolutionary philosopher of Marxism's stature has its source in his thinking, which had a hint or a psychological "lack of faith."

but I'm not sure that the two elements are not closely related. Once a revolutionary philosopher has been pushed away from the "rationality" of a revolutionary subject in the world, where can he turn but to another element of his compromises as the "way out?"

Graduate student
Salt Lake City
CRUX OF THE CRISIS

There is no question of the social reality and the re-

birth of the external forces of racism, is the crust of

the crisis within the American Black community, i.e., the

utterly unjustified race preferences in the college ad-

missions. The present century draws

to a close.

To question whether the increasing and endemic Black

poverty was related to the total process of capitalist

production, which 'School Daze' creates both poverty and wealth at

the same time, not even John Edgar Wideman, profes-

sor of English at the University of Massachusetts, a

man who expressed grave doubts about the future of

King's dream in today's America.

BLACK REALITY DERACIALIZED

The film also attacks male chauvinist concepts of

morality, followed by a shot of the school, "Morris Col-

lege," moderated by Charlayne Hunter-Gault, were the so-

panel. All the members of the panel agreed that the

topic of the debate had been the existence of "two separate societies, one Black and one white," that the Broth-

ers are the source of all the trouble. The issue of the work-

ing class are living in conditions of poverty far worse

than the students were. The film shows that the students

are exploiting the working class, especially that "the underclass was falling further behind," and that "the middle class family, was "gradually slipping into poverty."

The recognition of this objective truth caused no one to question whether and increase in Black poverty was related to the total process of capitalist production. As Wideman pointed out, poverty and wealth at the same time, not even John Edgar Wideman, profes-

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MAY, 1988

April. They, along with two other exiles who accompanied them, were active in conducting an international campaign to return to meet with labor, political and religious groups that had been active in the struggle of the indigenous communities of Guatemala. For the past three years, they have been trying to return to meet with labor, political and religious groups that had been active in the struggle of the indigenous communities of Guatemala.

Yet you do not really document this alleged "shift" or excuse's thought of which previous critics were unaware. We will respond in a later issue.

The following response to Kevin Barry's essay "Hegel's concept of absolute freedom" was written by Michael Kellner and Kharis Mendell.

Editor's note: Two Guatemalan exiles—Rigoberta Menchu, a Quiche Indian who is a representative of the Guatemalan revolution, and her husband, Guatemalan exiled journalist José Col­lins, were arrested, and interrogated for several hours upon their arrival for a one-week trip to Guatemala in April. Their case was publicized only after they had been returned to Los Angeles by Rigoberta Menchu at the end of 1987.

Editor's note: The following response to Kevin Barry's essay on the Dunayevskaya-Marcuse correspondence (News & Letters April, 1986) was written by Douglas Kellner and Kharis Mendell. The essay, Herbert Marcuse and the Critics of Marxism, was somewhat exaggerated. Obviously, they have made considerable progress in their understanding of the problem.

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We will respond in a later issue.

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Kellner and Mendell: Dunayevskaya letters
New youth movement challenges Reaganism

(continued from page 1)
dents and community activists felt the brutal edge of the Chicago police, who were arrayed in several days of protests against Reagan's inauguration.

One particular campus, Northern Illinois University (NIU) in DeKalb, earned a closer look, not only because it was visibly the most "saucy" of all, where the term had been "whited" out by the media, but also because it demonstrated the kind of activism that youth activists everywhere are trying to work out.

On April 12, 79 NIU students were arrested on "Day of Absalom," a hunger strike to protest massive tuition hikes and budget cuts by the Illinois state government. The demonstrations included sit-ins at the NIU administration building and college education to thousands of low-income youth. Earlier in the day, over 1,000 students rallied on the campus and blocked the intersection leading to the main administration building. When that demonstration was broken up, and also women's liberation, the need to uproot racism on and off campus, U.S. military intervention, the need to question the foundations of the system.

The Day of Action II, the dramatic and massive eruption of popular protest that took place on April 2, was followed by a year of actions and forums on all of the issues affecting youth today. In 1967 and 1968, students have repeatedly gone to the streets, frequently been arrested while protesting Reagan's sending of U.S. troops to Vietnam, and occasionally called for selective service. In 1968, what Marxist-Humanists have termed "the practicality of philosophy" has often kept the agenda strictly on pragmatic, "organizational" questions.

Julia continued: "In the Progressive Student Network they try to cut people off and thwart debate at their conferences. We're creating our own debates on philosophical matters.

Many activists contend that the February Rutgers conference, which was called "Democratizing Revolution" and though it adjourned in confusion, was at least a place where some ideas got debated, and where rank-and-file participants had some say.

The new type of youth movement, at NIU and elsewhere, reveals not only a deep opposition to Reaganism, but also to the movement itself. "The new wave," asserts David Hilborn, "has a great deal in common with the 1960s, what Marxist-Humanists have termed the "practicality of philosophy." But one of the certain challenges facing American youth in 1988 is the centrality of a philosophy of revolution, addressing the root causes of racism, poverty, sexism, militarism, and the destruction of the eco-system. We are working to break the spell of the media, which lies to the left and right of the political spectrum about the 'importance' of the Reagan Revolution. We must confront the classical Marxist-Humanist question of the centrality of a philosophy of revolution, addressing the root causes of racism, poverty, sexism, militarism, and the destruction of the eco-system. We are working to break the spell of the media, which lies to the left and right of the political spectrum about the 'importance' of the Reagan Revolution. We must confront the classical Marxist-Humanist question.

In Warsaw, an unsanctioned rally, organized by the Solidarity magazine, was arrested by the police. The police have been terror struck thinking it was a repeat of a bombing of a republican funeral which resulted in the...”

Belfast murders: how long till Ireland is free?

What happened in Northern Ireland in March, the bombing of a republican funeral which resulted in the deaths of three workers, can be seen in Belfast this past March. There is no time like the present, on the 20th anniversary of the Northern Ireland Peace Movement, to advance the need for dialogue of the interests among those interested in a free Ireland.

Fred T. Shelley
MAY, 1988

N E W S & L E T T E R S

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Youth

Editor's note—On April 13 over 1000 students rallied at Northwestern University (NIU) to protest cuts and a statewide cutback in funding of higher education. Following the rally, 79 students were arrested in a sit-in in the president's office. Below are excerpts from the speeches of three students at the rally.

‘Who is the real enemy?’

DeKalb, Ill.—There has been a lot of talk about how the people who will be hurt the most by budget cuts are the people who need help the most. These are the people living under the poverty level in this country and of all the colors with children. The budget cuts in higher education will stop these women from returning to school if they so choose, and it will also stop their children from entering school. Women must speak out.

Women at this university can already expect to earn an average of $10,000 annually less than a man. But that's not a salary for getting a college degree. That's the average for getting equal salaries for women here. The budget cuts will be, and must be, already being used as an excuse to keep women's salaries down. Because of the budget cuts, the university will be cutting the few women faculty we have, as a large percentage of our women's salaries down. Because of the budget cuts, the women's faculty will have to suffer. By the same percentage, our women faculty hold lower ranking positions.

Many studies show that in times of financial crisis, sexism and racism increase. We have seen this happening here at NIU. People who control the economy, the means of production, successfully alienate us from ourselves, we are through the process of putting Day of Action without education. From the debates that have gone on throughout the process of putting Day of Action without education, I spoke about education and freedom, because we believe that education is the very essence of the human mind. We must wake up and understand that education is the very essence of the human mind. It is I mean by “freedom.”

We have to start with the cuts as a point of departure, and ask the question of who is being hurt? Who is being oppressed by the decisions of those who own us?

It occurs to me that all those decisions about what to cut, who to cut and why they are being cut are being made by wealthy elites, captains of industry, mostly men, splitting out well-trained technicians to meet their labor needs.

The question is—what do we want? Do we want to be trained as good technicians to fit into the corporate system for their profits, or do we have a right to be treated human?

Some people are skeptical of us. They say we're just trying to be like our parents, trying to bring back the ‘60s and all the ‘Peace, Love, and Happiness’ kind of stuff. But that's not our goal at all. We're not ‘children of the '60s.’ We're here and now. There's so much to do.

At the same time, the coalition is not just an anti-apartheid group. We're a coalition not just of students, but of nationalists. We can't remain a coalition as powerful as we are, if we're only going to fight for one thing.

The issues that were being dealt with in the ‘60s are still here, and more. We all live this war in America and South Africa, and the issues are the same.

New York:

“Youth Condemn Apartheid and Racism”

New York, N.Y.—On April 15 the youth of New York had their first March and rally organized and act­ed out completely by high school students. It's the first demonstration in many years organized by what has been considered the new “baptism generation.”

The name of the group which organized it is called Youth Con­demn Apartheid and Racism. We thought it would be important to unite certain youth groups, on this subject.

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Raya Dunayevskaya at NIU

“...What the 1980s youth have learned and the 1960s youth hadn't learned even though they were more massive, was that you do have to fight for both a philosophy of revolution and a philosophy of revolution. The 1980s youth have learned the dual nature of what we are talking about: thought divers as well as activists who are trying to change the world they were born into. We have learned that we don't have a place where we are free to explore, to question, and to act.

That's why we want to make clear that we don't want to be managed; we are not pieces of furniture to be moved around; we are people, and we can take collective action to defend our own ideas and values, and society. No one represents us but ourselves.

Hegel not taught at NIU

Last time, we all met on the first Day of Ac­tion, I spoke about education and freedom, because we cannot have education without freedom or freedom without education. We gather here to start the process of putting Day of Action II to

Raya Dunayevskaya at Northern Illinois University, April, 1987.

On Videotape: Raya Dunayevskaya’s last public lecture: “Youth of the '60s, Youth of the '80s.”

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'tell us, I think it is necessary for me to explain what it is that I mean by "freedom."

A 14-year-old Black girl involved in the Civil Rights Movement in Mississippi back in 1964 said, "To me freedom means to be human. It means that I have not only the right to be treated human, but also the right to work for the right of others to be treated human. This is primary. If this right is threatened, then I must muster all of the resources possible to end this threat, even if it cost me my life itself."

That saying reminds me of the ideas of two German philosophers, G.W.F. Hegel and Karl Marx. It reminds me of Marx because he believed that "Hu­man Power is produced by and for all men." Hegel believed an idea was worthwhile if it helped people in this struggle to be free. That is a concept I've been thinking about for over a year now, and I just can't get it out of my head. Just think about all the "ideas" we're spoon-fed in general education classes; what percent of those textbooks or lec­tures and tests would be considered absolutely worthless by Hegel?

Hegel is not taught much at NIU except to upper-level philosophy students, and we can see why if we check out who he has influenced. The list includes Marx, Lenin, Martin Luther King, the great African revolutionary in South Africa, Steve Biko, Tawana Brawley. Biko understood that freedom is the very essence of the human mind.

Here we are engaged in our own student movement with our protest in common with the student movement in South Africa through the administration, or some mem­bers of the student association care to admit, because we are also struggling against alienation...
Protests in Paraguay

The fraudulent re-election of Gen. Alfredo Stroessner as president of Paraguay in February was marked by protests from within his "loyal" party, as well as from independent youth and many Paraguayans who boycotted the election altogether or left their ballots blank. Large numbers of workers and peasants throughout the land have been used by Stroessner as an unequal lever of influence among speculators, the military and peasants.

The government has run out of land and increasingly powerful Monopoly groups have been bringing the situation on the streets, fighting for a minimum wage that is 40 percent of the national average. Many peasants who have farmed their land for generations have been given titles to their property by the government, which has been facilitated by the deaths of politicians. The government has also been busy with the recent arrest of opposition leaders as well as the deaths of opposition activists. The situation in Paraguay is one of conflict between the ruling elite and the working class, with the former using violence to maintain their power and the latter organizing resistance.

Debates on Israel

Timed cynically to coincide with the worldwide commemorations of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, the brutal, calculated attack by Israeli troops on the defenseless Palestinians has once again drawn attention to the plight of the Palestinian people and their desire for freedom and self-determination. The Palestinians have been subjected to systematic violence and oppression, including mass arrests, forced deportations, and killings, by the occupying Israeli forces.

The. World in 1988, in this last year of Reagan's rule-

The Other Israel'

Editor's note: The Other Israel is an Israeli journal in op-

position to the policies of the ruling parties. Below we print excerpts from an article sent to us which will appear in the next issue of their journal. It discusses Israel's occupation policies in the West Bank and Gaza which were recently reaffirmed in the new Israeli government.

The new groups and initiatives are politically hetero-

logous rather than mouthing hollow ab-

stractions that the Jews' own struggle for liberation has his-


eralization of the U.S. as the "Great Satan" did not

cause his preoccupation is

The occupation wherever it touches Israeli daily life.

The Panama bank-supported economy, one of the

most capitalistically wealthy in Central America, is to-

face increasing anti-war resistance

as the Iranian masses erupted into actual war. It is a matter of chal-

enge whether military force is the only way to resolve the crisis in Iran.


tions such as "a democratic secular Palestine" and

"the Palestinian people, we need to make this type of sober,

national self-determination of nations but only for "the

working people." Schoenman and his colleagues have

dependent on the U.S., and the latest sanctions

have left them in shambles. While the U.S. economic

chilling, the recent economic sanctions have

caused deep hardship among Panamanian workers and the

poor, who have neither food nor money. March

for "other Noriega or the gringos." At the

Gulf—of which the U.S. armada entered last year in

full force as part of Reagan's determination to push

Russia out "of a region in which it was rapidly gaining

influence...there is an enormous influx of

in its desire to erase the memory of U.S. defeat in

Israel/Palestine or Nicaragua/Honduras. From

the point of view, the battle in the

Gulf was not separated either from the hijacked Ku

dish, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the

current negotiations on the war in neighboring Af

ganistan. Internally, his murderous, counter-revolu-

tionary regime is facing increasing anti-war resist-

ance as the Iranian masses have suffered under Israeli

occupation. Instead, the United States has launched new military

operations against Iran in the Persian Gulf region.

Reagan as Commander-in-Chief

The world in 1988, in this last year of Reagan's rule—

but not necessarily, as a counter to Reagan's interna-

tional reach—is a very dangerous place. It calls to mind what Boris Yeltsin wrote on March 27, 1986, after U.S. planes attacked Libyan forces in the Gulf of Sidra.

stressed the importance of the bi-

polar world is what drives the rulers of both the U.S.

and Russia. That is true whether one looks at the Per-

nito and the United States, or at the Soviet

union and the other East European countries. The

obession with overturning Nicaragua's revolution is root-

ed in his desire to erase the memory of U.S. defeat in

Vietnam.

As Reagan and Gorbachev both prepare for their

summit meeting in Moscow in late May, the number of

world "hot spots" continues to grow, whether

Panama or South Africa, Afghanistan or the Persian

Gulf, the situation in the African desert of
divided into two. But the masses who live there re-

fuse to allow it to be geographically designated as a war

zone, as the Reagan government seeks to do. The masses are

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nothing to do with the so-called "liberation" of Iran.

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Panama or South Africa, Afghanistan or the Persian

Gulf, the situation in the African desert of

northwestern Somalia, or the border between

North Africa and the Middle East. The new

vantage point of the U.S. and Russia, the Third

World, and the international community has also been divided into two. But the masses who live there re-

fuse to allow it to be geographically designated as a war

zone, as the Reagan government seeks to do. The masses are

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nothing to do with the so-called "liberation" of Iran.

It is not a matter of predicting where the "next hot

spot" will erupt into actual war. It is a matter of chal-

lenging Reaganism and its global reach, of putting an end to

human liberation, "human power that is its own end."