U.S. miners demand freedom

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

The daily press has carried a lot on the coal miners' wildcat strike in Russia, but hardly anything about the coal miners on strike in this country. To find what was going on, workers who lived near the mines there were dropping in at the print shop of a local community newspaper. It was there that I first heard about the strike, which I then traveled to in July with two other reporters from the Miners' General Strike of 1980-81. 

VISIT TO WEST VIRGINIA

The first thing that hit me was the beauty of West Virginia. But the second thing that hit me was that under all that beauty you find what the miners are calling "a true representation of the French Revolution." 

When we got to the strike area near Charleston we found federal marshals, state police, local police—and "skin-heads," equipped with the latest array of tear gas and infra-red cameras to spy on the strikers. The miners called them "bullet-proof fascists."

As one of the miners put it, "We have federal mar­shals taking the sides into the mine and watching our every move. We read in the newspapers where the President Bush went to Poland and Hungary talking about how they need free unions there. What about setting in law those same workers in this country?" We read about the coal miners on strike in Russia for food and to end the corruption and greed in the industry; exactly what we're on strike for right here. But none of the papers mentions that, and none of them say anything about the police state right here.

The miners are mad not only at the government and the mine owners but at their own union leadership. They are mad that the majority of the miners are left in the cold. "It won't stop with us," said one of the pickets. "All of the Big Coal companies will follow."

It can be seen in the actions of a Chinese youth who carried a sign at a mass protest in Chicago, proclaiming "Thousands killed, millions fight on," while wearing a T-shirt on which he had lettered "Cry Freedom" to show solidarity between the Chinese and South African freedom struggles.

We live in an age of absolutes—on the one side, the absolute terror and militarism of the rulers; on the other side, the drive for absolute freedom on the part of the world's masses.
The Communist Party has totally turned its back to Marxism

A Chinese feminist speaks

The article discusses the social and political issues in China, with a focus on the treatment of women and the anti-Communist movement. It highlights the lack of freedom and human rights in the country, particularly under the rule of the Communist Party. The author, a Chinese feminist, describes the peaceful protests and the resultant crackdown, emphasizing the importance of women's rights and the need for a more democratic society.

The article also touches on the protest movement in the United States, particularly the Women's Liberation Movement, which parallels the Chinese feminist's struggle. It mentions the Women's Liberation News & Letters as a platform for women's liberation and critiques the Supreme Court's decision on abortion rights, emphasizing the need for a deeper critique of the political and legal systems.

Overall, the article presents a call for change, not only in China but also globally, advocating for women's rights and a more just society.
Miners vs. companies, union leaders

Editor’s note: Felix Martin and Andy Phillips visited mines in Pennsylvania and West Virginia in July. Some of the stories are adapted from their notebooks.

Beckley, W. Va.—The July 24 back-to-work order by UMWA (United Mine Workers of America) President Richard Trumka was designed to get rank-and-file miners to cross the picket lines in support of the Pittston Coal Co. miners who walked off their jobs on April 5 (see June and July N&L). It was the first back-to-work order in the history of rank-and-file miners against Trumka’s strike leadership. The miners are seeking security employment, guaranteed health and pension benefits, and an adequate wage increase.

We have a real problem here. We’re here with all of the evidence. We know we/javascript declare null that we don’t have the position. Trumka has the position, but it looks like he doesn’t have the guts to carry this through.

One of the workers said, “We want to wake up and realize that we’re all facing a real threat from the companies. If we don’t all get together, we’re just going to end up being a part of the same old strategy that worked in Germany under Hitler or the workers in Russia under Stalin. Advanced capitalism and policies can have so much power that if they win, we’re going to be worse off than those workers were. A few here and there can’t be able to do it—take it apart together.”

—Pittston Elkay strikers

New Beckley

Stover, W. Va.—In November, 1987, New Beckley Mining declared Chapter 11 bankruptcy. We lost all of our pensions and benefits, except health and dental. It looks like we’re going to lose everything—pensions, health benefits, etc. We were just out without any notice. It proceeded through bankruptcy for about nine months.

Then this company that has purchased Beckley Min­ing, Quaker Coal, out of Texas—came in here and asked us to waive our priority claims into unsecured bankruptcy court. We couldn’t do that if we would count hospitalization, about $45 million. They promised to hire the men from Beckley Mining that were put on by seniority and guaranteed health and pension benefits again. They have to sign a 1988 wage agreement with slight modifications. We agreed to do this.

We are taking this mine over, the company started calling junior men in place of senior men. They weren’t following the direction they had given. We have to sign a contract. We saw that they had no interest in signing a contract with us.

So on Jan. 23 we went on selective strike by order of the International President of the UMWA. The strike has been going on nearly six months. Very little progress has been made. The major issues are the pension plan, health, safety, and our safety rights.

As soon as we went on strike, they hired replacement or scab workers. They couldn’t get many from this area, so they brought them in from out of state to try and run the mine. They are in another state, both state and federal—to try and run the striking miners off. So we are negotiating all the time for a contract. We saw that they had no interest in signing a contract with us.

—Member Local 1895

British strikers: rail, oil, dock workers...

London, England—Nothing like this has happened before, in the decade since Margaret Thatcher came to power. Big national strikes are now reaching a new dimension. The story is not yet over. The strike on British Rail and the London Underground, local government employees, and oil workers are all reaching a new dimension. The story is not yet over.

The sea oil rigs all involved in strikes more or less at once. It is the rail strike which has had the immediate impact, with the London Underground completely shutdown for one day, and traffic jams forming around London and Oxford. The strike was complete within a day, and a week later it was still in full force.

With inflation running at 8.5%, the railway, local government and BBC workers were offered a pay raise of only 7%. They are holding out for an adequate increase that would make a real difference in their lives.

When we went on strike, they hired replacement or scab workers. They couldn’t get many from this area, so they brought them in from out of state to try and run the mine. They are in another state, both state and federal—to try and run the striking miners off. So we are negotiating all the time for a contract. We saw that they had no interest in signing a contract with us.

—Member Local 1895

Workshop Talks

Eckrich’s monster-machine

Chicago, Ill.—Department 647 supervisor, Kinn Park, talked about a strike at Eckrich’s meat packing plant in July that this Eckrich plant was losing up to $25,000 per week. He said that we had more people than we who were working there and they had a lot of good hot dog packaging machine, but we still weren’t getting the work out. The company will not tolerate this, he said.

It’s not us; it’s that machine. They have had to get additional people on the line to keep it from jamming. In the past, machines would stop running when a bad package would get out of the machine onto the floor and to tear down the bad packages. It has often taken more than one hour to clean up the mess.

The machine breaks down often. Usually they can get out of it in a few hours, but they just aren’t even if we’ve been there only an hour or two—while they try to fix things. And then we have to do more overtime to get the whole thing running to their profit.

We feel like we have to fight to get the work done, like they wanted to do. When we go to the customer about the conditions, they tell us, “If you don’t like it, find another job.”

For the miners that have spent all this money—a million dollar—and are putting us through all this, we’re going to wait until the same meat we are packing before into a different package, they are going to turn this in their money problems!

People don’t believe that the company is losing money; it’s just not making as much as the company wants it to. Why are they telling us this? Obviously they want to get rid of us. It’s a way of keeping the public from trying to discourage us from making improvements in our working conditions and to make sure we can keep this threat of the plant closing hanging over our heads—Eckrich workers

Balk’s Miners Strike

Canadian miners have emerged from a strike of nearly five years, ending what has been called the longest labor dispute in Canadian history. The strike began in 1983 and ended with the signing of a new contract in 1988.

The strike was the result of a dispute between the miners and the owners of the coal mines. The miners were demanding better working conditions and higher wages, while the owners were seeking to reduce costs and increase profits. The dispute lasted for four years, with the miners holding out for a contract that would guarantee them a living wage and decent working conditions.

The strike was particularly long because of the political and social context at the time. The miners were fighting against the government, which was trying to weaken their unions and reduce worker rights. The strike also had a strong anti-capitalist and anti-establishment message, as the miners were resisting the forces of globalization and economic inequality.

The strike was ultimately successful, as the miners won key concessions in their new contract, including the establishment of a scheme for work-related injuries and the recognition of the miners’ union as the bargaining agent for the workers.

The miners’ victory was a significant moment in the history of labor organizing in Canada. It demonstrated the power of working-class solidarity and the importance of union organizing to improve the lives of workers. The strike also highlighted the need for a broader social movement to address the root causes of inequality and exploitation in the economy.
Philosophy as leadership and as action

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Founder of Marxist-Humanism

Editor’s note: Raya Dunayevskaya considered the following presentation to the Executive Session of News and Letters Council in February 1930, the date given in the period when Dunayevskaya was at work on Rosa Luxemburg, Women’s Liberation, and Marxism-Humanism, as reflecting the development of her thinking on the philosophic content of her work.

"...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." —Hegel, Philosophy of Mind, para. 577

Let us take a look, no matter how briefly it must of necessity be, at what organizational problematic has meant to Karl Marx, to V.I. Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, Antonio Gramsci, from the latter in order to analyse the patril reality of Stalinism and World War II.

Unless you recognize Marxism as a whole new continent of thought, you cannot but divide Marx up into economics, politics, a little bit of philosophy and "no theory of the party," whereas it is true he had no theory of the party as we know it since Lenin's What Is To Be Done? (1902), and what we thought of as "party" was organization as tendency—political-philosophic tendency so that the class nature of a workers' organization would manifest itself from spontaneously by a party "in the party," which becomes what he described communists to be. That is, that he described the working-class communists, in Marx's view, have a view of the class struggle as a whole, and not just of the immediate demands; and they are internationalists, not national-ists.

After Marx unfurled that great historic, clear and international banners in the Communist Manifesto, and participated in both the 1848 Revolution and the great revolution of his day, the 1871 Paris Commune, he criticized unflaggingly the 1875 Social Democratic Party. Only Lenin measured up to Marx's Critique of the Gotha Program, and not just to "the Theses on the National and Colonial Questions," and in the Will regarding Bukharin, he stopped short of recognizing himself on the concept of the party. (If Molyneux's full Trotskyism comes out when he deals with Rosa Luxemburg. He is so happy that, though a vanguardist, he can now appear to be for spontaneity, that he doesn't even know that he is economist, as he has just paid attention to that single work, dialectic, he would have gone a great deal further than the whole active pages of his book.)

What Hegel was telling us in that last paragraph was that he was not through when the idea had a form of Nature, that there was still a long way to go to through the Philosophy of Nature and Philosophy of Mind, never having left the world of things, through the whole the Encyclopedia of Philosophical Sciences would you know what else was in store. In 1905, and already, he wasn't even satisfied with that ending, and in the year before he died, he added the three syllogisms. This reveals that he 1) does nothing short of throwing out the Logic, 2) does not really construct a "system," as is seen in the third syllogism which isn't a syllogism. Instead, Hegel practices the unity of the two practical, of objective and subjective, because once you have reached Subject you aren't on any system;" the other two forms—Nature, Mind—are there "where it is" manifested. Now all that remains is Method, Abstract Method. In a word, Self-Made Materialist Method.

As I discussed it with the Resident Editorial Board which took up the question of leadership, Johnson [CLR James] found in Abstract Idea what he already had as presupposition, which he had expressed as early as 1844 in his "Education, Propaganda, Agitation." What seemed as a glorification of masses from below, was in fact, just pointing to one principle—the worker's domination of the production, to hide the greatest truth—that he, like Shachtman, would saddle the worker with responsibility for what we had to answer to history for—our responsibility. Do we or don't we have an historic right to exist?

It was not only opportunism, much less outright betrayal, that impelled Johnson to those positions. The drive to that end and came from "not completing" the objective of the state-capitalism with the indispensable subjectivity—not of Leader Numero Uno, but of Marxist-Humanist philosophy.

It is too easy to go from Marx's Humanism to Marxism-Humanism, so permit me to detour via Hegel, and George Armstrong Kelly, who criticized Philosophy and Revolution precisely at the point on Method which is leadership responsibility, i.e. Absolute Method. First, let us listen to Hegel:

"In the absolute method, however, the universal does not mean the merely abstract but the objective universal, that is, that which is in itself the concrete totality, but not as posited or for itself. The progress is therefore not a kind of overflow..." —Science of Logic, para. 577

Now George Armstrong Kelly accused me of "baptizing" an unchained dialectic as Absolute Method, and even me about "the conception of the dialectic of necessity for a period of proletarian revolution as well as for the birth-time of history" when he knew very well: 1) that Absolute Method was Hegel's expression, not mine; and 2) what I called "unchained dialectic" was what Hegel called "absolute negativity," and what Marx (and I, borrowing from Marx) called "new passions and forces" for reconstructing society on Humanist beginnings.

In a word, the point of difference was not philosophy in "general" but the Humanism of Marxism, which I have both in the expression of the negation and actual live human beings taking destiny into their own hands. The only quote from Hegel's Philosophy of Mind with which I began this section: "...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."
The preeminence of ideology is today expressed in the illusion that Western capitalism has triumphed over Communism, which is, in turn, falsely equated to Marxism-Leninism. Our bourgeois commentators—those "patriot-priests for capitalism"—would have us believe that the great divide is between Communism, which is in "tumult," and the U.S. (or even the "West") which is now baptized as very nearly free of contradictions, in which the illusions of the state-capitalism that has characterized the whole) which is now baptized as very nearly free of contradictions. This 1980s restructuring, in turn, had its origins both from the economic and political changes—the explosive growth of the Black consciousness of the escalating environmental destruction has alarmed the youth, that they have joined in new expression and struggle. From the very start this restructuring was never separated from capitalism's new ideological offensive. U.S. workers experienced the first shock wave in 1979, beginning with the Massey strike four years ago (see articles on U.S. and South Africa, which swept up over a million workers organized into trade unions. As one U.S. meatpacking worker put it, "They say that they want to 'restructure' the economy, but that's why they have such problems. But it's the workers who have to change the way my department runs, bringing in a huge new machine. We are now working 60 hours a week instead of 40. Only the old rules on how many hours a day or how many days a week we work went out the window. And they didn't ask us anything before they put in these new rules..." They 'restructure' everything for their benefit, not for ours.

Against the endless concessions and union-busting, different forms of protest have appeared in the 1980s, from the movement of women workers, women and minorities is not a quantitative increase, but a qualitative breakthrough in a huge new machine. We are now working 60 hours a week instead of 40. It's the workers who have to change the way my department runs, bringing in a huge new machine. We are now working 60 hours a week instead of 40. Only the old rules on how many hours a day or how many days a week we work went out the window. And they didn't ask us anything before they put in these new rules..." They 'restructure' everything for their benefit, not for ours.

Against the endless concessions and union-busting, different forms of protest have appeared in the 1980s, from the movement of women workers, women and minorities is not a quantitative increase, but a qualitative breakthrough in a huge new machine. We are now working 60 hours a week instead of 40. Only the old rules on how many hours a day or how many days a week we work went out the window. And they didn't ask us anything before they put in these new rules..." They 'restructure' everything for their benefit, not for ours.

Against the endless concessions and union-busting, different forms of protest have appeared in the 1980s, from the movement of women workers, women and minorities is not a quantitative increase, but a qualitative breakthrough in a huge new machine. We are now working 60 hours a week instead of 40. Only the old rules on how many hours a day or how many days a week we work went out the window. And they didn't ask us anything before they put in these new rules..." They 'restructure' everything for their benefit, not for ours.

Against the endless concessions and union-busting, different forms of protest have appeared in the 1980s, from the movement of women workers, women and minorities is not a quantitative increase, but a qualitative breakthrough in a huge new machine. We are now working 60 hours a week instead of 40. Only the old rules on how many hours a day or how many days a week we work went out the window. And they didn't ask us anything before they put in these new rules..." They 'restructure' everything for their benefit, not for ours.

Against the endless concessions and union-busting, different forms of protest have appeared in the 1980s, from the movement of women workers, women and minorities is not a quantitative increase, but a qualitative breakthrough in a huge new machine. We are now working 60 hours a week instead of 40. Only the old rules on how many hours a day or how many days a week we work went out the window. And they didn't ask us anything before they put in these new rules..." They 'restructure' everything for their benefit, not for ours.

Against the endless concessions and union-busting, different forms of protest have appeared in the 1980s, from the movement of women workers, women and minorities is not a quantitative increase, but a qualitative breakthrough in a huge new machine. We are now working 60 hours a week instead of 40. Only the old rules on how many hours a day or how many days a week we work went out the window. And they didn't ask us anything before they put in these new rules..." They 'restructure' everything for their benefit, not for ours.

Against the endless concessions and union-busting, different forms of protest have appeared in the 1980s, from the movement of women workers, women and minorities is not a quantitative increase, but a qualitative breakthrough in a huge new machine. We are now working 60 hours a week instead of 40. Only the old rules on how many hours a day or how many days a week we work went out the window. And they didn't ask us anything before they put in these new rules..." They 'restructure' everything for their benefit, not for ours.

Against the endless concessions and union-busting, different forms of protest have appeared in the 1980s, from the movement of women workers, women and minorities is not a quantitative increase, but a qualitative breakthrough in a huge new machine. We are now working 60 hours a week instead of 40. Only the old rules on how many hours a day or how many days a week we work went out the window. And they didn't ask us anything before they put in these new rules..." They 'restructure' everything for their benefit, not for ours.

Against the endless concessions and union-busting, different forms of protest have appeared in the 1980s, from the movement of women workers, women and minorities is not a quantitative increase, but a qualitative breakthrough in a huge new machine. We are now working 60 hours a week instead of 40. Only the old rules on how many hours a day or how many days a week we work went out the window. And they didn't ask us anything before they put in these new rules..." They 'restructure' everything for their benefit, not for ours.

Against the endless concessions and union-busting, different forms of protest have appeared in the 1980s, from the movement of women workers, women and minorities is not a quantitative increase, but a qualitative breakthrough in a huge new machine. We are now working 60 hours a week instead of 40. Only the old rules on how many hours a day or how many days a week we work went out the window. And they didn't ask us anything before they put in these new rules..." They 'restructure' everything for their benefit, not for ours.

Against the endless concessions and union-busting, different forms of protest have appeared in the 1980s, from the movement of women workers, women and minorities is not a quantitative increase, but a qualitative breakthrough in a huge new machine. We are now working 60 hours a week instead of 40. Only the old rules on how many hours a day or how many days a week we work went out the window. And they didn't ask us anything before they put in these new rules..." They 'restructure' everything for their benefit, not for ours.

Against the endless concessions and union-busting, different forms of protest have appeared in the 1980s, from the movement of women workers, women and minorities is not a quantitative increase, but a qualitative breakthrough in a huge new machine. We are now working 60 hours a week instead of 40. Only the old rules on how many hours a day or how many days a week we work went out the window. And they didn't ask us anything before they put in these new rules..." They 'restructure' everything for their benefit, not for ours.

Against the endless concessions and union-busting, different forms of protest have appeared in the 1980s, from the movement of women workers, women and minorities is not a quantitative increase, but a qualitative breakthrough in a huge new machine. We are now working 60 hours a week instead of 40. Only the old rules on how many hours a day or how many days a week we work went out the window. And they didn't ask us anything before they put in these new rules..." They 'restructure' everything for their benefit, not for ours.
whether that be its ceaseless effort to destroy the Ni-
caraguan people or its efforts to keep up its workers
and its peasants to control the Panama Canal.

Even more ominous is the threat of counter-revolu-
tion, which in the meantime has led to the comple-
tion of the destruction of the freedom movements
everywhere today, from South Africa to the Soviet
USSR. The danger of counter-revolution is most
acute in Iran, where the struggle between the counter-
revolutionaries and the revolutionaries opened the
door for the U.S. imperialist invasion.

The depth of that threat was seen in the Black Car-
ibbean island of Grenada in 1983 in the counter-revol-
utionary struggle that broke out within Grenada opened
the door for the U.S. imperialist invasion.

In Grenada, the contending tendencies, all calling
themselves Marxist, though none were rooted in Marx's
philosophic banner rooted in Marx's Marxism, they
did not do. In failing to unfurl a new
philosophic breakthrough in face of such new objective-sub-
jective events as the Hungarian Revolution and Mao's
philosophy. It is that digging into the dialectic of
thought itself that first released the category Marxist-
ianism as a whole.

To see what was the drive of the "self-determination
of the ideas" which led Raya to project Marxist-Human-
ism as a category was thus born from Raya's philos-
ophic breakthrough in the form of "Instead of Revolu-
tion." What is most shocking of all, and is what Khomeini, Michael
and other intellectual advisors of Solidarnosc are now ac-
tively separating what they themselves had posed as
"self-Limiting Revolution" to "Instead of Revolution."

The counter-revolution will not stay its hand just be-
cause questions of organization could be separated
from within the revolution in 1979 was not just a question of
what Khomeini did, but what the post-Marx Marxists of
the Iranian Left did not do. In failing to unfurl a new
philosophic banner rooted in Marx's Marxism, they
never shut a relentless critical eye to all aspects of
theory and practice. It is such concrete life-and-death struggles as these that make it
necessary for us to dig into what Hegel meant by
"second negativism" and what Marx meant by "revolu-
tionary permanence."

At the end of the decade we now see the leaders of
Solidarity ready to settle for participation in the Polish
parliament. And Jack Korn's thesis has now moved from
"Self-Limiting Revolution" to "Instead of Revolution."
Raya, on the other hand, saw that it began with Engels while Marx still
lived, it was not a chronological, but a philosophic cate-

crime. Whatever form the ideological expression of the dec-

dade-long restructuring takes—whether Gorbachevism or "Reaganism/Shock"—the idealologicall
pul towards the rulers is deeply rooted in the economic-political-organizational
crises. To work out a pathway out of this quagmire, de-

get back to Marx. To see what was the drive of the "self-determination
of the ideas" which led Raya to project Marxist-Human-
ism as a category was thus born from Raya's philos-
ophic breakthrough in the form of "Instead of Revolu-
tion." Raya, on the other hand, saw that it began with Engels while Marx still
lived, it was not a chronological, but a philosophic cate-


4. The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two Histor-


6. The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two Histor-

How to Prepare for the 1990s? That is the question facing revolutionaries everywhere as we seek to find pathways out of the retrogressive realms which dominated the decade of the 1980s. “How to Prepare for the 1990s” has two dimensions, both rooted in the necessity to recreate the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism. The second of these is the relationship between the dialectic of objectivity and subjectivity, between the “third attitude toward objectivity”—Hegel’s designation of “intuitionism”—and “immediacy.” This is the trap that awaits all today when the separation of philosophy and organization is not bridged. That separation is what Raya called in her Presentation of June 1, 1987, the “112 year void” on dialectics of organization and philosophy.

In this second 1986 Letter, Raya wrote: “I am thoroughly throughout the Absolute. I am thoroughly acquainted with the science of Logic to the point that, even if Hegel had already developed Absolute Knowledge, Absolute Idea, Absolute Method...as well as in another science, I can really develop the Philosophy of Nature and the Philosophy of Mind.”

It was Hegel’s philosophical comprehension of what he achieved in his Science of Logic to which Raya referred in her 1986 Letters to non-Marxist Hegel scholars, what is at issue is the threat of falling into the “third attitude“—Hegel’s designation of “intuitionism” or “immediacy.” This is the trap that awaits all today when the separation of philosophy and organization is not bridged.

In her June 1, 1987 Presentation, Raya viewed the journey from Absolute Idea in Hegel’s Science of Logic to the “Self-Thinking Idea,” an absolute development and philosophy. She brought his concept of the “Self-Thinking Idea” to bear on the section “Subjective Mind,” singling out such free expression as process of the self-thinking. Indeed, by 1986, Raya characterized Hegel’s final sentence “the whole point that Hegel was developing on unre­ sultive from his work—that the two worlds in opposition, a realm of subjectivity in the pure regions of trans­ parent thought, the other a realm of objectivity in the eternal self-reflexive, self-reflexive realm of dark­ ness....did not face Lenin because he thought that the ob­ jective, the Practical Idea, is a reality. Nothing in, in fact, led Lenin back to the Idea of Theory and away from dependence on the Practical Idea, not even when Hegel writes: “The Practical Idea still lacks the moment of the theoretical Idea.”

In the second of the 1986 Letters to non-Marxist Hegel scholars, what is at issue is the threat of falling into the “third attitude”—Hegel’s designation of “intuitionism” or “immediacy.” This is the trap that awaits all today when the separation of philosophy and organization is not bridged. That separation is what Raya called in her Presentation of June 1, 1987, the “112 year void” on dialectics of organization and philosophy.

How to Prepare for the 1990s? That is the question facing revolutionaries everywhere as we seek to find pathways out of the retrogressive realms which dominated the decade of the 1980s. “How to Prepare for the 1990s” has two dimensions, both rooted in the necessity to recreate the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism. The second of these is the relationship between the dialectic of objectivity and subjectivity, between the “third attitude toward objectivity”—Hegel’s designation of “intuitionism”—and “immediacy.” This is the trap that awaits all today when the separation of philosophy and organization is not bridged. That separation is what Raya called in her Presentation of June 1, 1987, the “112 year void” on dialectics of organization and philosophy.

Indeed, dialectics is the key not only to responding to new objective-subjective events, but also to developing the Idea of Freedom philosophically as the pathway to taking Marxist-Humanism to a new horizon. It calls for the intransigence of Marxist-Humanism on the basis of new subjectivity.
have a new edition of Philosophy and Revolution which will include Raya's 1986 Letters to non-Marxist scholars on the dialectics of organization and philosophy. These letters remain so little studied that they remain very nearly unknown to us. We take it as our responsibility this year to find a publisher for the third of Marxist-Humanism's "trilogy of revolution"—Marxism, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution—in a new edition including the paragraphs Raya added to the book after its publication in 1980. At the same time, we consider it our organizational-philosophic responsibility to spread the discussion of these works far and wide, with sales to libraries and movement activists, with reviews in journals and in-person discussions. 1) The year we have gone a long way toward the preparation of a massive new supplementary volume to Raya's Archives, on Raya's process of creating her "trilogy of revolution"—Marxism, Women's Liberation, and Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. In the year to come we will donate the first 14 to the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs. At the same time, Raya's writings 1986-87, deposited as volume 13 of her Archives, remain too "unknown and undigested" either through sales to libraries or study of them. 2) The struggle to hold as irreparable our needed organizational growth and the concept of organization remains our most unfinished task. In the year ahead our participation in the ongoing freedom struggles, whether of Blacks, women, workers or youth, wherever nationally or internationally, remains the arena where our battle of ideas and the struggle for the coming pathway to the future must be fought. Not a week goes by that the Center of Marxist-Humanism does not receive letters from around the world seeking to know more about the possibilities which we can offer. Next year it is especially important that we seek an in-person dialogue in Europe. But above all our task remains the needed American liberation movement. As a new generation grows up in the spirit of "Have Thumb, Will Travel," in ensuring that our activities are not limited to areas where we have local. None of these concrete activities can successfully develop separated from the deepening of our understand- ing of Raya Dunayevskaya's concept of organization. 3) Our organization, News & Letters, is a vital organi- zation for Marxist-Humanism when it reflects the fullness of Marxist-Humanism's organization of thought. This year we published, for the first time, 1953 Letters, Hegel's Absolutes in the pages of NK. We have sought to make a ream of those letters in NK. In a section called "Philosophy and Revolution," Hegel describes, beyond the point of what is called the new sphere. Because they assumed that they knew Marx's body of ideas, they placed all emphasis on 'projection' of the ideas he believed they had reached. And because the task of inwardizing the body of his ideas is a task that requires a historical agenda, it took a century to publish the whole of Marx. All post-Mao Marxists missed, was that Marx's own philosophic comprehension of his body of ideas precedes the ideas themselves which, through the events of life, enabled him to deepen and develop Marx's Marx- ism. That philosophic self-comprehension was most fully expressed in his 1881-83 Ethnological Notebooks. In this sense, the very form of The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism helps provide a new view of the founder's philosophic comprehension of Marxist- Humanism's organization of thought. It is a view we sought to probe into and try to begin developing in our class series on "How to Prepare for the 1990s," and to our class on Hegel's "Methods of Ideology," when we studied dimensions of Raya's "trilogy of revolution" from the new illumination shed upon her 1953 Letters by her 1980s writings. It is this methodology of re-examining Marxist-Humanism that we call our method of inwardization. 1) Immediately after our publication of The Philo- sophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism, we had in our hands a new Chinese edition of The New Hegel: Hegel and the Modern World. This Chinese edition makes clear the significance of the new illumination shed upon Raya Dunayevskaya's concept of organization and its importance for our study of any of these works. In the year ahead we shall cut so as to stop her from speaking out in front of the public. It is hard to account how many people have been murdered by the Party, and how many political prisoners have been jailed throughout the country.

The conclusion I draw is that China under the rule of the Communist Party is an occupation est from that before 1949. The hierarchical social structure has not changed. A small group of people enjoys privileges and unlimited power, whereas the majority of the population is deprived of basic rights. People enjoy no security; their children are often persecuted for the same reasons; criticizing the Party is a crime. The government is attempting to change society. The differences between the emperors and the leaders of the CPC is that while the former claimed to be the sons of heaven, the CPC leaders have always declared themselves to be the representatives of the people. They label themselves revolutionaries and condemn the people who question the legitimacy of their leadership. It is important to recognize the fact that even if they were once revolutionary, they have been following the same pathways of power since they obtained power, and have become the obstacles of social development.

In this case, the confrontation of the Communist Party of China and the people—who are represented by the students, workers, intellectuals and Beijing citizens on Tiananmen Square—is inevitable. The pre-determined movement is the continuation of the revolution that began in 1931. The ultimate goal of the revolution that has remained unchanged, that is, to end the feudal and the Party into a free and democratic society where the people enjoy not just political and legal rights, but freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom to express their opinions, feelings without being persecuted, where truth, lies, prevails and where the government and the army are for the people. China has been in the shadow of terrorism. Scarred by power, the Party and the government have been continuing to purge pro-democracy protesters. Tanks and bullets may kill the bodies of the freedom fighters, but they can never kill the spirit of democracy. People's struggle for a better society will continue in spite of the bloodshed. For the people there are only two choices: either to change according to the people's will, or to be overthrown by people's power. For the latter choice has already been made to be unacceptable.
REVOLT IN CHINA AND THE IDEA OF FREEDOM

Hundreds of Chinese students from campuses across the nation came to Chicago to form a student association in the wake of the Tiananmen massacre. It was exciting to be able to talk to a number of students who were sagacious, who knew the game to move the freedom movement forward. Some 10 million Chinese new China pamphlet. But it was also disturbing to see how much the Bush administration has changed since the 1960s. Re- cohere trying to put their stamp on this meeting and to see some of the Chinese student organizers and their need to model their constitution on the U.S. Constitution. The organizers showed their concern with the official agenda and rejected quickly to abstract rules. It is my feeling once. But any activity in this context would be a mistake.

Workers of the world, unite, be­

The spontaneous groupings emerging in the Left, that category—mas­


eous and manual labor: that is when one can build a building. That's why I
eedle force a woman to bear a child.

We keep hearing about American
capital's health care "services" to
capsule is paid on a per-vis­
tically drops from "Youth in
censoration because they didn't want either the
government's or Solidarism's censor­
ship.

The miners in Russia and in the U.S.

The spontaneous groupings emerging in the Left, that category—mas­


eous and manual labor: that is when one can build a building. That's why I

We keep hearing about American
capital's health care "services" to
capsule is paid on a per-vis­
tically drops from "Youth in
AUGUST-SEPTEMBER, 1989

by John Alan

Last month at the annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Detroit, the keynote address was by Thomas Sowell, who as Vice-President, played a political role in creating the present reactionary Supreme Court. Thus Hooks’ keynote speech was the stage for the good will that Bush did the nation when he announced in 1980 convention of the NAACP.

QUAKEY WORKED-TONGUE

It is now obvious that the leadership of the NAACP believes, in the words of Mr. Hooks, that Bush has lifted “the shroud of the city of racial policy and placed between the Black leadership and the White House. While it is true that Reagan kept Black leaders at a distance and Quayle more actively distances Black leaders does not open the road toward securing Black civil rights. Once you strip away the rhetoric of the White House, there is a policy of this Administration,” Quayle’s speech to the convention makes that clear. It sets the ideological position on affirmative action. Quayle express this by saying, yes, we are for affirmative action. We are committed to fairness.” This is precisely what the Reagan majority is saying on the Supreme Court.

Both the President and the Vice-President owe their rise to the ideological position of Quayle. Any real dialogue between them and Black leaders must face that ideological position. Bush has openly courted the support of Reagan by his unconscionable veto of a minimum wage raise, while pressuring Congress to spend billions

Black terror in Natal

Johannesburg, South Africa—Things happen so suddenly here. Some aspects show that Inkatha and its supporters have lost direction and have come close to facing Inkatha has lost a huge membership, and those people who were spoon-fed to membership were not told exactly what Inkatha stands for. Any serious, violent or peaceful opposition to the apartheid and white domination.

I was called in our Union office to attend an urgent telephone call from my wife at Emnendwe. “Don’t worry,” I was told, “Just have, together with other teachers in different schools in various parts of Natal, been engaged in the identical work of the Kwa-Zulu Department of Education (KDE). She said that the notorious Education Committee of Inkatha had become so oppressive that Inkatha would be “as if the principle of freedom of association at a teachers meeting over the past few months in Natal, was at stake.”

The chairman of this meeting, a Mr. Mdunge, from the auspices of The Other Economic Summit, an annual conference seeking to draw attention to the impact on the Third World of economic decisions taken by the world’s leading industrial nations at their annual summits.

The Third World is still of great importance living in poverty, the included doctors, poets, rights activist and labor leaders from Asia, Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Kenya, Mexico, and many others. Legislation is presently being prepared which restricts the right of teachers to form or join a trade union.

I asked my wife what was the response from the majority of teachers in the meeting? My wife told me no attempt to oppose the order or seek clarification because of the intimidation and acts of violence.

My wife told me the main problem is that Inkatha has faced a difficult situation as shown by them as the only force people under their authority to join UWWA (United Workers Union of South Africa) and UKUWA (Independent Union of Inkatha.

Inkatha has again taken advantage of the huge unemployment in this country to force any teacher to first consider his or her family situation before reaching any decision. However, in Durban, many teachers were forced to take leave of absence. Inkatha has still lost huge membership because of its harassment of teachers.

Inkatha has already lost this war. I am Zulu myself and firmly believe that Inkatha wants to maintain tribaldominance. The delaying tactics adopted by Inkatha boss, Gatsha Buthelezi, to resolve the Natal fighting, will do no harm to the established order of things. Some of our say no attempt to oppose the order or seek clarification because of the intimidation and acts of violence.

Black World

Gangs need new ‘colors’

Los Angeles, Calif.—On July 12, two rival street gangs had a shoot-out on 44th Street and Kansas Avenue that left two killed and three critically wounded. The two killers and the gang members who were involved with the incident, and it is not known if it was an AK-47, or what, but it was heavily automatic.

The shootout took place in the streets of L.A. concentration in the Black and Latino “varrios” (barrios-nearborhoods) of South-Central L.A. and Watts. Gang-related homicides city-wide increased 43% for the first three months of this year. Even though police say those killed in the shootout were gang members, the police incident say that three of those shot were not. One was a working youth.

Many Black youth are calling for an alternative of the police to stop themselves, after being incarcerated and politicized in prison, who are just tired of seeing their homies get killed. A vanguard of the police has been the racist organization, the Red Cross. The police are a rallying cry for a no-sale-out unity to fight the Black poor as an unfair system must pay the price for these many deaths.

The Yankee dollar and green lays the ground for control. If we lose this battle, our future is all there. If we have Bhopal, then be it blue, red, or purple, can cost you

Black Red/View

NAACP embraces Bush

On the “stabilizer”

At a news conference, Mr. Hooks said that if Congress fails to pass the new civil rights bill, the Supreme Court’s only other recourse left is “civil disobedience, on a scale which has never been seen in this country before.” The possibility that the censure of the NAACP is highly doubtful. If such massive, direct opposition did materialize, it would be a dramatic

break in the political and judicial philosophy of the NAACP.

• In its whole 85-year history, it has never ventured to see the potential that the Black American population has in the establishment of power.

LIMITS OF CIVIL RIGHTS

The middle-class Black leadership has reached the outer limits of its political and judicial options and is helplessly immersed in the general crisis of American capitalism. The leadership of the Black community is stuck in the quagmire by the dispute between Black civil rights leaders over whether to support the order to strike and whether to encourage the order to be Bush’s Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights.

The desire for patronage from the Bush Administration has caused some Black civil rights leaders to overlook Lusce’s hostility to civil rights just in order to get a Black into high office. Many of the qualifications also hides the real reason why Bush wants him in the Justice Department, that is why he is ideologically acceptable to Bush.

Marc long ago pointed out that civil rights was a good thing. But, nevertheless, it was not real human emancipation. The right of the poor to learn, to eat, to own, to have a decent life, to be recognized as humans, was no the reason no capital flows that way as far as the ‘West’

The Yankee dollar and greed lays the ground for control. If we lose this battle, our future is all there. If we have Bhopal, then be it blue, red, or purple, can cost you

Black World

third World at Summit

are supposedly so backward, so lacking in technical perf- formance that they could not get the capital to use...No, there is a reason why, while the Third World is still not concerned is that private capital does not get invest- ed there at all, now that they have found that they can get a little more from the industrial nation of ‘European economic prosperity,” the meaning of the economic package for Poland and Hungary, though paltry, was no mere debt re-servicing.

Despite the “imperialist economism” of “socialist” leaders in the for the past years that we have, to the large extent, that which began in 1974-75 with the world-wide recession and the new revolutionary upsurges in the Third World has created a new social debate on the revolutionary movement. Because Gorbachev is no more interested in the Third World than the Western industrial powers, we must take the role of the industrial powers. Gorbachev is no more interested in the Third World than the Western industrial powers, from whom he addressed a letter indicating his desire to “en-gage in a constructive dialogue” on international eco- nomic relations. The support of the Third World to any of the superpower summits.

It is not possible to comprehend the economic reality in the Third World, to talk about the Third World in Philosophy and Revolution, “apart from the compel- ling objective forces of world production, the pull of the Third World than the Western industrial nations, to attract capital to the Third World in order to build up the Third World today to any of the superpower summits.

Subscribe to— and write for—News & Letters

Black Red/View
Detroit, Mich.—The Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) based in Ohio just signed a three-year contract with Campbell's and the tomato growers association covering 450 workers for three years. Wage parity for farmworkers on different jobs will gradually be achieved as the rate for planting and cultivating tomatoes rises from $4.23 to $4.45 an hour this year, and to $4.50 per hour in 1991, while the rate for operating mechanical harvesters rises from $4.60 to $4.75 per hour this year, to $5 an hour in 1991.

Farmworkers are excluded from NLRA (National Labor Relations Board) regulations so a key provision won by FLOC is continuation of the Dunlop Commission to oversee disputes and to develop means of meeting farmworkers' needs for housing and day care, and protection from pesticides. At this time, FLOC and the Dunlop Commission are negotiating a public-private day care partnership with state and federal agencies to which Campbell's and the tomato growers will contribute. The FLOC demonstrates that is possible to make day care standard throughout the industry instead of it being a variable within individual contracts.

Of FLOC's 7,100 members, 3,300 are now covered by contracts, but the contracts with Vlasic and Heinz do not include their pickle growers expire this year. At one pickle farm included in the Vlasic contract, FLOC is attempting to gain employee status for farmworkers. Currently under the system of declaring farmworkers to be independent contractors, workers are not paying into Social Security and the workers are not credited with enough weeks of continuous employment to be entitled to state or federal unemployment benefits, lack health insurance, and are indebted to IRS at the end of the year since no deductions are made from their wages.

Baldemar Velasquez, FLOC president, says that even though unions covering 5% of farmworkers have seen their contracts signed in the past three years, the rate of organizing has been low. "Both sides expect that pickle pickers will have a 50% share of what Vlasic pays the workers as the law sets the rates for that type of work. With this legislation that farmworkers are excluding workers compensation, lack health insurance, and are indebted to IRS at the end of the year since no deductions are made from their wages.

As a departure from past protests (see N&L, August-September, 1989), student leaders called for all participants to cover their faces during the march, sending a message to the military and newly "elected" right-wing president. The organizers have decided to keep up the pressure on Cristiani to uphold his campaign pledge to create a government that works for the people.

FLOC supporter El Salvador protests

Los Angeles, Calif.—Several protests have been held recently to demonstrate against the Presidency of El Salvador and the government's human rights record. At this time, FLOC and the Dunlop Commission are negotiating a public-private day care partnership to which state and federal agencies will contribute. The FLOC demonstrates that it is possible to make day care standard throughout the industry instead of it being a variable within individual contracts.

In El Salvador, itself, the military July 17 opened fire on students at the National University, who were trying to evict a campus in a march to protest the detention of a student leader. The resettlement of the military and its Death Squad led to a march four days later of hundreds of students, accompanied by as many workers, through the streets of their city.

As a departure from past protests (see N&L, August-September, 1989), student leaders called for all participants to cover their faces during the march, sending a message to the military and newly "elected" right-wing president. The organizers have decided to keep up the pressure on Cristiani to uphold his campaign pledge to create a government that works for the people.
Russian miners challenge Gorbachev

Striking miners rallied, July 17, in Prokopyevsk, in Siberia, under a banner that read: Power to the People's Soviets.

Russian miners staged a powerful protest against the Soviet government, demanding better working conditions and higher wages. The strike was especially severe in the region of Siberia. The strike erupted within days in the Russian province of Krasnoyarsk and quickly spread to other regions.

During the strike, the miners took over the production of coal mines, creating a major economic disruption. They demanded an end to dangerous working conditions and medical neglect, which had been documented to kill over 600 miners each year.

The response from the government was slow, with vague, conditional promises. The miners' anger was not only directed at the state-capitalist party bureaucracy but also at the U.S.-backed government of the region.

The strike served as a powerful message to the Soviet leadership, demonstrating the miners' determination to fight for their rights. Despite the initial consultation with the strikers, the government's failure to address their concerns paved the way for a more significant movement against authoritarianism in the Soviet Union.