

An epidemic of child labor



by John Marcotte

Carlos, a 15-year-old Mexican boy, was sewing pleats in skirts for one dollar an hour in a freezing (eight degrees!) sweatshop in Manhattan's garment district. That is what New York State labor inspectors found, according to a recent article in New York Newsday. They also found 14-year-old Shei Mei in a Chinatown sweatshop. Shei had come from China ten months earlier and lived with her aunt. She was found hemming skirts that would end up at Zayre's stores, while a four-year-old and two-year-old child played around the steam presses treated with formaldehyde.

There are only 18 state inspectors on New York's new Apparel Industry Task Force, but that's more staff than the federal Labor Department employs to enforce child labor laws. These state inspectors estimate there are 75,000 children being made to work illegally in the New York metropolitan area alone. Though they only inspect garment shops, other industries that use child labor are machine shops, supermarkets, soldering and jewelry shops, and newspapers.

This epidemic of child labor is a very new situation. When my friend M. came from Columbia in 1971 at the age of 15, she worked in all kinds of shops. But though she was undocumented, she could only get hired by pretending to be of legal age. And she always got at least minimum wage, usually in a union shop with at least minimal medical benefits, vacation and holidays. We have gone a long, long way downhill since those days.

CHILDREN PERMANENTLY DISABLED

Susan Pollack and Dr. Philip Landrigan, at Mt. Sinai's Environmental and Occupational Medicine unit, (continued on page 3)

State-run nuclear arms industry's 40-year war on humanity

by Michelle Landau

A grinning President George Bush was greeted with warm, sustained applause by the members of Congress, Feb. 9, as he delivered his first presidential address, outlining his proposed national budget plan. Democrats turned to mild, gentlemanly dissent the next day, but none, including the dull-witted TV commentators, challenged the few glib phrases with which Bush had disposed of a devastating reality: "We face a massive task in cleaning up the waste left from decades of environmental neglect at America's nuclear weapons plants."

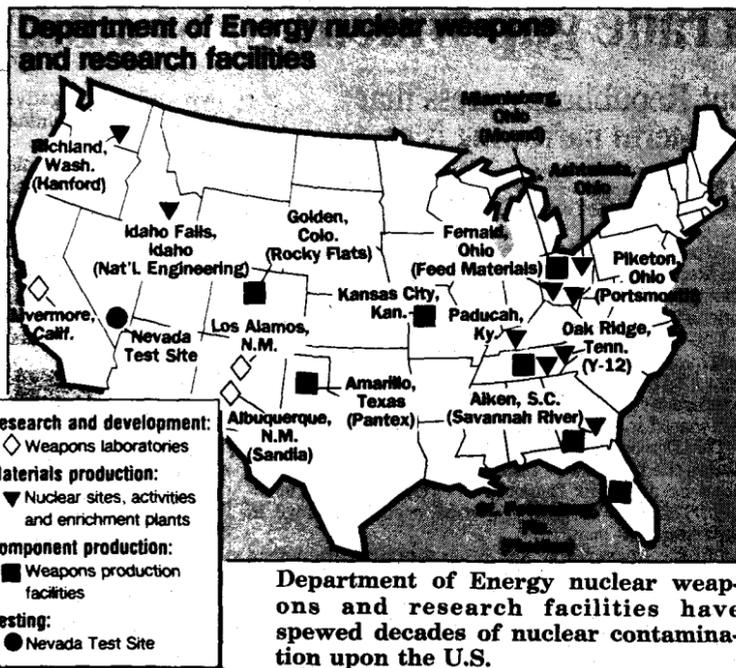
A horrifying truth lies behind that smooth assertion.

This month, as we mark the tenth anniversary of the March 28, 1979 nuclear fuel meltdown at the Three Mile Island power plant in Pennsylvania, we confront the recent revelations that that nuclear reactor accident was but minor, compared to the accidents and ongoing "normal," calculated release of invisible, odorless, tasteless, deadly radiation from this country's nuclear weapons complex over the past 40 years.

'THEY CARE ONLY FOR MAKING BOMBS'

On Sept. 30, 1988, in a sudden burst of "glasnost" (openness), American style, officials in charge of nuclear bomb production—the innocuously named Department of Energy (DOE)—belatedly released a 1985 report detailing a 30-year history of serious nuclear reactor accidents and radiation releases, including a fuel-assembly meltdown, at the Savannah River, S.C., plant, where both plutonium and tritium are produced for nuclear bombs. This came a month after the permanent shutdown of two, and temporary shutdown of three, of the plant's nuclear reactors.

A week later, Oct. 8, the DOE issued an emergency order closing the Rocky Flats, Colo., plant, where plutonium is shaped into nuclear bomb triggers. A day earlier, there was another type of shutdown: the outbreak of a strike by over 600 workers at the DOE center in Fernald, Ohio, where uranium is baked into fuel for nuclear weapons factories. The workers were particularly bitter about management-demanded concessions in health



Department of Energy nuclear weapons and research facilities have spewed decades of nuclear contamination upon the U.S.

benefits, as well as the proposal that workers would be paid off, \$150 each, to drop some 4,000 safety and health grievances.

Suddenly, what had been local news became national headlines, with startling revelations of massive contamination throughout the DOE's 17 major sites in its nuclear weapons system.

● One of the oldest elements of the complex is the Hanford Nuclear Reservation in Washington. For 42 years the U.S. government lied about plant safety, though a stretch of cancer-clustered homes downwind earned the name "death mile," and people coined the sardonic term "down-winder scars" for the very common slash on their throats, sign of removal of a diseased thyroid, result of contamination by radioactive iodine.

When an environmental group, the Hanford Education Action League, won release of plant documentation, the 19,000 declassified pages revealed a December 1949 (continued on page 8)

Black World

Caribbean after Grenada



by Lou Turner

With the Feb. 9 election of Michael Manley as prime minister, once again the political life of Jamaica has stifled the ferment of its own social conditions. The political drama—wherein the real and gnawing social crises of poverty, international debt and barely constrained popular upheaval lose their meaning to the reformist political rhetoric of Manley, the chastened social democrat, and Seaga, the Caribbean clone of Ronald Reagan—ends with the uneasy restoration of the status quo.

Hurricane Gilbert, which ravaged the island back in September, only intensified the poverty and impatience of the masses. Nevertheless, it isn't that "inheritance" which has tempered a Caribbean politician like Manley, who has been so thoroughly "restructured" by private sector capitalism. More compelling has been the new imperialist reality that has shaped Caribbean politics in the aftermath of the counter-revolution and U.S. invasion of Grenada in October 1983.

A SECOND LOOK AT GRENADA

On this tenth anniversary of the March 1979 Grenadian Revolution, it is, therefore, imperative to take a second look at the meaning of those 1983 events as they were analyzed by Raya Dunayevskaya in her Nov. 23, 1983 political-philosophic letter, "Counter-revolution and revolution: Grenada, the Caribbean today, and the challenge from 30 years of movements from practice that were themselves forms of theory."

Here we must ask: what then were the ideas at stake in the Grenadian revolution? Castro, who was the most concrete in practicing internationalism with material and personnel aid, nevertheless held to an abstract "principle of non-interference in internal affairs," when the fatal moment of counter-revolution struck. And the American Black social democrat, Manning Marable, in his recent book, *African and Caribbean Politics: From Kwame Nkrumah to Maurice Bishop*, ascribes the contradictions that tore apart the revolution to some abstraction he calls "political culture." The leadership dispute between Bishop and Bernard Coard, the self-styled "Marxist theoretician" of the New Jewel Movement (NJM), is reduced to nothing more than matters of (continued on page 10)

John Dwyer (Peter Mallory), 1912-1989



John Dwyer, known to readers of News & Letters as Peter Mallory, "Our Life and Times" columnist from 1956 to 1983, died Feb. 13. So multi-dimensional was John's work in the revolutionary movement, and so rich was his life in experiences over nearly six decades of thinking, writing and activity, that to remember John, to recollect his life and work, is to be inundated by a rush of memories—of John as a labor movement organizer, as a socialist activist, as a journalist, as a theorist. Above all, it is to remember John as comrade and companion—perhaps the Spanish word *companionero* comes closest to the truth—to Raya Dunayevskaya for 40 years.

But, as John often said, "Let's begin at the beginning," with the way John shared the history of his life with others. For John was a master story-teller, and his stories told a great deal about the sort of man he was. Even when he was asked about his family, his ancestry, you learned about class struggle. He would speak of his father's harrowing trip to America from County Clare, Ireland, in steerage, a journey so awful that he often told John that the only way he'd ever go back to visit Ireland was "if they built a bridge." John broke with his father on the issue of religion about 1930, and spent the rest of his life as a well-known anti-cleric.

That same year John joined the Socialist Party in his hometown of Lynn, Mass. He was 18 years old, and about to graduate from high school. At the same time he, along with millions of others, was facing the new phenomenon of the Depression. It was a transition point in his life, and the way he explained it made his economic categories into very human ones:

"When I graduated there were no jobs to be had. People were going from city to city on railroad cars looking for work. No one knew what a Depression was. We had been told you go to high school, get a job and be happy ever after. The economists had no idea of what went wrong; they might as well have said it was caused by sunspots. They had no more idea of what caused it than the man in the moon. That's how I be- (continued on page 8)

On the Inside

Philosophic Dialogue: Special section containing discussion on *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* p. 5

Iran 10 years after the Revolution p. 9

Revolutionary history and philosophy: An International Women's Day offer

UNITED STATES

"Indeed, when [Clara] Zetkin proposed to the 1910 Second International Women's Conference that an International Women's Day [IWD] be adopted, it was an act of solidarity with organizing struggles of the American garment workers who had erupted in the 'Uprising of the 20,000' the year before. Six days after the first IWD was celebrated in March 1911, the infamous sweatshop Triangle [Shirtwaist] Fire took the lives of 146 workers, most of whom were young women, and Rose Schneiderman organized no less than 120,000 workers in the funeral march—not just to mourn but to declare solidarity with all unorganized women workers." (*Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* [RLWLMPR], pp. 82-83)

RUSSIA

"The greatest of all events were the March and November 1917 Russian Revolution...the March Revolution...was initiated by women...on International Women's Day..."

"Despite the advice of all political tendencies, they [the women of the Vyborg textile factory] went out on strike, fifty thousand of them. The next day they appealed to the metal workers, led by the Bolsheviks, who then joined the strike: now there were ninety-thousand out. Someone cried, 'To the Nevsky!' and the demonstration was joined by a mass of other women, not all of them workers, but all demanding 'Bread!' Whereupon that slogan was drowned out with, 'Down with the war!' By this time, the third day of the strike, there were two hundred and forty

thousand strikers; the Bolsheviks issued a call for a general strike.... The women went up to the Cossacks to ask whether they would join them...." (RLWLMPR, pp. 84-85)

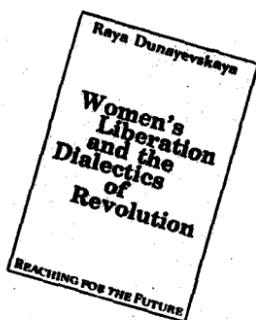
IRAN

"...there came, with the celebration of International Women's Day, a mass outpouring of women, bearing the banner, 'We made the revolution for freedom, and got unfreedom,' which may very well have opened Chapter 2 of the Iranian Revolution..."

"No doubt Khomeini was ignorant of the fact that March 8 was International Women's Day, and the Iranian women intended to make their celebration of the past a claim on the present and future when he issued the March 7 order for women to wear the chador....For five straight days the women continued their marches..." (*Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution* [WLDLDR], pp. 65-66)

CHINA

"Ibsen's *A Doll's House* enjoyed popularity in Japan, and the heroine Nora who slammed the door on housewifery was used by Ting Ling [Ding Ling] in her piece on International Women's Day, 'Thoughts on March Eighth,' where she saw wives of leaders as cruelly taken advantage of as they became 'Noras who returned home.' The article was used in the campaign against Ting Ling, who was purged from the Chinese Communist Party in 1957 for criticizing the views of the party on marriage and love at the time of the Hundred Flowers campaign." (WLDLDR, p. 154)



Special offer for International Women's Day. Get two works by Raya Dunayevskaya: *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution* AND *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*

ONLY \$22
(shipping included)

Fight for abortion rights deepens

Editor's note: On the weekend of Jan. 21 and 22, women held demonstrations all over the U.S. to commemorate the 16th anniversary of the Supreme Court decision, *Roe v. Wade*, that allowed women to exercise our right to abortion. Hundreds came out in San Francisco, New York, Detroit, Seattle, Boston, Cincinnati, and Bath, Maine; 1500 rallied and marched in Pittsburgh; 800 did the same in Chicago; and in Los Angeles over 500 tried to squeeze into a hall that would only hold 150 to rally for the right to abortion. Below we print reports from participants in Chicago and Los Angeles.

Chicago

On a beautiful Chicago winter day, over 800 of us came together to show our determination to keep abortion legal. The spirit of the crowd was magnificent and the speakers interesting. The guerrilla theater skit about a woman in the "Twilight Zone" was very much to the point.

We marched past two phony abortion clinics, chanted and sang songs and talked to each other about what we wanted to do. The question I kept asking everyone about was our fight to control our own bodies and how are we going to fight differently this time so we won't be out here again in 20 years? Everyone I talked to was interested in that question and bought a copy of the January-February issue of *News & Letters*, where the overline on two articles about abortion read: "The beginnings of a discussion."

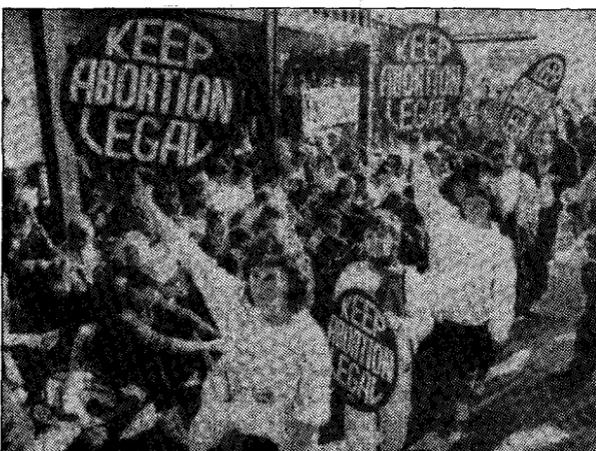
What helped make this demonstration so exciting was the large number of youth—including men—who came from several Chicago campuses, particularly Northwestern and the University of Chicago. While the students mostly came in groups, what was also striking, and shows how much the pro-choice movement is a genuine grassroots movement, is so many women just came on their own or with a friend or two. The spirit and determination at the rally showed clearer than anything that Bush is in for a fight. I think the march for women's lives in Washington, D.C., April 9 is going to be huge.

—Women's Liberationist

Los Angeles

I attended a rally for abortion rights, sponsored by the National Organization for Women (NOW), on Jan. 22. It was the first time in my life I had been to a rally of any sort.

Gloria Allred, a feminist lawyer, spoke about the project that Archbishop Mahoney is starting here in L.A., to counsel women who are having emotional problems after an abortion. She said that if the Supreme Court overturns *Roe v. Wade*, we should start our own project, to help women continue to get abortions. Other



On Feb. 11, when anti-abortion fanatics grouped to blockade a clinic in West Los Angeles, pro-choice demonstrators massed and marched at the same site.

speakers said: "We're not going to talk about *Roe v. Wade* getting turned around. We won't let it happen."

One young woman spoke differently. She wasn't addressing only the NOW-type well-off women, who were there. She talked of involving all women, especially women of color and working-class women. She said that the solution was not the Democratic Party vs. the Republican Party. After her, the NOW woman who was chairing said, "Not all the speakers here today represent what NOW is representing." Women in the audience yelled out, "Don't apologize for her," and "Maybe it should be what you represent."

I have been thinking a lot about the question of abortion over the last few months. I grew up as a Catholic and remember when I was younger and going to Church, all the things the pastor would cram down our throats, and we took it all in. When I became sexually active, I started to question these things, and think for myself. I believe a woman should be able to decide for herself, to control her own body.

The anti-abortionists are very well organized. I've been thinking of how we can fight back to stop what they're doing. I don't think what NOW is proposing is enough, writing our Senators and Congressmen, or even more rallies.

In *News & Letters*, Terry Moon wrote that if the government gives us something, it means they can take it away again. At first I thought the articles in *N&L* were pretty radical, but the more I think and see what's going on, I do know that so much is at stake, and we need to be radical.

—23-year-old emerging Women's Liberationist

Review: Engels Revisited

by Laurie Cashdan

Engels Revisited: New Feminist Essays, edited by Janet Sayers, Mary Evans and Nanneke Redclift (New York: Tavistock Publications, 1987). 172 pp.

This book is concerned with analyzing and ending the oppression of women. In it seven British women scholars discuss Frederick Engels' *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* 100 years after it appeared in 1884.

The book rests on the assumption that Engels' *Origin* holds the key to a historical materialist understanding of the oppression of women and thus perhaps pathways to ending it. As Moira Maconachie writes, such a materialist understanding is important to feminists because "once family relations are subject to historical scrutiny and are no longer seen as immutable, the forms they assume in society become open to question." (p. 102)

As a Marxist-Humanist I was excited by the publication of this book of essays on the 100th anniversary of Engels' *Origin* because the founder of Marxist-Humanism, Raya Dunayevskaya, had done such groundbreaking work on "Marx and Engels' Studies Contrasted" particularly on the difference between Engels' *Origin* and what Engels claimed had been the basis of the work: Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks*.

NO DISCUSSION OF MARX

What is unfortunate is that there is no discussion of Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* in this new feminist work. Those *Notebooks* differed sharply from Engels' concept that the transition to class society resulted in "world historic defeat of the female sex." Rather, Maconachie painstakingly traced through the emergence of dualities within the social relations of the primitive community. Furthermore Marx related the dialectical development from one stage to another to new revolutionary upsurges, while Engels sees only unilinear development.

Moira Maconachie sharply critiques Engels' challenging his assertion that women suffered "world historic defeat" when their position in family subsistence economy was overthrown as commodity production moved outside the family. She shows this by calling the sexual division of labor "primitive" rather than social, Engels poses a "natural" inequality between men and women.

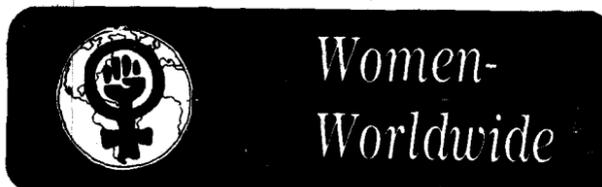
Maconachie insists that to see women as contributors to history we must acknowledge women's productive work. The sexual division of labor isn't just between family and production, as Engels suggests, but within both. That is a great and important critique, so the question is, why elevate Engels' *Origin* over Marx's view in his *Ethnological Notebooks*? Is it ignorance of them or hostility to Marx?

ENGELS: 'WORLD HISTORIC DEFEAT'

Nanneke Redclift does mention disputes over whether the anthropology of pre-capitalist formations should be based on "the commentaries by Marx on his anthropological readings," on the "theory of capitalism," or on Engels' *Origin*. (pp. 131-132) She as well refers to "the divergence of Engels from the conceptual project of a method of Marx," yet she still tries to root a feminist anthropology in *Origin*. (p. 113) It is Engels whom Redclift credits with illuminating the political, power relations between men and women in pre-capitalist societies. Yet Redclift, like Maconachie, by subsiding Marx to Engels on the subject of women, doesn't touch on Marx's understanding that even the power that women did have in primitive societies had limits that represented class divisions in embryo.

Raya Dunayevskaya, in *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* showed that this gulf between Marx and Engels involved Engels' confining Marx's philosophy of revolution to a vulgar materialism. Even at the outset of his life long collaboration with Engels, Marx had in 1844 developed a view of alienated Man/Woman relations in his *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts* as part of his opposition to all barriers to human self-development.

Engels Revisited contributes important critiques of Engels. Yet the vital need today to work out new philosophical ground for Women's Liberation makes it urgent to remember that Engels based his political perspective for women on their alleged "world historic defeat." He thereby obscured Marx's methodology of always looking at the concrete social relations in the particular economic form, which were constantly reshaped because they involved self-developing women and men.



Women-Worldwide

The newly formed SHANI, Israeli Women Against the Occupation, believes Israel must recognize the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and statehood, and meet with the PLO to negotiate an end to the conflict. They are involved in protest activities, coalition work and meetings with both Palestinian women and Israeli leaders. They can be contacted at: P.O. Box 9091, Jerusalem 91090.

A four-day sit-in by two women's groups in the student center at St. Cloud State University in Minnesota won a ban of exploitative sex magazines previously sold at the newsstand there. A counter-rally by male chauvinists notwithstanding, the sitters in found considerable support among students, staff, faculty and the community.

Across borders, companies flee unions

From Guatemala to New York

When garment workers in Guatemala City showed up for work in October, they found the factory of their employer, Confecciones Transcontinentales, stripped of sewing machines. Of the 500 who showed up for work that day, only 100 began a plant occupation that continues today. Among the occupants are 20 pregnant women, and others have been joined by their children inside the plant. They have appealed to North American solidarity activists to help them win their back wages and legally mandated severance pay owed to them.

They knew to look to El Norte because, left behind in the company's haste to escape a union drive, were the main numbers for the "main office" and "New York." These numbers belong to a company called Playknits in New York, which makes sports clothes for the Liz Claiborne company.

One worker involved in the unionization drive and occupation said:

By the time we had received some legal recognition of our union in mid-September, the company had practically declared an "illegal strike" to avoid discussion of our complaints. Over the weekend of Oct. 1-2 the company officials carried out their evacuation of nearly 300 sewing machines and other pieces of equipment. They ripped them out of the sewing tables, leaving the wires still sticking out from the motors below. We began our occupation of the plant the next day after a two-hour hassle with the guards to get inside.

Since our stay here there have been creditors stopping by to collect for unpaid bills from the company. However, instead of joining with our call for action they appear to have done nothing. We urge you to bring this message of our situation to the attention of the unions and solidarity groups in other countries that can help us. They must know of the pain caused to so many workers here in a country that has little employment, and we know how companies that behave like this can do the same thing to workers anywhere.

The only U.S. labor union with a contract with Liz Claiborne has done nothing to intervene on behalf of the sit-down occupants. But funds and telegrams from U.S. supporters will help. They can be sent through NISGRAGUA, the union federation representing the

newly formed union at Confecciones Transcontinentales, at 11 Calle, 8-14, Edi. Tecuman, Oficina #34, Zona 1, Guatemala City, Guatemala.

—U.S. supporter

From Detroit to Mexico

Detroit, Mich.—In February, they really began to rush the machines out of the U.S. Auto Radiator plant, packing them up to ship to the company's new plant in Mexico. Workers called the man taking the machines away the "undertaker"—"You're taking our food! Our jobs!" The next day my whole department was shut down.

The auto plants were the first to take work to another country. This is happening to a lot of plants. We refuse to work cheap enough. In the 11½ years I've been employed at U.S. Auto Radiator, we fought, went on strike three times, and they couldn't knock us down enough. They bought those two plants in Mexico to make slaves of us.

One janitor said, "We've been sold out to the wetbacks," but I told him, "You're wrong. Don't give hatred to the people who will get our jobs; give them pity. They will be working for only \$2.00 an hour, and no medical benefits."

—Woman worker

Injuries at Eckrich

Chicago, Ill.—An Eckrich sanitation worker was sprayed in the face with hot water and soap one night in February. At first they thought he might lose the sight in one eye. This was only the latest in a series of accidents and injuries at this plant—to backs, arms, shoulders, fingers and eyes. In at least one case, a supervisor wrote the injured worker up afterwards!

Is there a normal procedure for dealing with injuries? Each one seems to be dealt with totally differently. Who is responsible for taking you to the clinic or getting you to the hospital? Why did one person have to wait outside the plant (for 45 minutes) at night for an ambulance? There is no nurse in the plant. Who is in charge of the first aid room, knows what's in there and how to use it?

If you are injured between the hours of 7 a.m. and 6 p.m. they take you to the Elston Industrial Medical Centers. Everyone who is sent there ends up calling their own doctor, too. They diagnosed one back injury as a kidney ailment, and even prescribed medicine for it!

People feel like they have to get back to work as soon as possible, because they need the money. It's cold in this plant; the thermometers register 40°, but I could swear it's a lot colder than that. If you have a muscle injury it's not going to get better, because every time you walk into that building, your muscles tighten up. You have to keep a muscle warm in order for it to heal, but even people on light duty are in the cold.

—Eckrich workers

Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

following occupational injuries to children. They say, "The economic forces that conspired to create child labor 100 years ago have reconverged....They could learn from history. When you allow sweatshops to exist, when you legalize work at home as the Reagan administration has, you will inevitably see illegal and dangerous child labor."

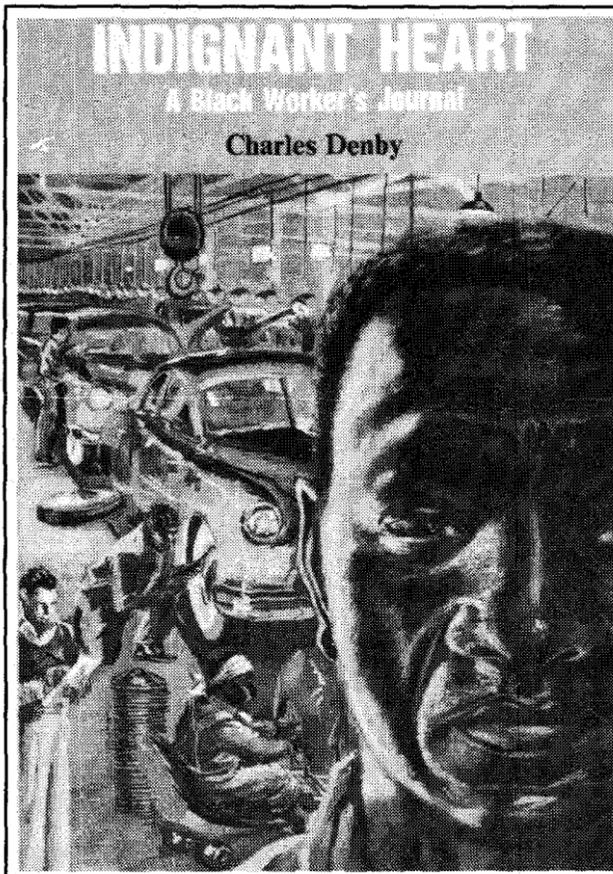
In 1986 New York state awarded 1,333 disability claims to child workers. Fully 41% of these were for permanently disabling injuries. And that does not include the undocumented immigrant children who just go to hospital emergency rooms for fear of being caught by immigration. They are not counted because, as one specialist said, "a lot of hospital workers can't believe an 11-year-old would be working as a meat slicer, so they don't ask if it's an occupational injury."

"Okay, we know the economy, the administration, and the new immigration law which persecutes you for being a worker, have all set the ground for this explosion of child labor. Who will now end it? The bureaucratic union leaders? At C&C Button the District 65 UAW leaders were the ones who let the illegal homework go on for years, despite our protests. Will more government inspectors end it? The child workers flee the sweatshops before the inspectors arrive—inspectors from the same government they see as the enemy trying to deport them and deny them work.

THIS ABOMINATION MUST END

If we are back to conditions of 100 years ago, then who opposed sweatshops and created unions and revolutionary movements of those days? It was the sweatshop workers themselves, marching after the Triangle Shirtwaist fire, organizing themselves. It was not the government, nor the skilled craft unions.

Yes, the ILGWU and the government inspectors oppose sweatshops and child labor. But the absolute opposite is to be found in the sweatshop workers themselves. Yes, our every solidarity with them is demanded. But nothing can substitute for what they themselves will come up with to oppose their conditions of labor, and what their genius will create to replace that. Will there be a revolutionary philosophic organization on the scene to listen to that genius, to make explicit what will be implicit in their struggle, to help them realize the greatness of their actions and thoughts? Our greatest solidarity lies in trying to build that organization today.



New 1989 edition

published by
Wayne State University Press

New features include:

Introduction by William H. Harris
Afterword by Raya Dunayevskaya

Read of Charles Denby's struggles,
North and South

- As a Black production worker in auto factories
- As a Civil Rights Movement activist
- As worker-editor of News & Letters

"Philosophy of liberation" was not mere rhetoric, much less an empty intellectual task. To Denby, philosophy became a clearing of the head for action. From the minute he became the editor of *News & Letters*, which manifested so unique a combination of worker and intellectual, Denby's interest in philosophy was never separated from action.

—from Raya Dunayevskaya's Afterword

Order from: News & Letters,
59 East Van Buren, #707
Chicago, IL 60605

\$14.95 + \$1 postage

Healthcare or health hazard

Chicago, Ill.—Working as a nurse in a Chicago area hospital, not only am I exploited and sexually discriminated against, I am continually expected to sacrifice my patients' well being for the sake of the almighty dollar. I was told directly by my head nurse that the administrators "wouldn't be able to pay your salary" if they allowed each floor in the hospital to work with a full staff. Instead, we work understaffed; patients take a greater health risk by coming into the hospital than if they had chosen to stay home.

Self-expression is suppressed and prohibited, also. Having worn black shirts to work instead of white, I know this to be true. I ask you—does the color of my shirt reflect the kind of care I give to my patients? No! You would have thought so, however, in the reaction it brought forth from two administrative personnel. Having my job performance scrutinized is just one consequence of self-expression.

They force Spanish-speaking people to sign consent forms for various procedures that are written in English. I have made available consent forms and teaching aids written in Spanish but I have always been turned away by the administrators with a condescending pat on the head. They thank me for interpreting, but they give a non-verbal message that translates, "we do not have the time nor are we willing to spend the money to see that your needs are attended to and that you are treated with respect and dignity as a fellow human."

Marx writes, "...the relations connecting the labour of one individual with that of the rest appear, not as direct social relations between individuals at work, but as what they really are, material relations between persons and social relations between things." This does not only exist in the production process, but has permeated the whole of society, thereby perpetuating and reinforcing the fetishism of commodities.

Through capitalism, the human experience has been reduced so much so that people are treated as things and interact as such day in and day out. In the profession of nursing there is no room for this fetishism; its existence in itself is intolerable! Each time I hold the hand of a dying person or watch a person take their last breath I am reminded of our

humanness, and too quickly reminded of man's alienation and dehumanization under capitalism.

In breaking free from the chains of capitalism which distort all human relations, I again turn to Marx, "...by means of cooperation, the creation of a new power, namely, the collective power of masses" is born. This new social power created through cooperation gives the power back to the masses where it rightly belongs, bringing with it liberation, and then can follow man's realization of his fullest potentialities.

—Registered nurse, graduate student

L.A. gravediggers unite

Los Angeles, Cal.—Workers for the Los Angeles Roman Catholic Archdiocese, many of whom dig graves in the archdiocese's ten cemeteries, voted in February in favor of being represented by a union.

This culminates a year-long fight in which the Latino laborers were spoken to personally by the self-proclaimed supporter of workers' rights, Archbishop Roger Mahoney, who told them that a vote for the union was a vote against himself and the Catholic Church. And while the archdiocese lawyers had been successful in convincing the National Labor Relations Board that the "religious workers" are exempt from the National Labor Relations Act, the workers themselves saw through enough of the employer's lies to narrowly win the vote for the union.

Discrimination and harassment are nothing new to any minority who has dug graves for wage labor. In his book *Indignant Heart, A Black Worker's Journal*, Charles Denby tells his story of digging for a white funeral: as his friend went to throw the first shovel of dirt over the coffin on the pastor's cue, he was told, "Look n---er...as long as you live you're not going to throw dirt on a white person's face."

That was some 65 years ago in Alabama. Today it is hoped that the workers here might at least attain wages and benefits comparable to those received in the unionized New York and San Francisco archdioceses.

—Joe Weerth

Coming next issue

**In-person report
from Mexico**

From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya Marxist-Humanist Archives

Editor's note: As part of the ongoing study and discussion of Raya Dunayevskaya's 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes"—the "philosophic moment" from which Marxist-Humanism was born and developed—we here publish excerpts of Raya Dunayevskaya's October, 1982 Political-Philosophic Letter, "On the Battle of Ideas: Philosophic-Theoretic Points of Departure as Political Tendencies Respond to the Objective Situation." The first part here, "Dialectic Mediation and Absolute Negativity," as well as the Postscript, discusses her Letters of May 12 and 20, 1953 in relation to her break with C.L.R. James and Grace Lee Boggs; the second part, "Hegel's Absolute Mind," discusses the three final paragraphs of Hegel's Philosophy of Mind in relation to "the forces of revolution as Reason as analyzed in Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution," the book by Dunayevskaya which was about to appear when this Letter was written. The full text of the Letter can be found in The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half Century of its World Development, microfilm #7486-7500.

DIALECTIC MEDIATION AND ABSOLUTE NEGATIVITY

...In my Letters on the Absolute Idea, in which four pages are devoted to the Philosophy of Mind, here is what I wrote:

"Here, much as I try not once again to jolt you by sounding as if I were exhorting, I'm too excited not to rejoice at what this means for us. But I'll stick close to Hegel and not go off for visits with Lenin and Marx. Hegel says that the two appearances of the Idea (to us: Socialism in the form of either the Commune or the Soviets) characterize both its manifestation and this, precisely, is 'A unification of the two aspects.'"

I then quoted para. #577:

"The self-judging of the Idea into its two appearances [#575, 576] characterizes both as its (the self-knowing reason's) manifestations: and in it there is a unification of the two aspects—it is the nature of the fact, the notion, which causes the movement and development, yet this same movement is equally the action of cognition..."

It becomes necessary to stress here, over and over again, that I had not a single word to say then about the Party or the Soviets or any form of organization. On the contrary. Here is what I then concluded: "We have entered the new society."

Philosophically, what happened was that Grace Lee Boggs had been so enthusiastic about that May 20, 1953 letter, and had grasped how new, historically new, had been my singling out of the movement from practice to reach the new society, that she plunged into one of her hyperboles to say that what Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks had done in creating the Great Divide in Marxism in World War I, my letters on the Absolute Idea had achieved for our age. It was evidently at that point that all hell broke loose as C.L.R. James not only did not answer my letters but ordered Grace, who was in California, and who had hailed those letters so enthusiastically, to return to New York at once. They both then decided that I should not demand any discussion of the letters "for the time being," and that I was to start the practical preparations for the July Convention [of Correspondence Committees]. He seemed to do likewise. But since he had to leave for England, he called the "faithful" to him there and they began preparations to split Johnson [C.L.R. James] and Forest [Raya Dunayevskaya].

It is necessary now to trace what dialectic mediation achieves—precisely because it was in the middle, between the movements from practice and from theory; how it requires a double negation before it can reach a new society. All of it is seen first in the final syllogisms of Absolute Mind, not as any sort of God, or as evasion of all responsibility by dumping all responsibility on "the masses."

HEGEL'S ABSOLUTE MIND (paragraphs #575, 576, 577 of Philosophy of Mind); THE FORCES OF REVOLUTION AS REASON, AS ANALYZED IN ROSA LUXEMBURG, WOMEN'S LIBERATION, AND MARX'S PHILOSOPHY OF REVOLUTION

Paragraph #575 seems merely to state the obvious, the sequence of the books Hegel wrote—Logic, Nature, Mind. The second paragraph (#576) is Nature, Mind, Logic. And since Mind is the mediation there, you first

1. I should call attention to the fact that those letters, dated May 12 and May 20, 1953, use the expression Absolute Idea for all references to the Absolute. While that is acceptable in general, it is necessary here to be more precise by differentiating the Absolute: in the Phenomenology, Hegel used the expression Absolute Knowledge; in the Science of Logic, it is articulated as Absolute Idea; and in the Philosophy of Mind, it emerges as Absolute Mind. It is especially important to stress this here because the first letter on the Absolute Idea (May 12) is where I took issue with Lenin for having said that the final paragraph in the Science of Logic doesn't matter. Grace Lee Boggs then took issue with my "exhortation," which concerned me enough not to continue the criticism of Lenin. Instead I followed Hegel's advice. That is, I realized that Hegel had not finished the totality of his philosophy and had advised his reader that he must now go to Philosophy of Nature and Philosophy of Mind to grasp that totality. See The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, on deposit at Wayne State University: Volume III, Section I, E (#1797) and Vol III, Section I, C (#1595).

get the full impact of Hegel's concept of mediation as he lunged out against "systems" and for mediation, because philosophic mediation is the middle that first creates from itself the whole.

In a word, Hegel has now departed from both the system as well as spontaneity, or practice, or nature as if these were the whole. He could still keep away from making his dialectic into any sort of system because, in the final paragraph (#577), he doesn't finish that as a syllogism, that is to say, he refuses to follow the "sequence" which would have led to Logic being the mediation. What we are confronted with, as replacement for Logic, is the self-determination of the Idea and the self-bringing forth of liberty. In a word, in each case, mediation, as a transition point to something else, stops as we have reached the totality of both inwardizing and spontaneity (Nature). Hegel replaces Logic, but will not tell us what to do. Self-knowing reason (#577) is that self-bringing forth of liberty which is concrete, which is everywhere present, which is constantly developing.

For any to whom it may seem incongruous to have included "Forces of Revolution as Reason" in this section on Hegel's Absolute Mind, it becomes necessary to return to Marx's 1844 Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic to see why Marx refused to stop where Feuerbach allowed Hegel to chain the dialectic by refusing to recognize the revolutionary nature of "negation of negation." Marx unchained that most revolutionary dialectic—"negation of negation"—by demystifying it and revealing its objectively revolutionary nature. As Marx kept developing his own continent of thought and of revolution, he situated "negation of negation" by declaring that the 1848 Revolution needed further development as a "revolution in permanence." It is this which Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution declared to be "the absolute challenge to our age." This section on Absolute Mind extends this by disclosing how the Self-Thinking Idea is moving toward a new unity with the Self-Bringing Forth of Liberty—that movement from practice that is itself a form of theory and thus becomes a revolutionary force that is Reason.

Where forces of revolution are Reason, Marx's demystification of double negation and its articulation as "revolution in permanence" demands that it not be left just in the field of theory but becomes ground for a new organizational form—indeed, for self-development of the Individual. It is for this reason that in all three books—Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution as well as Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution—I traced those forces of revolution through three decades, as they centered around a new generation of revolutionaries, both as Youth and as Labor from under totalitarianism calling itself Communism; or the Black dimension in the U.S. and in Africa; or a whole new Third World; or the new world force of revolution—Women's Liberation, having leaped from an Idea whose time has come to a Movement....

POSTSCRIPT

Perhaps it would be good here to trace through the entire sequence of events from 1948, when C.L.R. James' "Notes on Dialectics" inspired me to translate Lenin's Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic, rather than beginning with the better-known (1953) date of my Letters on the Absolute Idea. Although I was then unaware that my brief comments in submitting the translation of Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks signalled a difference in interpretation of the historic and philosophic significance of those Notebooks, the truth is that that is the beginning of philosophic differences within the Johnson-Forest Tendency (JFT). (See the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, Vol. III, Sec. I, Part C, microfilm #1595-1734.)

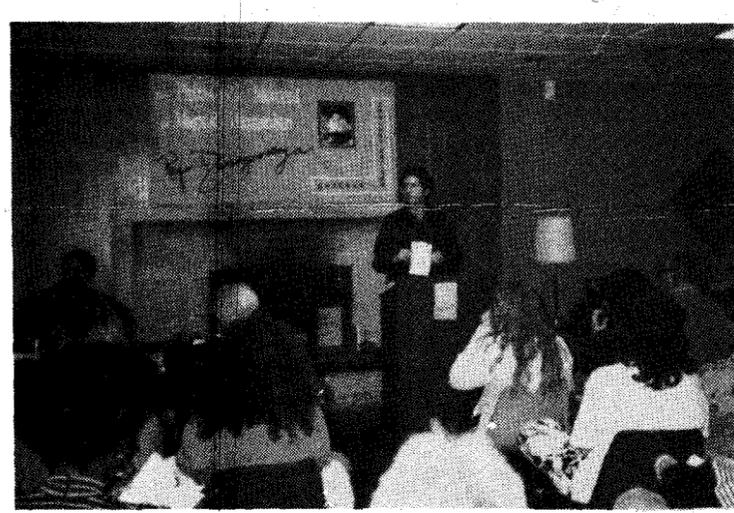
The Miners' General Strike, which had erupted in 1949 and continued into 1950, followed a period when C.L.R. James, who remained in New York, and I, who had moved to steeltown (Pittsburgh), were hardly on speaking terms. As soon as the strike erupted, I went down to West Virginia and worked with the members of the JFT who were very active in that strike. (The Socialist Workers Party [SWP] local there was all JFT.) I had begun sending a very new type of article on the miners' strike and interviews with miners' wives to the Militant, whose editor, George Breitman, greeted them as "a breath of fresh air." It was clear that the workers' attitude to the "continuous miner"—the word "Automation" had not yet been invented, and the workers simply referred to it as the "man-killer"—signified a new stage of production and a new stage of cognition. The predominant question in workers' minds was not just higher wages; they questioned the very kind of labor man should do, demanding to know: Why should there be this unbridgeable gulf between mental and manual labor? It is this type of question which led the JFT to cast their summation document of ten years' development of the theory of state-capitalism in a very

On the battle of ideas

new way. C.L.R. James and Grace Lee came to Pittsburgh where we jointly wrote State-Capitalism and World Revolution, which we were to submit to the SWP Convention that year. For the first time, we included a section on philosophy, written by our "official" philosopher, Grace Lee, and entitled "Philosophy in the Epoch of State-Capitalism."

I was enthusiastic about the new section, but I had questioned two points in the draft: 1) How does it happen that Contradiction, which is the central category Essence, becomes the central point for Lenin's philosophic reorganization when, in fact, his Notebooks show he had gone through the whole of the Doctrine of the Notion? 2) Why are we omitting reference to the Absolute Idea, which C.L.R. James had posed in his "Notes on Dialectics"? The only answer C.L.R. James and Grace Lee seemed to have given me was incorporated in the document: "There is no longer any purely philosophical answer to all this." This had been preceded by the explanation: "These intellectuals are the most cultivated in the modern world, in the sense of knowing the whole past of human culture. Having achieved what the idealism of Hegel posed as the Absolute, they are undergoing a theoretical disintegration without parallel in human history..."

When, in 1951, Grace tackled the Syllogism in the Doctrine of the Notion, I still seemed satisfied, but a year that disappeared by 1953 when I, myself, worked out both the Absolute Idea and Absolute Mind in the Letters of May 12 and May 20, 1953. It is true I was sufficiently taken aback with her critique of my "exhortation" of Lenin in the May 12 letter to begin the May 2



On Jan. 29, over 75 people attended a book party in Chicago to celebrate the publication of *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two Historic-Philosophic Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya*. The creativity of the displays produced for the event, the presentation given on the new book by Peter Wermuth, national co-organizer of News and Letters Committees, and the lively discussion that followed made the event a most exciting way to begin the discussion on *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism*.

letter with: "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." But there was no doubt by then that, hard as I tried to continue in the context that preoccupied C.L.R. James and Grace Lee—the "dialectics of the party"—I was bound in a very different direction once I concentrated on Hegel's "dialectic mediation" rather than any sort of "mediator," whether the Party or otherwise. (See my "Letters on the Absolute Idea." See also my later reference to Poeggeler's 1961 statement: "In opposition to the usual interpretations of the Hegelian text, I should like to propose the following: that the actual science of Spirit is not the Logic but the philosophy of Spirit," which I quote in my lecture to the Hegel Society of America on "Absolute Idea as New Beginning," p. 171 of *Art and Logic in Hegel's Philosophy* [edited by Warren Steinkraus, 1980].)

It is worth noting here, also, that in plunging into the final three syllogisms, I had to dive on my own, since there was absolutely no one—not even Marx,² let alone Lenin, much less C.L.R. James and Grace Lee—who had written anything on that. Once I ventured out in 1953, and confronted the actual world movement from practice, the integrality of philosophy and revolution showed itself to be (or should we say, aspired to become) the solution to the problematic of the modern world. The one thing we know as fact in this [Marx] centenary year is that—once we do know the Marx oeuvre as totality, and once we do have our ears to the ground of both new voices from below and the creative nature of Marx's mind (and Marx's alone)—then we do perceive in Marx's new moments a trail to the 1980s, be that as new Third World, or global theory reaching philosophy, a philosophy of revolution that is to become preparation for actual "revolution in permanence."

2. Marx ended his Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic with a quotation from para. 384 of Philosophy of Mind: "The

Philosophic Dialogue

On Dunayevskaya's 1953 letters

Editor's note: With this issue *News & Letters* begins a new regular feature consisting of discussion and debate from our readers on the major philosophic writings of Marxist-Humanism. What follows are four from among a number of commentaries we have received on Raya Dunayevskaya's 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes," published in the November, 1988 *N&L* and recently in book

form in *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism*. We view this as the beginning of new dialogue with our readers on the significance of the 1953 Letters for today, and we intend to publish ongoing discussion of them in future issues. Your participation is welcome.

From a feminist Hegel scholar

I know that I have read about Raya Dunayevskaya in the past few years because Adrienne Rich wrote about her work in *The Women's Review of Books* in 1986 and I always read all of that publication. Despite this, as Rich remarked in the review "her name remained so long unknown to me." What excuse I have I do not know, for I have read philosophy since the early 1960s and I have been a devoted reader of Hegel since the early 1970s. Yet, the truth is that it is only this year that her name has really become known to me. It makes me see all the more how easily our past is silenced and how much we need to be continually active in recovering the past.

Recently I received the November, 1988 copy of *N&L* that contained her 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes." As I read these letters I developed a deep empathy for the woman who had written them. Here was a woman who in 1953 (a year in which I believe I was being shown how to protect myself from an atomic blast by sheltering under my school desk) was "drunk" on Hegel's Logic and the dialectic of the Absolute Idea. She was turning to the Logic for help with her daily problems—and her daily problems had to do with finding a way out of totalitarianism. Her struggle with these daily problems were part of what must have provided me with the possibilities that I have had as a woman in our society. And yet, I did not know her name.

As I read her letters, her exuberance delighted me. She too found in Hegel something about freedom, about liberation, and its relation to thought that has always made Hegel a solace for me despite his problematic position on women. As I read her letter of May 12, 1953, I too was sent scurrying to Hegel's Logic. She told me (and Lenin) that the last paragraph of the Logic is important. It is here that Hegel moves beyond transition to liberation. The Idea is the totality in the form of nature:

"But this determination has not issued from a process of becoming, nor is it a transition, as when above, the subjective Notion in its totality becomes objectivity, and the subjective end becomes life. On the contrary, the pure Idea in which the determinateness or reality of the Notion is itself raised into Notion, is an absolute liberation for which there is no longer any immediate determination that is not equally posited and itself Notion; in this freedom, therefore, no transition takes place." (Logic, Miller trans., p. 843)

Dunayevskaya's reading sent me looking through the Logic for the movements of transition to see what it is that happens in the work to bring us to this point of liberation.

In the early parts of the Logic Hegel characterizes transition as *uebergehen*. This is a passing over; it can mean changing hands or even an ignoring or omitting. There is an indifference about transition as *uebergehen*. The logic of Being is dominated by this transition. While this transition is a becoming, it is also an alienating. It is a process of becoming other where what becomes remains other.

In Book II, Section II, Chapter 3, Hegel introduces the movement of becoming which he calls *uebersetzen*. This is also a passing over. But, it is a passing over that carries along; it translates. *Uebersetzen* is a movement from unity to diversity and so an other which contains alienation. *Uebersetzen* is still a transition, but a transition which begins a movement back into unity. But this movement, introduced in the section on force, is a self-repelling movement. Translation is still an expression in an incomplete form.

It is only in the last paragraph of the Logic that the movement of liberation (*Befreiung*) is introduced. Here the Idea "freely releases itself." "By reason of this freedom, the form of its determinateness is also utterly free—the externality of space and time existing absolutely on its own account without the moment of subjectivity." (Miller, p. 843) Reading this with Dunayevskaya, I am taken with the insight that full liberation requires this knowledge that we can be free. Freedom is not a becoming other, but is an existing on one's own account.

—Patricia Altenbernd Johnson
University of Dayton

From a South African

I enjoyed reading Dunayevskaya's 1953 letters for their voyage of discovery in Hegel. Before reading them in the journal you sent us I was already familiar with C.L.R. James' *Notes on Dialectics* and had looked at Dunayevskaya's book with the article on Luxemburg. As I see it, every serious and informed reading of Hegel is welcome: it is essential for a future Marxist current to be grounded in Hegel's thinking, and in all developments relating to it. Dunayevskaya's re-discovery of the notion of freedom in Hegel makes exciting reading.

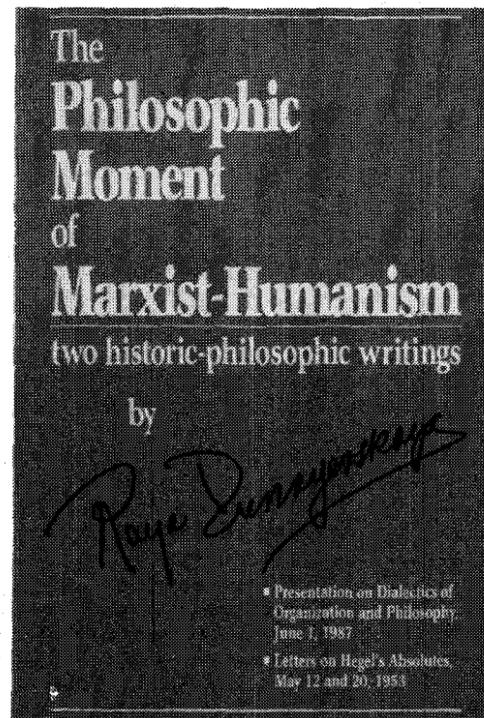
Yet I am suspicious of a serious appropriation of the philosophical basis of Marx's thought, which this is, that is not simultaneously an appropriation of a vast mass of empirical material, such as Marx attempted for his own day (and Hegel for his)....Further, I am hostile to the effort to deduce directly from Hegel certain very specific and concrete political conclusions, as James does in the "Nevada dialectics" and as I think Dunay-

evskaya does here in relation to the party. Without the mediation of real empirical knowledge, I suspect it is possible to derive almost any conclusion one wishes by such means.

By comparison with investigation of society in the USSR that has appeared in the journal *Critique*, the notion of the USSR as "state capitalist" as in Dunayevskaya's conception appears to me clumsy and uninformative: the differentia specifica are hurled overboard.

—Paul Trehwela
Searchlight South Africa

Now Available from News & Letters



Paperback \$3.00

Hardcover \$10.00

order from News and Letters,
59 E. Van Buren, #707
Chicago, IL 60605

From an Indian Marxist

Raya's letters of May 1953, showing splendidly how she was studying and absorbing Hegel "as a materialist" (as Lenin would say), is of extreme importance for the self-emancipatory movement of the working class. The Resident Editorial Board has done well in (re)publishing these important texts. Reserving more reflections on the letters for a future occasion I would like to quickly raise a couple of points in this connection.

I. The first letter cites Lenin's observation "Man's cognition not only reflects the objective world but creates it." The commentators (editors) perhaps should show how and to what extent this observation is consistent with Marx's well-known materialist position (in his *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*): "Theory becomes a material force (only), once it grips the masses," which is directly linked with his *Theses on Feuerbach*: the world which has "only been interpreted by the philosophers" (Thesis XI) is "changed" only through "revolutionary (revolutionising) practice" (Thesis III). Otherwise there is a risk that Lenin's observation becomes indistinguishable from Althusser's "theoretical practice."

II. Raya "sees socialism in the Commune, the Soviets" or "in the form of the Commune and the Soviets." I have two problems here. First, the Commune (1871) was seen by Marx not as socialism, but as Proletarian Dictatorship through which the working class has to advance towards a society of "free and associated producers" of which the first phase came to be called (by Lenin among others) "socialism." Similarly the Soviets were originally seen (by Lenin e.g.) as a form of Proletarian Dictatorship, not as socialism.

Obviously the proletarian political rule representing the rupture with the bourgeois political rule (but not yet the economic rule) puts the proletariat directly on the road to its self-emancipation and to that extent one could already "see socialism" in it (just as even before the proletarian political rule, during the ultimate phase of capital's existence, what Marx calls "directly social capital" already shows the attainment of the basic material conditions of socialism).

But Proletarian Dictatorship is not socialism. In fact Raya herself says this much in her cryptic but significant remark: "it is not yet IT...The new society will not be until it is." This perhaps should be made somewhat clearer by the commentators (editors).

COMMUNE AND SOVIETS DIFFER

My second problem is the difficulty in accepting that the commune and the Soviets represented the same kind of (proletarian) rule—which seems to have been

assumed by Raya in this letter. Particularly after the Bolsheviks seized power the dissimilarity between the two becomes increasingly evident. It can be easily shown that all the essential features that Marx had discerned and acclaimed in the 1871 Commune were systematically negated in the Soviet rule, at least beginning with 1918. (It is time the Marxists honestly analyze the massacre of the Kronstadt sailors in 1921 in its proper perspective, for example).

Lenin's words, cited by Raya about "combining initiative, independence, freedom of action and vigour from below with voluntary centralism" sounds, in the context of the Soviet (actual) reality, hollow and indeed ironical. Rosa Luxemburg, with all her sympathies for October (1917), had the great lucidity and courage to show, in 1918, that the Soviet regime under the dictatorship of Lenin and Trotsky was not a Proletarian Dictatorship but a "dictatorship of a handful of persons," that is, "dictatorship after the bourgeois model" (in her words).

For the self-emancipation of the proletariat we must here—as elsewhere—go back to the source, that is, to Marx himself (1843): "Ruthless criticism is ruthless in that it will shrink neither from its own discoveries nor from conflict with the powers that be" (my emphasis).

—Paresh Chattopadhyay
Montreal

From a British revolutionary

After a few initial thought-dives into Raya's 1953 letters, here is what I have come up with: I take Hegel's category, "Absolute Idea," to mean a stage in the development of human thought (Mind) which grasps the world (objective reality), not as something which is outside and beyond, but which Mind works upon and gives shape and meaning. Furthermore, Mind is conscious of itself as the purposeful, intelligent element at work in the objective world.

Mind is now in a position to look back over its own previous development, in terms of modes of thought belonging to particular epochs and countries in History, and in terms of the evolution from the most immediate, superficial forms of thought to the most profound (Logic). It can see in this pathway of previous development a progress towards full self-realization, freedom.

Raya sees in the dialectic of the Absolute Idea, the dialectic of the party, and in this context, "party" means "that type of grouping like ours"—that is, an organization which sees responsibility for philosophy as inseparable from changing the world.

Viewed in one way, Absolute Idea is the "Identity of the Theoretical and the Practical Idea" which Raya "at this moment" (an important qualification) interprets as "the identity of the activity of the leadership and the activity of the ranks."

In Marxist-Humanism, the "Identity of the Theoretical and the Practical Idea" means individuals from proletarian and intellectual backgrounds working together and learning from each other. It also means the convergence of two sources of knowledge. On the practical side, there is the direct, lived experience of this capitalist society and actual participation in the struggles to overturn it (including practical experience of running a revolutionary organization). On the theoretical side, there is the whole of existing human thought and knowledge but specifically the philosophy of revolution that is our legacy from Marx.

As an example of how the two transmute into each other, Marx observed the Paris Commune as it happened and worked out its meaning philosophically—movement from practice to theory. Lenin "discovered" the Paris Commune via theory—he read Marx's *State and Revolution*. He developed this theoretically in *State and Revolution*, returning to practice with "All Power to the Soviets!" and the October Revolution—a practice that was illuminated by theory.

WORKERS AND INTELLECTUALS

"The Absolute Idea contains the highest opposition within itself." What I think this means for us is that the division between worker and intellectual is not automatically overcome by being together in a revolutionary organization. A continual, conscious effort to overcome it is necessary from both sides. The workers have got to find the confidence to study, write, handle theoretical concepts, and recognize that they may be already "philosophers without knowing it." The intellectuals need to open their ears and minds to the sort of experiences and ideas that the workers have, while helping the workers find their way into the "body of ideas."

This brings us to the break with C.L.R. James. From what I have read of C.L.R. James, he seems to believe that the working class is moving towards socialism more or less automatically, regardless of philosophy. (Strange that they haven't got there yet.) The subjective side—workers as reason—is neglected.

More tentatively, I think "highest opposition" also involves the question of being both an individual, and a member of a tendency; thinking for yourself but accepting the discipline of an organization; taking responsibility for a philosophy that was founded by others (Marx, Raya), yet subjecting everything to critical reasoning.

—Richard Bunting
Oxford, England

THE PHILOSOPHIC DIMENSION OF BLACK STRUGGLES

Reading Gene Ford's review essay of *Indignant Heart, A Black Worker's Journal* (Jan-Feb. N&L) was very good for me, someone just beginning to be more aware of and therefore discontent with the realities of this society. He presents a stark contrast between the worker in a capitalist society whose thoughts, creativity, and very life are suppressed, and the workers in News and Letters Committees, as people whose "lives can determine the world." I never understood before what Raya Dunayevskaya meant by the need to end the division between mental and manual labor.

New reader
Long Beach, Cal.

I agree with the way Gene Ford disagreed with Professor Harris' new Preface. Harris says that Blacks still support the U.S. system. Gene brings out the revolutionary nature, not the accommodation, of the Black Experience.

Ex-Miner
Detroit

The Left and labor bureaucrats are always trying to write Marxist-Humanism out of history. That's why the pictures included in the new edition are so great. They remind me of one of Denby's favorite quotes from Hegel: "Spirit upsets the household arrangements of Faith and moves in the goods and furnishings of the Here and Now."

Health worker
Detroit

It is the Black struggle that again showed the world what the reality of life is in these United States, especially Black life. While Bush's \$25 million inauguration was playing with its thousand points of light glowing from little flashlights twirled by revelers—no doubt mass-produced in his early beloved "free market," which he never

tires of adding to the Bill of Rights—the Black community in Overtown, Miami, answering Miami police justice, lit the kind of torches that got white America's attention if only for a short time.

While Miami burned, Bush played on.
Angela Terrano
New York

Whenever there is an eruption—as with the Black community in Miami—the mayor and other officials rush to the Black leadership to "bring the situation back to normal," when "normal" is the problem.

Observer
Bay Area

Charles Denby's book is a major, concrete work in Black history. It destroys the stereotypes white Americans have made of Black America—that Blacks are an object, a tool, the same one day as the next. Denby is saying: "We have minds of our own." He'll take your imagination on a long ride...

White student/worker
Los Angeles

There was a magnificent Black History Month meeting at California State University where Gene Ford spoke on his essay in N&L on the new edition of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*. Almost all who came want to continue the dialogue with Marxist-Humanism. One young Black student asked, when the discussion turned to the question of organization, "Are you speaking of organization of thought, or organization in the physical sense?" In my talk at our Book Party here to celebrate the publication of *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism*, I hope to draw in precisely these kinds of questions that others are asking.

Michelle Landau
Los Angeles

'THE PARTY' IN THE PHILIPPINES

I want to respond to the letter from the Philippine Revolutionary Activist in the Jan-Feb issue of N&L.

The Protracted People's War is a Maoist strategy. As far as I know from some long-time activists, and from my reading of some of Jose Maria Sison's 1987 lectures, Mao Zedong Thought is no longer included among the theoretical foundations of the Communist Party of the Philippines. Why the inconsistency? It would be interesting to know what was the basis for such exclusion of Mao, and what the people involved in discussing such questions think.

On the question whether we should still "expose" the U.S.-Aquino Regime: isn't this again a reflection of our attitude toward the masses? We still seem not to believe that, with their increased day-to-day suffering under the regime, they already know this. Perhaps they are looking for a direction toward genuine liberation.

But how is this possible if we limit discussions of theoretical/ideological questions to ourselves or a vanguard party, while we categorize the masses according to levels. Yes, we get them involved in revolutionary activities, but we limit discussions with them according to their "level." In the end, when our plans fail, we often say it is because the masses don't understand.

Filipina Activist
New York

REALITY OF STATE-CAPITALISM

A trip to the Soviet Union last August gave us a first-hand opportunity to see glasnost and perestroika in action. Our Intourist Hotel was close by Red Square and most of the tourist attractions—a short walk to the Kremlin, Lenin's tomb, the Lenin Library, St. Basil's Cathedral, the War Memorial with its eternal flame, and the huge Gum Department store. The three-story Lenin Museum contained documents, artifacts and photographs of Lenin's entire activity on display. But one looks in vain for a reference to the old Bolsheviks or a single snapshot of his Politbureau of 1917-1918...

When I became ill and called for a doctor, a doctor, nurse and technician appeared, an EKG was taken in the ho-

tel room and an ambulance ordered. The main hospital complex was a good 20-minute ride from our hotel, but light years away from this modern hotel run with computers and telex machines. We were prepared to see a clinic without modern Western equipment, but totally unprepared for the ancient buildings and unsanitary facilities. A patient must bring his own gown, towel, washcloth and toilet tissue! This was Moscow—what must the other hospitals be like? No wonder life expectancy is ten years lower than ours.

This primitive state of medicine is described in reports of the recent Armenian earthquake tragedy. What price armaments and space exploration!

Old Político
California

The Polish workers know the reality of state-capitalism. The whole of Capital is in the little story from the miners you published in the December issue of N&L. It is not those workers Dunayevskaya is critiquing in her article on "self-limiting revolution" in that same issue, but the intellectuals and the leaders who are afraid of revolution. There is no political solution to the problems of the world.

Black writer
Bay Area

CANADA'S ELECTIONS

The Canadian Establishment press immediately hailed "MuLooney's" Conservative victory here as a massive indication of Canadian support for free trade. The reality of the votes cast by 75% of the Canadian voting population reflect a distinctly different view. The Conservatives won with 43% of the votes while the combined opposition received just over 52%—Liberals 31.9% and Social Democrats 20.4%.

Previously the Canada Elections Act had prohibited paid political advertisements by special interest groups and individuals. But in 1984 this law was struck down and the floodgates were open to those armed with large amounts of spare cash. The Conservative government poured \$25 million into promoting free trade and they were joined by business groups across the country. But most disturbing to many

Readers' Views

Canadians were the contributions of American Corporations in Canada. Across the country they were seen predicting huge losses in jobs if the deal was defeated. Employees were told by management they would soon be out on the street if the deal was not to go through.

Interestingly, just two days after the election, Gillette announced that it would be the first American plant to close down and move 490 jobs from Montreal to south of the border. Pittsburgh Paint and Glass was close behind throwing a further 143 out of work. Each week has seen the list grow.

Correspondent
Ontario



SALUTING WOMEN'S STRUGGLES

Please tell your Chicago readers that a fund-raiser is being held on March 10 at Brothers Three, 5610 S. Ashland Ave. for Martha Palmer, the Black woman who had served as a Counselor for three and a half years at Northern Illinois University, before she was fired after sparking a student, faculty and legislative movement in the state of Illinois. The goal of the Fund is to assure that Blacks, Latinos, women and other minorities have a place in higher education. We plan to provide both defense funds and scholarships in the years to come. We want to salute the leadership of Black women in the struggles for freedom.

Students for the Freedom
of Martha Palmer
P.O. Box 21177
Chicago, IL 60621

Last week we had a workshop on the Indian situation for women. We have a group of 25 to 30 who are always ready for anything, and always want to go ahead. We appear almost every day in the local papers, and are already well-known in this area. This year we will celebrate March 8, International Women's Day, with a demonstration, a street play and a table with feminist and tribal materials.

Women's Liberationist
India

I was invited to give the major address at the annual open meeting of the Women's Coalition of St. Croix. My topic was "Women as Reason and Force" throughout history, and I tried to show how the St. Croix Coalition fits that picture. You can see how much I rely on Raya's work. The talk was well-received.

Gloria Joseph
St. Croix

A REJOINDER

The article I wrote for the December issue of N&L was originally directed to organizations like The Progressive Student Network, Revolutionary Communist Party and the International Socialist Organization. That may be why some statements were vague and misunderstood. My reference to "continuation" was simply stating that spontaneity allows the movement to continue, while mediation holds it back. The article was intended to be an assessment of the current status of the Youth Movement. I was saying that open discussion of ideas was the first step in the direction toward a unity of theory and practice. If SOS Racism sharply opposed discussions on Marxism, as Laurie Cashdan said in her response (Jan-Feb./89 N&L), then obviously the discussions weren't totally "open."

And before we recoil in horror at the reluctance to discuss Marx, let me say that most Marxists react that same way when the Idea of Anarchy is brought up. If we are to develop new ways of thinking, we must discuss all philosophies and beliefs, not just our own.

Joe, NIU student
DeKalb, Illinois

DEMONSTRATORS FOR PEACE

In 1988, 4,130 nuclear protest arrests were made in the U.S. and another 340 in Canada, during 160 different actions at 65 locales. Now George Bush has declared his opposition to a comprehensive test ban treaty, assuring that the Nevada Test Site will continue to be a focus for nonviolent direct action. A major action is planned for Tax Day, April 15. In the year ahead, nuclear testing, Trident, the missile silos and star wars will be major targets of protest. Those arrested will continue to bring International Law into court, claiming the Bomb itself is an illegal weapon of mass destruction which citizens are obliged to resist. Your readers can send for a free sample of our newsletter.

Nuclear Resister
P.O. Box 43383
Tucson, Arizona 85733

News & Letters is both interesting and useful, especially the news from the Soviet Union which does not appear in any other publication I know. The Israeli woman whose picture appeared on p. 12 of the Jan./Feb. 1989 issue was very surprised to see her picture there. She is a regular participant in all peace demonstrations, which is quite difficult since she has to bring up her baby (who also appears in the picture) all by herself. Please send more copies.

Adam Keller
Israel

LATIN AMERICA'S UNFINISHED REVOLUTIONS

I'm not sure I agree with your emphasis on posing the question "What happens after?" before the revolution. In Latin America, there's such an urgency for revolution; so much needs to be done. I think certain questions have to be sacrificed, and dealt with later.

Solidarity activist
Los Angeles

So much of the Left today still hails guerrilla warfare as the road to the Third World Revolution, even when such military "focoism" has not brought about a new society. But Raya Dunayevskaya in her Political-Philosophic Letter "Latin America's Unfinished Revolutions," in the Jan.-Feb. N&L, makes it clear that there are no such "shortcuts" to revolution. The revolution cannot be "made" from above by a few determined individuals, regardless of how much they may want it, as with Ché in Bolivia.

Student/activist
California

POEM FROM THE GAMBIA: "Rest in Peace, Comrade"

It was
If I should say better
For me, but not only me
Tears that shall never dry
I counted on time
My tenfingers stained with your blood
The melodies that chanted the dirge
Were no rhythm of sentiments

I felt duty-bound
That that spear should be mine, ours
As young as the night
That beats the Tom-Tom, that a comrade is gone
But who kills
And such a young night
That wrecklessness of fascism
has change in colour, this time car accident.

Oh brother
My comrade brother
Eternity has been chosen for you
At this aging time of our struggle
But we shall sing, write and pray
Greet Biko, Sobokwe, Lumumba, Raya
But tell Fanon
And my dear friends, the martyrs
That the struggle is born anew
We will win brother
So rest in peace comrade.

By SHAKES
FOR SULAYMAN SOWE
The Gambia

THE PHILOSOPHIC MOMENT OF MARXIST—HUMANISM

I received my copy of the new book. It is beautiful. I have no idea how to project the "philosophic moment of Marxist-Humanism" in abstract, philosophic terms, but I want to project it to others by first appealing to history. Isn't the Absolute Idea inseparable from the movement of historic, human struggles for freedom?

I look forward to the discussion that is to begin in the March issue of N&L. At one time I would read the letters and get caught up in the specific circumstances under which they were written—the state of the organization which Raya belonged to at the time, her previous work on state-capitalism, the events which were to lead to the creation of News and Letters Committees. I think I got lost in the context of the letter and the specifics of the time. Now reading the letter of May 12, 1953, I believe Raya was expounding the dialectic method, the conscious, intellectual recognition and expression of the objective movement of history...

New Member
Georgia

The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism is a truly elegant format and the news of your Book Party's success a manifestation of the attraction to Raya Dunayevskaya's ideas.

Book editor
New York

I was struck by the ghastly quotation from Bukharin that Dmitryev included in his essay on "Science and philosophy in the age of state-capitalism." (Dec. '88 N&L.) In calling the Plan active and a "system of purposes," Bukharin was making it the subject. Existing reality is in contradiction to this "system of purposes." The greater the gap between what exists and what the Plan calls for, the greater is the exploitation and alienation. This is so because capital is in reality not active, not its own subject, but a vampire-system that can live only by sucking the life out of the opposite, living labor, contained within it.

Dmitryev was right to pinpoint the absolute opposite to this as "recognition and development of the existing 'moments' that are driving to revolution," and to say this is developed in Raya's Letter of May 20, 1953. That is where she writes about the elements of the

new society being evident in the old and quotes Hegel that the nature of the fact as well as the action of cognition causes the movement and development. That's not any deep understanding of the Letter yet, but it helps me make the Letter more immediate, by counterposing it directly to state-capitalist planning.

Economics instructor
Vermont

My unhappy association with self-proclaimed "Marxist parties" had made me wary of joining any kind of political organization. They lacked many important qualities—namely, Marxism. After reading Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom* I feel I have a responsibility to myself as well as to Marxist-Humanism to become more active with News and Letters Committees. A presentation on the 1953 Letters and the philosophic moment of Marxist-Humanism would be a perfect topic for discussion among students at my campus. There are serious tasks facing us following the seemingly irreparable damage caused by the Reagan retrogression.

College student
New York State



John Marcotte's article on the homeless tells the truth. We have no choice anymore: you have to defeat capitalism or it will defeat you. It will leave you homeless and hungry. The song says "don't worry, be happy." But we have to do something, or starve!

U.S. Auto Radiator Worker
Detroit

At one of the demonstrations of immigrant workers I saw on TV, one sign really stood out—it was a hand-lettered placard that said "Work is a human right!" It was really powerful.

Observer
Philadelphia

A report released at the end of February, by the national association of office workers called "9 to 5," has revealed that job displacement is even greater in the service sector than in manufacturing. Between 1983 and 1988, 47% of displaced workers came from the service sector, and 39% from manufacturing. The "electronic data interchange," or EDI—fancy terms for the computer system that transmits transactions between companies, even in different industries—has transformed business today. Example: EDI is used for 90% of the claims between hospitals and insurance companies. Since they do not have to be re-keyed, employers have been able to slash their data entry departments.

When you add to that another "statistic"—that displaced women white collar workers average 16% less in pay when and if they are re-employed—you get a true picture of the "economic recovery" we are all supposed to be enjoying today!

Office worker
Chicago

Please let your readers know that we have opened a hotline to collect stories on computer spying from monitored workers for a report on monitoring abuses. Over 6 million workers are subject to this kind of computer-based work monitoring which can count keystrokes per minute, seconds between phone calls, or even seconds on break. The information is often used to evaluate job performance and discipline workers. It amounts to control over workers such as was never dreamed of before. Anyone who experiences such abuse is asked to call our hotline free at 1-800-245-9to5, Monday through Thursday from 11 to 2, or Wednesday evening from 6 to 9, Eastern Time.

9 to 5 Working Women
614 Superior Ave. N.W.
Cleveland, OH 44113

THANKS TO ALL THOSE READERS WHO HAVE RESPONDED TO OUR APPEAL. WE NEED YOUR HELP TO CONTINUE! HAVE YOU SENT YOUR CONTRIBUTION?

N&L READERS RESPOND TO OUR URGENT APPEAL

N&L is a very informative way to keep in touch with the world matters and human relations. I hope you can continue to publish and protect the rights of the average American workers and the minority classes in this country. Here is my sub renewal and an extra donation.

Production Worker
Detroit

Thank you for your fight against capitalism, racism and the oppression of the downtrodden. The works we have read by the great late Raya Dunayevskaya have been very enlightening for me and my colleagues here. I would welcome receiving more of her work, and would like to subscribe to News & Letters, but it is very difficult to send foreign exchange out of India. Can you suggest an alternative by which I can help your organization? You have my full cooperation in the crusade against apartheid and for the betterment of all peoples.

Scholar
India

Editor's note: We have established a special fund to help pay for just such requests for our paper and our literature. Can you help by making a donation?

I enclose a check for \$100 to help you keep News & Letters going and to help you with the printing bill for *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism*. The best designation I can think of for the "Memo" line at the bottom of the check is: "For cognitive Sustenance."

Staunch supporter
Chicago

Here is my \$10 for your new book and another \$10 to help N&L. The Reagan/Bush retrogression is depressing because it seems to have so much popular support that it can't be stopped. Are people so naive that they actually believe Reagan and now Bush are working to make life better for them? In the midst of this, your paper is like a breath of fresh air. Keep it up!

Subscriber
Ann Arbor, Michigan

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 Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two Historic-Philosophic Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya. Contains "Presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy of June 1, 1987," and 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes." \$3.00 paperback \$10.00 hardbound
- 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 (August 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. 1989 edition. New introduction by author. 388 pgs. by Raya Dunayevskaya. \$17.50 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. 1989 edition includes Afterword by Raya Dunayevskaya, "Charles Denby, 1907-83". \$14.95

MAIL ORDERS TO:

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

Enclosed find \$_____ for the literature checked. (1-2/89)
Please add 75¢ for each item for postage.
Ill. residents add 8% sales tax

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Order from News & Letters
59 E. Van Buren, Rm. 707, Chicago, Ill. 60605

• 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.

John Dwyer (Peter Mallory), 1912-1989

(continued from page 1)

gan to investigate socialism."

No sooner did John join the Socialist Party than he set out to help unionize the plants in Lynn, especially in the shoe and leather industry. His 1987 article for the *Quarterly Journal of Ideology*, "Notes on the 1930s—The Depression Decade," summed up his experience in those turbulent years. He was always concrete. When John told about the lives of immigrant workers in the leather industry, you could smell the stench of the raw skins being treated with lye and scraped. And you could feel the massive self-mobilization of the working class in those years, when, as John put it: "The birth of the CIO gave new life to the labor movement. The self-developing idea permeated the movement. I can recall incidents where a delegation would show up at the union office and tell us, 'We have formed a union and walked off the job. Come out and sign us up.'"

John threw himself into union organizing work, first for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, and later for the Retail Clerks. He was elected State Secretary of the new Massachusetts CIO Industrial Council.

Expelled from the Socialist Party in 1937 for his views on the Spanish Revolution, John helped to found the Socialist Workers Party—the U.S. affiliate of Leon Trotsky's Fourth International—in 1938. But by the time he returned from the Navy after World War II, Trotskyism's analysis of Stalin's Russia as a "workers' state, though deformed" no longer satisfied him. He began work on his own study, which he called "Stalinist Russia: A Capitalist State." It was translated into French, Spanish and German and received wide attention. In 1946 he did not know that Raya Dunayevskaya had, five years earlier, penned the first Marxist analysis of Russia as a state-capitalist society. John's theory of state-capitalism was his own creation, though he was always to point out afterwards that Raya's theory was the starting point for all further development.

The truth is that John never stopped writing, whether theoretical articles or journalistic comments on current events. In 1948 his articles on "Oil and Labor" broke new ground as one of the earliest studies of the effects of automation on the petrochemical industry. His "career" as a journalist stretched from the *Socialist Appeal* in the 1930s through the *Militant* in the 1940s, to *News & Letters* for the last 33 years of his life.

As Peter Mallory, columnist for "Our Life and Times," he surveyed the globe and its freedom struggles each issue. In the 1950s he wrote about South African Black women fighting the pass laws and

boycotting the buses. In the 1960s he was campaigning for Kurdish self-determination when few in the U.S. even knew who the Kurds were. In the 1970s he wrote about "Dum-dum bullets," those horrible, hollow, soft-tipped weapons, outlawed in 1899 by the Hague Convention as too "uncivilized" for war, and then told you in exactly which U.S. states and cities they were now standard issue for police. And in the 1980s he dug into the mystique of "hi-tech," revealing the entanglements of capitalist production and scientific discovery, whether in "Star Wars" schemes or robotics in the auto industry.

John Dwyer was a unique character. He was a professional engineer who was also a revolutionary journalist, a Marxist "organization man" who was also an artist—a painter, a sculptor, a silversmith. Few contributions made him prouder than his cartoon for N&L in 1957,



Raya Dunayevskaya with John Dwyer (Peter Mallory) in 1984

skewering Mao's "100 Flowers" campaign. He was a tireless campaigner for Irish national liberation who was also the harshest critic of narrow nationalism, especially when it came wrapped in the banners of religion.

No one who knew him could ever forget his sense of humor. He had a way of ridiculing the pretensions of the "vanguard party" enthusiasts with their programs, which he said, they "neatly fashioned, and then, like Teddy Roosevelt, went charging off up San Juan Hill."

In the 1980s John assembled his massive collection of socialist documents—his own and those of the Trotskyist movement in the 1930s and 1940s—and donated them to Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs in Detroit. The title he gave to the John Dwyer Collection—"From the origins of Bolshevism in America through the Trotskyist movement to Marxist-Humanism"—speaks eloquently of his own life journey,

a journey that was very much a unique one, and yet at the same time one which represented something very objective about our era.

We who were privileged to know John personally all have our memories of him. But it is no accident that our thoughts focus so often and so sharply on John Dwyer and Raya Dunayevskaya—John and Raya. When you think of John and Raya, you think of two people very much in love for 40 years. But you also saw in John a man who recognized in Raya an epochal revolutionary thinker, and made up his mind that her work would be the center of his life. When he met Raya in the Fall of 1946, he said, his whole life changed.

It was in 1981 that Raya articulated the category, "Organizational responsibility for Marxist-Humanism." As a theoretic category, it was bound up with her completion of her "trilogy of revolution," and her view of "post-Marx Marxism as a pejorative" which had to be overcome if Marx's Marxism was to be re-created for our age. John may not have used the expression, "organizational responsibility for Marxist-Humanism," but that is what he practiced ever since the 1940s.

No one ever called John a "women's liberationist" in the sense that it is meant by today's Women's Liberation Movement. But John, a man who had organized unions and political tendencies before he met Raya, who had made his own mark on the movement, now said: This woman's struggle to develop the Idea of Marxist-Humanism is what I am going to take organizational responsibility for. And that meant—for over 40 years—doing the shopping, the cleaning, the finances, as well as sharing those ideas.

In the last months of John's life that organizational responsibility remained the center of his work. Nothing made him happier than the publication of Raya's books, whether those forthcoming from Columbia University Press—*Marxism and Freedom* and *Philosophy and Revolution*—or the one we celebrated at the book party John attended just two weeks before he died—*The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism*.

No more fitting words can be offered about John's legacy than those he wrote about Raya on June 10, 1987—the morning after her death:

"The best tribute that we can pay to her here and now is to swear that her efforts have not gone in vain. That we will continue, not only to promote Marxist-Humanism and its philosophy, but continue her work in enlarging upon it; for no philosophy is a dead instrument. It lives, grows and must be enlarged upon."

—Michael Connolly

Nuclear arms industry's 40-year war on humanity

(continued from page 1)

experiment, in which 5,500 curies of radioactive iodine, a level hundreds of times higher than the radiation released from Three Mile Island, were *purposefully* released. Over the years, 530,000 curies of radioactive iodine poured out of the plant stacks. The Centers for Disease Control estimated that 30,000 children may have been exposed to more radioactive iodine than residents near the Russian nuclear power plant at Chernobyl, in that terrifying reactor explosion of 1986.

● A General Accounting Office report showed that workers at the Rocky Flats production facility were continually at risk of exposure to radioactive contamination; further evidence demonstrated the atmospheric release of plutonium and uranium dust.

Some 20 groups organized to protest, and at a packed community meeting in a Denver suburb last Fall, almost drowned out the DOE plant manager with boos and shouts of "Tell the truth!" "Shut it down!" and "Nuclear weapons are illegal!" "All they do is lie to you," said Hilda Sperandio, a 61-year-old teacher whose husband had died of cancer. "They don't care about anything but making bombs."

● Residents near the Fernald plant had long noticed clusters of cancer. By 1986 they had formed FRESH (Fernald Residents for Environmental Safety and Health) and filed a \$300 million class action suit against NLO, Inc., the government contractor. A farmer who lives less than 100 yards from the plant said: "You'd think we had some kind of enemy down there trying to do away with us."

The government has finally admitted that it knew for over 20 years that storage pits containing over 12 million pounds of hazardous wastes were leaking. The underground water table, which supplies homes and industries from Dayton to Cincinnati, was contaminated with radioactive materials estimated at levels of at least hundreds of times higher than permitted federal drinking water standards.

MODERNIZING BOMB PRODUCTION

These, and the myriad other horrifying official revelations, are still not the full story. The government continues to evade inquiries it does not wish to answer, even as it rushes to the front lines of "environmentalism," to attempt to control and contain anti-nuclear and environmental groups that have managed, since Three Mile Island, to penetrate ever so slightly the iron curtain of state nuclear secrecy.

What disquiets the rulers, however, has nothing in common with the human safety concerns of workers, area residents, and environmental activists. Rather, their cause is the "safety" of their bomb production program. The weapons factories are in need of extensive repairs, with tens, perhaps even hundreds, of

billions of dollars required for continuing production, expansion, and modernization to build a whole "new generation" of ever more accurate, deadly weapons. The rulers deemed disclosure of some shocking details necessary to justify the pious allocation of these billions by Congress.

The media blitz was two-fold: the human horror stories; and the alarm that nothing less than the national security of the U. S. was suddenly at stake with tritium production—essential for nuclear bombs—at a standstill with the closure of the Savannah reactors. An editorial in the *Wall Street Journal* warned that unless the plants were reopened and modernized, the U.S. would be engaging in "unilateral disarmament."

STATE-CAPITALISM IN THE U.S.

The money is sure to be allocated. The fact is that the callous, fetishized priority of productivity over human safety and life itself is the hallmark of all of capitalist production, in every industry. What distinguishes the wholly government-owned nuclear bomb industry is not its golden rule of productivity over safety, but the complete merger of production and the state.

That merger of production and the state—state-capitalism—developed globally as a new world stage of capitalist production in the depression decade of the 1930s. It reached its fullest development in Stalin's Russia, with the transformation of the workers' state into its opposite, a state-capitalist society marked by totalitarian one-party rule.

It is precisely that totalitarian rule—the secrecy, the deception, the lies, the total and utter lack of even the most minimal forms of external regulation—that has characterized the nuclear militarization of American society ever since the Manhattan Project and the first atomic bomb.

This continued nuclear militarization of America is the direction to which Bush pledged himself on Feb. 9, with his bloated \$291 billion Pentagon budget, including funding for Star Wars, augmented by spending on "non-military" items such as the DOE, and NASA's manned space station.

With great deliberation, Bush selected to head the Dept. of Energy Admiral James D. Watkins, who becomes the first career military officer to run the nuclear weapons complex since the Second World War and the first atom bomb.

Bush's counterpart, Mikhail Gorbachev, likewise continues militarized science and military modernization, with state-defined glasnost introduced to promote production and technological development. The Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty signed by those "peaceniks," Gorbachev and Reagan, did not destroy one single nuclear warhead, but only the missiles on which the warheads were placed. With science producing ever

more lethal technology, the missiles remaining in the Superpowers' stockpiles, even after a 50% cut, would be more deadly than all of those they held in 1981.

INHUMAN MODERN TECHNOLOGY

Today, 44 years after the U.S. atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the promise of a humanized nuclear technology seems mockingly hollow. We do not know, and may never know, all the tens of thousands of Americans contaminated with nuclear radiation right here on U.S. soil, sacrificed on the gory altar of nuclear bomb production.

What we do know is that the rulers, East and West, and their prestigious mad scientists remain shackled to the fetishisms of capitalist production and thought, the domination of dead labor (machinery) over the living human being—what Karl Marx, over 100 years ago, called "endowing material forces with intellectual life, and stultifying human life into a material force."

This dehumanized road to the 21st century is the rulers' vision of the future, as they concretely develop their plans for expansion and modernization of nuclear weapons production capacity for the next 40 years!

That perspective is not incidental or peripheral to the whole capitalist system; it is the clear, bloody, Frankenstein manifestation of it. It cannot be stopped short of a total uprooting.

This month's tenth anniversary of the Three Mile Island near-disaster reminds us of the explosive outpouring of protest at that time, culminating, three years later, in the mass anti-war march of 800,000 people in the streets of New York City, in June 1982. That movement's development, however, remained very much incomplete and unfinished.

Today, in 1989, the contradictions and dangers have intensified and deepened. We confront an enormous challenge: to develop our opposition to nuclear insanity not alone through mass activity, but by grappling with a vision of the needed uprooting of all exploitative relations, the release of the creativity of human power as its own end, a philosophy of human, social revolution.

Thirty years ago, as she founded the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism out of the birth of our post-World War II age, Raya Dunayevskaya articulated that challenge. The conclusion to her 1958 *Marxism and Freedom* speaks to the reality of today: "It is not Marxists who have compelled society, at last, to face with sober senses the conditions of labor and the relations of men with each other. Our life and times have compelled that confrontation....The challenge of our times is not to machines, but to men. Intercontinental missiles can destroy mankind, they cannot solve its human relations. The creation of a new society remains the human endeavor."

On the 10th anniversary of the Iranian revolution

Khomeini's call for Rushdie's death can't hide Iranian crises

The world was stunned when Ayatollah Khomeini placed a contract of \$5 million on the head of the British/Indian writer Salman Rushdie, author of the controversial novel, *The Satanic Verses*. Rushdie, whose surreal fictional novels have dealt with the political and social crises in India, Pakistan and Nicaragua, this time uses the novel as a process to question some of the basic tenets of the Moslem religion.

In using the occasion of the U.S. publication of the book to issue his threat, Khomeini has once again reverted to his familiar ploy of designating himself champion of the "East Moslem world" against "the Satanic West," thereby diverting world attention from the utter economic, social, political, as well as ideological bankruptcy of thought of the Islamic "Republic" of Iran. Indeed, Khomeini is trying to divert attention from the tremendous public resentment against his policies by the masses inside Iran.

Only days before, the western media marked the 10th anniversary of the Iranian Revolution* by praising the call for amnesty of political prisoners inside Iran, and welcoming the victory of the "moderates" over the "hard liners," as a signal of normalization of relations between Iran and the West.

But, the call for amnesty was preceded by a horrifying mass genocide of thousands of political prisoners, ordered by Khomeini himself, in the last six

months. Most of the victims were left-wing activists belonging to the organization of the Mujahidin, the People's Fedai, Rahe Kargar, the Tudeh Party, and members of the Kurdish opposition groups. The dead were secretly buried in unmarked mass graves.

On Dec. 27, a demonstration and sit-in at the Ministry of Justice by relatives of political prisoners came under attack by the Pasdaran goons. Under intense pressure from within and abroad, the (IRP) Islamic Republican Party acknowledged some of the killings, while continuing the ban on public funerals. These are the circumstances under which an amnesty was declared!

Ten years after the revolution, the economic and political crisis within the country has reached the point where even the leadership of the IRP is torn by major ideological rifts. With a population of 50 million, Iran is 50% poorer than what it was in 1979; there is inflation of over 60%, vast shortage of basic commodities, and high unemployment fueled by the continued mass migration of villagers to the cities. Factories operate at less than 40% of capacity, while oil exports have dropped to a third of the 1978 level.

Under these conditions, and because of public resentment and anger towards the failed Iran-Iraq war, some within the leadership have begun to join the criticism if only to gain a new mandate for the IRP. Ayatollah Muntazari, Khomeini's heir apparent, Rafsanjani, leader of the parliament, Khamanai, the president, and Musavai Ardabili, head of the Judiciary,

chose the occasion of the anniversary to speak against the prolongation of the Iran-Iraq war, which they now argue should have ended in 1982. They condemn Iran's break up of diplomatic relations with the West, criticize the take over of the U.S. Embassy, and call for formalization of relations with the West. Muntazari and others have called for political and social reforms that would especially encourage the four million Iranians in exile to return.

Khomeini's recent decision to lead the chorus of Moslem fundamentalists in Pakistan and call for the death of Salman Rushdie, author of *The Satanic Verses*, was a response to this acute sense of anger and frustration of the majority population in Iran, and its echoes within government officials. Now, once again, at a time of crisis, Khomeini has reverted to his usual demagoguery.

—Neda Azad

Letter from Iran

Tehran, Iran—Thank god the war has ended. Naturally people are relieved a bit. But one third of the country has been destroyed, about a million dead and maimed, all the resources and assets gone down the drain. During these 10 years the wage earning employees became wretched and ruined, in need of even bare clothing. Technology, industry and the advancement of the country were thrown 30 years back. Many youth and many families became refugees abroad. Refineries, such as Abadan, which the rascal Britain has pillaged for 50 years to compensate for building it, are now devastated. Worst of all, "Iranian" became synonymous with terrorism and backwardness in the eyes of the world. People became hostage to the war and were jailed within Iran for 10 years.

What did we achieve instead? Islam! And what does it have to show for itself? Making women wear scarfs, banning drinking alcohol in the streets and the apparent closure of brothels! Nothing else. After 10 years of war we're back to where we started but with much disgrace. Meanwhile Britain, the U.S., France and the Soviets all sold their weapons well. They tested their weapons, their missiles, and their chemical bombs, and each profited millions of dollars. They not only sold us weapons but meat, butter, eggs, wheat, cheese, etc.

These (Mullahs) used to say that the Shah has destroyed the land and developed graveyards. But they themselves have thoroughly razed this country to the ground and filled the graveyards with the dead without ever saying what is the result of all this destruction. But, of course, it is clear that the only result is their authoritarian rule for 10 years—Mullahs with huge pockets to be filled, who are so monopolistic as to also turn against one another. If instead of rain, it was Lira that poured from the sky, they either take it all or give it to their clansmen and supporters; the rest not only have no rights but deserve death for objecting!

They accept no criticism. They call everyone bad, corrupt and followers of the devil, but they buy weapons from East and West while shouting slogans against both. Luxurious houses are prohibited for all but permissible for themselves. They wait for others to produce so they can appropriate it. We have been condemned to live under the rulers of our age, for some time under the Shah and now under these (mullahs). It doesn't matter who is bashing our heads; what matters is that our heads are being bashed—we bash our own heads! Don't know why we're so forgotten by god and why, when happiness was being distributed, no share was left for us...

At the present time the situation of the youth is unclear. When a boy graduates from high school, it is just the beginning of his joblessness and vagabondage. To pass the university examination is a yeomen's work, 4,000 apply for every 30 openings. But with no work no one's future is known.

A few, who can in no way be trusted, are in charge. It is dubious whether they are for the poor or for capitalism. They want to remain capitalist but condemn capitalism. They have pauperized the masses but say that the dispossessed are to be helped. I don't know which dispossessed they are referring to. I reckon it is the dispossessed mullahs who are to own houses, cars and everything. The truly dispossessed are the wage earners who are to pay rent and pay for the cost of living with but \$500 a month. God damn them.

* For a discussion of the Iranian Revolution see Raya Dunayevskaya's *Iran: Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, 1982.



More than 300 demonstrators marched through Johannesburg, South Africa, Feb. 18, demanding the release of at least 1,000 prisoners still being detained (some since 1986) without charges.

A view from Poland: beware of compromise

Gdansk, Poland—The elite does not want a true reform! The authorities, the church, and the opposition want "round table" talks, because they count only there. In the factory, whether during a strike or after reforms, in workers' self-government the authority belongs to the workers. The current suspension of strike actions allows one to think: for whom and for what should we fight?

1) IS THERE a sense to fight for legalization of the union "Solidarnosc"? After all, it will not change in the least bit Polish social-economic situation. There is talk that a legal union will force reforms from the authorities. How? After all, the only legal form of pressure is a strike and the legal trade unions in Poland are practically forbidden that—before "the statutory means of solving conflicts are exhausted" many issues are no longer current. That is why the authorities do not take into consideration OPZZ [the legal unions] but are afraid of "a handful of extremists" and their "illegal strikes." The legal unions are left with (dreamt of by Walesa and his advisors) talks at a table and signing of yet another agreement which is not treated seriously or is broken by force.

2) ANOTHER THING is the totality of strikes. Strikes exist all over the world and it is the normal form of forcing the employer to respect workers' rights. Only here is a strike transformed right away into a national uprising. Elsewhere in the world they strike for concrete demands and against specific decisions of the employer—here strikes are for everything and against the system as a whole (a strike is a revolution after which, on the basis of the signed agreement, we'll have heaven on earth, we won't have to think, work or fight because the defeated authorities will give everything). Maybe it is the result of the lack of independence, and primarily of the totalitarian system which for the last half century untaught us any self-activity (and today we can only ask) and because here, "everything is political," thus every protest, without regard to its cause, has to be against the system.

3) IF THAT'S the way it is, let's do it keeping our heads! Let's demand realistic things, allowing us to form our own fate responsibly, not ask the government for everything! Such a demand is the return of the factories to its workers. It would allow workers' councils to influence such issues as wages, work conditions, production, prices and all that is related to reforming the economy. Economic activity would stimulate social and political activity among people, and the concentration of property and work in one set of hands would make it possible to eliminate significant part of social conflicts and honest and productive labor—no one works better than "on their own," which is best illustrated (despite authorities' obstacles) by Polish farmers who decide themselves what to produce, do it, and benefit from the fruits of it.

The authorities' refusal would be an obvious compromise of their "reforms"—an admission that they don't care that people work well and are partners in the responsibility for the country.

—Translated by Urszula Wislanka from HOMEK (Movement for Alternative Society), Vol. 4, No. 34, Fall 1988

Direct from Russia:

Freedom charter adopted

At the fifth meeting of non-Russian national democratic movements in Vilnius (USSR), Jan. 28-29, two documents were issued: a charter and appeal to the Russian intelligentsia. The charter printed below in translation had fewer signatures than the appeal, because of its far greater radical demands.—Patrick Kane.

CHARTER OF FREEDOM OF THE ENSLAVED PEOPLES OF THE USSR

To the governments and Peoples of the World!

We, the representatives of the national liberation movements of Armenia, Belorussia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine and Estonia who have gathered on Jan. 28-29, 1988 in the city of Vilnius have announced the formation of a Committee, which will unite its efforts towards the formation of nationally liberated and independent states.

History has taught us that existence of a multi-national empire is an anachronism and creates unbearable conditions for all the peoples inhabiting it.

We consider that pluralism is a basic principle in international relations and in the field of human rights. Every nation has the right to develop individually. We represent the movement of peoples who, for decades, have struggled for national independence. Without wishing to impose our ideas of a state system and sovereignty on anybody, we, however consider it unacceptable that nations should exist not only within the confines of an empire but also within a federation or a confederation. We require political and moral support for our movement from all governments and social organizations. We have hope in our understanding of the modern world, according to which only the free and independent existence of peoples who strive towards it can guarantee a stable and peaceful development of the entire world community.

We call upon our compatriots living beyond the borders of the [Russian] empire to form a similar committee and to cooperate with us in order to struggle towards a common goal.

We are convinced that our people will discover freedom and hope that we will achieve this in the near future without resorting to force.

Subscribe to
News & Letters
Only \$2.50 a year

59 E. Van Buren, Rm. 707
Chicago, IL 60605

Enclosed is \$2.50 for a one year subscription.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Black/Red View

by John Alan

There has appeared on the national scene a movement, composed mainly of Black leaders and intellectuals, working hard to persuade Black Americans to accept African-American as their new identity. The basic contention of this movement is that Black Americans are in need of a "clearer group" identity, one that emphasizes not race but cultural and ethnic identity that ties them to the African continent, thus developing our dignity and self-esteem.

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, a prime mover in this name changing business and a pragmatic politician, is more concrete about the innermost meaning of this re-naming campaign. During his recent tour of Africa, when he visited the usurpers of the African revolutions, he made African-American synonymous with the type of foreign policy that the United States would conduct in Africa in the future.

Here at home, Jackson finds the term Black is not an adequate description of America's largest minority. According to a New York Times article, Jackson believes, "Black tells you about skin color and the side of town you live on. African-American evokes discussion of the world."

DE-EMPHASIZING BLACK

The truth is today's intellectual promoters of the African-American identity—many of whom are Black sociologists, psychologists and other professionals—feel the need to de-emphasize Black and race as they enter into the mainstream of the political, professional and business world. It's far better for them to see Black Americans as just another American cultural/ethnic group

Voices of 'Sarafina!'

Detroit, Mich.—"Voices of 'Sarafina!'" (1988) is a powerful documentary film about the cast of the musical "Sarafina!", a story of a class of school children in Soweto, South Africa, 1976, protesting the imposition of the Afrikaans language as a medium of instruction. The determinant of this movie, the motive of its purpose, source, and spirit—brought to life by the young performers—is, simply, the Idea of Freedom.

The documentary isn't pretentious or "arty" but makes its points in a variety of artistic ways. As the film opens and credits roll by, glossy black paint is brushed onto a flat white wall, which soon forms part of a face; then many faces; then photographs of the young actors. The film moves between scenes from "Sarafina!", comments by the director and youthful actors, and some documentary films of Soweto township and the uprising of 1976.

In one of the first scenes director Mbongeni Ngema tells the kids: "White South Africans have an embassy here, to speak for them and to portray us as ignorant savages...you are the ambassadors for your people." And indeed they are.

They explain why they keep smiling in the face of torture and death. (Most of the young men have at least one scar on their faces.) They speak of pain, of humiliation, and of hopes and dreams for the future. They speak of Nelson Mandela, Mashinini (a leader of the Soweto uprising), Hector Peterson, age 13, the first child to die in 1976, and of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness. Ngema contributes background, but is neither dominating nor intrusive; for, as he says: "Ever since Soweto 1976 the children took over from their parents. They became the leaders of the movement." And several children say that they oppose the oppressor language also because it limits them to South Africa and is an attempt to prevent them from communicating with the world.

The music, too, vibrates with the Idea of Freedom. It ranges from traditional South African songs through jazz compositions by Hugh Masakela and Black American rhythm and blues and gospel, reflecting the complexity of the Black world. Religion, too, plays a complex role. Under police machine-guns, the teacher ("Mistress It's a Pity") asks the class to begin the day with the Lord's Prayer. They break into a jazz song and dance that is both sincere and defiant—it is at once a genuine appeal to the Lord for "Freedom Now!" and a mockery of the white South African overlords.

The audience of mostly Black Detroiters responded to the film with applause and cheers at several points. Once it was for Ngema's answer to the children on what to tell concerned American youth to do: "Racism is a world-wide problem. The only difference in South Africa is that it is by law...charity begins at home."

The film closes by documenting a meeting between the young singers and Miriam Makeba, the exiled South African singer. Although her records have long been banned in South Africa, the children at once recognize her and break into tears, as they embrace her. The change in her face is equally moving: years fall away as she tells them that she would be happy to die in exile knowing that they and their lovely young voices are carrying on the fight for freedom. And this is the power of this movie—it shows that when the Idea of Freedom is strong enough in people's heads, it can become real.

—Susan Van Gelder

**'Mississippi Burning':
A re-write of history?**

See next issue for a discussion-critique

'African-American' submerges Black identity

with African origins living among other cultural/ethnic groups, rather than a race of people at permanent war with American racism.

But Black Americans are not simply another ethnic group; they have never been historically and are not today. And this attempt to impose African-American upon them has the same compromising ef-

L.A. anti-apartheid sit-in



Demonstrators leave South African consulate after their weekend-long sit-in.

Los Angeles, Cal.—Over 1,500 people gathered on Martin Luther King Jr. Day, Jan. 16, and marched to the South African Consulate in Beverly Hills to protest the continuing imprisonment and torture of children in apartheid South Africa.

The march and rally came at the end of a weekend-long sit-in at the consulate by 28 high school and college students, members of the Los Angeles Student Coalition (LASC). The sit-in came one year after a sit-in which had forced the consulate out of its former offices.

When the students entered the building on Friday afternoon they found that the consulate's offices had closed early. While the building's owners allowed the students to stay in the hallway, they had police stationed at the locked front doors. The doctors' offices in the building remained open over the weekend but police checked appointment lists whenever anyone wanted entrance, to keep more from joining the protest.

As one sitter-in said, "We gathered here because apartheid is a crime. We can't allow it to exist in South Africa or Beverly Hills. During our sit-in we studied about Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela. This is the type of action King would have taken against apartheid and it's the best way to celebrate this holiday."

A 19-year-old sitter-in said "We, in the LASC, had built this rally for weeks but we never expected this type of turnout. I'm very excited that so many people feel this type of relation with the children and people of South Africa."
—Stuart Quinn

fect that the usage of "Colored Americans" had years ago.

It minimizes our long, continuing mass struggle to finish the American revolution; and, at the same time, it wipes away the two-century-old "two way road" between our struggles and the African liberation movements by falsely claiming that Black Americans have to "accept their past and resolve their ambivalence toward Africa."

These intellectuals seem not to know that in the 1960s the word Black emerged from mass struggles against racism as its own self-identity and not from a conference of 70 people meeting in Chicago. In the 1960s Black represented the self-consciousness of a racially oppressed people and it set into motion a movement which aimed to transcend the opposition between the idea of freedom and the American reality. It was also during that period, contrary to Jackson's claim that we are ambivalent about Africa, that Black America was most aware of its dual roots as African-Americans, as a whole people in a liberation movement. Black was beautiful! Black was revolutionary!

In this last decade of this century, the Black revolution remains unfinished. Thus now to replace Black as an expression of the universal of freedom with African-American, defined as a "ready-made" universal of culture is a flight from the American reality.

It is also a further manifestation of the continuing estrangement of Black middle class thinking from the reasoning of Black masses who live in Overtown and Liberty City and the ghettos of the Northern and Western cities of this country.

These intellectuals in their middle class haste to reject Black as the white metaphor for poverty and dissolution at the same time reject Black as a revolutionary dimension.

'HISTORY OF STRIFE'

None of the advocates of African-American recognize the dialectical contradiction in the term which needs to be resolved. It is not a simple determination but a reference or relation that includes its own Other; therefore it's a contradiction, the dialectics of itself.* W.E.B. DuBois saw this dialectics of itself, in 1908, as "two warring ideals in one dark body..." It is, he said, "the history of the American Negro," a history of "a strife to merge this double into a truer self."

Finally, Dubois' 1908 "dialectical humanism" is absent from the social worker chatter of the advocates of African-American, and it is apparent, from press reports, that Jackson on his African tour was more concerned with startling the President of Gabon with the \$24 billion purchasing power of Black Americans than the inhumanity in Overtown.

*See *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* by Raya Dunayevskaya, p.23, available from News & Letters.

Black World

(continued from page 1)

"personality differences" by Castro, Marable and much of the Left, whereas Dunayevskaya saw the dispute as "the result of the objective pull backward because the revolution itself was barren of a philosophy."

Not only do such abstractions avoid the tragic meaning of the fact that there was no philosophy of revolution in which the NJM was rooted, but they provide ideological ground for continued Stalinist distortions. For instance, one can only wonder what Trevor Munroe, Coard's mentor and Communist ideologue of Workers Party of Jamaica (WPJ), meant when he criticized "the ultra-left sectarian and dogmatic tendencies" within his own party, who in his judgement, "contributed to serious errors initially in the assessment of events taking place in Grenada." (See Munroe's political summary, "Contemporary Marxist Movements: Assessing WPJ Prospects in Jamaica," in *Social and Economic Studies*, September, 1987.) It was after all Munroe who helped engineer the disastrous "collective leadership" arrangement between Bishop and Coard, following Coard's October, 1982 resignation from the government.

What Dunayevskaya characterized as the "objective pull backward" was ideologically determined, and had global ramifications. It is not only that, as she said, "In the half-century since the transformation of Russia into a state-capitalist society we have become witness to such degeneracy that an ideological debate is ended by murder." What must be theoretically dug into is that "these horrors can happen where there is no material base for counter-revolution as there was in Stalin's transformation of a workers' state into a state-capitalist society." This is the new form in which the party appears, "as suppressor of rank and destroyer of revolutionism."

CONTRADICTION OF CONTRADICTIONS

Speaking in the U.S. in June, 1983, about the consciousness of the masses, who he said were "involved in running the country," and the consciousness of the leadership, who had in the 1970s "moved outside just the question of Blackness, around to a materialist conception of the world," Bishop gave no indication of the "unbridgeable gulf...between leaders and ranks and within the leadership itself" that had already advanced to a dangerous state.

The two—the consciousness of the masses and that of the leaders—were separated by ideological barriers

which transformed the dialectics of revolution into the "contradiction of contradictions—counter-revolution from within revolution." Thus, the revolutionary movement was only reached in practice, it never achieved a philosophic moment which would guarantee that the dialectics of revolution would develop in permanence. It is this—Marx's concept of revolution in permanence—which was at stake in the battle of ideas in the NJM.

But even recognition of that expression of Marx's Marxism is insufficient if we do not "raise the question of Dialogue, of Discussion, to a whole new height as theoretical preparation for the dialectics of revolution itself." Otherwise the debilitating reduction of Marxism to C.L.R. James' specious notion of simply telling "the people to use their own consciousness," while the imperative of working out Marx's philosophy of revolution goes unheeded, will once again, as Dunayevskaya concluded, spell out the "death of the dialectic both in thought and in act."

HOW TO CONTACT NEWS & LETTERS

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

DETROIT: P.O. Box 27205
Detroit, MI 48227
Wednesdays, 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)
Outer Space Gallery
2710 Broadway (104th Street), Manhattan
Call for meeting information

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

VERMONT: P.O. Box 185
Bomoseen, VT 05732

Youth

Questions for the youth movement

On race, class, and philosophy

by Jim Guthrie

Residents of the Prairie Court housing project held a demonstration and march on Jan. 28 against the lockdown of their building by the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) (See N&L, Jan./Feb. 1989). I drove with a group of students from Northern Illinois University in DeKalb to participate in the demonstration and also to attend the News and Letters book party for *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* later that evening.

It was a profound experience for us: first we listened to the voices of the poor and working class Black people of Chicago's South Side—who are treated in their own homes as if they are nothing more than a problem to be managed—and then we went directly to a discussion of the dialectical root of Raya Dunayevskaya's philosophy of revolution.

The question that has been nagging me since that experience is what is the relationship of revolutionary philosophy to the development of a youth movement that cuts across race and class divisions that bourgeois society imposes upon us?

The reality we faced at the CHA rally in the afternoon made it abundantly clear how deeply Reaganism has not only increased material poverty and physical oppression, but also affected the ideas we live our lives by. If our generation is going to meet its historical task, we the youth, especially, are going to have to critique the ideas, both on the Right and the Left, that allow this oppression to continue.

HOUSING PROJECTS LIKE SOWETO

What I thought was most encouraging about the demonstration was the reaction of the children at Ickes, one of the housing projects that had not yet been locked down. Dozens of them came running over and joined in the chants. One boy, who could not have been over ten, got on the microphone and told all the adults to come out and protest because he didn't want the building locked down. A woman asked me if I thought they understood what was going on, or if they were just playing. "I think they understand," I said. "They remind me of the films of children protesting in Soweto." She said, "Yeah, this whole place reminds me of Soweto."

A group of young men gathered on the stairs and stood watching the scene below. When the police arrived, and told us we couldn't demonstrate on CHA property, one of the young men started arguing with the police and told us not to leave.

At the Prairie Court Building only a few of the residents came out to participate in the rally. A month earlier, when the building was raided by an army of cops and a new "security" system was imposed upon the tenants, there was a spontaneous demonstration against it. Large numbers of people came out of their apartments to condemn what they called a "lockdown" in the strongest terms. The CHA's gun thugs, who call themselves "security guards," responded to this angry outburst by telling individuals that they would be evicted if they attended any more demonstrations.

RESIDENTS CHALLENGE MAOISTS

I doubted if it was simply the intimidation of the guards that kept the people from coming out to join the demonstration. I had the feeling that they were turned off by the elitist attitude of the Maoists who did their best to control the rally. They brought a large banner bearing the quote from Mao, "It's right to rebel," as if it was the duty of their "vanguard party" to give Blacks permission to rebel against oppression. One Black woman became so furious with a couple of the Maoists who were telling her how to manage the struggle against the lockdown that she shouted, "Listen, I don't want to fight just to get the lock off the door of my building. I want to be able to live wherever I want to live even if I

NYU aid weeds Blacks out

New York, N.Y.—I attend New York University. It's the largest private university in the U.S., and has spent a little over \$48.8 million on student aid, but the Office of Financial Aid for undergraduate students has an interesting way of giving out its portion of the money. According to one source in the Bursar's Office, more wealthy students get financial aid than students with real need. NYU is changing its focus from being a New York City school to bringing in wealthier students from the suburbs. They just bought new dorms for 6,000 more students.

Despite a jump of over \$10 million from \$38.6 million, financial aid isn't serving to enroll less affluent African-American students. Many of these students have to be employed and work so hard to stay in school that it affects their school work. One student is over \$11,000 dollars in debt after just 1½ academic years and had to stay out the second half of this year because of money problems. Another student took a semester off to work and save up enough money to come back next academic year.

I was horrified to learn that the financial aid office had lost four of the five pieces of paperwork a student needed to apply for outside loans. She filled them out again, but the processing of her application was so slow that half of the present semester would have passed before she could be notified about her application's status.

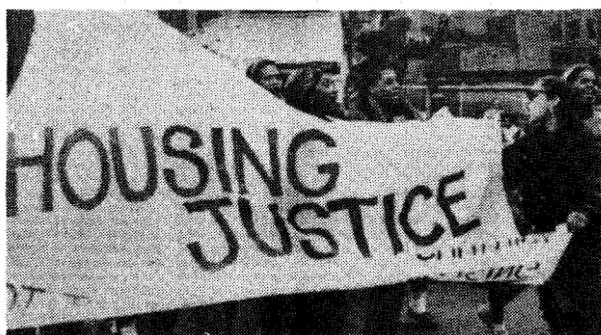
I actually heard this school was founded as an inexpensive alternative to Columbia. It's ironic.

—A.M. Thomas

want to live in Paris. But I can't because I was born into this society and I was born Black."

The barriers that keep student, working and unemployed youth divided cannot be broken down through an act of will. Back in the 1960s the youth movement "Dared to Struggle" and they "Dared to Win," but they lost because they didn't have the patience to work out a universal philosophy of revolution. Their ideas were not dialectical, so the youth movement divided against itself arguing about who was really the vanguard.

At the News and Letters book party that evening, we discussed the relationship of philosophy to organization and how Dunayevskaya's philosophic breakthrough in 1953 on Hegel's Absolutism was at the root of the question of the development of non-elitist forms of organization for the struggle for freedom. As she says in the book, not only do we need to synthesize the forces of revolution, and the relationship of theory to practice, but we also need "philosophy's 'suffering, patience, and labor of the negative', i.e., experiencing absolute negativity." We, the youth of today, cannot afford to let anyone do our thinking for us. In future youth columns and Reader's Views, I hope we can begin to build a movement toward a philosophy of liberation for our generation by diving deep into *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist Humanism*.



From Chicago to New York, youth have demonstrated for fair housing

Service jobs: no 'boom time' for workers

Newark, N.J.—We've just come off holiday season at Toys-R-Us. We've been working till we drop, 50 hours plus a week. Now, it's the slow season. But this year it's even slower, the company is cutting back on our hours and we don't know when we'll be back to 40 hours.

The service sector jobs are supposed to be in the boom part of the economy. If it is supposed to be the barometer of the economy, it proves the lie always told us that the economy is doing good.

Our store has been chosen to train people for management. That's right, we have to train someone to be our boss. We're told to show them every part of the store—then maybe six months later, this person will be back bossing us around. There are some of us who've been around five to ten years who've seen some big-time company officials who were very dumb trainees two to three years ago.

Then this week we got a note from our store director who's being promoted out and up, saying he appreciates all the work we did through Christmas—"it was all due to your help I got this promotion." We were sweated double-time through Christmas, then we're cut to the bone, and what do we get? Thank you for making me an even bigger shot!

Now we've all been given our once-a-year evaluation and raise. What incensed us most about it was the act of the evaluation itself. The evaluation is given after the raise is already in next week's check, if you're getting a raise. What incensed us even more was what comments they put down on us, telling us where we've been bad little boys and girls, and where we did nice.

It's like a double punch from the company. One is, we worked ourselves to the bone and got the boss promoted

Campus racism debated

Chicago, Ill.—Last month, the Peace, Bread and Justice group at Loyola University held a meeting on "Racism on Campus." The impetus for this meeting was a letter to the editor of the *Loyola Phoenix* by a Black student who had witnessed a professor defending the Ku Klux Klan. At the meeting, Lia, the author of this letter, and two other African-American students, Lisa and Morris, spoke about their experiences with racism. It was not an accident that the 50 participants at this meeting included a large number of African-Americans as well as Asian students.

Lisa began with reading a poem, "A Black Woman Speaks" by Bay Richards, which emphasized how "white womanhood too is enslaved" so long as Black women are unfree. She called for solidarity between Black and white women. Lia spoke of the daily racist acts at Loyola which include graffiti as well as pumpkin contests depicting Sambo in the dormitories. Last year, three Black students living in the dorms had tried to commit suicide. Lia asked why most students don't take Afro-American history courses unless they are Black, and why Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday is still not a holiday at Loyola. Morris, who had also written a letter to the *Phoenix* on racism at Loyola, spoke about growing up in a white neighborhood and being harassed constantly. He stressed that "racism is learned and not something you are born with. We have to change the educational system so that it is not geared only toward white history."

What ensued was a very frank discussion among participants. One young woman asked if Black students assume that all who have white skin are racists. A Black woman passionately answered: "NO. But when I came here from an all Black neighborhood, no one spoke with me in my classes." Another African-American woman responded: "Do you know what it's like to be Black in this country? If you were to marry a Black man, you couldn't live in a white community, but you could live in a Black community."

There was also some discussion on why we needed to have this meeting. None had the illusion that the problem we face is only racism on the campuses. Rather, we felt that it is the racism permeating the whole of American society that we have to battle.

—Sheila Fuller

Service jobs: no 'boom time' for workers

and it was all done on our backs, and we didn't need him to tell us that. Then, we have them cutting back our hours till we can barely survive. Now we have where we're told we've been good or bad after the fact.

The way they do the evaluation, it really doesn't pay to bust your tail. The piece of paper means nothing. It's favoritism, who they decide to hold up as a model, to make everyone envious and jealous of that worker. It's another way of dividing us. —David L. Anderson

Quebec student struggles

Montreal, Quebec—We are part of a group of students at the University of Quebec at Montreal (UQAM) active in the Central American solidarity movement. We appreciate receiving a copy of *News & Letters*, because we do not hear much of what is taking place in the movements in the U.S.

Last fall we also became active in opposing the intrusion of Reaganomics in Quebec. The Provincial government has instituted an austerity program that has slashed all sorts of social spending and, among other things, raised tuition at UQAM. Students closed down the school in protest. We were supported in this strike by the staff and faculty but many students in business and science programs didn't join us. The University called out the police when we blocked the Metro (subway) station on the edge of the campus. We were shocked when they began to beat us. It was just like the police violence against students in the U.S. in the 1960s; we had thought that Canada was different.

The new U.S./Canada trade bill will result in the flooding of Quebec with even more cultural products from the U.S., making it even more difficult to sustain an independent Quebecois culture. The Canadian supreme court's declaration that Bill 101 is unconstitutional will have the same effect. This Bill mandated that shop signs in Quebec be written in French. A national culture cannot be legislated, but must sustain itself, and it is by no means clear that Quebecois culture has within it the means to sustain itself. There is no mass following now for the Quebec independence movement. It reached its height when the French-speaking elite was fighting against its lack of access to the best jobs and positions of authority. But now it has those jobs and authority.

It is also deeply distressing to see the rise of xenophobia and attacks on "immigrants" in Quebec made by some leaders of the independence movement. They're not too different from Le Pen in France. Montreal is becoming an international melting-pot and these leaders try to rile people up against immigrants who choose to learn English rather than French. This racism is particularly distressing because we ourselves have suffered the racism of the Anglo-Canadians, such as being told to "speak white" when we converse in French at work. We're therefore very interested in Frantz Fanon's perspective of a "national consciousness which is not nationalism."

—Univ. of Quebec Students

News & Letters

Vol. 34 No. 2

March, 1989

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, Peter Wermuth, Co-National
Organizers, News and Letters Committees
Eugene Walker, Managing Editor
Mike Connolly, Marxist-Humanist Archivist
Felix Martin, Labor Editor



News & Letters
is printed in
a union shop.

Our Life and Times

By Mary Holmes and Kevin A. Barry

Ever since the unprecedented demonstrations in Czechoslovakia last August that marked the 20th anniversary of Russia's 1968 invasion to crush Prague Spring, people there have been emboldened to march nearly every week.

The largest demonstrations this year took place in mid-January, when thousands gathered on the site in Wenceslas Square where Jan Palach, a philosophy student, had burned himself to death on Jan. 16, 1969, to protest the Russian-led invasion. Riot police brutally attacked the demonstrators, only hours after representatives from Czechoslovakia signed the latest Helsinki-type human rights agreement. Despite the harshest police suppression in years, the protests continued the rest of the week.

Vaclav Havel, abroad perhaps the most well-known Charter 77 member, was sentenced to nine months in jail for participating in the demonstrations, and a number of other prominent dissidents remain in jail. However, what most disturbs the Communist Party rulers are not the 1970s dissidents so much as the spontaneous, youthful character of the late 1980s opposition.

A new generation, students and workers, who grew up after the movement for "socialism with a human face" was brutally curtailed, are the ones who have swelled, sustained, and often organized the protests. While their aspirations have not yet been fully voiced, their slogans during the marches included calls for an end to state lies about 1968, and for "democracy." Others expressed the pull coming from glasnost, when they shouted "Gorbachev is watching" during the police riot. Ironically, some 80,000 of Gorbachev's Warsaw Pact occupation soldiers are still stationed in Czechoslovakia.

In Poland, after the two crippling, massive strikes last year by steelworkers and coal miners, the Communist government has worked out an agreement this year with Lech Walesa who, with a segment of Solidarity, has turned away from workers' self-activity. The just-concluded "fundamental accord" between the Communist Party rulers and Walesa, as representative of Solidarity, includes Solidarity's recognition of the existing political system status quo together with support for the government's economic plan (meaning suppression of workers' demands and especially strikes), in return for a 40% share of Parliament in pre-arranged elections and, ultimately, legal trade union recognition.

Walesa convinced the Communist government that

Genocide in Somalia

In recent months Somalia's military government of General Siad Barre, a U.S. ally, has killed 20,000 of its own people and driven 800,000 or more into flight or exile, in a little-publicized genocidal war that it is conducting against rebellious northern ethnic groups. The attacks have included both bombings from the air and massacres by troops of whole villages and cities.

This has all taken place within 100 miles or so of the big U.S. military base at Berbera. The government has refused even to negotiate with the northern-based Somali National Movement.

Meanwhile hundreds of thousands of refugees from northern Somalia suffer hunger and thirst across the border in camps in the Ethiopian desert. Other refugees, around 800,000, live on the Somali side of the border, having fled a decade ago from equally brutal violence from the Russian-backed Ethiopian regime. The U.S.-backed Somali government has been forcing the refugees from Ethiopia to attack the Somali National Movement by threatening to withhold food supplies.

Who We Are and What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees is an organization of Marxist-Humanists that stands for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private property form as in the U.S., or its state property form, as in Russia or China. We stand for the development of new human relations, what Marx first called a new Humanism.

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcat strikes against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation—activities which signaled a new movement from practice that was itself a form of theory. News & Letters was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard unseparated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation. We have organized ourselves into a committee form of organization rather than any elitist party "to lead."

Raya Dunayevskaya (1910-87), founder of the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism, became Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees from its founding to 1987. Charles Denby (1907-83), a Black production worker, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper from 1955 to 1983. Dunayevskaya's works *Marxism and Freedom...from 1776 until Today; Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao and Rosa Luxemburg; Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* spell out the philosophic

Ongoing Czechoslovak, Polish protests

Solidarity was ready to negotiate after his success, with state and church support, in ending the miners' strike last fall (more efficiently than the army ever could). He was jeered by the miners, and later booed by fellow shipyard workers when he refused to sanction strikes against the state's plan to permanently shut down the historic and revolutionary Gdansk yards. Apparently a number of former KOR (Committee for Workers' Self Defense) intellectuals have also embraced the path of reform from within the one-party state, a logical result of the idea of "self-limiting revolution" that was raised at Solidarity's high point, before martial law.

General Jaruzelski, head of state and engineer of martial law in 1981, is also the one who cracked the whip to get his Communist Party to agree to the talks, not so much for Solidarity's legalization, as to legitimize the state's plans with Solidarity's coopera-

tion. For his part, Walesa has narrowed the self-activity of Polish workers in the form of strikes into a tactic that "worked" in 1980 but is now unsuitable for solving Poland's deep economic and social crises.

Polish workers continue to follow their own reason (see "Report from Poland," p. 9). They organized a reported 173 strikes in January, three times as many as in December, with the primary demands for higher wages, better working conditions, and recognition of Solidarity. Only one day after the February talks began, coal miners struck at the huge open pit operation at Belchatow, halting the coal supply to Poland's largest power plant, and steelworkers shut down a blast furnace at the Lenin Steel Mill near Cracow. Walesa once more appealed for workers to cease the strikes and give the talks a chance. The Belchatow miners returned after two days, but miners near Czestochowa walked out.

West Berlin elections



Thousands demonstrated against far-right politicians in West Berlin, Jan. 29, saying; "We have no need for Nazis. Fight the Republicans."

Since Jan. 29, when the Neo-Nazi Republican Citizens Party—headed by a former SS officer—received a stunning 7.5% of the vote in West Berlin elections entitling it to 11 seats in the local parliament, Germany has become polarized over the neo-Nazi threat. While bourgeois politicians downplayed its seriousness, the independent Left immediately took to the streets in Berlin and other cities, tens of thousands strong, chanting "Nazis Out!" and "For Friendship to Foreigners!"

The latter was a reference to the neo-Nazis singling out the presence of foreign workers, many of them Turks, in West Berlin, in attacks similar to those of the National Front in France. Foreigners now make up 11% of West Berlin's population.

The independent Left's Alternative Liste, an ally of the Green Party, scored even bigger gains in Berlin than did the neo-Nazis, reaching nearly 12% of the vote, while the biggest losers were the conservative Christian Democrats. But few were under the illusion that this was a real victory.

Ever since the winding down of the anti-nuclear movement in the face of Reagan-Gorbachev's token disarmament gestures, the movement seems to have lost ground. Illusions about Gorbachev's glasnost have also been a factor. One result is that today the neo-Nazis have the initiative in West Berlin politics, the city which is the most important cultural center of the West German Left.

ground of Marx's Humanism internationally, as American Civilization on Trial concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa. These works challenge post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism.

The new visions of the future that Dunayevskaya left us in her work from the 1940s to the 1980s are rooted in her rediscovery of Marx's Marxism in its original form as a "new Humanism" and in her re-creation of that philosophy for our age as "Marxist-Humanism." The development of the Marxist-Humanism of Dunayevskaya is recorded in the documents on microfilm and open to all under the title *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half Century of its World Development*, on deposit at the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs in Detroit, Michigan.

News and Letters Committees aims at developing and concretizing this body of ideas for our time. In opposing this capitalistic, racist, sexist, exploitative society, we participate in all class and freedom struggles, nationally and internationally. As our Constitution states: "It is our aim...to promote the firmest unity among workers, Blacks and other minorities, women, youth and those intellectuals who have broken with the ruling bureaucracy of both capital and labor." We do not separate mass activities from the activity of thinking. Send for a copy of the Constitution of News and Letters Committees.

Sino-Soviet summit

A Sino-Soviet summit, the first in 30 years which will "formally" conclude the Sino-Soviet conflict, has been announced for sometime in May in China, between Mikhail Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping.

Russia and China have been seriously flirting since 1982. Two of China's three conditions for a summit have since been met: Russian withdrawal from Afghanistan and the reduction of Russian troops on China's border. The third, withdrawal of Vietnam from Cambodia, is still under negotiation.

Whatever specific accords come out of a summit—when it is ultimately held—its significance lies in how Gorbachev, contending with the U.S. for world mastery, has turned the focus of Russia's international politics from West to East. As the summit was announced, Russia was also engaged in talks with Israel over a settlement in the Middle East where it has been increasing its role.

Over three years ago, Raya Dunayevskaya analyzed the new Russian ruler's global view: "Here Gorbachev is attempting to initiate a truly new chapter in global politics as he tries to shift his global relationships from 'the West' to 'the East.' What is truly new since World War II is the existence of a whole new Third World. Thereby he is attempting to reverse what was started by Stalin, who acted as if Mao, who had just won power in China, was just a sub-lieutenant, like the Russian commissars who capitulated to Stalin." (Marxist-Humanist Draft Perspectives, August-September 1985 N&L.)

Coup in Paraguay

The bloody Feb. 3 palace coup in Paraguay sent Gen. Alfredo Stroessner into exile to his beach house in Brazil. Rejoicing in the end of 35 years of his dictatorship, a crowd of several hundred at the airport shouted "assassin" and cheered when Stroessner's plane took off.

Far from signalling any move from dictatorship to democracy, the coup was a preemptive maneuver mounted from within Paraguay's ruling military circle. The winner, Gen. Andres Rodriguez, benefitted from his patronage, and expected to succeed him in power until recently, when Stroessner put forward his son Gustavo, an air force colonel, as heir.

Rodriguez has no intention of dismantling Stroessnerism, neither the military control nor the political machine Stroessner built through the Colorado Party, whose Orwellian classification system determined nearly every aspect of civil life, from jobs to education.

Rodriguez has called for elections within 90 days of the coup, knowing full well that the opposition political parties, after the dead weight of three decades of one-party rule and police state repression, have virtually no chance of winning a campaign. Rodriguez is running as the Colorado candidate for president.

The anti-Stroessner political parties have thus far said they will participate in the elections only if the date is delayed, the electoral laws changed and the voting lists purged of thousands of dead citizens who rose each presidential term to vote for Stroessner.

Burma's shaky "order"

In recent weeks, the military rulers have opened Burma to monitored visits by the world press, apparently confident that they have restored "order" after the August-September near-revolution. Their "order," built on the massacre and torture of the population, has also been pronounced secure enough by one outside imperialist power, Japan, that it announced resumption of its \$200-million annual "aid" to the regime. Other signs, however, point to continuing unrest for 1989, despite the severe blows the movement has sustained.

For example, 100,000 people turned out for the Jan. 2 funeral procession to mourn Daw Khyi Kyi, widow of Burma independence leader Aung San, who was assassinated in 1947. Despite an agreement between the military and Khyi's daughter, Aung San Suu Kyi—a liberal opposition leader whom some have compared to Corazon Aquino—that the military would form a so-called "honor guard" around the coffin, this did not happen.

Instead, 1,000 student activists, obviously backed by the crowds and wearing red armbands, prevented the military from getting near the coffin. The military did not even try to intervene when radical student leader, Min Ko Naing (Conqueror of Kings, a pseudonym), who was prominent in the 1988 revolt, sharply attacked the military calling 1989 a year of renewed struggle.