

# Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

Vol. 33 — No. 5

JUNE, 1988

25¢

## Labor struggles in U.S., Poland



by John Marcotte

The Polish workers have once again reminded us how universal is the struggle and the desire of working people under capitalism to be free. Just as in 1980 when workers the world over recognized the word "solidar-nosc," the May 1988 sit-in strikes of the Polish steel and shipyard workers give encouragement to labor everywhere.

The Polish workers were striking against concessions. Concessions there are in the form of high inflation with frozen wages, resulting in the same drastic lowering of workers' conditions of life and labor as the 1980s have brought us here. They did win substantial wage increases with these strikes.

There have continued to be plenty of labor struggles here too. For example, the 3,400 International Paper workers on strike or locked out at four mills since March and June of last year have caravans of workers speaking to other rank-and-filers across the country. In one month alone, strikers from the Mobile, Ala. mill visited other paper mill towns in Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas and Alabama.

### RANK-AND-FILE OPPOSES CONCESSIONS

The Teamster parasites from President Jackie Presser on down have had their hands full trying to ram sell-out contracts down the members' throats. First the car-haulers rejected their contract by 81%. Then UPS drivers rejected theirs by 53%. They still had it forced on them, but that fight's not over. Now the 200,000 freight Teamsters have made it clear enough to the union higher-ups that they're dead serious about fighting the concessions they had to accept in 1985. The officers of at least 41 freight locals opposed the National Master Freight Agreement. Mail ballots went out to the rank-and-file April 15.

There are many more struggles going on right now. The Northwest flight attendants formed "Flight

(continued on page 3)

### Black World

## Black anti-Semitic disorder



by Lou Turner

There are reasons why Black anti-Semitism that had remained out of "public" sight suddenly appears full-blown in a city like Chicago. When the worsening degradation of Black inner-city life exhausts the rhetoric of political reform, the intellectual disorder of narrow Black nationalism comes home to roost on such reactionary ground. So it happened in early May when it was reported that a Black aide to Mayor Eugene Sawyer—Steve Cokely—had for two years been making anti-Semitic public speeches at the Southside headquarters of Black Muslim leader Louis Farrakhan.

The stage had already been set by the outrages of New York Mayor Ed Koch who exhorted Jews not to vote for Jesse Jackson in the New York primary. And Louis Farrakhan's appearance at the University of Pennsylvania before the Pennsylvania primary also pointed to the national context in which the Cokely affair would become entwined.

### SAWYER'S TWO-YEAR STONEWALL

But we must begin at the beginning, and that is not when the story broke in early May, nor four weeks prior when Jewish groups such as the Anti-Defamation League confronted Mayor Sawyer with a partial transcript of Cokely's anti-Semitic speeches. We have to go back to 1985 when Alderman Sawyer first hired Cokely as a researcher for the City Council's powerful Rules Committee which Sawyer chaired, a post given to Cokely after another alderman had just fired him for making similar public statements. In the four taped speeches made between August, 1985 and November, 1987—the period when he was a researcher for Ald. Sawyer—Cokely is described by Farrakhan's followers as "a source of information for Minister Farrakhan and for the opinion-shapers and thought-makers of the Nation of Islam." It was in that same year, 1985, that Farrakhan gained national exposure for his anti-Semitic ravings, in the wake of Jesse Jackson's presidential bid.

(continued on page 10)

## In-person report

# Czechoslovakia 1988: no Prague Spring

by X

co-author of Czechoslovakia:  
Revolution and Counter-revolution

*Prague, Czechoslovakia*—No second Prague Spring is in the offing, certainly not for a long time, I am sure. Not only is what is called "economic reform" progressing very slowly and piecemeal, but what is more important, the so-called "democratization" is only being "considered."

In spite of the stress put on the word, "revolutionary," in connection with "reconstruction" (perestroika), no change of such dimensions that could point towards

## Harry McShane: Fighter, Thinker, Marxist-Humanist



1891 - 1988

The 97 years of Harry McShane's extraordinary life personified not only a near-century of the highest points of British labor struggle, but the powerful internationalism of Marxist-Humanism, and the indomitability of the human Spirit out to end the separation of mental and manual labor and bring a new world into being in our lifetime.

**HIS LIFE HAD** already become a "chronicle" before he met Marxist-Humanism. Out of his poor Irish-Catholic childhood in Glasgow, he joined the socialist movement in 1908—when the first mass demonstrations about the unemployed erupted in Scotland and were followed by a strike wave in 1910. He was so passionate about his anti-war convictions that when World War I broke out in 1914 he actually joined the army in order to agitate among the soldiers, later deserting to continue his work. Before the Irish Rising of 1916, he had received a letter from James Connolly inviting him to Ireland and was prepared to go but never made it. With the depression of 1920 he began a concentration on the organization of the unemployed that made his name synonymous with the massive demonstrations of the '20s and the Hunger Marches of the '30s. It was in just such a period of intense activity that he joined the Communist Party in 1922—eventually becoming nothing less than the Scottish editor of the *Daily Worker*.

But it was his break with the Communist Party that began a whole new life for Harry McShane.

Harry was already in his sixties when he broke completely with Communism masking itself as Marxism and began searching for a new road. What he found was a whole new vision of Marxist-Humanism as the philosophy of revolution for our age. He met the founder of that philosophy, Raya Dunayevskaya, in her book, *Marxism and Freedom*, before he met her in person the year after it was published. He fell in love with her chapters on Marx's *Capital*. This revolutionary who had been teaching *Capital* to other workers for nearly half a century suddenly saw, as he put it, "that there is more in Marx's *Capital* than economics," that it was philosophy.

In her own summation of *25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.* as the decade of the 1980s began, Raya looked at what had become a "History of World-wide Revolutionary Developments" and pinpointed that first meeting with Harry, as new theoretical and practical foundations were being laid and new international

(continued on page 4)

more democracy can be expected here. In other words, no real freedom is envisaged, not in everyday life that is. While the "political" situation is very different in Poland and to some degree in Hungary, no breakthrough ever happened in this respect in any East European country.

### THE OMINOUS NUMBER EIGHT

Dates ending with the number eight seem to be of ominous significance in Czechoslovakian history. In 1618 the battle on Prague's White Mountain meant the loss of independence and a three centuries long subjugation under Habsburg rule. Only in 1918 was independence regained, to be lost anew in 1938 under the Munich agreement.

In 1948 the Communists took over. It was only in 1968 when hope emerged that socialism could also have "a human face." It was no wonder, then, for some people to hope once again that the change in the Communist Party's (CP) secretary general, from

*Polish strikes, Marxist-Humanism's relation to 35 years of East European revolts, see pages 8, 9.*

Gustav Husak to Milos Jakes last December, might pave the way to another promising eight in 1988.

However, the well entrenched leadership of the ruling CP is resolutely opposed to really deep changes—most of all to any genuine democratization which it is now talking about in public. The reason is clear. With barely two exceptions, the top posts are manned with the same people that Soviet "help" catapulted to power in 1968—though Czech and Slovak people were never told who "invited" the Soviets at the time. Should the myth that they prevented a "counter-revolution" falter they would not have the slightest pretext to hold onto their power.

Milos Jakes, the new secretary general, is but one of those figures. Perhaps, by chance, he was one of those ten top party leaders who were still sitting in the CP headquarters in the early hours of Aug. 21, 1968 when the building was being surrounded by Soviet troops.

However, there was no chance that Jakes, then the chairman of the party's Central Control and Revision Commission, was among those who were dragged out of their rooms by brotherly soldiers and flown to Moscow to be brought to trial as "traitors of international communism." It had been Jakes' Commission which, in the Spring of 1968, returned party cards to critical writers who were excluded from the CP because of their stance at the 1967 writers' congress. And it was the same Jakes who chaired the Commission when it purged the party after the new leadership, installed with Soviet help, felt secure in their position following April, 1969.

### PURGED INTELLECTUAL ELITE

Hundreds of thousands of CP members accused of "betrayal of socialist principles" during the Prague Spring were excluded from the party. For thousands of honest officials—as well as dozens of writers, painters, actors, film and theater directors, journalists and other intellectuals—the exclusion meant the loss of any possibility of working in their profession—for most of them, for life. There is no hope for them as long as the present leaders remain in power.

This intellectual elite is missing now and a critical mind is one of the most absent features of public discussions. The only places they can speak their minds are the unofficial, underground "samizdat" publications.

Of the two giant reforms the society and state in today's Czechoslovakia have to master—reform of the political structure and reform of the economy—"democratization" (in official phraseology) is, of course, the more important. Though both reforms are naturally intertwined, we treat them separately if only because the economic reform is taking shape, albeit very, very slowly, while hardly any sign (general admonitions excluded) can be seen of "democratization."

(continued on page 8)

## On the Inside

From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya:  
Theory's relation to philosophy . . . . . p. 4

Labor p. 3; Women's Liberation p. 2; Youth p. 11; Black Dimension, p. 10.

Essay article: "Towards philosophic new beginnings in Marxist-Humanism" by Peter Wermuth . . . . . p.5

## South African women and Soweto Day

by Terry Moon

This month of June has taken on special meaning for those fighting for freedom in South Africa. That is so because of what happened on June 16, 1976: Soweto. It was seven in the morning and over 15,000 Black youth were peacefully walking to the Orlando soccer field. The march was part of continuing protests against the imposition of the oppressor language, Afrikaans, as the medium of instruction in their schools.

Without warning or orders to disperse, the police attacked, throwing tear gas into the crowd of singing school children. Then they began shooting. Four children fell. Before the months-long rebellion begun that day in Soweto was over, more than 600 Black students had been murdered by the police.

### WOMEN MAKE UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION

As in every freedom struggle, women were not only a part of the Soweto demonstrations, they as well made their own unique contribution. Listen to Sibongile Mthembu, who was 20 years old and still in school in Soweto in June, 1976:

"I was hostile to learning Afrikaans—not as a language but as a medium of instruction... There was a three-day stayaway being staged, and I was arrested on the second day at my sister's place. They didn't ask me any questions—when they came they were already hostile. They were armed as if they were going to capture a soldier, they had rifles..."

"I was bothered too, by a society that seemed more made for men than women—and in our society a man is traditionally higher than a woman. I used to question this as a child; I used to think, am I mentally retarded compared with him? Then as I grew up I realized it wasn't only a traditional thing—it was actually in law that we as women are discriminated against..."

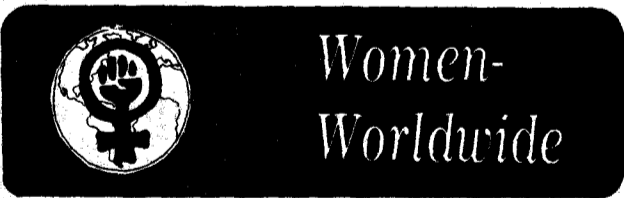
When the youth again called for a strike in August of 1976, it became the greatest strike up to that time in the history of South Africa, and here too the women deepened the struggle. "The women, especially those in the garment and food canning industries, were numbered among the most militant. The Cape clothing industry, which employs 50,000 workers—90% of them women—was completely shut down in the general strike. And white housewives were seen scrubbing their own floors for the first time in their lives when Black maids failed to report to work..."

Within the labor movement, women fight on two fronts—against South Africa's oppressive rulers and for women's specific demands, outside as well as within the movement. The founder of the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) Women's Association explained in 1986 why she was compelled to form that organization: "I joined the SAAWU and worked for it in an office job as a trade union member. I realized that the discrimination is still continuing. They did not care whether I worked hard or not, the only thing they were always saying is: in a struggle there is no woman..."

"I decided to form a SAAWU Women's Association Group. This is where I am now, relying on women..." (See N&L, January-February 1986.)

### NEW BANNINGS WON'T STOP WOMEN

In June, 1988 women are fighting for their freedom on every front—especially against the new bannings that aim to smother women's creative struggle and try to stop anti-apartheid organizations from engaging in "any activity whatsoever" (see N&L, April, 1988). Thus under the bannings the government is attempting to break the rent strikes, mostly organized and maintained by women, that have been ongoing for over two years with



Women-  
Worldwide

Carrying signs stating: "Rape is Every Woman's Nightmare" and "Rape is no Game," 300 people rallied on the Indiana University Campus, May 1, protesting basketball coach Bobby Knight's televised comments on rape and demanding that rape awareness workshops be made mandatory for athletic teams. In a national TV program on stress, Knight said: "I think that if rape is inevitable, relax and enjoy it." In Chicago, the Sexual Assault Task Force picketed NBC asking the network to apologize for not deleting the remark from the taped program, and that they air a program on the trauma of sexual assault.

Every Friday afternoon in three Israeli cities, as many as 150 women dressed in black picket under the slogan "Down With the Occupation!" "The Women in Black" demonstrate in front of weekend traffic jams in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa.

Information from Outwrite

"The reason you need a union that you have a right to have control over how policy is made on the job." Thus spoke union organizers Kristine Rondeau and Marie Manna to clerical and technical workers at Harvard University who won union recognition May 17 for the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees after a year long struggle. The victory of over 3,000 workers helped destroy the myth that clerical workers are "too loyal to employers and too fearful of losing their jobs" to be organized.

300,000 Black house-holders in 38 Black townships participating.

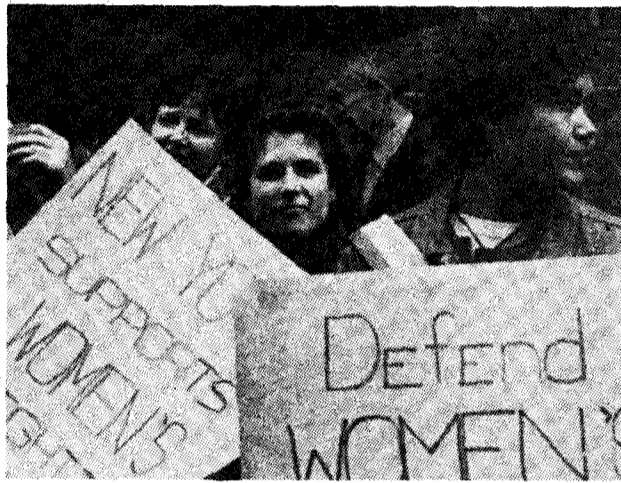
Thus the Detainees Parents Support Committee, made up mostly of women, who publicized and helped free some of the 10,000 children jailed and tortured by the Botha regime, is now banned. Yet they will find a way to continue their work.

There is no question that this Soweto Day, June 16, will be commemorated, just as June 12, 1988, the second anniversary of the state of emergency, will be protested. We feel in the deepest solidarity with our sisters and brothers in South Africa. It is not only that apartheid must be destroyed if freedom is to become a reality; it is as well the creativity that the South African women, children and men are developing that can create one more path to freedom for all of us.

\*We Make Freedom: Women in South Africa by Beata Lipman (Pandora Press: London, 1984), p. 97.

\*\*Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought by Lou Turner and John Alan (News & Letters, Chicago, 1986), p. 18.

## New York marchers defend abortion rights



Pro-choice demonstrators doing clinic defense in front of a doctor's office in Manhattan.

New York, N.Y.—We marched, 1,500 women and men, down Fifth Avenue April 29 in an angry protest against the arrival of 600 fanatical anti-abortionists. They came to New York for a week for what they called "Operation Rescue" aimed at shutting down abortion facilities. In the following week many of us participated in clinic defense against crowds who were blockading family planning clinics.

We kicked off the April 29 march at St. Patrick's Cathedral in a face-off with about 75 so-called "Right-to-Lifers." Our chants such as "Right to Life, your name's a lie! You don't care if women die!" filled the air, as the group swelled into the largest demonstration to defend reproductive freedom in New York in ten years. Many young women who had never been to a women's liberation march came to this one. They were joined by gay men and lesbians from the Aids Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT-UP) who were launching a week of demonstrations with a kiss-in and blockade later that night.

Marching down Fifth Avenue yelling "We will not go back!" was exhilarating, but the march also had a defensive, sobering quality. "Some of us here today marched down Fifth Avenue in 1970," is how women's liberation author Phyllis Chesler put it at the rally after the march. "Little did we know we'd be back here in 1988 to fight this attack on reproductive rights."

The anti-choice fanatics succeeded in temporarily shutting down several facilities. For example, at a doctor's office in Manhattan and a clinic in Queens, about 500 of them sat at the entrance-way of the offices, singing hymns, while the police arrested them one by one, gently placing them on stretchers in a procedure that took hours.

Meanwhile the police refused to clear a path to let medical personnel and women needing care through, and insisted that a court injunction against harassing women didn't apply to the blockade! A student who attended the clinic defense with the Pro-Choice Coalition and also blocked Sixth Avenue in the Kiss-in for gay and lesbian liberation, described how angry she was at the police treatment: "They roughed us pushing us out of the way, but were unbelievably gentle with the 'Operation Rescue' people."

These actions were resented by more than just those who protested "Operation Rescue." During the blockade on Manhattan's Upper East Side signs supporting abortion rights appeared on the fire escapes of nearby apartment buildings. At the same time as all this was going on, supposedly "pro-choice" New York Gov. Mario Cuomo excluded abortion for any reason from a new program extending Medicaid coverage to poor pregnant women and infants who have no insurance.

Many of us are asking how the women's movement can free itself from fighting on the narrow ground of the anti-abortionists' definition of life. How do we create our own ground whose object is full freedom? As the anti-abortion forces head for other cities, the broadest opposition to their concepts of unfreedom is needed. At the same time the deepest diving in thought is necessary to make the struggle into one for fully new human relations.

—Laurie Cashdan and Suzanne DeNoir

## Mexican women's union

Editor's note: Gloria Juandiego and Alicia Cervantes of the 19th September National Garment Workers Union of Mexico, on tour in the U.S. to meet other workers, spoke at the Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers Union Hall in Detroit in April about their two-year-old union. Their remarks, excerpted below, were translated by Woman-to-Woman. Donations may be sent to 19th September Movement, c/o Woman-to-Woman, P.O. Box 12322, San Antonio, TX 78212

We came together with other garment workers and got a union that is different from those which already existed. Now, we concentrate on the daily struggle for better working conditions, against the owners, the labor authorities, the established unions and our own Mexican government.

At first the owners wouldn't negotiate with us. Our own union (whose representatives had only collected dues and the owners' bribes, heretofore) said "You are illiterate women, incapable of self-leadership." When the companies discover women organizing they use speed-up, longer working days and sexual harassment against us. When the vote for the women's union comes up, the government-controlled unions bring in workers we've never seen before—armed and drugged. Women were beaten up.

Our union has 4,000 members, 1,500 of whom work under 14 collective contracts. But in the last six months three of those organized sweatshops have been closed. They had to have 24-hour guards because, if we're not compensated, we have a legal right to the machines...

Our union respects the pay rate of 10,000 pesos (\$4.75) a day; non-union shops pay only six or seven thousand pesos (\$2.50-\$3.00). Twenty or 30 women work in small rooms with no ventilation, poor light, no water, no place to eat and no bathroom. They give you one-week layoffs so you lose your social security and seniority, especially the older workers.

Our union has locals in the factories, Regional Councils, and a Congress whose authority comes from the decision of the whole membership in a majority vote. Our leaders have to accept the rank and file, and are monitored by the Honor and Justice Committee. If a leader is arrogant she must leave her position. The women really know the contract clauses and go to the negotiations. That is democracy. Many women in our union have had to leave our homes, our spouses. But we help each other out. We speak to brothers, husbands and fathers.

A signature on the contract is not enough; the daily struggle ensures its respect. If the owners don't cooperate, we practice "turtleism" (slowdowns)—since we know the machines so well, we can loosen screws, mix up parts. If there are no results, we call a work stoppage.

As women we have a commitment to our class and the women of our country to change the working conditions. The Mexican Revolution remained bourgeois—another one is needed.

## Pakistani women fight deadly new law

In Pakistan there has been a 100% increase in the number of women jailed since 1982 as a result of a new law, the Haddood Ordinance. This law considers sex outside marriage a serious offense liable for the heaviest punishments including death by stoning.

• The world gasped in horror when in 1983 the rape of 18-year-old Safia Bibi by her landlord and his son was categorized by the court as Zina (adultery) by her! Zina is defined as any sexual act between two adults who are not married. The pregnant victim was sentenced to 15 lashes and three years imprisonment.

• Shahida Parveen was divorced by her husband in front of a magistrate, but the husband did not register the divorce at the local council office as the new law requires. When Parveen remarried, her first husband showed up and reclaimed her. Her second marriage was not legally recognized and she is now in jail on charges of Zina awaiting her punishment which is death by stoning.

According to the new regulations, a man can file a First Information Report (FIR) with the police alleging his wife or daughter left with another man. So if a husband assaults his wife and she takes refuge at the neighbor's house, as is often the case, he can then file a FIR. Once she is arrested and sent to jail she needs to plead to the same father or husband to bail her out as she can almost never afford the exorbitant bail of \$1,000 to \$1,500.

• Fifty-five-year-old Ghulam Sakina was bailed out by her husband after false charges against her led to her arrest. But when her husband got a lover and Sakina protested, she found herself back in jail as her husband cancelled her bail. "This was nothing new for my husband," Sakina insisted, "He is always bringing women home. This time the difference was that he could avoid arguments with me by cancelling my bail."

In Pakistan, 20 women's groups have formed a committee to repeal the Haddood Ordinance and held a public meeting where they issued a petition titled: "Should Barbarity be Sanctioned by Law?" Women Living Under Muslim Law has also begun a campaign to release these jailed women and end this inhuman law. For more information contact: Women Living Under Muslim Law, 34980 Combaillaux, Montpellier, France.

—Neda

## On the job: explosions, fires, injuries

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

In just one week in early May all this happened: an explosion in a rocket fuel plant in Henderson, Nev. killed two people; an explosion at an oil refinery in Louisiana left seven workers dead; an explosion and toxic chemical fire at a paper plant in Roaring Spring, Pa. forced 2,000 people to flee their homes; and a fire at the largest skyscraper in downtown Los Angeles broke out late at night and killed one maintenance worker. All this made me think about how unsafe workers' lives are in this capitalist system.

At the Pacific Engineering and Production Co. plant in Henderson, Nev., workers had complained about safety problems for years before the blast. An inspector from the United Steelworkers of America, the union which represents the workers, had toured the plant a few years back, and at that time had written: "I cannot understand how this plant has not been blown off the face of the earth, given the product it manufactures. It is apparent that the management is more concerned with production than they are with safety and health." He cited poor maintenance and electrical wiring, and union officials said that some of the problems he discussed in that report were never corrected.

There are no state or federal safety standards that regulate work with ammonium perchlorate, the solid rocket fuel manufactured at the Pacific Engineering plant, although it is one of the most explosive and dangerous substances in the defense and space industry. But even where there are "regulations," they are often so little enforced that it doesn't help workers at all.

### SAFETY INSPECTIONS ARE A JOKE

Remember the chemical leak at the Union Carbide plant in Bhopal, India, where more than 2,000 people lost their lives, and 200,000 were injured? The workers had been reporting unsafe conditions in that plant for years. Then, after that horrible "accident," the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) in the U.S. inspected Union Carbide's plant in Institute, W. Va. and reported that it was safe.

But a few months later, in August 1985, a cloud of aldicarb oxine escaped from that plant. Six workers and 120 residents were injured. Reagan's lackey, then-Labor Secretary William Brock, was embarrassed, so he sent OSHA in to inspect the plant a second time. This time, after the accident, the agency found all kinds of "very serious" problems.

The Pacific Engineering explosion also made me think about Karen Silkwood who was murdered because she was trying to warn the public about the unsafe conditions in the nuclear industry. I thought about her because the company she worked for, Kerr-McGee, is the

only other company besides Pacific Engineering that makes the ammonium perchlorate for solid rocket fuel.

Kerr-McGee is also located at Henderson, and at first assured the public that their plant would not resume production until the cause of the explosion was determined. Then they stunned everyone by saying that they would start up production again, even though the cause



Thanks to J.T. Nelson and the New Unionist

was not known. There was such an uproar that Kerr-McGee then said they would have their plant "inspected"—and then resume production, all within a few days!

Production, not human safety, is the priority in this capitalist system.

Look at the injuries that workers suffer daily. Just recently OSHA has proposed a \$3.1 million fine against IBP Inc., the meatpacking company, for ignoring the "serious health hazard" of "cumulative trauma disorder" that has disabled more than 600 workers in its Dakota City, Neb. plant. This is the second largest penalty ever proposed by OSHA, so you know how bad IBP must be.

This "disorder" is common in meatpacking and many other industries where the workers have to continually use hand, wrist and arm motions. Carpal tunnel syndrome is one example of this. In the body shop in the auto industry where I worked for so many years many workers were crippled by this same type of injury, a punishment workers get while they produce capital for the capitalists.

### WORKERS MUST CONTROL PRODUCTION

Under capitalism, explosions, fires, mine cave-ins, "accidents" and injuries on the job all happen because the capitalists are concerned first with their profits growing larger and larger. The Reagan Administration, for seven and a half years, has been cutting back and cutting back on OSHA and any type of workers' rights.

Right now, the Administration is preoccupying itself with "drugs," confiscating boats where the tiniest amount of marijuana has been found. Wouldn't there be more justice if the government concentrated instead on inspecting and correcting health and safety violations by the corporations?

But more than that is needed for human lives to become a priority. For this to happen, we the workers have to take control of production and run it ourselves in a human way, as total human beings.

## Roofers demand raises

Los Angeles, Cal.—At the roofing tile production plant where I work, many workers, young and old, fear we will find our last paychecks on the gate with no warning from the company or union. We are for a 60-day notice before plant closure, but that short notice is not enough.

At my job, where we produce shingles and rolls for roofs, the warehouse stays full of stock, but there are very few trucks in the yard picking up the stockpile of products. That makes our work schedule very chaotic. This is the state of capitalist production in this country, from one crisis to another crisis, so the production line runs from week to week and at times we don't know what our schedule will be from one day to the next. Sometimes we work six days per week and other times three days.

Just last year a third shift was hired in and a new machine, a dimensional shingle cutter, was added to the line to grab up more business. The company told us they spent \$50,000 on this one machine, so they couldn't afford to give us a raise at contract time and froze our contract for one year. They promised us a raise if we worked hard.

That year is now up and we want our raise, but the writing is already on the wall. The company has already cut back from three shifts to only two shifts this week—how long we don't know. Just one month ago the company bought a \$150,000 computer to weigh the paper on the line, for a "better quality" product. So we can see our raise in pay going right out the window before contract negotiations even begin.

This \$150,000 computer was a waste of money and an insult to many workers who can barely feed their families. We see how the company doesn't give a damn about workers' livelihood, but just treats us like a machine. They can switch us on for production one day, then off the next. They act as if we are worth less than a machine. More like a dog, but even a dog has to have food to eat and some form of shelter in which to sleep.

We are treated nothing close to human. We should demand our rights as workers and producers of everything of value in this country. It's time the company paid some back dues. But that will happen only when this country hears the voice of labor nationwide, a million strong. We need to recognize our own labor power as workers.

—Eugene Ford

## Pollution for a paycheck

Los Angeles, Cal.—I work at a plant that recycles industrial chemicals and has a permit to store hazardous waste. I'm a truck driver, but sometimes on Saturdays and Sundays I work consolidating the solid wastes, paint solids and chlorinated solvents, among others.

I put these into 55-gallon drums to be sent off to another plant to be burned. But often I don't know what I'm handling. The salespeople who get the wastes are paid on commission, and they take wastes without classifying or sampling them. On a hot day, the solid or sludge waste gets hot and evaporates and goes into the air, into my lungs.

I look up at the steam coming out of the 1,000-gallon tank. This is the tank into which we pump rain water that has fallen onto company property and is contaminated by chemical spills or water that has other chemical residues in it. The company says it's okay to boil this off into the air.

One time, a fellow worker was filling up a 10,000 gallon tank with chemicals, and something broke and he lost 1,300 gallons. It just went down the drain—down the drain!

I think about my kids—and your kids—and what a working person has to do to live and raise their kids. I'm working for a company that pays me money so I can put food on the table, a roof over our heads, and clothes on our backs. I'm part of polluting the air and the water—and myself—because I need a paycheck. It tears me up. This pollution is for the profit of the company. That profit comes from live human beings, the living labor.

—Young worker

## Speed-up at Eckrich

Editor's note: The Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) on May 11 fined IPB Inc., the nation's largest meatpacking company, for an epidemic of worker injuries caused by repeated hand, arm and wrist motions at its Dakota City, Neb. plant. OSHA admitted that a major cause of the injuries was the speed of the production line. The story below was prompted by a discussion of this news.

Chicago, Ill.—At Eckrich we have the K.S.I., "the chain," with a continuous flow of meat hanging from it, constantly coming. We try to keep up with it. We have to keep the lines running. If we stop, the meat still comes, and then the rackers have to start racking it. If we're down for a while, then when the K.S.I. does stop, there's still more work at the end of the shift.

They usually run the chain at eight feet a minute. At one time it was only running at six feet and gradually they moved it up to six and a half, seven, seven and a half. They had to make a lot of changes on it before they got it up to that speed. That used to be one of the main issues in the plant, but it's not anymore. There are a lot of new people who don't even know that.

Everyone watches for the chain to stop. People are always looking down the chute, because the meat comes up from the first floor, to see if it's over yet. It's just that feeling that you know you're going home soon. The worst part is over when I know I'm not under the pressure of the K.S.I. and the machine.

I have had problems with my wrists, fingers, hands, and back. I wake up, usually on the weekend, with my fingers so swollen that I can't close my hands.

You always see these articles in the magazines about get rich schemes where you won't have to do any work. I don't mind working. I don't mind working hard, even, but I like to have that feeling that we did something, and not for a big corporation where you have other people controlling your life. This is not life here. This is not living.

—Eckrich worker

## Chrysler contract pits plant against plant

Detroit, Mich.—The narrow 54% vote for the Chrysler contract shows the great resentment of the Chrysler workers over a number of issues. And it's not over yet, because there could be a rash of strikes over local contracts that still have to be approved.

With Chrysler's aim of more automation and plant closings, they came up with a "special early" retirement plan. Now you don't have to have 30 years to retire, but retirement pay will be cut from the \$400 a month maximum, based on your years of work. So workers are penalized at both ends—the young ones coming in at a reduced wage scale and the older ones getting their retirement cut.

Detroit workers were very angry over the special treatment the contract gave to the Kenosha, Wisc., American Motors workers. In the past, seniority was based on the date of entry in a plant if a laid-off worker was transferred. For the Kenosha workers, management gave them full seniority to any new plant. Kenosha workers coming to the Chrysler Jefferson plant could throw workers out of their jobs, and that is a main reason the Jefferson workers turned the contract down.

One of the biggest sore points is overtime—it is still unlimited, and still forced. Workers are still on lay-off and those in the plant are forced to work six to seven days a week. This doesn't make sense to workers, but this is what they will have to live with for another two years. Management insults the workers by telling them: you don't need a pay raise, you can get your own wage increase by working overtime!

—Jefferson plant worker

## Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

Attendants for a Democratic Voice" within their Teamster local. The Oscar Mayer workers in Sherman, Texas won't accept a compressed work week. In Rocky Mount, N.C., the Schlage Lock workers had a May Day march. It was part of their fight to get severance pay and extended health and life insurance benefits from Schlage, which is shutting the plant down and moving to Mexico.

These kinds of struggles happen all over, but the rulers and their media just don't want to tell us about them. They tell us about Poland because they don't think we can see the workers there are raising the same kinds of demands and talking about the same kinds of things we are here.

### STRUGGLES FACE CONTRADICTIONS

But I think something about Poland needs discussion. I thought the mood in these strikes didn't seem like in 1980, when the joy, the excitement and the hope of something new being born were obvious. Undoubtedly, seven years of repression made the mood seem more grim and workers are trying to defend themselves against sinking deeper into misery. But I wonder if the kind of crossroads Solidarnosc had reached before the military crackdown in December, 1981 had something to do with the hesitancy this time?

That is, once Solidarnosc had ten million members, wasn't there the need for fully working out the question of where do we go now? Instead of workers' creativity, self-organization, and concrete aspirations for the future being the basis for the organization, some leaders were advocating the idea of a "self-limiting revolution." This contradiction existed before the 1981 crackdown and hasn't been worked out since.

Here in the U.S., I get the feeling that much of the left, maybe because all it has to offer is a fully state-capitalist future like Poland has, only advocates going backwards to the 1930s. You can appreciate the greatness of the CIO, but we can't move history backwards. We have lived through World War II, the H-bomb, the Black Movement, the Third World getting its independence, Automation. We have seen all kinds of revolutions ail and sour. Don't we have to begin discussing now what we are for and how worker's vision of the future is to be the basis for any genuine forward movement?

Subscribe to News & Letters

From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya

## Marxist-Humanist Archives

by Raya Dunayevskaya,  
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

*Editor's note: Raya Dunayevskaya engaged in an extensive correspondence with Harry McShane. The letter printed below was one of the first she wrote in the process of shaping what was to become Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.*

June 30, 1978

Dear Harry,

I would like to have a little theoretical discussion with you on the difference between theory and philosophy, and on the difference between a "leader" and a founder that may, at first sight, appear to be both abstract and, "geographically," far apart, but in fact is so crucial for our day when splits and sects are endless and yet no Great Divide anywhere near Lenin's Great Divide occurred so that the masses could sense a direction. Indeed, I wish to go much deeper and further than "just" a Great Divide. (I do believe we Marxist-Humanists achieved that for our age by extending state-capitalist theory to Marx's Humanism, thus catching also directly where Marx had started.) I wish also to go as far back as THE founder of all of us, ENGELS and Lenin included. Note, I include Engels of Marx's own time and place him alongside Lenin or anyone post-Marx, because it is most decisive to realize MARXISM IS MARX'S CONTINENT OF THOUGHT AND ONLY OF MARX, AND NOT OF MARX AND ENGELS.

Because there has been so much nonsense written by intellectuals against Engels as if he had "betrayed" Marx, and, the opposite side of the same coin, so much of Marx and Engels, as if it were a hyphenated name, Marx-Engels, i.e., as if it were the same, that I have early decided to keep out and stick to fundamentals: Marx. But, in fact, though none but Engels could have brought out Marx's works; and though when Marx was alive, Engels was not just some kind of secretary, but true collaborator, and always a revolutionary, it is not true that he was anywhere near Marx in original thought. Indeed, all one has to do is read the kind of letters Engels addressed to Marx when he, for the first time, was reading Vol. I of Capital in galley proofs, to see how much Engels did not know. But even that is not the real point, much less the need to know that it was Marx alone, and not Marx and Engels, who is responsible for that new continent of thought Marx first called "a new Humanism."

### MARX'S NEW CONTINENT OF THOUGHT

It is there, at its point of origin, which in methodology never changed though always was developing and becoming more profound and more concrete, at one and the same time. OK, let's begin at the beginning, at his very break with bourgeois society, at his 1844 Economic-Philosophic Essays, and even that made most specific with Man/Woman relationship telling all. Now, generally, at least since the 1960s when both the Women's Liberation Movement was born anew and so was a new generation of revolutionaries, male and female, so was the rediscovery of Marx's Essays. And yet what was not stressed in the same way was what Marx stressed, not just to expose the alienations and frustrations and exploitation of capitalist society, but in order to show HOW TOTAL A REVOLUTION WAS NEEDED. So, the key words are REVOLUTION, and TOTALITY OF THE UPROOTING, not only of capitalism which, so to speak, was "his" task, BUT ALL OF HUMANITY'S DEVELOPMENT MARX DESIGNATED AS "PRE-HISTORY."

Now, this brings me to how much lesser an original was Engels, and not only at the point of origin, but both in maturation and at the very climactic point of writing after Marx's death, and the very book socialist feminists surely have accepted as the best of all for that era: Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State. Now, compare what Engels developed so fully and the mere abstracts of Marx's notations on Lewis Henry Morgan's Ancient Society. Where, in Engels, the discovery of primitive communism—and it was among American Indians (the Iroquois especially) that all socialists were first touting to the skies as showing how great women "were," and how, before private property, you didn't degrade women either to just an appendage of a machine if in the factory, or a breeder of children and thus the next generation of workers, but "equals"—Marx, on the other hand, while saying all this, never made that total, as if all we needed is to "modernize" and primitive communism becomes the communism of the future society. Quite the contrary. He showed that even in communal society, there was "slavery"—slavery of women—and it was there because we already had DIVISION OF LABOR.

Now, whether one says division of labor was agricul-

tural and men's moving to cattle breeding while women remained in agriculture—or whatever other "facts" are added coming to division of labor in industry—Marx's profound insight has nothing to do with anthropology or technology. No, the point was that somewhere in the "pre-history" of humanity, the division between mental and manual labor, necessary or otherwise, produced the break-up of the total being, and its "reunification" would first end Man/Woman in pre-history and start a new humanity.

### ABSOLUTE IDEA AS NEW BEGINNING

So, both revolution and totality as new beginnings would start, not just a new continent of thought, but a new kind of person. Now, let us get down to our age and see how difficult it is to grasp that "Absolute Idea as New Beginning."

## For Harry McShane

*Harry your obituary was in the Times today and the space they gave you was as much as cabinet ministers and generals get because ninety seven years is a long time to fight against what the Times represents from when you led strikes against World War One till you helped the cooks organise in the old peoples home and always remaining, said the London Times a kindly man with a fine sense of humour as if to imply you were the most dangerous sort of all*

*Harry you told me once what kept you going after Stalin had dug the Revolutions grave and finally fell into it and you an old man went back to the shipyards where Matt McGinn sang the one about looking for a job with a sky high pay a four day week and a two hour day and you discovered a new humanism when Hungary and Suez blasted the illusions and you showed Raya Dunayevskaya Scotland's lochs and roaming glens which could in no way distract her from the question of Absolutes in the age of automation ideas you said, Ideas kept you going*

*Harry I imagined Thatcher squinting at the Times over her black coffee and pills this morning and saying well its a good job they don't make them like him anymore as she went off to do battle with the enemy within and the Channel Ferry Strikers*

—David Black

## Harry McShane: fighter, thinker, Marxist-Humanist

(continued from page 1)

relations established: "The important gain for Marxist-Humanism," she wrote, "came when Harry McShane—the outstanding revolutionary Scottish fighter and Marxist who had been one of the original founders of the Communist Party when it stood for the Russian Revolution of 1917 but who had broken with the Party in 1953—declared himself a Marxist-Humanist in 1959."

WITHOUT BATTING AN EYE, this man considered himself at once, in his own words, "a member of this new, small group of American Marxists" trying to work out Marx's own Humanism for our age. The relationship that followed that momentous decision for three full decades was extraordinary:

Not only did Harry contribute his own very special and astute analyses of the myriad world crises and events that confronted us, writing both for News & Letters of the concrete British struggles he continued to wage, and for every discussion of our Perspectives Theses through the years, but his own publication, the Scottish Marxist-Humanist, presented as much of Raya's writings as possible. When Powellism infested part of the British working class in 1968, and Raya wrote to explain why she considered the article against Powellism that had appeared in the Scottish Marxist-Humanist to be "inadequate," Harry immediately published her letter to him in full in a special issue that he called "Raya Dunayevskaya on Racialism—History, theory, practice all brought to bear on a burning issue."

Later that same year, when Russian tanks crushed "Prague Spring," they published together a pamphlet on Czechoslovakia, Revolution and Counter-Revolution, co-signing its powerful foreword. And in 1978, Harry had one of his fondest wishes fulfilled when he was able to co-publish with us the chapters he so loved from Marxism and Freedom in Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis and write its Preface.

A whiff of the depth and scope of their relationship can be seen in an excerpt from their exchange during the discussion of Philosophy and Revolution, when Raya had begun to raise some of the questions she was later to develop for her unfinished work, "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy." Harry had written, in his response to a letter about Lenin and the party: "There is always the danger that one will continue to regret the passing of a period when hopes were high because of the growing strength of the movement. The steady de-

velopment prevented one from giving thought to dialectics. Socialism was certain. Lenin lived in this period...Let me ask, Raya, did Lenin have hopes that the Russian Social-Democrats would one day be able to operate in the same way as in Western Europe?" To which, Raya had replied: "You really hit the nail on the head (though your modesty made you put it in the form of a question) when you asked whether Lenin's perspective had been to copy the structure, not to mention the mass following of the German Social-Democracy...You have no idea how excited I was to get your letter regarding Lenin and the whole concept of philosophy and organization. News and Letters Committees are so young that questions relating to Lenin's time appear abstract. I dare say that for most, history began in the 1960s..."

HISTORY FOR HARRY was far from abstract. And it was not past. It was present—and future. It was Harry who received the galleys of the first chapter of Raya's book on Rosa Luxemburg and took them to the new young Women's Liberationists in Britain Raya wanted dialogue with. It was Harry who was always looking for new young Marxist-Humanists to help build a British Marxist-Humanist organization—just as it was Raya who never let us forget that Harry's break from the Communist Party did not have to wait until after Hungary, when party cards were being torn up everywhere—but that his break came in 1953 when, at the age of 62, he allied himself with the rebellious youth in the Glasgow Party who refused to stand for a Party official's ovation, left his desk at the Daily Worker, and went back to work in the shipyards.

What kept Harry young until the day he died was that he never gave up working for the revolution in his lifetime. Yes, Harry was a fighter. And an activist to the end. But the greatness of Harry McShane is that activity to him was both theoretical and practical—both thinking and doing. Practice was the human praxis. Nobody put it better than Harry himself, in his own Preface to the British edition of Marxism and Freedom: "The worker as a human being has feelings, desires, and passions that are thwarted by present conditions. This leads to thought, actions, and then more thought. Therein lies the danger for the rulers of the world in the days ahead."

That is the legacy of Harry McShane we aim to keep alive.

Subscribe to  
News & Letters  
Only \$2.50 a year

order from:

News & Letters

59 E. Van Buren, Rm. 707

Chicago, IL 60605

Essay Article

by Peter Wermuth

Towards philosophic new beginnings in Marxist-Humanism

In her final "Theory/Practice" column written one year ago this month, Raya Dunayevskaya issued a pointed challenge to today's revolutionaries when she said the "changed world" of the 1980s "urgently demands that, along with the economic and political tasks facing us, we look for philosophic new beginnings."<sup>1</sup>

Throughout 1986-87, Dunayevskaya opened many doors for meeting this challenge, as she embarked on new studies of Hegel, Marx, Lenin and of the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism. One dimension of these studies was her re-examination of Marx's 1844 "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic" and Hegel's 1807 *Phenomenology of Mind*.<sup>2</sup> Here we will examine some aspects of that work<sup>3</sup> in order to see if they can help illuminate the working out of "philosophic new beginnings" on the basis of the fullness of the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism that Dunayevskaya founded and developed.

Marx's 1844 "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic" as a Philosophic New Beginning

At each stage in the development of Marxist-Humanism, Raya Dunayevskaya has again and again turned to a re-examination of Marx's 1844 "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic," the culminating essay in his famous *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*. Dunayevskaya had it translated into English as early as the 1940s, she was the first to publish an English translation in her 1958 *Marxism and Freedom*, and she analyzed the essay in every one of her books. Yet, remarkable as it sounds, after almost half a century of its study, Dunayevskaya found even new illuminations in it in 1986-87. Let's try to see what some of them were.

In his "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic" Marx sharply criticized Hegel for throwing a "mystical veil" over the dialectic by treating it only as the unfolding of various stages of thought. Marx pinpoints Hegel's "fatal flaw" as the stripping away of the human subject from the dialectic, what Dunayevskaya has often called "the dehumanization of the Idea."

At the same time, Marx credits Hegel with revealing the "dialectic of negativity," the "negation of the negation," as the "moving and creative principle" of history. As against Ludwig Feuerbach, who completely rejected the negation of the negation on the basis of Hegel being an idealist, Marx singled out the dialectic of negativity as the "greatness of Hegel's *Phenomenology*" because it presents "transcendence as an objective movement."

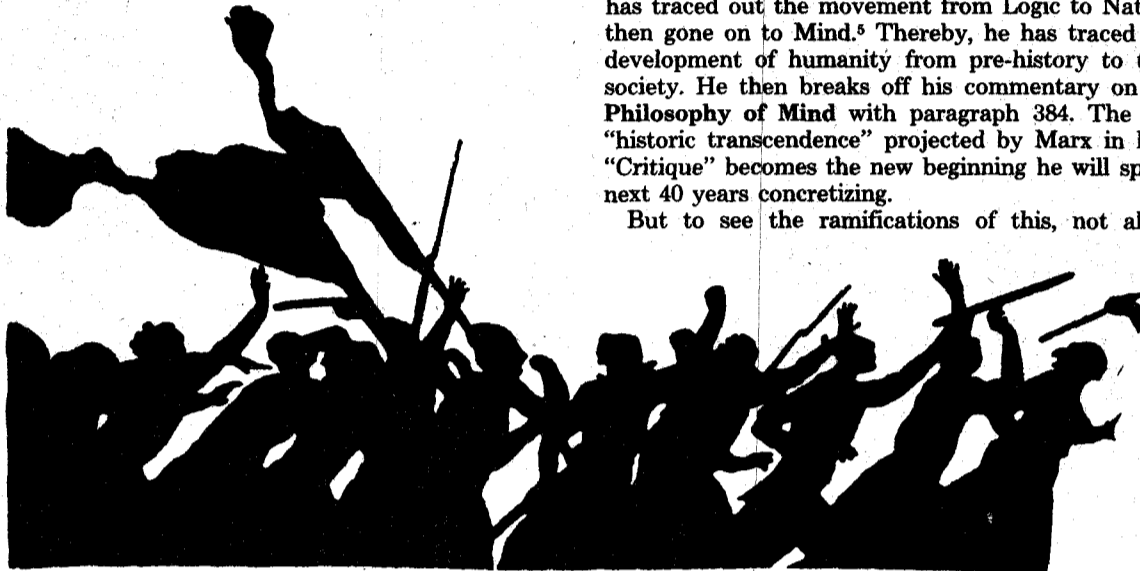
Marx's 1844 "Critique" focuses on the final chapter of Hegel's *Phenomenology*, "Absolute Knowledge," but Marx actually examines other works of Hegel as well, such as the *Science of Logic* and *Encyclopedia of the Philosophic Sciences*. Dunayevskaya focuses upon Marx's concentration on these three works in her 1986-87 re-examination, looking especially closely at his analysis of the dialectic movement from Logic to Nature to Mind, which was the subject of Hegel's three-volume *Encyclopedia of the Philosophic Sciences*.

Marx notes that because Hegel has stripped the Absolute Idea of its human subjectivity, Logic in Hegel's hands becomes "pure abstraction," what he calls "the money of the Spirit." But Hegel's dialectic does not stop at Logic: for Logic then "externalizes itself" into its opposite, Nature. Marx traces out this movement from Logic to Nature, noting that Hegel's concept of Nature

is rather peculiar: as the opposite of Logic, it is "unconscious Spirit," a concrete without consciousness. Marx hits out against this concept of Nature, for he sees it as "the abandonment of abstract thought which only moves in thought, which is without eyes, without teeth, without ears, without anything." (p. 323)

At the same time, Marx praises Hegel for viewing the transcendence of Logic by Nature as something objective. For to Marx, Nature is "the humanity of Nature, and of the Nature produced by History." (p. 309) Far from being mere "unconscious Spirit," to Marx, Nature is the integrality of History and Absolute Negativity. He writes, "inasmuch as Hegel comprehends the negation of the negation...as the only true act, an act of self-manifestation of all being, to that extent he has discovered only the abstract, logical, and speculative expression for the movement of history." (p. 305)

In a manuscript entitled "Why Phenomenology? Why Now?" dated April 3, 1987, Dunayevskaya said



of this: "Stop. Do you realize how great that is? What a leap? It was not only for Marx clearing his road, his totally new continent of thought and of revolution, but ours? Well, just consider how far in advance it is even of Lenin. Nature is not Practice. And Nature is not Sartrean exteriority. Nature, says Marx, is true essence because you can't separate Nature from Human Nature. And that is why he uses, not as a naturalist, 'thoroughgoing Naturalism or Humanism' which would 'first alone grasp the act of world history.'" (Raya Dunayevskaya (RD) Collection, microfilm #10887)

Dunayevskaya has here hit upon a most important point. In "translating" Nature as Human Nature, Marx embraces the dialectic movement from Logic to Nature. For he sees in the Hegelian movement from Logic to Nature the inseparability of the dialectic of negativity from human history. But it is very important to see that in tracing out the dialectical development from one stage to another, Marx neither stops at the movement from Logic to Nature, nor does he embrace it simply because the Absolute has "externalized" itself into History. As Dunayevskaya wrote in one of her "Talking to Myself" documents (May 29, 1987):

"It is true that Marx returns to criticize the one-sidedness and limitation of Hegel's final chapter on Absolute Knowledge; But, but, but... It is never, never, never externalization, or...what Marx calls 'externalized science' without always including 'and transcendence'....To put it still another way, despite all the attacks on the illusions of abstract speculative thinking...it is not, is not just the externalization and objectification, but the great need of us—the New Humanism he has discovered."

This is no small point. For all post-Marx Marxists, if they touch dialectics at all, take "externalization" as the "key" to the dialectic. That was even true of Lenin, who in his 1914 *Philosophic Notebooks* on Hegel's *Science of Logic* "translated" Nature as Practice. As important as that was for him in grasping the objectivity of Hegel's Doctrine of the Notion, it meant he became so enamored of how Logic externalizes itself into Nature that he stopped with Nature, with Practice, breaking off his commentary on the Logic before reaching the movement from Nature to Mind. To this day post-Marx Marxists are drawn to thinking that the dialectical development from one stage to another proceeds primarily through externalization.<sup>4</sup>

But that was not Marx's view. When Marx credits Hegel with presenting the movement from Logic to Nature as something objective, he adds that the greatness of Hegel lies in presenting "transcendence as an objective movement, withdrawing externalization into itself." (p. 319) Marx is stressing how the movement from one stage of development to another proceeds not only through externalization but also through what Hegel calls *Recollection (Erinnerung)*, i.e., internalization of the dialectic of negativity. Because that is his focus, Marx does not stop where Le-

nin does, with Nature. In translating Nature as human history, Marx so grasps the objectivity of historic transcendence that he follows Hegel from Nature (History) to Mind (the new society).

Marx spells this out as "transcendence" of both capitalist private property and what he calls "vulgar communism," from whose abolition arises "positive Humanism, beginning from itself." Marx has released a new vision, a totally new philosophy projecting a truly new society with new Man/Woman relations, new production relations, new human relations. This philosophy, his "New Humanism," Marx tells us in another essay of his 1844 *Manuscripts*, "Private Property and Communism," "distinguishes itself from both idealism and materialism and is at the same time the truth uniting them both." It is this philosophy, this transforming principle, this Organizing Idea which, Marx says, "can alone grasp the act of world history."

Thus Marx has not collapsed Mind into Nature. He has traced out the movement from Logic to Nature and then gone on to Mind.<sup>5</sup> Thereby, he has traced out the development of humanity from pre-history to the new society. He then breaks off his commentary on Hegel's *Philosophy of Mind* with paragraph 384. The epochal "historic transcendence" projected by Marx in his 1844 "Critique" becomes the new beginning he will spend the next 40 years concretizing.

But to see the ramifications of this, not alone for

Marx's day but for our own, demands that we turn, however briefly, to Dunayevskaya's re-examination of the final paragraph of Hegel's *Phenomenology of Mind*.

On the Relation between the Concept of Organization and the Organization of Thought in Hegel's 'Phenomenology'

Throughout the whole of the *Phenomenology of Mind*, Hegel takes the reader on a voyage of discovery through the dialectical development of the Idea of freedom into ever-new spheres—from Sense-Certainty, Self-Consciousness and Reason, to Spirit, Religion and Absolute Knowledge. The culmination of this dialectical development through contradiction is reached in the final paragraph of the concluding chapter, "Absolute Knowledge."

In that final paragraph, Hegel presents us with History. History, he says, is "the process of becoming in terms of knowledge, a conscious self-mediating process—Spirit externalized and emptied into Time." (Baillie translation, p. 807) Hegel then discusses History in the context of his crucial concept of *Recollection (Erinnerung)*, i.e., the inwardizing of the previous stages of thought. In discussing how each stage unfolds through *Recollection*, Hegel suddenly brings in, of all things, *Organization*. He writes:

"The goal, which is Absolute Knowledge or Spirit knowing itself as Spirit, finds its pathway in the *Recollection* of spiritual forms as they are in themselves and as they accomplish the organization of their spiritual kingdom." (p. 808)

In presenting *Recollection* of the forms of Thought as inseparable from *Organization*, Hegel has given expression to a concept of organization. Yet this is not the only time in the final paragraph that he mentions organization. Hegel says right after the above:

"Their conservation, looked at from the side of their free existence in the form of contingency, is History; looked at from the side of their intellectually comprehended Organization, it is the Science of the ways in which knowledge appears." (p. 808)

Hegel thus does not "annul" or throw out History as he reaches the Absolute. He speaks of History as "contingency"; then when it is "intellectually comprehended," it is "Science." History and Science each have an organizational expression. First Hegel presents *Organization* as inseparable from *Recollection*, what we have here called a *Concept of Organization*; then, he presents "an intellectually comprehended Organization," what we can call the *Organization of Thought*. Is Hegel then saying that History rises from "contingency" fully into the Absolute through the integrality of the *Concept of Organization with the Organization of Thought*?

Dunayevskaya says of this, "Whether or not Hegel at that point got worried over the fact that History is thus not contingency, the point is that he suddenly qualified

(continued on page 9)

4. It is hardly a question only of Lenin. Georg Lukacs likewise took externalization as his point of departure, as his analysis of Hegel's *Phenomenology* and Marx's 1844 "Critique" in his *The Young Hegel* (MIT, 1976) shows; indeed, Lukacs went so far as to entitle the final chapter of his work "Entausserung [externalization] as the central philosophical concept of the 'Phenomenology of Mind.'" For a recent restatement of Lukacs' position, see Chris Arthur, *The Dialectic of Labor: Marx and his Relation to Hegel* (Oxford, 1986).

5. Marx broke off his commentary on Hegel's *Philosophy of Mind* with paragraph 384. In her 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes," Dunayevskaya began her commentary on *The Philosophy of Mind* with paragraph 385, analyzing especially its final three syllogisms, which Hegel added shortly before his death. For her discussion of the relationship between Marxist-Humanism's hid' Marx's encounter with Hegel's Absolutes, see Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* (Humanities, 1982).

News & Letters

Vol. 33 No. 5

June, 1988

News & Letters (ISSN 0028-8969) is published 10 times a year, monthly, except bi-monthly January-February and August-September for \$2.50 a year (bulk order of five or more — 15¢) by News & Letters, 59 East Van Buren, Rm. 707, Chicago, IL 60605. Telephone (312) 663-0839. Second Class Postage paid at Chicago, Illinois. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to News & Letters, 59 East Van Buren, Rm. 707, Chicago, IL 60605.

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

Charles Denby, Editor (1955-1983)

Olga Domanski, Mike Connolly, Co-National Organizers, News and Letters Committees

Eugene Walker, Managing Editor

Felix Martin, Labor Editor

News & Letters is printed in a union shop.



## IS THERE A NEW YOUTH MOVEMENT?

The weekend of May 8, I went to an anti-nuclear protest at the Nevada nuclear test site. A third of the 900 people there committed civil disobedience (CD) and got arrested. But the thing is, the police don't care anymore about the CD. They write you a little ticket and a week later they write you and say all charges have been dropped. They're doing that intentionally to lessen the effect of our mass action. Here people are saying: "I care so much about this issue of nuclear testing that I'm willing to get arrested to try to stop it." But the authorities have found their way to weaken the impact. The movement has to come up with something more radical.

High school student  
California

\*\*\*

Wars are dumb. Wars take lots of lives. Why should there be any wars? All they do is kill other people. Soon there will not be any people left on earth. I wish there would not be bombs and guns, but President Reagan keeps hiding from us. He's been making wars, too. I would like to vote against wars but they don't care what I think of anything. They think what could a kid think of anything? I would like to tell people that I think wars are stupid.

Daniel, 9-year-old youth  
California

\*\*\*

I really liked the lead article in the May issue on the new youth movements. Our movement is beginning to get some attention from both the mainstream and the Left press. The mainstream treats us as an anomaly; the Left does pretty much the same, and adds some paternal advice on how we should organize. *News & Letters* allows us to speak for ourselves.

Activist  
Northern Illinois Univ.

\*\*\*

I was glad to see in the May *N&L* that the John Lennon Society at Northern Illinois University is involving itself with the question of women's liberation; that shows to me the depth of their fight. Youth today are not usually fighting for women's liberation. It's such an important thing—and yet it's hard to talk about. People joke about it when you bring it up: "You already have equal rights." But women are still not paid as much as men, and Man/Woman relations still need a lot of changing.

First-year college student  
Los Angeles

\*\*\*

All in all I like the lead on youth and the youth page in the May issue. When I hear what society thinks of youth as but a wasted energy of rock and rollers they have no revolutionary place. But the lead takes up the student movement; if it was to focus on youth as a whole, then the title, "youth movement challenges..." would have been right. I think it left out young workers like myself and others.

The article by Gene Ford on "Police launch racist sweep against gangs" gives part of what is missing from the lead. But the lead is too positive because it doesn't take the drug problem into account, which is pulling ever more on young people like myself and people I know.

David L. Anderson  
Newark, N.J.

\*\*\*

It was significant to me that the *News & Letters* article on the "New Youth Movement" included non-campus youth. The trap we can fall into is what I would call student chauvinism. It's important for the 1980s youth to be conscious of itself as a Youth movement, not just a "student movement."

Student activist  
Northern Illinois University

\*\*\*

I was interested to hear that in the 1952 Bolivian Revolution the Communists ended up supporting the government even though it was trying to stop the revolution. Everytime something happens in Latin America Reagan tries to blame it on the "Communists." But they are not the real revolutionaries, and he is wrong to try to twist every revolt there as being led by the "Communists."

Student  
Northwestern Univ., Evanston

I heard Ernest Mandel, the Trotskyist leader and economist, deliver the keynote address at a mid-April conference on "'66-'88: Lessons for the Left," sponsored by Solidarity. As a young worker who barely remembers 1968 I felt something very important was missing—ideas. They didn't only talk about activism, true, but the way they raised theory had no relationship to human beings. It might as well be academic or completely the realm of the revolutionary leadership to work out and teach the masses. Whatever those who sponsored the conference thought about Mandel's concepts of the party or the class nature of Russia (there was no unanimous approval, to be sure) they were unwilling to try to work out what is really needed—new beginnings in thought and activity.

Gary Clark  
Los Angeles

WOMEN'S  
LIBERATION  
IN TODAY'S  
CHINA

I didn't like the article on Chinese women in the May issue. The successes in women's liberation were defined as economics and capitalist power. China is governed by the law of value, but the article doesn't mention how women's problems are connected to a class society. The article gives the impression that women's liberation began in 1949.

Revolutionary  
New York

\*\*\*

As a feminist researcher I read with pride the development of a Chinese feminist movement, especially concerning

## DIALOGUE ON MARXIST-HUMANISM AS A BODY OF IDEAS

I really appreciate this debate going on about the Dunayevskaya/Marcuse correspondence. I always thought there was more to the correspondence than what was included in the older edition of Dunayevskaya's Archives. Marcuse, in my opinion, was much the same as Sartre in that he captured the intellectual hearts of youth in the 1960s and early 1970s. And here we had two Hegelian and Marxist scholars (Raya and Marcuse) so close philosophically and yet so far away. I think this is important and should be clarified. I'm glad to see Kevin Barry tackling this and am anxious to see more.

Dan Buckley  
West Palm Beach, Fla.

\*\*\*

Eugene Walker's essay on "Dunayevskaya's new perceptions of Lenin" I found to be very important. He shows Lenin's "shortcut" in his study of Hegel, to "Practice not fully immersed in the Absolute." Whereas for Dunayevskaya, "every practice had to have within it the Idea." I think of what Dunayevskaya wrote at the end of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*: "Along with the actual struggles for the self-determination of nations, we need what Hegel called 'self-determination in which alone the Idea is, is to hear itself speak.'" It's the fullness of the Idea of Freedom that is essential for practical activity.

Black activist  
California

\*\*\*

In 1963 Raya Dunayevskaya said that philosophy makes explicit what is implicit in social contradictions. This means to me that the need, the necessity of philosophy, is already in actuality. I think that once we stop to look at Raya's lifetime association with the Black movement, it would be easy to see this. She began as an active participant in the Black movement fighting racism and lynching, then on to the theoretical defense of the independence of the Black movement against attempts to submerge it into a generalized concept of the class struggle and finally seeing the universality of the Black masses in motion as the vanguard of all freedom struggles in the United States. In all of these stages of her own development, she never lost sight of the Black subject as the embodiment of the idea of freedom. The ultimate category,

women's studies in China.

Heidi K.  
West Germany

\*\*\*

China does celebrate International Women's Day. Unfortunately, it's too governmental. Anything our government does lacks impulse. The celebration has become a kind of routine. Both the central and local women's federations hold meetings on March 8, but very few women are invited. Also, the contents of the speeches at the meetings are mostly the repetition of the government's ideas. As for women in general, they may have a half-day off and are given some gifts such as perfume or cups or free movie tickets by their work units. As a result, it's not strange that today we don't feel IWD has any special meaning to us and that an overwhelming majority of women have very little contact with the women's federation.

Correspondent  
Mainland China

\*\*\*

I find it very important that you have been publishing the articles from the women's liberationist in China. While it is clear she does not have the Marxist-Humanist "line" or talk of how China is a state-capitalist country, her critique of China as a feminist is devastating.

What is also moving about those articles is they give you a picture of how women's liberationists who actually have to live in the reality of today's China, and who are living their lives fighting for women's freedom, are doing so within a regime that does not tolerate dissent. I think those articles show

Black masses as vanguard, is an act of philosophy alone.

John Alan  
Berkeley, Cal.

\*\*\*

When I first came across your newspaper what I noticed right away was your statement opposing capitalism "whether in its private property form as in the U.S., or its state property form, as in Russia or China." Though sometimes you hear groups in the Palestinian movement criticize Russia in private, you almost never hear such an expression. It's needed because these countries all try to use the Palestinians for their own reasons. But why do you call yourselves "Marxist-Humanists" and not just Marxists—isn't Marxism inherently Humanist?

Palestinian woman  
Chicago, Ill.

\*\*\*

I have been reading Marx and I wonder why I had not come across Raya Dunayevskaya. How does your Marxist-Humanism differ from "dialectical materialism"? In my view Engels' *Dialectics of Nature* narrows down the dialectic. How is the difference between Marx and Engels related to Kautsky and the Second International?

My ideas on Marxism are solely through reading books. I did not know that a group existed that actually discussed these things.

High school student  
Palo Alto, Cal.

\*\*\*

What I learned from the series of classes we recently held on "Raya Dunayevskaya's Marxist-Humanism in the Changed World of the 1980s" was how much continuity there is between Dunayevskaya's June 1, 1987 presentation and her 1953 *Letters on Hegel's Absolutes*. You can see how much was contained right there in the 1953 *Letters* that her June 1 presentation allows us to now see. The classes were a beginning, because it is important to let others read Dunayevskaya's 1986-87 writings (recently deposited in her Archives as Vol. 13) for themselves.

Marxist-Humanist  
Chicago, Ill.

*Editor's note: Dunayevskaya's June 1, 1987, presentation, entitled "Raya's Final dialogue With Us," was printed in the January-February, 1988 issue of N&L, and can be obtained for 50¢.*

real questions about just how do you change Chinese society today, what is it that women really need. That is what is unique about them and what I have seen nowhere else.

Women's Liberationist  
Chicago

## ON STATE-CAPITALISM

In his report of the Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Meeting (*N&L*, September, 1987) Peter Wermuth refers to Dunayevskaya's "1940s original analysis of Russia as a state-capitalist society." Can the record be put straight? Although Dunayevskaya was one of the first to correctly analyse Russia as state-capitalist, the credit for the original idea goes to the Socialist Party of Great Britain. Writers in the SPGB's journal, the *Socialist Standard*, argued from the 1920s that Russia had a capitalist class and that its system was—as it still is—state-capitalism.

Howard Moss  
London, England

*Editor's note: As Dunayevskaya wrote in Philosophy and Revolution: "The Anarchists called Russia a state-capitalist society one year after the Revolution. Some Trotskyists in Germany, like Urbahns, used the designation state-capitalism in the early stages of Stalinism. Neither the Anarchists nor the first dispute within Trotskyist ranks made a complete study of the functioning of the Russian economy, however. I made the first such study on the basis of the three Five-Year Plans" (p. 320).*

I have been studying Raya's 1953 *Letters on Hegel's Absolutes* as part of the classes here on her body of ideas. The *Letters on the Absolute Idea* are what Raya made of philosophy, what philosophy is. It puts all human relations under the scrutiny of history.

Ana Marie  
Detroit

\*\*\*

I think *News & Letters* newspaper and our organizational name, *News and Letters Committees*, express our concept of freedom from its very beginning as an exchange of ideas, a dialogue, which is a self-movement and thus transforms our own thinking to change objective reality. There can't always be a mass movement to help us leap in thought. But even when there is a mass movement, we need the foundation of Marxist-Hegelian philosophy to experience the "activity" of cognition, to create a leap in thought. Raya was able to do just that. She leapt in thought when the movement itself wasn't always moving forward.

Gene Ford  
Los Angeles, Cal.

\*\*\*

What we can see with the eyes of Dunayevskaya's 1986-87 writings is that as early as 1953, through her own return to Hegel's *Absolutes*, she had been developing a concept of organization that was a discontinuity with post-Marx Marxism and a continuity with, and an original contribution to, Marx's philosophy of revolution. Unlike all post-Marx Marxists who posed the question of organization solely as "spontaneity/organization," for her that was not the key question. Rather, the key was the relationship of philosophy to organization, and the need to take organizational and philosophic responsibility for the philosophy of revolution of your age.

Sheila Fuller  
Chicago, Ill.

\*\*\*

I am a prisoner who happened to peruse *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution* by Raya Dunayevskaya and found the small portion that I read to be enlightening and equally inspirational. I would like to own one of its copies.

Prisoner  
Menard, Ill.

WORKERS THINKING FOR THEMSELVES

I found an expression in John Marcotte's column compelling—"The Organization of Thought." I know in the present situation of labor, in which conditions and terms of employment in many areas have degenerated and become acute, unions and government agencies, which were supposed to maintain standards, will not help. Workers' grievances, ideas and discussions become together a kind of organization of Thought, as he says. Obviously if this is to survive, the next step leads to action. Please send me a subscription.

New reader
Staten Island, N.Y.

Lou Turner's quote from Martin Luther King on Hegel (see April, 1988 N&L) made me think of how you can't escape the reality of capitalism—you have to change it. Like everything else, it takes labor to do it. What they call progress is what puts people out of a job. Man working for the machine isn't freedom; a man on the moon and the laser haven't made life freer. The little girl who fell in the well in Texas got national attention, but things happen to people everyday, and there's no human reaction.

Chemical worker
Los Angeles

I asked some workers at work today what they think about May Day. Nobody's heard of it. They don't let us remember what workers were able to achieve through strikes and solidarity. Today we have no "eight-hour day," but that struggle is never talked about. We don't know May Day because the idea that a worker is a human being is subversive under Reaganism.

Young worker
California

We listened to Jackson's speeches. He had some good ideas. But I don't care what they say; all these guys when they get in power, they can't do anything against big business.

Mexican-American woman
Detroit

I have always been attracted to reading about revolutions and tried to learn why the American Revolution was unfinished. Some workers who like the stories in News & Letters still ask, "What good will it do when the company and the union are both against us?"

I would like to paste up the paper at work and write on it, "Read this: It Could Change Your Life."

Meatpacker
Chicago

Editor's note: For an article on meatpacking, see story on page 3.

Chrysler used to have the oldest workers on their retirement rolls, but so many are dying off now that it has the youngest retirees. Just last year alone over 400 retirees died in my own local union.

Chrysler retiree
Detroit

I have to give some credit to News & Letters. A few months ago I wasn't even thinking about stuff like changing society. I mean, I was thinking it, but I just kept it in. It was dormant. I didn't know about Marxism, but I'm finding out more. I always saw Marx's name next to Lenin's, so I just assumed it was Communism like what they have in Russia. To me Communism is just as bad as here.

Meatpacking worker
Chicago

EAST EUROPEAN REALITIES

Did you see the reports about the "Miss USSR" beauty contest in Russia? I always knew this was where perestroika was leading (Gorbachev says as much in his book.) It shows how male-dominated the Komsomol (sponsor of the pageant, aka the Young Communist League) is. It's infuriating.

Feminist
Pennsylvania

While I have never been a big fan of Lech Walesa, what he said in his statement to be read at the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising commemoration in Poland that Olga Domanski quoted in her article in the May N&L meant a tremendous amount to me. There he said: "...in this land, the land of so many uprisings, the uprising of the Jewish fighters was perhaps the most Polish of all uprisings."

When I read that, I remembered how one of our comrades, whose family was forced to leave Poland during the 1968 anti-Semitic campaigns, was forced to confront disgusting anti-Semitism within the Polish exile groups in Chicago. I was so moved by Walesa's statement

because one of the things they screamed at her was that she better decide whether she was Polish or Jewish because she couldn't be both. To say "the Jewish fighters" were "perhaps the most Polish of all uprisings" is a most welcome, and long overdue, acknowledgment.

Terry Moon
Chicago



BOYCOTT GRAPES!

We're in the midst of a campaign which could represent a major breakthrough in forcing agri-business to stop poisoning farm workers—and consumers. Our tactic is simple. We're asking people to not buy table grapes until the growers agree to three demands: 1) the elimination of five cancer-causing chemicals from all grape fields; 2) a joint testing program for poisonous substances in grapes sold in stores; 3) free and fair elections for farm workers and good faith collective bargaining in the grape industry.

The grape boycott can work. In 1970 a nationwide boycott was successful in eliminating such deadly poisons as DDT, DDE, and Dieldrin from the fields under UFW contract. Now we have an even more serious situation. To send a donation or find out how to help, readers can write to:

Cesar Chavez,
United Farm Workers
PO Box 62, La Paz
Keene, Cal. 93531

NEWS & LETTERS AS THEORY/PRACTICE

The three articles I like best in the May News & Letters were the lead on our youth movement, Eugene Walker's essay on Dunayevskaya's new perceptions of Lenin, and Raya's review of American Civilization on Trial. You can learn about the horrors of slavery even in our high schools, but you never learn about people as Subject being able to free themselves. This issue of N&L gives me a lot of hope for the future because it focuses on the struggle against the many forms of oppression.

Jim F.
Illinois

The Philippine struggle is not and should not be isolated from the strug-

gles overseas. It is for this reason that News & Letters has become one of the important readings available in our library. You provide Filipino Marxists and non-Marxists the opportunity to understand liberation struggles worldwide, and afford us the opportunity to learn new tactics to further advance our own struggles.

Nuclear-Free Phillipine Coalition
Manila

News & Letters is a very good, unusual paper, which I don't always agree with, but always enjoy. I particularly like the Third World news and the letters from workers and students. Here is my renewal and a donation to help you continue.

Supporter
Wisconsin

I became aware of the News and Letters organization from my stays in Detroit through the years. I met people who knew of your group's work in the Black and workers' communities, and felt you were developing Marxism as a living idea. I work with people from the Caribbean and Africa, and believe the relations of Black, labor and Marxism need to be worked out for today.

New subscriber
New York City

My favorite parts of News & Letters are the articles direct from South Africa and the ones you have carried direct from China. I want to know what is happening and what people are really thinking—and there is no other place I know to find that out than News & Letters.

Women's Liberationist
De Kalb, Ill.

I don't know how much poetry John Dwyer has written before, but I thought he had written a most beautiful, moving and revolutionary poem for Raya Dunayevskaya in the May 1988 issue.

Michelle Landau
California

I enjoy the mix of theory and praxis in N&L—and the grassroots focus, which is well presented in your pages. I also read the Nation and the Guardian, but I value N&L for its particular organization and views. I enclose addresses for 5 friends to get sample copies of N&L.

Activist
Saginaw, Mich.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard.
Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucuses in the Unions" by Charles Denby. \$2 per copy.
The Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World Since World War II by Raya Dunayevskaya. \$2 per copy.
Grenada: Revolution, Counter-Revolution, Imperialist Invasion by Raya Dunayevskaya. 75¢ per copy.
Working Women for Freedom by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes. \$1 per copy.
Latin America's Revolutions Bilingual pamphlet on Marxism & Latin America. \$1 per copy.
Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions by Raya Dunayevskaya. \$1.25 per copy.
Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought, by Lou Turner and John Alan. New Expanded edition contains Introduction/Overview by Raya Dunayevskaya, Lou Turner and John Alan. Appendices by Rene Depestre and Ngugi wa Thiong'o. \$3 per copy.
The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts by Ron Brokmeyer, Franklin Dmitryev, Raya Dunayevskaya. \$1 per copy.

- Constitution of News & Letters Committees. 25¢ postage.
Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts. Special bulletin on Marxist-Humanism as a body of ideas by Raya Dunayevskaya, Eugene Walker, Michael Connolly and Olga Domanski. \$1 per copy.
The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. by Andy Phillips and Raya Dunayevskaya. \$2 per copy.
25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments by Raya Dunayevskaya. \$1.50 per copy.
Subscriptions to News & Letters. Unique combination of worker and intellectual, published 10 times a year. \$2.50 per year.
Bound volume of News & Letters (Aug. 1977 to May 1984). \$20.00 per copy.

ARCHIVES

- The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—A Half-Century of Its World Development. A 12,000-page microfilm collection on six reels. \$120.
Guide and Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development. Full description of 12,000-page microfilm collection. \$3.

BOOKS

- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future. 294 pgs. by Raya Dunayevskaya. \$15.95.
Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. 234 pgs. by Raya Dunayevskaya. \$10.95 per copy.
Marxism and Freedom ...from 1776 to today. 1982 edition. New introduction by author. 381 pgs. by Raya Dunayevskaya. \$10.95 per copy.
Philosophy and Revolution from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao. 1982 edition. New introduction by author. 372 pgs. by Raya Dunayevskaya. \$10.95 per copy.
Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal life in the South and North. 295 pgs. by Charles Denby. \$7.50 per copy.

MAIL ORDERS TO:

News & Letters, 59 East Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, Ill. 60605

Enclosed find \$\_\_\_\_\_ for the literature checked. (6-88)

Please add 75¢ for each item for postage. IL residents add 8% sales tax

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

• News & Letters is available on microfilm from University Microfilms International, 300 Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.
• News & Letters, as well as other Marxist-Humanist literature, is available on tape for the blind. For information, write to News & Letters.

# In-person report — Czechoslovakia 1988: no Prague Spring

(continued from page 1)

The present problems of the Czechoslovak economy are rooted in the system of "real socialism" itself. Today there is a lot of evidence that the wave of industrialization at the beginning of Communist rule in the early 1950s, had fatal consequences for the Czechoslovak economy—both to its structure and the system of management. The excessive stress on heavy industry—fully in accordance with the then valid Stalinist concept of preferring heavy industry to consumer industry—was never corrected, or at least not corrected enough.

The overcentralized detailed planning produced rigidities which prevented flexible adjustments to changing needs. The consequence was a disregard of consumers' choices with permanent supply lags and bottlenecks on the one hand, and unsaleable stocks on the other.

These problems, which the reformers of 1968 first recognized and then tackled, were swept under the carpet once the post-Spring leadership assumed power in 1969. Following in the footsteps of Big Brother also in the management of the economy, the Czechoslovak leadership returned to ways it previously thought "successful." Indeed, for a short time some results could be shown to a public that was politically passive.

## A LITTLE 'GLASNOST' AND UNMET NEEDS

Today, however, with a little "glasnost," this same public is being told, albeit slowly and in small doses and to its bewilderment, that the very beginning of the 1970s meant the beginning of retardation and loss of opportunities—including serious underestimation of electronics and computer technology, resulting in a 20-year lag when compared with firms like IBM. Since 1970 Czechoslovakia has, in general, slowed its pace of development, the quality of its products has declined, its share in the world markets is falling and the possibility of satisfying both social and individual needs is being reduced.

The state planners are not able to induce, much less induce quickly, a change in the behavior of the workers. Their behavior and the shortages, which are a permanent feature of the economy and thus also of the social process, are the most apparent phenomena. Those basic problems mentioned before, multiplied by the inability of the leadership during the last 20 years to solve them, now appear as insufficient supplies to the domestic market for producers and consumers as well as insufficient imports.

The government scrupulously maintains its rigid policy of only minimal indebtedness in foreign currency resulting in obsolete machines. Indeed, whole industries have to face the fact that their machines are becoming obsolete with only a very small hope of replacement in the near future.

It may sound strange that this is most visible in those branches of food production and light industries in which women represent the overwhelming part of the labor force and where working conditions are among the worst—including frequent Saturday work shifts that are onerous for working mothers (although a basic 42-hour week is in force in Czechoslovakia).

There are no indications at present of a possible long-term change in the prevailing trends of the Czechoslovak economy. We have to assume that the overall conditions will not improve for the next few years at least.

Of the "democratization" so much referred to in the last few months, as an echo of the Soviet reforms, nothing but the word itself can be observed.

## Phony plebiscite in Chile

Chicago, Ill.—Ever since September 11, 1973, when Pinochet, with the help of the CIA, destroyed the Popular Unity socialist government of Salvador Allende in Chile, he has tried to hide his tyranny by taking steps to try and make his dictatorship seem legitimate. Now Pinochet plans to make the dictatorship seem democratic by calling a plebiscite, where the country will express whether Pinochet should continue as president.

On the surface that may seem a step toward democracy, but the conditions he has placed make it almost impossible for him to lose. All the Leftist parties are outlawed. People must register, and if they vote no they could lose their jobs. These are only a couple of conditions that will lead to a fraudulent plebiscite.

Even if by a miracle the plebiscite result was "No," it would still not be any real change because of the following conditions: Pinochet will still stay in power with the junta for one more year. After a new president takes office and a congress opens, Pinochet will stay president of the Senate for life. Pinochet and the junta members will remain head of the National Security Council and will not hesitate to take over again if they see any threat.

If the vote is yes, then Pinochet will be president for eight more years. Congressional "elections" will take place with the junta still in power and able to call a state of siege at any time if they feel it is necessary.

As you can see, whether the vote is yes or no, the power will still be held by the junta. To this date the junta has not set a date for the plebiscite. It is making the Chilean people wait. But they are not doing so passively. There have been demonstrations since March 8, International Women's Day. There are preparations for protests on Sept. 11—the 15th anniversary of the dictatorship. The protests will be demanding a return to a democratic Chile, a Chile on the road to socialism.

—Chilean student activist

There are some indications that the CP intends to offer more space for activities of other political parties grouped under its leadership in the National Front. Any legally existing "social organization"—from the Women's Union to Socialist Youth Union to Union of Breeders of Domestic Animals—has to be a member of the National Front and is managed by the CP. (The only exception—probably temporary—is the Union of Nature's Protectors that came into being a few years ago.) Other "political parties," which for 40 years have become used to their crippled existence, have a leadership totally subservient to the CP and are simply not able to extend their activities beyond their present limits.

## NO SERIOUS SIGN OF 'DEMOCRATIZATION'

The only serious sign of "democratization" remains the much heralded fact that directors of enterprises are being elected instead of appointed from above. However, this cannot be taken at face value. First, the process of electing directors is not yet comprehensive and has not progressed very far, although the CP promised to extend the election to every plant. Second, candidates for directors' jobs are carefully screened and proposed

by the CP authorities so the choice is strictly limited. And third, the directors, whether appointed or elected, have no great powers as long as the present system of management is not changed in a "revolutionary" way, as they are strictly limited by plans, material assignments, etc.

The bloody suppression of a peaceful Catholic demonstration in Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia, is the most recent evidence that those who govern have not changed—neither themselves nor their methods—during the last 20 years.

As long as the economic situation continues to worsen, and civil liberties are not a part of everyday life and the people do not participate in the control of their own affairs, Czechoslovakia will be heading towards a new crisis. It may take a few years, of course, but the clash of stagnating material standards and the lack of liberties cannot but awake even those indifferent to the knowledge that they have to liberate themselves.

It is significant that the concept, as well as the word, "freedom," seems to have vanished from the vocabulary of the CP. Yet without genuine freedom, as without real democracy, no deep change can be brought about in Czechoslovakia.

## Marxist-Humanism's relationship to 35 years of East European revolt

East Germany, June 17, 1953



From Marxism and Freedom:

"The myth that the Russian totalitarian State is invincible was suddenly and strikingly shattered. On June 17, 1953, the workers in the East German satellite took matters into their own hands on the questions of speed-up. They moved speedily, confidently, courageously and in an unprecedented manner to undermine the puppet state. Heretofore, absenteeism and slowdowns were the only weapons used by the workers against the intolerable conditions in the factories. But the struggle reached a new and higher stage of opposition.... Youth and workers tore down the symbols of Communist power—flags, posters, pictures of Communist leaders. Despite rifle shots, one young man clambered up the famous Brandenburg Gate and tore down the Communist banner... For four hours the only power in East Berlin belonged to the workers..."

"It was the regaining of the workers' confidence in the struggle for freedom. The East Germans wrote a glorious page in this struggle for they answered, in an unmistakable affirmative, Can man achieve freedom out of the totalitarianism of our age?"

Poland, 1981-82

"It may sound stratospheric to give a talk called 'From Revolution to Revolution to Revolution,' when we are witnessing a counter-revolution as brutal as that against the Polish people by their own state-capitalist rulers, propped up by Russia, and, on our own continent, the genocide against the Salvadoran people by a junta Reagan is not only propping up but training in that genocide. Nevertheless, it is not stratospheric. The truth is that we cannot forget that, for 18 long months, the Polish workers, women and youth have been creating a union that is not just a union, but combines economics, politics and ideology. Nor can we forget that, before Poland, there was the Iranian revolution. Between them, they opened so many new doors to the transformation of reality that they have given us a different vision of the future....

It is easy to express our solidarity with Solidarity in the form of demonstrations or sending food. What is not as easy is to grapple with the also-needed critique. What did it mean for Jacek Kuron to think that, if they had a 'self-limiting revolution' then maybe they could win? The counter-revolution will not stay its hand just because you say you don't really mean an all-out revolution. They know that, once unleashed, the masses in motion will move to full freedom. What must be ended is the separation of theory from practice.

—Raya Dunayevskaya, "Theory/Practice" column, March, 1982 News & Letters

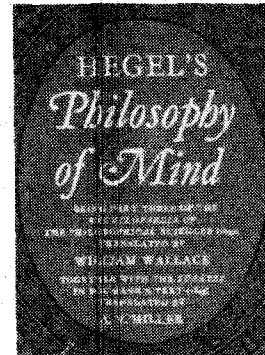
Dunayevskaya's 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes

From Philosophy and Revolution

"I do not consider it an accident that in our era, when actual revolts within Stalin's totalitarian empire erupted shortly after his death, these soon were followed by a movement also in theory....

"It was on the eve of the East German uprising in June 1953 that I commented on Hegel's final three syllogisms. I considered Hegel's formulation, the logical principle turns to Nature and Nature to Mind, as the movement not only from theory to practice, but also from practice to theory as well as the new society. As it turned out, this proved to be a new divide within Marxism between those who stopped at the economic analysis of Russia as state-capitalist and those who proceeded to develop the Humanism of Marxism for the state-capitalist age."

May 20, 1953



Please do not interpret this as any prodding of you to commit yourself on my analysis of the Absolute Idea; it is only that I cannot stand still and so rushed directly to the Philosophy of Mind. I then reread the Preface, Introduction and Absolute Knowledge in the Phenomenology

of Mind, the Introduction, Three Attitudes to Objectivity, and the Absolute Idea in the Smaller Logic and the Absolute Idea in the Science of Logic After that I read from cover to cover Lenin's phenomenal Vol. IX which is the Absolute Idea in action, reread Marx's Accumulation of Capital and the Fetishism of

Beginning of Dunayevskaya's May 20, 1953 letter on final three syllogisms of Hegel's Philosophy of Mind

## Selected Writings

• Hungary—"Spontaneity of Action and Organization of Thought: In Memoriam of the Hungarian Revolution" Sept. 17, 1961, by Raya Dunayevskaya. Marxist-Humanist Archives, Microfilm #2954

• Czechoslovakia—Czechoslovakia: Revolution and Counter-Revolution. An analysis of the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968 including an eyewitness report by X, a Czechoslovak.

• Yugoslavia—in "State Capitalism and the East European Revolts," Ch. 8 of Philosophy and Revolution.

• Poland—1970 Revolt: "State Capitalism and the East European Revolts"; Shipyard Workers Revolt Against Communist Party Leaders, a partial transcript of the meeting between striking shipyard workers and Polish Communist Party, microfilm #4646. 1980 Solidarnosc: "All Roads Lead to Gdansk, Poland..." in 1980-81 "News & Letters Perspectives" by Raya Dunayevskaya, microfilm #6245; "Poland: counter-revolution drives the revolution underground; the resistance continues" by Raya Dunayevskaya, January-February, 1982 N&L.

For a full view of Marxist-Humanism's relation to the East European revolts see **The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development. Guide and Supplement to the Guide available for \$3.00 plus 75¢ postage from News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren, Chicago, Ill. 60605.**



## Polish strikes pose new questions

From April 26, when 17,000 Nowa Huta steel workers struck for wage increases to offset the 45% increase in prices in the last three months and for the reinstatement of the four Solidarity leaders fired in 1981, till May 10, when the last 700 Gdansk shipyard workers would not accept the government compromise but decided to end their protest, the whole world saw that none of the questions raised by Solidarnosc in 1980 had been solved—only driven underground.

### THE NEW STRIKES

Strikes covered the country in the greatest outpouring since 1981. In addition to Nowa Huta, 18,000 steel workers in Stalowa Wola struck in solidarity with them on April 28. Their demands for wage hikes and amnesty for strikers were met within one day. Many independent May Day demonstrations were held, including at Nowa Huta, where workers called for the right to live in dignity. On May 2 the Lenin shipyards in Gdansk started a strike in solidarity with Nowa Huta. Students came out to support workers everywhere.

On May 5, after the police goons stormed Nowa Huta, brutally beating the strikers and attempting to humiliate them by having them kneel and sign a promise to return to work, the Gdansk shipyard was cordoned off by the police and constantly threatened with a similar raid.

The mood in the country sobered, but it also called forth a new creativity in youth running the blockade to bring provisions to the strikers. When the workers decided to end the strike without achieving their demand for Solidarity's legalization, 1,000 people rushed up to the gate to greet them, but the defeat was unmistakable.

A May Day statement of Solidarnosc's National Executive Commission sums up the new crisis: "Deteriorating conditions of life, families thrown into ever deeper poverty, lack of housing, ecological disaster, one of the lowest life expectancies in Europe—that's the balance sheet of the martial law gang's six year reign and the result of 40 years of uncontrolled, monopolistic rule. In an attempt to hold up the crumbling system, authorities promise greater worker exploitation, giving even more

power to the bureaucracy and the police apparatus and making the work laws even more repressive."

### 1988 IS NOT 1980

As against 1980, when millions joined the movement, in 1988 the government appeared to have the upper hand. The state-capitalist rulers continued to bear down harder and harder on the workers, refusing to concede anything except sporadic wage increases. Why was that? Surely the mass creativity and aspiration for self-emanicipation was present in 1988 as in 1980. Surely the 1980 regime was itself a repressive totalitarian one, as in 1988, aided then as now by the cynical maneuvering of the Church. So what was new in 1988?

Part of the answer may lie in the "changed world" created by Gorbachev in Russia and East Europe. Gorbachev has gotten some opposition activists and intellectuals to accept the "logic" of the world market and of technocratic solutions to human problems, as exemplified by his perestroika (economic restructuring). Even oppositionists are arguing over how to get economic "efficiency" via "reforms" toward greater "productivity."

Solidarnosc leader Lech Walesa told the Gdansk workers, only half-jokingly, that in 1980-81 "our tragedy, our problem, was that Brezhnev lived two years too long." Lifelong activist Jacek Kuron has written that "the only chance is the victory of the reformists in the (Polish) apparatus and of perestroika in the USSR." This did not prevent Kuron or Walesa, principled oppositionists that they are, from immediately supporting the workers once the spontaneous strikes emerged.

But fellow oppositionist Dawid Warszawski disagrees with the perspectives of these leaders: "Polish society is not eager to ensure victory of perestroika, or to change election laws or to realize the second stage of government reforms...millions of Polish families feel threatened and without hope. Those aspirations and that hopelessness are articulated by nobody." These types of questions, about the perspectives of the Polish movement today, may be the most urgent ones of all.

—Urszula Wislanka and Kevin A. Barry

## Essay Article

(continued from page 5)

the word Science by adding 'of the ways in which knowledge appears.'" (RD Collection, #10928) Why does Hegel "qualify" his raising of History from "contingency" into "Science"?

To see why, let's look again at Marx's 1844 "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic." We have seen how Marx pinpoints the power of the drive of the dialectic as the "negation of the negation" at the same time as showing that Hegel's dehumanization of the Idea prevents Hegel from taking the dialectic to its logical conclusion. As Dunayevskaya put it in her *Philosophy and Revolution*, "Despite the 'positive moment'—'transcendence as objective movement'—the limitations of abstract thought inescapably allow for the reduction of transcendence to mere appearance." (p. 57) Thus, while Hegel goes so far as to have History move from contingency fully into the Absolute through the integrality of Recollection and the Organization of Thought, his one-sidedness compels him to "qualify" that achievement by saying this occurs only in the realm of appearance, of phenomena.

The very last sentence of the *Phenomenology*, which directly follows the one on History as contingency and as Science, says, "Both together, or History (intellectually) comprehended, form at once the Recollection and the Golgotha of Absolute Spirit."

Dunayevskaya says at this point: "Heretofore the expression 'the two together' or both together was taken to mean practice as well as philosophy. In fact it isn't practice, it is Science as well as philosophy, recollection as well as consummation, must undergo the Crucifixion and be 'born anew.' This is absolutely phenomenal, and I don't mean phenomena." (RD Collection, #10928.)

In saying the end of the *Phenomenology* spells out not the unity of practice and philosophy, but rather the unity of Science and Philosophy, is Dunayevskaya posing the integrality of the Organization of Thought (Science) with an entire body of ideas (Philosophy)? If so, then what is tested by "Golgotha"—i.e., being thrown into a totally new objective/subjective situation, a changed world—is not only the relation of form to content, or philosophy to practice, but also the integrality of the Organization of Thought and the Body of Ideas. That integrality too has to face the test of a changed world—THE TEST of not perishing but of achieving a new beginning from the totality of ideas reached.

Thus, I would argue that in the final paragraph of the *Phenomenology*, what we have reached is not so much the unity of theory and practice, as much as the synthesis of the concept of Organization with the Organization of Thought. Or to put it another way: it is not the externalization of the Idea that is the road to the new beginning, rather, it is the "shaping" of the inwardization of the whole body of ideas in face of new objective and subjective developments that is Absolute as new beginning.

### Towards Marxist-Humanist New Beginnings

This has many ramifications for Marxist-Humanists today. To see what some of them are, let's first re-trace

our steps: We saw from Marx's 1844 "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic" that each new dialectical stage unfolds not alone through externalization of the Idea, but rather also through internalization of the Idea. Likewise, in the final paragraph of the *Phenomenology*, Hegel "raises" History from contingency fully into the Absolute through the integrality of Recollection and the Organization of Thought. It is Marx's deep-rootedness in this dialectic of "Historic Transcendence" that drives him, first, to "translate" Nature as human history, and second, not to stop at Nature (History) but to go on to Mind—i.e., the vision of a new society spelled out in his philosophy of revolution. It is this, Marx says, that can alone "grasp the act of world history," i.e., grasp its meaning.

Perhaps we can now see why Hegel returns to the category of Recollection twice in the final three sentences of the *Phenomenology*.<sup>6</sup> The first time, Hegel cites Recollection when he speaks of History as contingency, but that is not where he stops; he then returns to Recollection again at the end of the final sentence, after History has been raised out of contingency and into Science through an "intellectually comprehended Organization." For only when the inwardizing of a body of ideas is shaped anew in face of new objective and subjective developments through the Organization of Thought does the meaning of History—History as both masses in motion and as the historic development of the philosophy of freedom—become truly comprehended.

Thus, Marx's 1844 "Critique" and Hegel's 1807 *Phenomenology* speak in many ways to us today. First, we have seen that no new stage can emerge without the inwardization of the highest theoretic and practical stage reached. In our age, it means the fullest inwardization of Marxist-Humanism, its philosophy of revolution. Second, we have seen that this Recollection cannot be separated from Organization, from a concept of Organization spelling out organizational responsibility for ensuring that the Idea of freedom of this era—Marx's Marxism recreated as Marxist-Humanism—will be developed and re-developed in face of ever-new objective and subjective developments.

Third, as we saw from the final paragraph of the *Phenomenology*, Hegel mentions Organization a second time, speaking of it as an "intellectually comprehended Organization," what we have here called the Organization of Thought. It is the inseparability of the Concept of Organization from the Organization of Thought, i.e., the inseparability of organizational from philosophic responsibility for the body of ideas, that can be the pathway to "philosophic new beginnings."

The need for philosophic new beginnings has never been more pressing than today, one year after the death of the founder of Marxist-Humanism. In this essay, we have only touched on a few aspects of Dunayevskaya's final writings on Marx's 1844 "Critique" and Hegel's *Phenomenology*. Much more theoretic/practical work is needed in order to be able to "shape" the inwardization of Dunayevskaya's Marxist-Humanism as new beginning. We invite the readers of *News & Letters* to join us in this momentous task.

6. In his translation of the *Phenomenology* A. V. Miller translates the first two references to Recollection (Erinnerung) differently, even though Hegel uses the same word—Erinnerung—both times.

## Editorial Real state of the economy

It is claimed that the "boom years" of Reaganomics have given us one of the longest sustained periods of economic growth in the post-World War II era. The newest "proof" is the drop in the unemployment rate to 5.4%, the lowest in 14 years. Bourgeois economists are suddenly speaking of the American economy reaching "full employment," and saying we are now at the "natural unemployment rate," as if capitalism's permanent army of unemployed was a question of a biological creation ("unemployables" who simply are hard core and not "trainable") and not the function of a class society.

The state of the American economy is proclaimed hale and hardy. In truth it is its thinness and vulnerability which is at issue. We can see this most clearly if we focus on the deteriorating condition of the American working class, a class which this economy seems incapable of supporting.

### UNEMPLOYMENT RATE A FARCE

First, we need to remove that mystical veil of the average rate of unemployment. For Black workers the unemployment rate is 12.2%, more than 2½ times the rate for white workers. This is no statistical aberration, but the truth of Black reality for some two decades. As well, for over 100 counties in the U.S., unemployment is over 15%, with some areas reaching over 25%!

Second, what is the status among those 116,000,000 who are still unemployed? In the 1980s we have moved to new divisions within the working class, such as between "core" employees and what is termed "peripheral" or contingent workers. These are workers who are working with no job guarantees—temporary employees subject to immediate termination. It is estimated that 50% of the new jobs created in the 1980s have been among these temporary workers.

At the same time, job growth has been overwhelmingly tied to low wages—near or at the minimum wages—while there has been a continuing decline in the number of higher wage manufacturing jobs. What does that mean for steel, where the workforce has dropped from 400,000 to 170,000? It is true that many of the steel workers have gotten jobs. But what kind of jobs? How do you support a family working for \$4.50 an hour when you were making \$13 an hour before?

Even for workers in union jobs at above minimum wage levels, there has been an overall stagnation in real earnings for a decade-and-a-half, and a decline in the average hourly earnings in the most recent period.

Workers are fighting back. Despite their facing the opposition of Chrysler Corporation's billion dollar profits as well as their own United Auto Workers' leadership pushing for the latest "labor-management cooperation" contract, auto workers almost turned down the Chrysler agreement, registering only a 54% approval rate. After a decade of layoff and concession contracts, Chrysler workers, especially in many of the larger key locals, were rejecting the contract. But we cannot underestimate the havoc Reaganism has wrought upon a great deal of the labor movement.

When workers do try and fight back against these deteriorating conditions they face new manifestations of Reaganism: a U.S. Supreme Court ruling that families of workers who are on strike are not entitled to food stamps, no matter how needy they may be; a Reagan veto of the trade bill specifically because of its provision requiring a 60-day notice of plant closings as a small measure of worker-protection.

In these Reagan union-busting years there has been a drop in union membership from 23% of the work force to 17%. Is it any wonder that, now, when unemployment dips from double digit figures to "full employment," it has not meant the rise in wages which a labor shortage is supposed to bring?

### THE LIE OF ECONOMIC RECOVERY

The lie of economic recovery can be seen in the fact that what "recovers" is a specific industry, not the working people in that industry. Thus, in forest products, production is booming, but employment is down way below what it was in the late 1970s. A recent report on the Far West noted that "booming demand for products does not necessarily translate into high employment." And it went on to innumerate previously closed mines, lumber mills and aluminum smelters that have reopened "under new management paying far less than old union wages and getting by with fewer employees, thanks in part to new technology."

In truth the state of the economy when measured in human terms—the condition of the American working class—is deteriorating. Barely six months after the huge stock market plunge, bourgeois economic ideologues have almost wiped it from their memories. But its threat to the American and world economy was and is a reality. Today's so-called recovery is hardly that, and is primarily fueled by a falling dollar on the world market. What we noted more than a decade ago, after the 1974-75 economic recession, "There will be no more booms," holds even more true today.

It is the continuing nature of the economic crisis that makes America's economic and political leaders determined to keep labor in a straight-jacket far beyond Reagan's term, no matter which party is in power. It is for that reason that the dissatisfaction of the Chrysler workers, and millions of other working people, is both a true measure of the state of the American economy and a pathway for the kind of deep social uprooting needed to transform it.

## Black/Red View

by John Alan

# Jackson and the racist fabric of America

A few weeks ago at a rally in Martinsburg, W.Va. Jesse Jackson was confronted by a shower of volatile racial epithets that were so threatening that his Secret Service escort would not allow him to move around to shake hands. This incident of overt racism caused Jackson to state at a news conference: "Obviously, I am sensitive to it, but it's part of the fabric of our culture." He went on to say that the most damaging racism comes not from open bigots, but rather from the media and his own party.

### RACIST FABRIC OF AMERICA

Jackson's sudden public acknowledgement that racism is an endemic characteristic of American society and its politics reveals, at the same time, the bankruptcy of conducting a political campaign that tests the "credibility" of a Black candidate on the percentage of the votes that he can get from the "mainstream white voters." That means automatically, that the issues of racism and the uniquely distinctive struggles for Black freedom, have to be played down. Such a "strategy" is a negative recognition of the power of racism in this country and it reeks with political opportunism.

But to recognize that racism is woven into the fabric of "our culture" is not enough. That recognition demands, at once, a critical exposition of the actual relationship of the Democratic Party's politics to Black freedom struggles. If such an exposition is not forthcoming, then the only political alternative for Black politicians is to attempt to identify Black freedom with the Democratic Party negatively; by pointing to Reagan's retrogressive racism.

The truth, however, is that every great leap in Black freedom, every new development in Black thought and activity, has meant a break between the birth of a new consciousness of freedom in the Black mass movement and the government and conservatism of the party, regardless of whether it was the Republican or the Democratic.

The Civil Rights Movement originated in such a dramatic break. Black people rejected the liberalism of the Democratic Party, along with the NAACP's legal policy of depending upon the courts to grant constitutional rights, and took the matter of their freedom into their own hands by militantly confronting discrimination and segregation within American society. Martin Luther King, Jr. saw in this break that "Only when people themselves begin to act are rights on paper given life blood..."

Civil and political rights are the great achievements of Black mass activity and as such they must be defended against Reagan's retrogressionism. But these rights have never been the absolute goal of the Black movement because, in the context of this capitalist society, these rights exist side by side with unemployment, class exploitation and racism, as if these were not opposites of real freedom.

### SECOND LOOK AT THE '60s

In the mid-1960s Black urban masses rose in spontaneous revolts against economic racism and police brutality which continue to prevail even after the enactment of the civil rights laws. Most Black leaders and politicians separated themselves from those revolts and condemned them as self-destructive acts of nihilism. Raya

## On-the-job racism fought

Los Angeles, Cal.—I work at a major aerospace firm. Because of its reliance on government contracts, it is legally bound by federal anti-discrimination laws. However, myself and other Black and Latino employees met to discuss "minority representation" in the company, because in reality it's under-representation, both in hiring and in promotions. We hope to get Asians to participate also. While the "professional" employees have been the ones to initiate and attend the first three meetings, research shows that many blue-collar workers have also filed complaints against racist practices.

Some in our group who work in Personnel and the Equal Employment office have compiled so many cases that the pattern can only be called "institutionalized racism." Two examples are slurs: one supervisor, when looking for a 52-year-old Chicano employee, yelled out, "where's that short little boy!"; and another supervisor was overheard at a staff meeting, asking, "what're we gonna do about them n---s on the shop floor?"

Even more commonplace than slurs are tricks like telling minorities that they must have a certain degree to get a desired promotion, and then giving the position to a white.

In response, our group of about 10-12 men and women are demanding: 1) that racist individuals be removed from supervisory positions, and 2) that a system of accountability be established so that promotions cannot be at the arbitrary whim of managers.

Some have pointed out that white workers share the desire for fairness in promotions. Unfortunately, at this point, we have found that while some whites support our argument, many immediately react that they are discriminated against too, and don't see why minorities should get special attention. While we feel that these first meetings are for those suffering discrimination, we are preparing a statement to be shared with all workers explaining that racism is very real at the company, and that we want only fairness for all.

Dunayevskaya, writing in her "Two Worlds" column (August-September, 1965 N&L) after the Watts revolt, caught in the revolts a dimension of thought totally missed by all others. For her, it was a new phase of Black mass activity, "a stride toward theory...the first step in constructing a universal about a new society."

She wrote that it was a time to stop and think. The activists had to make "a category of their experience, that is to say, to be able to conclude that it is not just an experience, but a stage in cognition, in ideas..." If it was not done, Dunayevskaya pointed out, other forces with the "thirst to lead" would substitute their own ideology.

Dunayevskaya's column of 1965 sounds prophetic in light of today's crisis in Black thought, because it is a concise statement of the dialectic of the ongoing Black struggle in America. The other ideology that she was referring to then was the desire of the Black leadership to politicize the movement to where it was at the disposal of a political party.

From newspaper reports, we know that on the eve of the California primary, Jesse Jackson began "unity talks" with influential leaders of the Democratic Party. Such "unity talks" can only mean one thing: how to keep Black voters within the party once Jackson's political ambition fails to materialize.

## Bishop Tutu in N.Y.

New York, N.Y.—Desmond M. Tutu, Archbishop of Cape Town, South Africa, visited New York City through the first week of May. He spoke at Riverside Church, April 29, where he accepted the Albert Schweitzer Humanitarian Award. More than 1,000 people, including many Black and white youth, swarmed into the church.

In the cavernous chapel, the meticulously planned ceremony gave the event an air of gravity and grandeur, but it was constantly on the verge of slipping off the tracks. It nearly did, as Dr. Albert Crum, Founder and Chairman of the Human Behavior Foundation, in presenting the award to Bishop Tutu, attempted to describe him as a new "stage of human evolution." In contrast, the gospel music sung by the Ebony Ecumenical Ensemble was profound.

Bishop Tutu broke the pretension of the bourgeois-like atmosphere of the ceremony when he began his speech by accepting it for "all of the unrecognized"; the uprooted, "dumped as though they were things, rubbish"; the children, millions of them consigned to inferior education; the migrant laborer, forced to abandon his community and family; and the detained, "incarcerated because they had the audacity to say they were human." He then demanded the unbanning of all anti-apartheid groups.

Unnecessarily, Bishop Tutu developed a close rapport with a spell-bound audience. He made clear his deepest appreciation for a battle of ideas that was present, and even raging, in that chapel and half-way across the world, in Africa.

—R. Russell

## Black World

(continued from page 1)

However, the question remains, why would Sawyer hire Steve Cokely in 1985, after another alderman had just fired him, and why would Sawyer retain him after being informed of Cokely's virulent anti-Semitic speeches as early as December 1987, at the time of the political crisis created by the death of Mayor Harold Washington which brought Sawyer to power as mayor. Surely Cokely's paranoid anti-Semitic ravings that there is an international Jewish conspiracy and that Jewish doctors are inoculating Black children with the AIDS virus (!) were known to Sawyer at least six months before Jewish groups confronted him with it. Thus, Sawyer's two-week stonewalling before finally firing Cokely had nothing to do with "needing time to gather all the information" and go through a process of "consultation," but had everything to do with political opportunism.

That opportunism was also seen in the positions of Sawyer's Black City Council rivals for the mayor's seat in the upcoming 1989 election, Ald. Tim Evans and Ald. Danny Davis. While Sawyer said initially that he had no plans to fire Cokely, Evans spoke abstractly about Chicago being "cosmopolitan" enough to contain all points of view. But it was Davis who really let the cat out of the bag when he defended Cokely immediately following the revelations, observing that Sawyer would lose valuable support among Black nationalists if he fired Cokely because he "has contacts and relationships that the mayor would not have otherwise."

It would seem then that Cokely's tenure in City Hall, dating back to 1985 and the Washington administration, was one of the few concessions Washington and his City Council allies—Ald. Sawyer prominent among them—had to make to the Black nationalist political bloc which was instrumental in stirring grassroots support for Washington's historic election as Chicago's first Black mayor in 1983. Indeed, the very first to become disenchanted with Washington were the Black national-



South Africa Freedom Journal

## Transport workers meet

Editor's note: The following are excerpts of the Recommendations and Resolutions taken from a report of the recently formed Southern African Transport Union Co-Ordination Council (SATUCC), which held its founding conference in Swaziland at the end of March.

The SATUCC Workshop on the Transport Industry in Southern Africa, attended by trade union delegates from Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zimbabwe and South Africa/Azania and which was officially opened by Senator B.M. Nsibandze, Minister for Labour and Public Service on March 28 and closed by the Secretary General of Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions Mr. Jan Sithole on April 1, has successfully concluded its deliberations.

The workshop examined and considered employment policies and conditions of service in the transport industry, problems and experiences faced, potential for exchange of research information and policies in collective bargaining for trade unions in the transport industry.

The workshop also considered the question of growth and development of unions in the region, and identified the most practical ways trade unions can best meet the common needs and objectives of the transport workers in the region. (Some) problems identified were as follows: 1. Destabilization policy of the illegal South African regime. 2. Bandits in Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe sponsored by South Africa. 3. Overworking of drivers in SADD (Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference) region with specific reference to health and safety. 4. Construction of roads not meeting required standards. 5. Harassment of drivers at the border gates and unnecessary delays by custom officials.

The workshop views with deep concern the destruction of transport infrastructure in Mozambique and Angola by the South African-sponsored bandits. The delegates call upon the international community to give moral, financial and material support to the peoples of Mozambique and Angola to help to revitalize their economies.

The delegates, conscious of their responsibilities, agreed to form the Southern African Transport Workers Federation, covering nearly 700,000 workers throughout the sub-African region; that an interim committee be formed to facilitate the formation of that federation; also that a larger conference attended by all transport unions be convened in Harare, Zimbabwe no later than September, 1988.

ists when Washington distanced himself from them following his victory. Was Sawyer's hiring of Cokely in 1985, then, Washington's conciliation to Black nationalists in preparation for his 1985-86 campaign? What there is no doubt of is that as "coordinator of special projects" for the Sawyer administration, the "special project" Cokely would have been expected to "coordinate" was Sawyer's reconciliation with the Black community he has been estranged from since he gained the support of Washington's white City Council enemies in getting himself elected acting mayor.

### ANTI-SEMITISM'S ANTI-BLACK LOGIC

What has been totally ignored, especially by the media, is the anti-Black logic of the Cokely affair, which is not limited to Cokely's reference to Washington and Jackson as "n---rs." Rather it is that the media phenomenon surrounding the Cokely affair has diverted Black political discourse in Chicago at a time when the crisis in Black reality has never been more severe. The one Black leader who did speak out to sharply criticize Cokely and Sawyer was Ald. Dorothy Tillman.

Tillman, who represents residents of the Robert Taylor public housing project, declared in no uncertain terms her opposition to the whole Cokely affair when she told the *Defender*: "Cokely was a chief among a small band of Blacks who were Washington haters. This group of Washington haters, like their white counterparts, like Eddie Vrdolyak and (Ald.) Edward Burke, use race baiting and anti-Semitic rhetoric in the Black community as a political strategy designed to confuse and divide Harold's base."

She went on to say that Cokely was "playing with the minds of Black people" when he contradicted himself and said that he really didn't believe the statements he made against Jews and Blacks. "If he didn't mean it," Tillman shot back, "why in the hell was he in the Black community indoctrinating Black people with garbage he doesn't believe. Not only should he be fired but the Black community should recognize him for what he really represents."

What the whole Cokely affair does represent is just how bankrupt Black political reform is in Chicago, only six months after the death of Harold Washington.

Youth

# Divergent views on Marxism

by Sheila Fuller

Last month you read in the youth page of *News & Letters* three speeches by student activists at Northern Illinois University (NIU) given at their rally of 1,000 students against tuition hikes. These students had addressed the conditions of Black women and children, alienation in education, and the relevance of Hegel's idea of freedom to education. Indeed, what has been exciting about the student activists at NIU is that they do not separate their protests against war, racism, and budget cuts, from a discussion of ideas of freedom.

This month, I participated in a conference sponsored by the John Lennon Society (JLS) at NIU in which they had invited various Left organizations in the Chicago area to speak on the history, philosophy and goals of their organization. They had also devoted a second part of this conference to a discussion of women's liberation because of their continuing struggles against sexism on that campus.

### BATTLE OF IDEAS

During the first session, representatives from each organization spoke to open the discussion. From the JLS, members spoke of how they had formed their group in 1984 in opposition to Reagan's re-election. They stressed that they were anti-war, opposed to all totalitarian states; they were for a free university in which students were not treated as commodities, and are now studying Marxism.

The speaker from the International Socialist Organization (ISO) stressed their opposition to Russia as a state-capitalist society, and claimed that the problem of the freedom movement in the U.S. was the lack of a vanguard party. The speaker from Solidarity spoke of how their organization was a combination of various Left organizations who had come together on some general principles. And the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP)/No Business As Usual (NBAU) spoke of their opposition to war and militarism.

From *News and Letters* Committees, I spoke of how Raya Dunayevskaya had recreated Marx's Marxism for our age, in the development of Marxist-Humanist philosophy and its organizational expression in *News and Letters* Committees as a unity of workers and intellectuals, in *N&L* as a theory/practice journal, and in her view of the forces of revolution in the U.S.—labor, the Black dimension, youth and women's liberation as Reason.

In the discussion, the first question from a student was: "What do you (Marxist-Humanists) mean by ending the division between mental and manual labor?" That was followed by another student who challenged RCP/NBAU: "Here we have been talking about ending the division between mental and manual labor. Don't you think you are practicing that division when the RCP is your decision-making body, and NBAU is your political front? What is your relationship to Maoism?"

It was shocking to see that to all the other Left tendencies present there, who called themselves Marxists,

Marx's vision of a new society that would end the division between mental and manual labor was, as one ISO member put it, "a fancy abstraction."

### DISCUSSION ON WOMEN'S LIBERATION

In the second part of the conference, when the subject of the discussion was women's liberation, the difference between those who root themselves in Marx's Marxism and those who are post-Marx Marxists came out more sharply. It was not only a debate on the difference between Raya Dunayevskaya's concept of Woman as Reason and those who consider women as merely force and tool of their organizations, but also a debate on the deep gulf between Marx's vision of a new society and that of Engels. The discussion centered on which philosophy can help the women's liberation movement in its struggle for new human relations.

What was exciting about this conference was that it showed what is new in the youth of the 1980s. The students who sponsored this conference did not see a division between their protests, and a debate that would show what are the differences between tendencies who call themselves Marxists. To these students, the struggle for freedom demands thought as well as activity.

## Nuclear site protest



News & Letters photo

*Mercury, Nev.*—At the Mother's Day nuclear test site action, there were people from all over the state and all over the world. In our group from San Diego, we had ages 12 to 70 and I think one or two over 70. The crowd was much smaller than the last one (see April, 1988 *N&L*), perhaps 2,000. The first speakers were Indians, and I became aware of how much of their lands are affected by military operations.

Later we lined up along the fence to the right and left of the gate and then the ones who were doing civil disobedience went through the fence while we held the wires apart for them.

One person, who was there for the first time, was rather subdued when she showed me a citation for a court appearance or a fine of \$300. Some of the veterans reassured her by saying the date was set for two months later and she would probably receive a letter from the Nye County district attorney saying to disregard the citation.

It appears the county would go broke if they had to try a few thousand protesters every few weeks. I couldn't help thinking that they might pull a surprise like last time and try to collect the \$300.

I was introduced to a down-winder, a young woman from St. George, Utah, who was terminally ill from the effects of the bomb test fallout that had drifted over southern Utah. She had been at the March test site protest. She was arrested and hauled away, over 100 miles, to Tonopah without diabetes medicine she needed that could not be obtained at Tonopah.

The people on the bus were dumped on the street. She refused to get out and demanded to be taken to a hospital. The sheriff's deputy refused and finally harshly told her she had to get out and he could care less what happened to her.

—Retired worker

## New high school groups

*Los Angeles, Cal*—Everybody has ignored youth for a long time. That's where a lot of the energy for a new youth movement is coming from: that we've been in a lull to feel that the world doesn't have to listen to us. We don't vote, there's no reason for politicians to listen. Well, we're going to give them a reason.

At my school, we started a club called the Students Rights Association. We're basically a watchdog organization, sort of the ACLU of our local high school. We're there to make sure that teachers and administration don't get away with their massive grabs at power, their infiltration of our own personal rights. Our rights are slim at the moment, because of the Hazlewood decision, where the Supreme Court basically said that high school newspapers have no freedom of speech. And a few years ago there was the ruling that students basically give up all their constitutional rights once they step on campus.

We're trying to protect what few rights we have left. For example, the school recently implemented a policy that goes against the way things have been up till now—that once you turn 18, you're legally an adult and you're responsible for yourself at school. You can sign your own field trip slips and absence slips.

But now our school has come up with the idea that once you turn 18, you can't do that unless you have your parents' permission. That dumbfounded us. That's what we're attacking at the moment.

I'm also active with the Los Angeles Student Coalition which is a city-wide high school group. It's an organization for high school students run by high school students. We're doing it ourselves, and there's great enthusiasm amongst us because of that.

So far, we've been concentrating on anti-apartheid rallies at the South African consulate. (See *N&L*, May 1988) But we never do something just to "do it." We're trying to understand the why of a situation—what's the reason for apartheid or racism or homelessness.

The youth movement is self-educating. There are no direct outlets for what we're learning. You can't take a class in school in something like Marxist history. But there are people reading Marx, thinking about that, and discussing it with each other. We're looking at the why of something, and then what can we do about it.

—High school activist

## Youth in Revolt

by Franklin Dmitryev

Protesting limits placed on Dayton (Oregon) High School's May Day queen Anna Maria DeVries because she is pregnant and unmarried, 75 of the school's 330 students held a sit-in and march, May 11. DeVries and 44 others were suspended for the protest, which was brought on by the cancellation of the queen's customary visit to Dayton Grade School.

\*\*\*

Despite government pressure on their parents, over 100 students from 13 universities marched in Taipei, Taiwan, in May, demanding a bigger education budget and protesting the use of education funds for military purposes. The 1947 constitution requires that the education and culture budget be a minimum of 15% of the total, but the requirement has never yet been adhered to. "The real problem is that the legislature is neither democratic...nor representative," said one student. "The unconstitutional budget is only symbolic of this."

\*\*\*

About 50 students occupied the dean's office at the Harvard Law School for 24 hours, May 10 and 11. The study-in, organized by the Black Law Students Organization, won seven of its 12 demands, including a fellowship program for minorities to become law teachers and a broader role for students in recruitment of minority and women faculty. They did not win specific recruitment goals. The 57 tenured law faculty include two Blacks (both men) and five women.

## From occupied Rumallah

*Rumallah, Occupied West Bank*—A "just peace" means such different things to various people. On the West Bank the majority would say it would lead to an independent Palestinian state covering at least most of the area beyond the Green Line, if not all the area. In Gaza some think the same, some are far more radical territorially. The longer Israel waits to settle the issue, the more rage-filled and expensive the demands will get.

Some Israelis and "friends" of Israel complain that it all takes time, so don't push. But for 20 years the Israeli public, for the most part, had the luxury—at the expense of over a million Arab people—of ignoring the Occupation and its nature. From what I can see of Israeli mentality, if given more time most of the populace would love to slip back into dreamlife. Hell, there are still thousands of Israelis with their heads willfully in the sand in the Negev and in Tel Aviv—after all that has happened in the last months!

And what has happened would have to be seen—experienced, as we have—to be fully appreciated. I've stood over a body purpled with systematic beating; seen a youth with a hole in his cheek from repeated shoves of a rifle barrel; a four-year-old with a broken leg; silent peaceful vigil-walks teargassed and rubber-bulleted; visited many families who were all beaten, at night, in their home, under curfew, etc.

Believe me I'm not meaning to lecture you or harangue you, but I'm trying to tell it straight from the shoulder, no patronizing, or tailoring-to-the-audience. With exactitude and truth people must come to comprehend what happens here, really.

Schools have been shut down vindictively. The army's line is that students were planning demonstrations instead of studying. With over 61 Palestinians dead in hundreds of demonstrations since the February 4 closure [as of the first week in April], their reasoning proved not only without factual basis, but ineffective as well. If you doubt the vindictiveness of the occupier, then how does one explain the army's current harassment of "neighborhood" schools in people's homes? School closure is yet another example of collective punishment, a concept and act that is against international human rights law.

Another collective punishment is more recent: all of Rumallah's shops are closed by the military. In non-violent protest against the occupation, the merchants were open only from 8-11 a.m. But the army won't allow them to open at 8 because it (the army) wants them open at noon! Why? Just so that Israel can tell the Palestinians if, when, and how they should live. Violators are beaten and/or teargassed and shops vandalized. We must buy food at "underground" locations and sneak home with it, lest a patrol spot us, interrogate, and destroy the "illegal" food.

—West Bank correspondent

## Bulletin!

Adam Keller, editor of *The Other Israel* (see *News & Letters* May, 1988) and member of the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace, was recently arrested and sentenced to three months in an Israeli military prison for writing "Down with the Occupation" on 150 army tanks while on reserve duty. It is Keller's courageous action—as well as his persistent writings in defense of Palestinian self-determination—that the Israeli rulers are determined to silence. We demand the release of Keller and all Jews and Palestinians, in Israel and in the occupied territories, who have been imprisoned for supporting the Palestinian uprising.

### HOW TO CONTACT NEWS & LETTERS

CHICAGO: 59 E. Van Buren, Rm. 707  
Chicago, IL 60605 (312-663-0839)

Meets Wednesdays, 6:30 p.m.

DETROIT: P.O. Box 27205  
Detroit, MI 48227

Thursdays, 7:00 P.M.—Central Methodist Church,  
Woodward and Adams

OAKLAND: P.O. Box 3345  
Oakland, CA 94609 (415-658-1448)

Sundays, 7:00 P.M.

3120 Shattuck Ave. (rear) Berkeley

LOS ANGELES: P.O. Box 29194  
Los Angeles, CA 90029

Sundays, 6:30 P.M.—People's College of  
Law Building, 660 S. Bonnie Brae

NEW YORK: P.O. Box 196  
Grand Central Station

New York, N.Y. 10163 (212-663-3631)

Mondays, 7:00 P.M.—Outer Space Gallery  
2710 Broadway (104th Street), Manhattan

SALT LAKE CITY: P.O. Box 8251  
Salt Lake City, UT 84108

FLINT: P.O. Box 3384  
Flint, MI 48502

