

Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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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 out what was happening right here—what the miners here were doing and saying—I took a trip in July to West Virginia with Andy Phillips, who had been active in the Miners' General Strike of 1949-50.

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 "police state."

When we got to the strike area near Charleston we found federal marshals, state police, local police—and "skin-heads," equipped with the latest technology and infra-red cameras to spy on the strikers. The miners call them "Stalinist-fascists."

As one of the miners put it, "We have federal marshals taking the scabs into the mine and watching our every move. We read in the newspapers where President Bush went to Poland and Hungary talking about how they need free unions there. What about some freedom for workers in this country? We read about the coal miners on strike in Russia for food and shelter and clothing and some freedom. That's 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 know that Pittston is out to get rid of the union. "It won't stop with us," said one of the pickets. "All of labor should have gone on strike when President Reagan destroyed PATCO. That's when all the bosses got the word to destroy the labor movement in this country. But our union leaders have done their part in that,

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Black World

Third World at the Summit



by Lou Turner

Amid the pomp, pageantry and summitry in Paris, July 14-18, surrounding the "historical idolatry" of the French Revolution appeared the Third World, invited by French President Mitterrand, but tolerated by none of the Group of Seven industrialized nations. The 21-page communique issued by the capitalist West expressed its sudden interest in the earth's environment, which its mode of production has so perilously threatened. At the same time, the Seven signed on to Bush's re-drawing of the old Cold War markers with his ideological forays into Poland and Hungary.

For a very brief moment it looked as if the concerns of the 24 heads-of-state Mitterrand invited to the bicentennial, and the resolution of the group of four nations—India, Venezuela, Senegal and Egypt—calling for a North-South summit, would be put on the agenda and discussed, despite U.S. and British opposition. However, all of 10 minutes was devoted to the Third World resolution before it was tabled by its sponsor, Mitterrand. Instead, the rich capitalist nations urged "developing countries to implement sound economic policies" to make their economies "safe for Western investment." This euphemism for "pull yourself up by your own bootstraps" is not only a cruel hoax for a bootless Third World, but it flies in the face of the imperialist reality of this century's capitalist plunder of the Third World.

THIRD WORLD COUNTER-SUMMIT

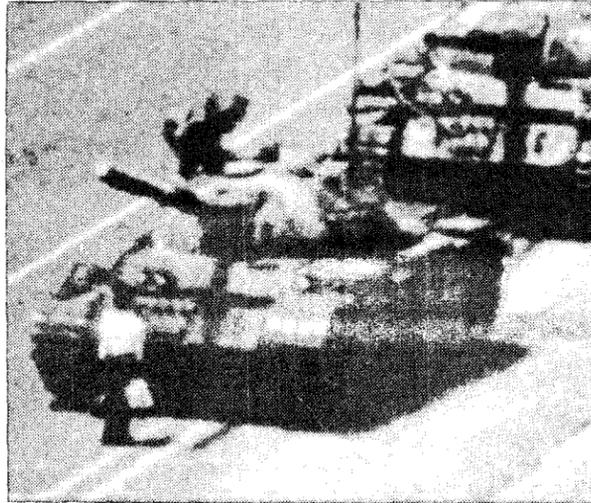
And yet, there was another Third World presence in Paris on the bicentennial of the French Revolution, which was not a part of the official state contingents, and which revealed the two worlds that co-exist in all countries, developed and underdeveloped. This reflected a truer representation of the French Revolution, a counter-summit of 1000 Third World grass-roots representatives assembled to put the Group of Seven richest nations on trial.

The Chicago Tribune wire service carried the follow-

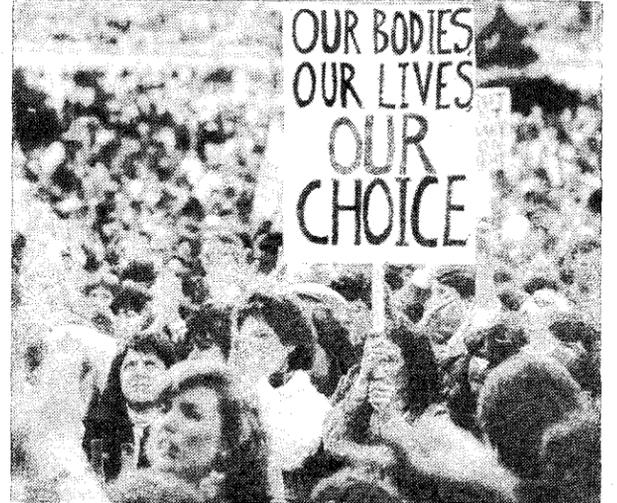
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Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1989-90

How to prepare for the 1990s?



Tiananmen Square, June 5, 1989



Washington, D.C. April 9, 1989

I. China's Revolt vs. the 'Restructured' State-Capitalist World

The brutal repression in China, the jailings and executions of Chinese workers, students and peasants, continuous ever since the June 4 massacre at Tiananmen Square, shows how fast counter-revolution moves to crush the freedom movement in this epoch of state-capitalism. The Chinese protestors calling this "fascism" brings to mind Raya Dunayevskaya's 1986 view that "Hitler's visage" nakedly revealed in South Africa is not for South Africa alone, but is the visage that permeates this whole degenerate, dehumanized world we live in.

The events in China remind us that 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.

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.

What is truly distinctive about the effort of the Chinese rulers to crush the freedom movement is their systematic effort to brazenly bury the very history and memory of the two months of creative struggles that preceded the massacre. The Big Lie of the Chinese government telling the world that no massacre took place in Tiananmen Square while the blood stains and bullet holes were still visible seems totally fantastic. In truth, they are driven to engage in this fantasy in order to protect a much bigger lie—namely, that the Chinese rulers, not the masses rebelling against them, represent Marxism. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The truth is, as one Chinese protester put it, "You Cannot Massacre an Idea!" The effort to crush the Idea of Freedom by identifying Marxism with its opposite, Communist totalitarianism, has its own dialectic. One Chinese student in exile insisted that the students were not demanding Western-style democracy, but what he called "a Paris Commune-type of democracy." When we asked him if he had gotten this view from the Sheng Wu-lien manifesto "Whither China," he said he didn't even know of it. He had first learned about the Paris Commune from the required reading in school of Marx's *Civil War in France*.

That vision of freedom was expressed by the students in their demands for free speech, free press, free assembly; by the workers in their creation of independent trade unions not alone in Beijing and Shanghai, but in Hefei and other cities across the country; by the peasants, who far from being "backward" engaged in protests nationwide, stormed fertilizer storehouses, hung tax collectors and defied grain requisitions in the months preceding the rise of the pro-democracy movement. Far from China's revolt stemming from the failure of "political reforms" and the success of "economic reforms," the sweep of the revolt reveals the utter failure of both.

What makes China's revolt so significant is that it represents the most serious challenge we have yet seen to the retrogressive, "restructured" world we have lived through these past ten years. In China the restructuring has taken the form of Deng's "four modernizations" based on Mao's 1956 designation of state-capitalism as the reality of so-called "Socialist"

1. The attraction of the Paris Commune to today's Chinese youth is discussed by W. Pfaff in his column in the *Los Angeles Times*, May 30, 1989. The Sheng Wu-lien manifesto of 1968 has recently been republished by *News and Letters in China in Revolt and the Idea of Freedom* (see ad. page 8).

China. In Russia, it has taken the form of Gorbachev's "perestroika" and "glasnost." In the U.S. we know it as the ten years of Reagan retrogression.

At the same time revolts against the ten years of worldwide retrogression are so pervasive that the bourgeoisie's business analysts say that the present period is characterized by "persistent instability." The scope of these ongoing freedom struggles stretches from revolts in Latin America against crushing austerity measures to the unceasing *intifada* in Gaza and the West Bank, and from strikes and student protests in South Korea to upheavals in Hungary that have already gone far beyond "official sanctions."

In every part of this state-capitalist world what is crucial is not the "reforms" but the depth of the crises as the superpowers maneuver, each striving for single world mastery. It is this which motivated the Sino-Soviet summit, held in Beijing in the midst of the Tiananmen Square protest. No doubt Gorbachev's aim in visiting China was the same as that of both U.S. and Russian rulers for three decades. Each superpower has ceaselessly tried to play the China card, while the Chinese rulers have their own agenda.

Today's Chinese Communist Party leadership seems to have very nearly abandoned Mao's pretensions that China could serve as an independent pole of attraction for the Third World. That, however, does not lessen the danger of the world situation. What is new since the revolt in China is that China's relations with the superpowers have been thrown into instability by the uncertainty over the future. Everything is now up for grabs.

This also underlies the recent trips of Shevardnadze to Tehran and Rafsanjani to Moscow, where Rafsanjani proclaimed that the final words of Khomeini were "Improve relations with the neighbor to the North." This tilt of Iran to Russia actually preceded Khomeini's death. In early January his personal representative, Ehsan Tabari, former Tudeh (Communist) Party leader, reportedly drafted a letter sent to Gorbachev by Khomeini asking for a discussion of "major problems in world politics." Rafsanjani and Gorbachev have now evidently begun collusion over the future of Afghanistan, lining up against the collusion of the U.S. and Pakistan, with all parties willing to fight to the last Afghani.

Ten years ago the Iranian Revolution so transformed the preoccupation of the Middle East from oil to revolution that Raya Dunayevskaya pointed to it as a possible "shift in global politics." But counter-revolution from within quickly destroyed that revolution; Khomeini's bloody usurpation of the revolution went hand-in-hand with his dream that Islamic fundamentalism could become an independent pole of attraction for the Middle East, if not for the whole Third World. After ten years of the Iran-Iraq War, with the economy in shambles, Rafsanjani seems ready to jettison Khomeini's illusion. Far from lessening the tensions in the Middle East, this

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Dunayevskaya p.4

Woman as Reason

A Chinese feminist speaks

'The Communist Party has totally turned its back to Marxism'

Editor's note: Below we print a manifesto on freedom sent to us by a revolutionary Chinese feminist. It was written in response to the bloody suppression of the movement in China and examines the rule of the Chinese Communist Party as fascist and destroying the ideal of communism.

Dear Sisters and Friends,

I am writing to call for your denouncement of the Chinese government for the murder of thousands of peaceful students, workers, and citizens since June 3, 1989. I am also calling for your support of the pro-democracy movement that is still going on among Chinese people within the country and all over the world. Having lived in the country for over 30 years, I know clearly about the violation of human rights, the lack of freedom and democracy under the rule of the Communist Party of China (CPC), yet I was still shocked at the fact that the "People's Government" would order the army to kill its people. Those people did nothing wrong but speak out their hope for their full complement of civil rights, the rights stated by the Chinese constitution, the rights promised by the People's Government, the right to be treated like human beings.

WOMEN AT TIANANMEN

Among the people who participated in the demonstrations on Tiananmen Square and streets of other Chinese cities were a large number of women. As happened in the past, women are fighting for a more general goal—the liberation of the Chinese people—rather than for women's rights in particular. I saw women students join in the hunger strike that lasted for seven days, women throw themselves in front of military vehicles to stop the cruel suppression, women lying in blood dead as soldiers fired at unarmed civilians. Many of them were very young and had just started a new life

in the university. They were killed by a government which has turned out to be fascist by nature. The ideal of communism has been completely destroyed by those "communists" who, out of their own interests, use tanks and bullets to suppress a progressive force.

The Beijing massacre and the continuing persecution of pro-democracy protestors in China is merely a repetition of many old horrors in the country. Violation of



human rights as well as of civil rights in the People's Republic of China is not something new. Since it came into power, the Communist Party of China has purged people with different opinions. Tens of thousands of intellectuals were persecuted in the "anti-Rightist" campaign in the late 1950s. Many innocent people were driven to their death during the "Cultural Revolution," which was basically motivated by personal interests of

some Party leaders. Countless people were killed or jailed in a bloody crackdown on Tiananmen Square on the night of April 5, 1976, when these people gathered on the square to mourn the death of the former premier Zhou Enlai, and to criticize the Party and government.

Even after China opened up to the world, suppression of dissidents has occurred frequently. Activists in the "Democracy Wall" movement in the early 1980s have been jailed till today. The 1986 student movement, which demanded reforms in the political system, was condemned by the government as "bourgeois liberalization." Those intellectuals who supported the students were fired from their posts. Fortunately, the Beijing massacre can no longer be kept a secret from both Chinese people and the outside world. When thousands of unarmed, idealistic young people died under the fire of the People's Liberation Army conducted by the Communist Party and the government, how can people be convinced that the country is a "people's republic," and the government is a government by the people, and for the people?!

The truth is that the Chinese government has become the enemy of the people, that the Communist Party of China has totally turned its back to Marxism, and that feudalism and fascism are the leading features of the Party and the government it forms. Indeed, China has never been a real socialist country, although public-ownership was adopted. A socialist society is supposed to be a society in which everyone is equal, in which the people enjoy to the largest degree freedom and democracy, and in which the people, not the small group in power, are the "masters of the country." However, under the rule of the CPC, China has maintained a class system since 1949.

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Nationwide demonstrations erupt after Supreme Court decision

New York

Nearly 10,000 people took to the streets on July 5 to protest the Reagan Court's overturning of Roe vs. Wade. Following a rally near the federal court, we marched through the streets of Chinatown, the Lower East Side and Greenwich Village. As the march converged for another rally, hundreds of us sat down, blocking one of New York's busiest intersections.



NY rally protesting Supreme Court decision

Many young people who have grown up in the era of legal abortion joined older women's liberationists. Two Black high school students told *News & Letters* about organizing a protest at their Catholic high school to show that Bishop John O'Connor doesn't speak for them. Women college students discussed how to organize opposition when school reconvenes.

However, the speakers limited reorganizing to preventing states from "completely" overturning Roe vs. Wade. Yet, Roe vs. Wade is gone, that's what the Supreme Court did when it allowed Missouri to ban any use of public funds for abortion. What needs discussion is how we have allowed the relation between abortion rights and universal freedom to be severed.

Many participants clearly wanted to begin a discussion. A group of students chanted demands to uproot patriarchy. One speaker asked us to continue the demonstration in Tompkins Square park, where police were trying to evict homeless people and their shelters. And a young woman carried a sign that read, "When a government turns its back on its people, is it civil war?"

—Laurie Cashdan

Los Angeles

On July 8, the right-wing fanatics of "Operation Rescue" targeted the L.A. area and attempted to shut down the Doctor's Family Planning Clinic in Tustin. They were outnumbered by hundreds of pro-choice supporters, angered by the reactionary anti-abortion Supreme Court ruling of July 3.

On the day of the ruling, some 500 abortion rights supporters had rallied outside the office of anti-abortion State Senator David Roberti, putting him and everyone else on notice that the battle for women's bodies had just begun. A woman artist had made a replica of the Chinese students' "Goddess of Democracy" statue, and draped her with a banner that said "Pro-Choice." About 50 protesters camped out overnight, and there was another spirited rally of some 500 the next morning, July 4, Independence Day.

—Michelle Landau

No more illusions

This is our Women's Liberation-News & Letters leaflet that was handed out at demonstrations in Chicago, New York and Los Angeles.

Today we experience tremendous anger that this Reaganite/Bush Supreme Court—these sexist, racist judges—could dare try to take away our right to control our own bodies; our right to decide when, if, how we want to have children; our right to define what it means to be a woman in this society—our right to be human.

They dare to decide when life—life in our bodies—begins! They self-righteously disregard the will of this country's population; they spit on the over half million of us who marched on Washington, D.C., for women's lives—yes, women's LIVES—and the tens of millions more whom that march represented. They try to hide behind the abstraction they call "law" or "Constitution." The reality will be more women's lives lost, more women's bodies maimed by self-induced and back alley butcher abortions. This decision is a possible death sentence for many poor, working class and Black women who cannot afford safe, legal abortions.

What can we do now that the unthinkable has happened?

First and foremost: NO MORE ILLUSIONS! To have no more illusions we must begin with a deep critique—not only of the Supreme Court decision or the Bush administration—but of our own Women's Liberation Movement.

How could it be that so many of us thought that we had "won" the right to abortion 16 years ago? Even before this reactionary Supreme Court decision, fully 41 states refused to pay for abortions for poor women. This didn't start with this Supreme Court—it began happening immediately after Roe vs. Wade was decided in 1973.

We didn't win Roe vs. Wade only because of all our work fighting for legal abortion. We were part of a massive movement for freedom: for an end to senseless war in Vietnam; for full freedom for Black masses; for workers who were raising new questions about conditions of labor and about the relevancy of their own unions. There was a Women's Liberation Movement and part of it was explicitly about a revolution, a revolution that would be no simple exchange of leaders but would be so deep that every human relationship—including the man/woman relationship—would be transformed, would be new.

What happened to that vision? How could we have been satisfied merely with Roe vs. Wade?

What is needed to overcome a retrogression so deep that it threatens the lives of millions of women, workers and minorities is no quantitative question of more and greater demonstrations—although those are surely needed—but new developments in thought as well as activity.

LET'S CONTINUE THE DISCUSSION: WHAT HAS BEEN HAPPENING IN YOUR AREA?

Chicago

Well over 500 people created a demonstration that marched from Daley Plaza to the State of Illinois building at the other end of Chicago's downtown Loop.

Never, in my 20 years in the movement, have I encountered a demonstration where so many people joined from seeing the march and wanting to be part of it. Women came from hearing the march mentioned on the radio, from getting a leaflet at a rapid transit stop, and one man said when I asked why he was here, "I walked out of the drugstore and there you were."

At both the beginning and end of the rally and march there was an open microphone where women were encouraged to speak their minds. What poured forth from young and older women alike was a passion and determination to control our own bodies, coupled with an outrage that we would have to be fighting for this all over again. And, as they have been since the massive April 9 March for Women's Lives in Washington, D.C., the participation of young women was very large and militant.

—Terry Moon

San Francisco

On the day the Supreme Court gutted Roe vs. Wade, 2,000-4,000 women came out to protest in front of the San Francisco Federal Building. About 200 young women, not satisfied with speeches struck out on their own, expressing their outrage by marching down main streets, overturning news racks and setting bonfires in trash bins in the streets. They stopped traffic for several hours. One woman was injured in the ribs by club-wielding police. The "business as usual" attitude of the established organizations fighting for abortion rights was challenged by these youth, who see the concept of justice through laws as thoroughly inadequate in facing the ideological Right-wing.

—Urszula Wislanka

Asian women's struggles

San Francisco, Cal.—On July 18 the Coalition for Asian Women's Rights sponsored a demonstration in front of the Japanese consulate to show solidarity with the four Filipinas suing the owner and some employees of a bar called "Lapin" in Nagoya, Japan, for multiple rape, violence, forced prostitution, forced confinement and non-payment of salaries.

Over 40,000 Filipina, Thai and Taiwanese women are "recruited" to be "hostesses" and "entertainers" in Japanese bars. Many are forced into prostitution once they arrive. The four women in the Lapin case objected, and in separate incidents they were beaten and raped by the bar employees and forced to "take" customers. The women are considered "illegal aliens" by the Japanese government, whose only response so far to the attempts to prosecute the crimes has been to deport the women even before the court case finishes.

This case makes many issues concrete: women not accepting being victims, but fighting back, speaking out against such "private" shame as prostitution, the status of immigrant labor in Japan, and the conditions in other Asian countries, which make the possibility of earning \$3 per day in a Japanese bar so appealing.

Asian Labourers' Solidarity, ALS (NGO), 2-6-29 AOI, Higashi-Ku, Nagoya 461, Japan.

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 of the miners they interviewed appear below.

Beckley, W. Va.—The July 24 back-to-work order by UMWA (United Mine Workers of America) President Rich Trumka to the nation's miners—out on strike in support of the Pittston Coal Co. miners who walked off their jobs on April 5 (see June and July N&L)—raised questions, fears and concerns among the rank-and-file miners about Trumka's strike leadership. The order was issued in the midst of work stoppages by two-thirds of the nation's 65,000 union miners.

During the week of July 17-21, mass rallies of thousands of miners in all coal districts had heard thundering speeches from union leaders calling for both national labor unity and even a national general strike to rescue the labor movement from its contract concessionary course of the past decade.

The miners were literally begging for nothing less than a national labor crusade to turn the course of American history. Many old timers attending the rallies were reminded of the period of 55 years ago, when the UMWA, in the wake of the total international economic collapse of capitalism and in the middle of the greatest depression the world had ever witnessed in 1931, launched an organizing drive that changed the course of history, and first produced a fully organized UMWA, followed by the CIO which was moving to transform the economic landscape of America.

At this juncture of events, however, Trumka ordered the miners back to work, with notable exceptions. District 31 in northern West Virginia was given four additional memorial days, with the exception of one mine—Blacksville No. 1, which has a tradition of wildcat strikes and militancy. Also, District 6 in Ohio was ordered to take Thursday and Friday of that week as memorial days. These moves were clearly orchestrated to demonstrate Trumka's control of the miners, who, as he and the District officials insisted, had done their job by bringing Pittston to the negotiating table.

When Trumka suspended negotiations with Pittston on July 26 until Aug. 21, he called on "all people of good conscience" to go to Virginia to see a "system that has no room for workers," and called upon Virginia's Governor to withdraw the police support of Pittston and pledged guaranteed health and pension benefits for Pittston's miners and their families.

The vision and determination of the rank-and-file miners for an entirely new way of life based on human needs seems unmistakably clear and calls for a historic national labor crusade. It remains to be seen if Trumka will be able to fulfill the aspirations of the coal miners, which in turn could open a totally new and exciting course for all of American labor.

—Andy Phillips

Pittston Elkay

Man, W. Va.—We were all together after the Solidarity March on June 11. We had everything going for us. The other miners were joining in, along with the Eastern airlines workers, teamsters, the AFL-CIO. We really had national attention.

We just can't figure out why Trumka sent the miners back. He really pulled the rug out from under us. And we know that Pittston isn't going to sign anything that's going to be what we can live with. They are out to break the union, pure and simple.

And they are not going to stop with us. They're going on to break all of the unions. We all should have gone out on a national wildcat strike when Pres. Reagan broke the PATCO union. The unions have all been going downhill ever since.

We really feel that our battle today isn't just for the UMWA—it's for all of the workers in the coun-

try. What we'd like to have seen was a one-day strike of everybody in this country. That would have made a lot of people take notice.

We have a real problem here. We're here with all of the guts you need to win this battle, but we don't have the position. Trumka has the position, but it looks like he doesn't have the guts to carry this through.

All of the workers in this country have got to wake up and realize that we're all facing a real threat from the corporations. If we don't all get together, we're going to be facing the same kind of situation that workers in Germany under Hitler or the workers in Russia under Stalin faced. And the corporations and politicians have so much power that if they win, we're going to be worse off than those workers were. A few here and there won't be able to do it—it's going to take all of labor together.

—Pittston Elkay strikers



New Beckley

Stover, W. Va.—In November, 1987, New Beckley Mining declared Chapter 11 bankruptcy. We lost all of our benefits that they owed us—the days we had coming, health benefits, etc. We were just out without anything. It proceeded through bankruptcy for about nine months.

Then this company that has purchased Beckley Mining—Quaker Coal Co. out of Prestonburg, Ky.—came in here and asked us to waive our priority claims into unsecured claims in bankruptcy court. These amounted to, if you would count hospitalization, about \$4½ million. They promised to hire the men from Beckley Mining that were on the panel by seniority and qualification and to sign a 1988 wage agreement with slight modifications. We agreed to do this.

Immediately upon taking this mine over, the company started calling junior men in place of senior men. They weren't following the direction they promised. We went to federal court and were able to enforce the court order that stated they would honor the panel at this mine. The men worked for about four months. We were negotiating all the time for 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 stumbling blocks are our pension plan, our medical benefits, and our safety rights.

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 mines. Of course, they have utilized the courts—both state and federal—to try and run the striking miners off. So far they've been unsuccessful. We have maintained our picket line.

—Member Local 1895

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

Oxford, England—Nothing like this has happened before, in the decade since Margaret Thatcher came to power—railway workers, both on British Rail and the London Underground, local government employees, dockers, workers at the BBC and on the North Sea oil rigs all involved in strikes more or less at once. It is the rail strike which has had the most immediate impact, with the trains coming to a complete standstill one day a week, and traffic jams forming around London as commuters make their journeys by car.

With inflation running at 8.5%, the railway, local government and BBC workers were offered a pay raise of just 7%. They are holding out for an adequate increase to maintain their standard of living.

ROLLBACKS IN WORKER RIGHTS

The dock strike has arisen because the Thatcher government—at the behest of the port employers—has abolished the National Dock Labour Scheme, a legally enforced system of secure employment which was brought in during the 1940s to replace the old, hated system of casual labour, under which dockers were hired by the day. The union is demanding an agreement with the port employers which would re-establish the rights which dockers had under the Scheme.

There is an important Black dimension to the strike on the London Underground. At present workers are promoted to supervisor on the basis of seniority, and many Black workers are now reaching their turn. Management wants to change to promotion "on merit," which could all too easily become a cover for discrimination against Blacks as well as

against union activists.

Thatcher and her ministers are seething with anger at this new crop of strikes, and threatening to bring in a new law to ban strikes in "essential services."

JOURNALISTS STRUGGLE TO ORGANIZE

Beyond the issue of pay, workers are resisting a drive by the bosses for greater "flexibility" in employment, which would mean an end to national negotiations over wages and conditions—to be replaced by separate regional or local contracts. At the bottom of this slippery slope there is the system which Robert Maxwell, proprietor of the Daily Mirror, wants to foist on the journalists there; each individual would have to negotiate his or her own contract.

At Pergamon Press in Oxford, another part of Robert Maxwell's media empire, 23 journalists are fighting for reinstatement and union recognition. The dispute began when the company fired one person without going through the agreed procedures, and declared out of the blue that the union had never been recognized in that department. The union chapel [local] spent three months vainly trying to negotiate, and then held a one-day strike. The 22 people who came out were themselves sacked.

On two occasions I have been along to support them in demonstrations at the gates. Maxwell's minions, installed in the lodge with a battery of video cameras and telephoto lenses, kept us under constant surveillance. Echoes of Tiananmen Square! Commenting on Maxwell's membership in the Labour Party, the striking journalists have a badge which says, "If he's a socialist, I'm a banana!"

—Richard Bunting

Eckrich's monster-machine

Chicago, Ill.—Department 647 supervisor, Kiran Patel, announced to his workers during the second week in July that this Eckrich plant was losing up to \$25,000 per week. He said that we had more people than we should working on line 5 (the new bun-size 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 put additional people on the line to keep it from jamming up, to pick up the packages that spew 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 made by this miserable monster.

The machine breaks down often. Usually they don't have spare parts, so they send us to lunch—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 out the production.

I feel like we have to fight to get the work done, like there's all this struggle against us. When we complain about the conditions, they tell us, "If you don't like it, find another job."

It is so outrageous that they have spent all this money—a million dollars!—and are putting us through all these changes—to put the same meat we were packing before into a different package. And now they are coming to us with their money problems!

People don't believe that the plant 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 scare us into working harder. But are they also trying to discourage us from making improvements in our contract when it comes up in December? How long can they keep this threat of the plant closing hanging over our heads?

—Eckrich workers

Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

with all the sell-out contracts ever since the 1949-50 strike."

"We were all together after the solidarity march supported the Pittston strikers on June 11," said another. "Everything was going for us. It was the union leadership that pulled the rug out from under us when Trumka sent the other miners back to work."

You get some idea of what these miners are facing when you hear stories about what happened to them when they tried to go visit some of the other strikers in Virginia. As soon as they crossed the state line, they said, the state police were on their tail. They were

Russian miners strike

see p. 12

stopped and told to get back to West Virginia. Those that didn't turn back are still in jail in Virginia. "You get 90 days in jail around here for traveling the highway, if you're a miner," is the way one miner put it. "The only freedom workers have in this country is to bust your butt, and you find that out fast when you have to go on strike."

I used to work in the body shop at General Motors, and I thought that was hell, but some of the stories I heard on this trip beat even GM. One miner who used to work in the tippie showed us where the windows had been welded shut. "When it's 90 degrees outside it's 130 inside," he said. "We used to climb up to open the windows and get a breath of air, until the superintendent had them welded shut." The noise from the 18 vibrators coupled with that heat must have made it a real living hell in there.

TWO WORLDS IN EACH COUNTRY

We had to go down there to know what is really happening in this country. None of this has been in any of the papers. There were a few reports about the Pittston strike when the solidarity strikes broke out and started to spread, but after that you had to hunt hard to read even an inch or two. And nowhere has there been any report at all about another strike we found—this one at the New Beckley Mining Company at Stover, W. Va. Local 1895 has been on strike there since January.

That company went bankrupt, owing the workers about \$3000 each in wages. A scab mining company from Kentucky bought the mine and made a deal with the UMWA: if the miners signed over all their benefits, the new company would start up production and put them all back to work. The company worked them to death for four months and refused to sign a contract. When the miners went on strike they set up a Tent City off the road leading to the mine where 60 workers do picket duty around the clock. The federal marshals are on duty around the clock, too, to protect the scabs who had to be brought in from out of state. The whole place looks like a stockade.

Marxist-Humanism has always written about the "two worlds in each country." There is no place you can see those two worlds more clearly than in these mine areas today. If these miners lose, all workers will lose—and not only in this country but everywhere. What makes our trip important is that we can tell their story in this paper and not only get this issue back to them but send it all over the world. It is the special issue that carries our Draft Perspectives for the year ahead and speaks to all those, world-wide, who are trying to get out of the mess of capitalism and start creating a new world on human foundations.

From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya Marxist-Humanist Archives

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

Editor's note: Raya Dunayevskaya considered the following presentation to the Executive Session of News and Letters Convention on Aug. 31, 1980, the "core" of what she there presented "on the relationship of philosophy to leadership." Because this presentation was also given in the period when Dunayevskaya was at work on Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, it reflects the development of her thinking on the philosophic content of that 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, Leon Trotsky, and those who broke from the latter in order to analyze the putrid 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." Now, whereas it is true he had no theory of the party as we know it since Lenin's *What is To Be Done?* [1903], what Marx thought of as "party" was organization as tendency—political-philosophic tendency so that the class nature of a workers' organization moves from spontaneity to a "party of their own," which becomes what he described communists to be. That is, though an integral part of the workingclass, 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 internationalist and not nationalists.

After Marx unfurled that great historic, class and international banner in the *Communist Manifesto*, and participated in both the 1848 Revolution and the greatest revolution of his day, the 1871 Paris Commune, he criticized unflinchingly the 1875 Social Democratic Party. Only Lenin measured up to Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Program*, and not with "Party" but with *State and Revolution*; and only Lenin measured up to 1881 with his 1920 *Theses on the National and Colonial Questions*—yes, indeed, if not through Berlin, then perhaps through Peking!

Let's not forget that, though we reject the "vanguard party to lead," even in that 1903 program, Lenin did underpin it with "there can be no successful revolution without a theory of revolution," [which is something the latest British book on *Marxism and the Party* by John Molyneux surely fails to do. And Lenin did criticize himself as soon as the 1905 revolution broke out. The British SWP [Socialist Workers' Party, headed by Tony Cliff] sees that without making as many changes in their 1980 concept as Lenin did in 1905. When Molyneux does get to mention Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks*, he has next to nothing to say, excusing himself on the ground that he'll discuss philosophy when he deals with Gramsci, but then he deals with Gramsci's philosophy, not Lenin's.

The great Italian revolutionary Antonio Gramsci, while imprisoned in Mussolini's jail, was the one revolutionary in the late 1920s and early 1930s who was working out precisely the problem of the relationship of theory to practice, of philosophy to revolution. As he put it in his "Problems of Marxism":

"The philosophy of praxis is consciousness full of contradictions in which the philosopher himself,

understood both individually and as an entire social group, not merely grasps the contradictions, but posits himself as an element of the contradictions and elevates this element to a principle of knowledge and therefore of action."*

—Selections from the Prison Notebooks



Antonio Gramsci

Contrast this to Lenin's singling out from Hegel: "Cognition not only reflects the objective world, but creates it." It doesn't even enter the Tony Cliff mentality of Molyneux that that is exactly where the great tragedy comes in—that whereas Lenin reorganized himself on dialectic, on state and revolution, on Imperialism, on the National and Colonial Questions, and in the Will regarding Bukharin, he stopped short of reorganizing himself on the concept of the party. (If Molyneux had just paid attention to that single work, dialectic, he would have gone a great deal further than the whole 188 pages of his book.)

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 Trotsky was. He steps right back into vanguardism as he attributes all Luxemburg's mistakes to her not having appreciated unevenness of development. Ah well, he isn't important. What is the fact that Lenin stopped short of reorganizing his concept of the party, no matter how fundamentally he did modify it, especially after 1905. And that is what is most relevant today, so let's go to Marxist-Humanism, instead.

Have you recently reread my letters on the Absolute Idea? Read the last part where I begin arguing with Lenin because he said that the last half of the last paragraph of Hegel's *Science of Logic* (Vol. II, p. 485; Lenin's *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 234) is unimportant. He stopped, instead, at the first half of that paragraph, at the word, "Nature." Lenin says that Hegel here "brings one within a hand's grasp of materialism... This is not the last sentence of the Logic, but what comes after is unimportant." My argument was that Lenin hadn't lived through what we had suffered—30 years of Stalinism.

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 through the *Philosophy of Nature* and *Philosophy of Mind*, and only then, when you've gone through the whole of the *Encyclopedia of Philosophical Sciences* would you know what else was in store. In truth, he wasn't even satisfied with that ending, and in the year before he died, he added the three syllogisms. These reveal 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 theory and practice, of objective and subjective, because once you have reached Subject you need no "system;" the other two forms—Nature, Mind—are where "it" is manifested. Now all that remains is Method, Absolute Method. In a word, Self-Motion as Method is all a Subject needs.

As I discussed it with the Resident Editorial Board when we took up the question of leadership, Johnson [CLR James] found in Absolute Idea what he already had as presupposition, which he had expressed as early as 1944 in his "Education, Propaganda, Agitation." What seemed as a glorification of masses from below was, in fact, just pointing to one truth—the workers acting spontaneously, in order to hide the greater truth—that he, like Shachtman, would saddle the workers 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 came from "not completing" the ob-

* But what Gramsci called "hegemony"—be it in winning over intellectuals to the revolutionary proletariat, or the worker who has a comprehensive conception of the objective world and the battle of ideas as the class struggle—could, in the end, be won only by the party.

Philosophy as leadership and as action

jectivity of the theory of 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 Marxist-Humanism, so permit me a 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*, vol. II, p. 471)

Now George Armstrong Kelly accused me of "baptizing" an unchained dialectic as Absolute Method, and quoted me about "the cogency of the dialectic of negativity 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 Marx drew both from "negation of the negation" and actual live human beings taking destiny into their own hands. This is why I chose the 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."



Do you realize that it is 100 years since the *Ethnological Notebooks* were written and since that amazing 1881 Preface to the Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, and that it is only in our age that we finally have seen those "Notebooks" of Marx and can truly say that we have his complete works and can sum up Marx's philosophy of revolution as "From a Critic of Hegel, to the Author of *Capital* and the Theorist of the Permanent Revolution," not just of 1850, but 1881?

It's exactly that, that is, philosophy as leadership, that distinguishes us from all others, and, moreover, it distinguishes us not because we are in any ivory towers, but because philosophy which is leadership, is also action.

News & Letters

I do not think a newspaper should be symmetrical, trimmed like an English lawn. Rather, it should be somewhat untamed, like a wild orchard, so that it will pulsate with life and shine with young talents.

—Rosa Luxemburg

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(continued from page 1)

opens the doors wide to all sorts of superpower machinations, not only from Russia maneuvering with Iran, but also from the U.S. maneuvering with both Arab and Israeli rulers.

Two more trips this Spring demand our attention: both Bush and Gorbachev made it a point to visit West Germany. Bush's visit was an attempt to heal the rifts in NATO over nuclear arms negotiation strategy. But it was Gorbachev who won the accolades. What was new in Gorbachev's visit was not only his projection of "glasnost" but the fact that he held out the possibility of Russian assent to a future reunification of Germany, East and West. And this time, when Bush called for the removal of the Berlin Wall, Gorbachev said it was not out of the question.

All of this produced euphoria that the markers dividing Europe since World War II might finally be removed. The truth, however, is that neither Bush nor Gorbachev is interested in removing these markers, but only in moving them. Bush wants to move the markers East, imagining that "fluidity" in East Europe might mean new openings in Poland and Hungary, which he tried energetically to open in his July trip to those two lands. Gorbachev wants to move the markers West, imagining that he can ex-

tend his influence over West Germany, whether "neutralized" or otherwise.

All this talk of "removing" markers revives the illusions of a "unified Europe," independent of the superpowers, that would rise on the foundation of the European Economic Unity Plan now scheduled to go into effect in 1992. The bourgeoisie throughout Europe is eagerly anticipating the removal of wage and trade barriers scheduled for 1992. They hope to drive down wages and benefits from current levels of \$16 an hour in some parts of Northern Europe to the current level in such countries as Greece at \$4.61, or even Portugal, at \$2.73. West Germany no doubt fancies itself to be the leader of this "new unified Europe," despite competition from Britain's Thatcher and France's Mitterrand. This ambition when combined with rampant anti-immigrant racism has created fertile ground for the resurgence of fascist parties in West Germany, where former-SS officer Franz Shoenhuber captured no less than 7.1% of West Germany's vote in the recent European Parliament elections.

The illusions that serious challenges to the superpower superiority of the U.S. and Russia can develop are so persistent that, even while such illusions decline in Iran and China, they are ascendant today in West Germany and Japan. Every American worker knows about the "competition" from Japanese industry, and

there is no doubt that Japanese state-capitalism is flexing its economic muscles. But in today's nuclear-armed world you need military might, nuclear military might, as well as "economic might." And to exercise both you need control over the masses at home. The recent Japanese elections show that—in addition to the long-standing opposition of the Japanese masses to militarism and the horrors of nuclear war, which they know better than anyone—the rulers will now have to contend with Japanese women determined to put an end to that country's virulent sexism.

While the rulers of both Japan and West Germany still harbor their illusions, they were put on the back burner at the recent Economic Summit of the seven "Western industrialized powers" held in Paris in the midst of the bicentennial celebration of the French Revolution. The illusion they were all united in perpetrating there was the victory of capitalism over "communism." Nothing could deter them from that agenda, not even the demand from the Third World countries that the "industrialized" countries join them in a North-South dialogue. The Third World was brusquely told it was not invited. Instead, ideology played such a major role for the rulers of the U.S., Britain, West Germany, France, Japan, Canada and Italy, that it was difficult to tell where economic consultation ended and their preoccupation with exorcising the spirit of the French Revolution began.

II. 1979-89: Revolutions and Counter-Revolutions in the Retrogressive Decade

The predominance of ideology is today expressed in the illusion that Western capitalism has triumphed over Communism, which is, in turn, falsely equated to Marx's Marxism. Our bourgeois commentators—those "prizefighters for capitalism"—would have us believe that the great divide is between Communism, which is in "turmoil," and the U.S. (or even the "West" as a whole) which is now baptized as very nearly free of contradictions. Indeed, "free" private enterprise is now exalted as the wave of the future! Such confusion demands that we turn to a re-examination of what is new in the whole retrogressive decade of 1979-89 in the context of the state-capitalism that has characterized the entire world since the Great Depression, which led to World War II. There is no other way to clear our heads and prepare ourselves to work out pathways for the transformation of reality in the 1990s.

It was Raya Dunayevskaya's comprehensive and ground-breaking 1941-42 study of Russia's first three



Miners' strike camp in West Virginia. See story, page 3.

Five Year Plans that not only proved Russia to be a state-capitalist society but revealed that ours was a world age of state-capitalism because she had made integral to that original analysis the pivotal role of labor, in the form in which Marx had presented it in his 1844 *Humanist Essays and Capital*. Raya's theory of state-capitalism never revolved around a difference between "private" ownership vs. "state" ownership, but examined the new relationship of the state to all capital/labor relations in production. This reality has been and remains the truth of the whole post-World War II world.

What is new in the changed world of the 1980s is the global decade-long effort to restructure capitalism in high-tech fashion, which has fostered a new stage of ideological pollution that includes the Left, as the illusion grows that this technology has reached some sort of "post-industrial information world."²

This 1980s restructuring, in turn, had its origins both in the 1974-75 global economic crisis and in the response of the capitalists to the worldwide revolt against it that emerged from Angola to Portugal, from Poland to Nicaragua. The 1974-75 economic crisis was the deepest post-World War II recession up to that time. As we said in 1976: "There is to be no next boom. It is this which makes the capitalists look at the actual structural changes—overwhelming preponderance of constant capital (machinery) over variable capital (living labor employed)—as well as the world production and its interrelations....The overriding fact of present-day capitalist economy is the decline in the rate of profit as well as poverty, unemployment and stagnation. It is the age of state-capitalism as a world phenomenon." (See *Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis*.)

The clearest expression of this development of state-capitalism is seen in the so-called "privatized" U.S., and goes by the name of Reaganism. Under Reaganism (and now under Bush) the economy is directed by the state when the production is for Star Wars and is "privatized" when the aim is to take away health services or other social benefits.

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, before Reagan took office, when a new phenomenon appeared—the "concessions contract." Suddenly, contract negotiations revolved around what the company would take away, not what workers would gain. Reagan brought this offensive to a new stage by breaking the PATCO strike in 1981 and attempting to use the Religious Right against workers, minorities and women. All of this was carried on in the flag-wrapped rhetoric of "American Democracy."

As one U.S. meatpacking worker put it, "They say China has 'restructuring' without 'democracy,' and that's why they have such problems. But it's the same way in my plant. They just went ahead and changed the whole way my department runs, bringing in a huge new machine. We are now working 60 hours a week or more, six or seven days a week. The 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. There was no 'democracy' involved. 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 Hormel to the Watsonville Cannery workers. U.S. coal miners in ten states broke out in wildcat strikes to support the Pittston miners who are determined to stop the operators' drive to destroy the UMW—a drive that began with the Massey strike four years ago (see articles on U.S. miners, pages 1 and 3).

At the end of the 1980s workers as well as youth are also asking fundamental questions about the destruction of the earth's environment. The workers know that destruction better than anyone: they face pollution that can ruin their health every day in the plant. The seriousness of the escalating environmental destruction has so alarmed the youth, that they have joined in new environmental protests worldwide. Whether it is the destruction of the earth's ozone layer or the acid rain that is now destroying even the rain forests of Central Africa, everything has been worsened with the "restructuring" the world has experienced since the mid-1970s.

Nowhere is this retrogression more far-reaching and blatant than in this year's Supreme Court decisions on the rights of women and Black America. So horrifying is the nightmare of the attack on women's right to abortion that it brought out the largest women's rights demonstration in the history of the U.S. Even that did not slow down the Supreme Court's relentless offensive. The reality of their July 3 ruling on Webster vs. Reproductive Health Services means women's lives lost, women's bodies maimed by self-induced and back alley butcher abortions. That religious fundamentalism, as seen in the anti-women attacks on abortion rights, can exert such a powerful influence in the U.S. today speaks volumes about the retrogressive reality of the 1980s which from its birth was fueled by the likes not only of Jerry Falwell but Menachem Begin and Pope John Paul II as well as Ayatollah Khomeini.

This same Supreme Court has shown no reticence about denuding "laws of the land" of all protections for minorities in employment, in education, in housing and in "justice under the law." In the *Wards Cove Packing* decision the Court ruled that a minority worker discriminated against in hiring or promotion must provide evidence that the racist practice to which he or she was subjected was an intentional conspiracy of management! That is not the only monstrous result of ten years of Reaganism. The ceaseless attack on Black America is seen in the fact that over the last two years Black life expectancy has declined in absolute terms. (See "Visage of genocide in U.S. Black health crisis" by Lou Turner, in *News & Letters*, July, 1989).

What is needed to overcome a retrogression so deep that it threatens the very lives of millions of workers, women and minorities is not a quantitative question of more and more demonstrations—though

they are surely needed—but new developments in thought as well as in activity.

The historical determination of the Idea of Freedom—its past, its present, its future—cannot be a matter of a single year or even a single decade. As Raya Dunayevskaya put it in a Jan. 27, 1987 letter following the racist attacks at Howard Beach, N.Y. and Forsyth, Ga: "It demands the whole of the Marxist-Humanist Archives before you can see the other, absolute opposite of this racism—the revolutionary Black Dimension as ONGOING....It is of the essence to show that there has never been any separation between past and present and future on the question of the Black dimension. And that holds both for the U.S. and for Africa. The reason it remains so important is that it was still in the 1950s when I considered that so crucial was the coming birth of a Third World as a new stage both historically and philosophically, that Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions needed to be made a category along with Marxism and Freedom—a category directed against the administrative mentality which was the new enemy within the revolutionary movement."

It is with eyes of the Marxist-Humanist body of ideas that we have to see how the post-World War II revolutions fared when faced with the new challenges of the changed world of the 1980s.

IN THE BLACK WORLD, at the beginning of the decade—1979-80—we became witness to such new developments as the explosive growth of the Black trade unions in South Africa, which swept up over a million workers, and the first-ever revolution in an English-speaking Caribbean island, Grenada, in 1979. A decade later—after four nationwide general strikes in the face of out-and-out martial law—the Black South Afri-



Women workers on strike in South Africa. The eighties has witnessed the rapid growth of Black trade unions.

can trade unions continue to pose a powerful challenge to the fascistic apartheid regime.

What is new at the end of the decade, however, is the world context in which this unfolds, where the U.S. and Russia are striving to arrange brokered agreements for "regional conflicts in the Third World." In Angola it has meant the recently concluded agreement between UNITA and the government which has helped legitimize that brutal murderer Savimbi, and may even lead to his participation in the government. In Namibia it has meant the massacre of hundreds of SWAPO freedom-fighters, gunned down while UN observers watched. We cannot delude ourselves that such superpower machinations will not have consequences for the freedom movement within South Africa itself.

In the Western hemisphere the superpower threat which is concrete to the Caribbean Basin and indeed the whole of Latin America is the threat from U.S. imperialism. Reaganism, from its start in 1980, was never separate from attacks on Latin American revolutions,

2. The illusion that in the new "restructured" economy capitalist industrial production could be "uncoupled" from the economy as a whole was dispelled in the *Marxist-Humanist Draft Perspectives*, 1986-87 (N&L, July, 1986).

(continued on page 6)

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whether that be his ceaseless effort to destroy the Nicaraguan Revolution, his designs on Cuba, or his maneuvers to keep control of the Panama Canal.

Even more ominous is the threat of counter-revolution from within the revolution which hangs over freedom movements everywhere today, from South Africa to Latin America, from the Middle East to East Europe. The depth of that threat was seen in the Black Caribbean island of Grenada in 1983 in the counter-revolution that emerged from within the revolution and 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 Marxism, fought for leadership over the Grenadian masses. The fact that this struggle was carried out in secret, as though questions of organization could be separated from a discussion of philosophic perspectives, is what paved the way for the destruction of that revolution. One month after its collapse Raya wrote:

"The fact that these horrors can happen even when there is no material base for counter-revolution as there was in Stalin's transformation of a worker's state into a state-capitalist society, and where, as in Pol Pot's Cambodia, counter-revolution is spelled out as outright genocide against your own people—and that in the name of revolution!—demands that we never shut a relentless critical eye to all aspects of revolution and not just leave it at opposing imperialism."

IN IRAN, the counter-revolution that emerged from within that 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 wound up tail-ending Khomeini's narrow "anti-imperialism" as some short-cut to power. In 1989, the question of whether Khomeini's death will mean a new opening for the revolution depends on revolutionaries making a "relentless, critical" re-assessment of their own role in the 1979 revolution, especially concerning the crucial relationship of philosophy and organization. Ten years ago, when Khomeini's drive to usurp the revolution was still reversible, Raya wrote:

"There is surely no lack of organization in Iran...but so separate was philosophy of revolution from the revolution itself, that what followed was a still newer division between the organized form of expression and the spontaneous action....In a word, it isn't News and Letters Committees that is the question but the form of a revolutionary Marxist organization as well as the relationship of it to the spontaneous new forms that arise from below, as well as the continuous working out of the relation of theory to practice."

IN POLAND, the beginning of the decade saw the emergence of a new kind of mass trade union—which, as in South Africa, was concerned both with wages and shop floor issues and with the liberation of the nation.

3. "Grenada: Counter-Revolution and Revolution," by Raya Dunayevskaya, in the 1986 ed. of *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought* (Chicago: News and Letters).

4. See "The Shift in Global Politics and the Need for a Philosophy of Revolution," in *N&L*, July, 1979.

Raya Dunayevskaya's Letter of May 12, 1953 took up Absolute Idea in Hegel's *Science of Logic*; her May 20, 1953 Letter focused on Absolute Mind in Hegel's *Philosophy of Mind*—the final volume of his *Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences*. As Raya was to put it in 1987 in looking back on her 1953 Letters: "What we were working on was not just a book, but a philosophy, a whole new philosophy of dialectics for our age of post-World War II, and that, of course, meant cracking the Absolute."⁶ But while these 1953 Letters represent the birth of Marxist-Humanism, Marxist-Humanism as a self-realized category was not to emerge for another four years.

The creation of the category Marxist-Humanism can be seen in Raya's response to two very different subjective-objective events, both crucial for that pathway. In the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, the new stage of workers' revolt merged with a new discussion of Marx's 1844 *Humanist Essays*. But we did not learn of that discussion until after *Marxism and Freedom* was off the press and in our hands. In 1957, Mao unfolded a new revision of Marxism within the realm of philosophy with his speech "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," which was first published following the mass unrest during the Hundred Flowers Campaign. Raya immediately went to the heart of Mao's revisionism: "Why Russia 'chose' to revise Marx's economic theories, and why China 'chose' to revise Marx's philosophy, is due both to the totality of the world crisis and to the important industrial differences between the two countries. Russia has become an important industrial land, a country that possesses values. China is a vast underdeveloped land, whose main possession is not the machine, but the human being."⁷ Because Mao chose to revise Marxism through a counter-revolution in the realm of thought, Raya's struggle to project the absolute opposite to this had to dig deep into the realm of



Solidarnosc early 1980s vs. Solidarnosc 1989: In January 1982 workers opposed marshal law imposed by Wojcieck Jaruzelski. In April 1989, Lech Walesa and Jaruzelski greeted each other prior to Solidarnosc's entrance into parliament.

Here too, there was no lack of organization: more than ten million joined Solidarity. It involved a self-mobilization of peasants, women, youth. Indeed, Solidarity proclaimed at its birth that it had produced a combination of workers and intellectuals which could change Polish society. Yet this new form of organization did not hold all the answers. From within Solidarity, at its very height, appeared the concept of "the self-limiting revolution," which exposed a lethal philosophic gap. When martial law forced Solidarity underground in 1981, Raya wrote:

*"It is easy to express our solidarity in the form of demonstrations or sending food. What is not as easy is to grapple with the also-needed critique. What did it mean for Jacek Kuron to think that, if they had a 'self-limiting revolution' then maybe they could win? The counter-revolution will not stay its hand just because you say you don't really mean an all-out revolution. They know that once unleashed, the masses in motion will move to full freedom. What must be ended is the separation of theory from practice. It is such concrete life-and-death struggles as these that make it necessary for us to dig into what Hegel meant by 'second negativity' and what Marx meant by 'revolution in permanence.'"*⁵

At the end of the decade we now see the leaders of Solidarity ready to settle for participation in the Polish state. And Jacek Kuron's thesis has now moved from "Self-Limiting Revolution" to "Instead of Revolution." What is most shocking of all, is that Kuron, Michnik and other intellectual advisers of Solidarity are now actively separating what they themselves had posed as inseparable in one organization—union struggles at the point of production from the transformation of society as a whole.

There is no doubt that what is helping to disorient revolutionaries throughout East Europe is the ideological pull of Mikhail Gorbachev, who has proclaimed the need for "restructuring," "glasnost," and "opening a new

5. "25 Years of East European Revolt and the Re-creation of Marx's Marxism," by Raya Dunayevskaya, in *N&L*, March, 1982.

chapter in East-West relations." But to leave it at the pull of Gorbachev alone would only sow illusions about the true nature of this ideological pollution. For in fact, it is the philosophic gap within the movements which makes even some of the staunchest freedom fighters susceptible to the ideological pull of the rulers. It is that philosophic gap which makes Gorbachevism such a threat.

Such a "Great Communicator" is Gorbachev, that he can exert this pull despite the fact that Russia in 1989 is a society in deep crisis—from unrest among the nationalities, to wildcat strikes in industry after industry, brought to a new height by the July strikes of 200,000 coal miners (See "Russian mines challenge Gorbachev," page 12).

Whatever form the ideological expression of the decade-long restructuring takes—whether Gorbachevism or Reaganism/Bush—the ideological pull of the rulers is deeply rooted in the economic-political-organizational crises. To work out a pathway out of this quagmire, demands first recognizing that the ideological pollution that has swept this decade has been so successful precisely because revolutionaries have left open so deep a philosophic void. That is why Raya Dunayevskaya's last writing—her June 5, 1987 "Theory/Practice" column "On Political Divides and Philosophic New Beginnings"—insisted that "such a deep retrogression urgently demands that, along with the economic and political tasks facing us, we look for philosophic new beginnings." This was no abstraction. These words were written four days after her June 1, 1987, Presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy, which projected her 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes as "the philosophic moment" for all of Marxist-Humanism.

To see what was the drive of the "self-determination of the Idea" which led Raya to project Marxist-Humanism's philosophic moment as the "ground and roof" for working out new beginnings in philosophy and organization today, we have to look at the decade 1979-89 once again, this time, by focusing directly on the development of the freedom Idea of Marxist-Humanism.

III. 1979-89: Can the Philosophic Comprehension of Marxist-Humanism become our Pathway to the Future?

philosophy. It is that digging into the dialectic of thought itself that first released the category Marxist-Humanism in her 1957 critique of Mao.

Marxist-Humanism as a category was thus born from Raya's philosophic comprehension of her 1953 philosophic breakthrough in face of such new objective-subjective events as the Hungarian Revolution and Mao's deviations in thought. As she wrote in her Presentation of June 1, 1987: "Each time it is a specific period that makes one realize that actually what wasn't clear was what was in the philosophic moment, and only when the objective and subjective merge is it 'proven.'" (*The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism*, p. 8)

Raya's philosophic comprehension of Marxist-Humanism was the energizing principle throughout her whole development of that body of ideas over more than three decades. What was new in the 1980s was her persistent effort to project her philosophic comprehension of this body of ideas as a category. This was only possible, she said, because Marxist-Humanism had developed through 30 years of meeting the challenge of both objective/subjective events and engaging in the battle of ideas with all tendencies. She gave this category many names: "1980s view," "Retrospective-Perspective," "Introduction/Overview," or "Marxist-Humanism emerging out of Marxist-Humanism." It is this category which provides the pathway and direction for us today.

With the publication of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (RLWLKM)—the third of her "trilogy of revolution"—in 1982, Raya embarked on a whole series of "1980s Views" of Marxist-Humanism. These included her "Introduction-Overviews" to *American Civilization on Trial; Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism, and the Afro-Asian Revolutions, and Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*, as well as her essay on "The Birth of Marxist-Humanism" in our pamphlet on *The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.* As Raya wrote in her March 16, 1987 "What is Marxist-Humanism?" these new Introduction/Overviews were

no mere "updates" but rather "in a very fundamental sense totally new projections, because they came after the new category of post-Marx Marxism."

Raya's category of "post-Marx Marxism"—first developed in RLWLKM—was no mere chronology describing the period after Marx's death. From its birth in 1981 Raya insisted on calling it "post-Marx Marxism as pejorative and beginning with Frederick Engels." Because she saw that it began with Engels while Marx still lived, it was not a chronological, but a philosophic category. Even more startling was her insistence that it included all who failed to recreate Marx's Marxism as a totality for their age. In tracing the attitudes of post-Marx Marxists to Marx's archives, Raya critiqued precisely those greatest, genuine revolutionaries who never betrayed—Engels, Lenin, Luxemburg, Trotsky. This category of post-Marx Marxism emerged out of Raya's testing of all Marxists against both the totality of Marx's Marxism and her own unique historic-philosophic contribution—"Absolute Negativity as New Beginning," the category she created in her 1973 *Philosophy and Revolution*.

In her June 1, 1987 Presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy, Raya stated that, for us, this "whole new concept" of "post-Marx Marxism as pejorative just laid there in RLWLKM." But it did not just "lie there" for her. The point for us today is to see how Raya did develop that category from its first 1981 expression to her final June, 1987 writings. It was never separable from her ceaseless re-examinations of her 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes. Indeed, the jamming together of these 1953 Letters with the new category, "post-Marx Marxism as pejorative," provided Raya with a deepened philosophic comprehension of the whole Marxist-Humanist body of ideas.

The final expression of this labor—a process she called "Marxist-Humanism emerging out of Marxist-Humanism"—is contained in her writings of 1986-87, as she worked on notes for her unfinished book which she tentatively entitled *Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy*

(continued on page 7)

6. *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two Historic-Philosophic Writings* by Raya Dunayevskaya (N&L 1989) p. 11.

7. See "Only Freedom Can Solve the Crisis," by Raya Dunayevskaya, in *N&L*, July 16, 1957.

Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1989-90

(continued from page 6)

ophy: The 'Party' and Forms of Organization Born out of Spontaneity. Integral to this work were two letters written to non-Marxist Hegel scholars in 1986, which become especially crucial for today.

In these 1986 Letters⁸ Raya is again engaged in the philosophic comprehension of the Marxist-Humanist body of ideas from two points of departure: her 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes, and her 1981 category of post-Marx Marxism. In the first of these 1986 Letters Raya wrote, "I am now changing my attitude to Lenin—specifically on chapter 2 of section 3 of the *Science of Logic*, 'The Idea of Cognition.'" Here Raya is digging deeper into what she had called in *Philosophy and Revolution* the "philosophic ambivalence" of Lenin.

In her Letter of May 12, 1953, Raya had criticized Lenin for disregarding the last half of the final paragraph of the *Science of Logic*. She noted that Lenin's "impatience"⁹ had prevented him from seeing the importance of Hegel's development from Absolute Idea in the *Science of Logic* to Absolute Mind in the *Philosophy of Mind*. In her 1986 Letter she deepened this critique, stating that Lenin stopped at the threshold of the Absolute Idea:

"The whole point that Hegel was developing on unresolved contradiction, of two worlds in opposition, one a realm of subjectivity in the pure regions of transparent thought, the other a realm of objectivity in the element of an externally manifold realm of darkness...did not faze Lenin because he felt that the objective, the Practical Idea, is that resolution...Nothing, 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 toward objectivity"—Hegel's designation of "intuitionism" or "immediate knowledge." 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 can't hide of course that though it's not the Absolute, I'm enamored with that early section of the Encyclopedia outline of Logic, because it was written after Hegel had already developed Absolute Knowledge, Absolute Idea, Absolute Method...as well as in anticipation that he is finally developing the Philosophy of Nature and the Philosophy of Mind."

It was Hegel's philosophic comprehension of what he achieved in his *Phenomenology* and *Science of Logic* which was the energizing principle that made possible his compression of innumerable philosophies into just three attitudes to objectivity. Philosophic comprehension is most fully developed in Hegel's *Philosophy of Mind*, which Raya took up in her Letter of May 20, 1953. In that work, Hegel spells out human philosophic comprehension as "notional self-relation."

In her June 1, 1987 Presentation, Raya viewed the journey from Absolute Idea in Hegel's *Science of Logic* to Absolute Mind in Hegel's *Philosophy of Mind* as a path that had not been traversed by any post-Marx Marxist, even those who did dig deep into the Hegelian-Marxian dialectic. Indeed, no less than four times in that presentation she asks why she was driven to take that journey, which no one else had taken.

Let us briefly look at that Letter of May 20, 1953, where Raya traces out the dialectic of Hegel's *Philosophy of Mind*. In that Letter Raya begins her commentary with para. 385, not knowing at the time that Marx had stopped his commentary on this work with para. 384 in his 1844 "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic." Para. 385 is where Hegel says that the realm of Subjective Mind is "in the form of self-relation." The whole structure of the May 20 Letter that follows rests upon Raya's tracing out the fullness of this dialectic of notional self-relation. Thus, she goes direct from para. 385 to the section "Subjective Mind," singling out such freedom-filled expressions from Hegel as, "If to be aware of the Idea—to be aware, i.e., that men are aware of freedom as their essence, aim and object—is a matter of speculation, still, this very idea itself is the actuality of men—not something which they have as men, but which they are."

From Subjective Mind Raya then goes directly to para. 574 of the *Philosophy of Mind* without summarizing Hegel's discussion of "Objective Mind." It is para. 574, the original ending of the 1827 edition of Hegel's *Encyclopedia*, which presents us with what Hegel called "the Self-Thinking Idea, the truth aware of itself." But Hegel does not develop the full implications of this concept in this 1827 ending to his *Encyclopedia*. Near the end of his life, in 1830, Hegel added three new paragraphs to the conclusion of his *Philosophy of Mind*. It is in these three final syllogisms that Hegel brings his concept of the "Self-Thinking Idea" to bear on his philosophic comprehension of his entire body of ideas. By the time he reaches the end, the final paragraph 577, the "Self-Thinking Idea" has become "Self-

Knowing Reason, the absolutely universal." And yet, as Raya points out in her May 20th Letter, this is no "pin-nacle," no "conclusion" to a "system":

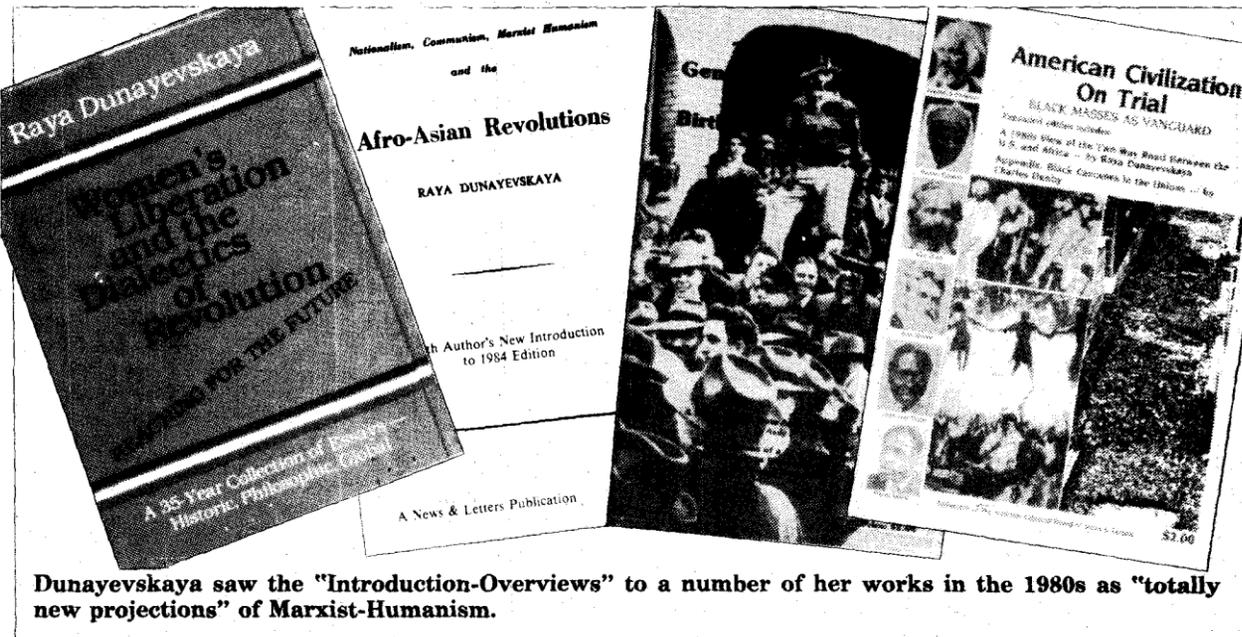
"Note carefully that the 'middle which divides itself is nothing less than the absolute universal itself, and that, in dividing itself into Mind and Nature it makes Mind the presupposition, as process of the Idea's subjective activity' and Nature 'as process of the objectively and implicitly existing Idea.'"

Indeed, by 1986, Raya characterized Hegel's final sentence of the *Philosophy of Mind* where the "eternal Idea...eternally sets itself to work" as Marx's concept of "revolution in permanence."

In the concluding paragraphs of Hegel's *Philosophy of Mind* are thus contained the full philosophic expression of the dialectic of notional self-relation that Raya

brought to life in the 1980s in developing her "1980s Views" of Marxist-Humanism. It reached its culmination in her Presentation of June 1, 1987, where she released a totally new historic-philosophic category—her 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes as the "philosophic moment" for all of Marxist-Humanism, including on organization.

The question for today is: can Raya's philosophic comprehension of Marxist-Humanism, especially as expressed in her final writings, become our "notional self-relation" to the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism? Can it provide our new beginning, our path to the future? Can we do so in face of today's retrogressive world reality and as part of working out the absolute opposite to the "112 year void" on dialectics of organization and philosophy?



Dunayevskaya saw the "Introduction-Overviews" to a number of her works in the 1980s as "totally new projections" of Marxist-Humanism.

IV. Philosophic-Organizational Tasks for 1989-90

How to Prepare for the 1990s? That is the question facing revolutionaries everywhere as we seek to find pathways out of the retrogressive reality which has 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 when the founder of that philosophy is no longer here. One dimension is the challenge to respond to ever-changing new objective-subjective events. The other is the challenge to so deeply philosophically comprehend and develop the Idea of Marxist-Humanism, that we will finally be able to overcome what is now a 114 year void on dialectics of organization and philosophy since Marx's Critique of the Gotha Program.

All of human history proves that the revolts will continue; they are never-ending. They will surely continue

through the 1990s. That is not the problem. The problem is how to respond to the endless pulls which are forever diverting the movement to dead-end paths that cannot lead to a new society. As Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in 1980, "when you witness some phenomenon that seems to have arisen clear out of the blue, don't despair. It isn't all that new. You will find one or another form of it in the Marxist-Humanist Archives.... In a word, it isn't history 'as such'; it is dialectics which is the method to judge the 'new.'"

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 sphere. It calls for the inwardization of Marxist-Humanism on the basis of

(continued on page 8)

Raya Dunayevskaya's Last Writings, 1986-87 — Toward the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy

Vol. XIII: Supplement to The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—
Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development

Vol. XIII Contents:

I. Presentations and Notes on "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy: 'the party' and forms of organization born out of spontaneity"

- A. Presentations on "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy" to News and Letters Committees
- B. "Talking to Myself": Dunayevskaya's Notes for the "book-to-be"

II. "The Changed World": Current Events and the Dialectic Method

- A. Reagan's attacks in the Gulf of Sidra and Marxist-Humanist Perspectives
- B. Revolutionary Journalism of Dunayevskaya in the pages of News & Letters
- C. Writings to Colleagues and Friends on Revolutionary Forces—the Black Dimension, Workers, Women, Youth—and the Force of Philosophy Within Each

III. The Battle of Ideas: Philosophic Correspondence and Reviews

- A. Dialogue with "Non-Marxist Hegel scholars"
- B. Dialogue with Marxist-Humanists on the Hegelian-Marxian Dialectic
- C. On the Marxist-Humanist Body of Ideas and its expression within Women's Liberation: Reviews and Correspondence

IV. Retrospective/Perspective: "Marxist-Humanism emerging out of Marxist-Humanism"



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The entire 12,000 page microfilm collection is available from Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Detroit, Michigan 48202. The Collection is also available in many libraries and can as well be read by contacting News and Letters local committees. See directory, page 12 for addresses.

8. Dunayevskaya's July 3 and Dec. 8, 1986 "Letters to non-Marxist Hegel Scholars" appear as a new Introduction in the forthcoming Columbia University Press edition of her *Philosophy and Revolution*, from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao.

9. For Dunayevskaya's view of Lenin's "impatience" upon reaching the climax of Hegel's Absolute Idea, see her Letter of May 12, 1953 in *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism*, as well as her "Talking to Myself" of Jan. 21, 1987 in "Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection," Vol. 13, microfilm #10846-51.

Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1989-90

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the founder's philosophic comprehension of this body of ideas.

As we wrote in our 1988-89 Perspectives, "For all our work...it is necessary to look at the inwardization of a body of ideas from the standpoint of the mirror of history. When Karl Marx died, those who sought to be his continuators were faced with the problem of the transition of the Marxist Idea to a totally new sphere. Because they assumed that they knew Marx's body of ideas, they placed all emphasis on 'projection' of the conclusions they believed Marx had reached. And because the task of inwardizing the body of ideas was not placed on their historic agenda, it took a century to publish the whole of Marx..."

What all post-Marx Marxists missed, was that Marx's own philosophic comprehension of his body of ideas provided the energizing principle, which, throughout his life, enabled him to deepen and develop Marx's Marxism. That philosophic self-comprehension was most fully expressed in Marx's last decade. It stretched from his 1875 French edition of *Capital*, to his 1875 *Critique of the Gotha Program* and 1880-81 *Ethnological Notebooks*.

What needs singling out for today, is that the urgent task of inwardizing Marxist-Humanism cannot be achieved without grasping Raya's philosophic self-comprehension of her body of ideas. In the two years since Raya's death on June 9, 1987, we have tried to begin working out a path toward meeting that challenge. The most important step in this process was the publication of *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism*. In publishing this book, we chose to publish Raya's 1953 *Letters on Hegel's Absolutes* preceded by her *Presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy* of June 1, 1987, because it is Raya's 1980s view of her 1953 philosophic breakthrough that opens doors to grasping the philosophic foundations of Marxist-Humanism.

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, of "notional self-relation." It is this which we sought to probe into and try to begin developing in our class series this year on "How to Prepare for the 1990s: Marxist-Humanism as a Body of Ideas," where we studied dimensions of Raya's "trilogy of revolution" from the vantage point of the new illumination shed upon her 1953 *Letters* by her 1980s writings. It is this methodology of re-examining Marxist-Humanism that we seek to develop in the year ahead for all our tasks.

1) Immediately after our publication of *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism*, we had in our hands new editions of *Marxism and Freedom, Indignant Heart: A Black Workers' Journal*, *Dos Ensayos por Raya Dunayevskaya*, and a Persian publication of chapter 12 of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. We have, however, only just begun either our study or our projection of any of these works. In the year ahead we will also

have a new edition of *Philosophy and Revolution* which will include Raya's 1986 *Letters* to non-Marxist Hegel 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"—*Rosa Luxemburg, 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 1982. 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.

2) This 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 and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution, and Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. In the year to come we will donate this volume 14 to the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs. At the same time, Raya's writings of 1986-87, deposited as volume 13 of her Archives, remain all too "unknown and undigested" either through sales to libraries or study of them.

3) The struggle to hold as inseparable 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, workers, women or youth, whether nationally or internationally, remains the arena where our battle of ideas to find the pathway to the future takes place. Not a week goes by that the Center of Marxist-Humanism does not receive letters from around the world seeking discussion on our ideas. Next year, it is especially important that we seek an in-person dialogue in Europe. But above all our task remains the needed American Revolution. It is what calls forth a new commitment to the spirit of "Have Thumb, Will Travel," in ensuring that our activities are not limited to areas where we have locals.

None of these concrete activities can successfully develop separated from the deepening of our understanding of Raya Dunayevskaya's concept of organization.

4) Our newspaper, *News & Letters*, is a vital organizer for Marxist-Humanism when it reflects the fullness of Marxist-Humanism's organization of thought. This year we published, for the first time, Raya's 1953 *Letters on Hegel's Absolutes* in the pages of *N&L*, and we sought a continuing discussion of those letters in *N&L* in a section called "Philosophic Dialogue." In the year ahead, what becomes crucial for us is the development of essay articles that can deepen "the meaning of events and experiences and their direction in a global context."

5) Philosophic-organizational responsibility for Marxist-Humanism also means financial responsibility. We propose a goal of \$35,000 as the minimum needed for our sustaining fund.

What confronts us in all these tasks is the fact that

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the "untrodden path" of dialectics of organization and philosophy remains untrodden. That is why the inwardization and projection of the *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* remains our central task and challenge in the year ahead.

That is also why our 1989 classes—where we sought to re-examine Raya's body of ideas from the vantage point of the new illumination shed upon her 1953 *Letters on Hegel's Absolutes* by her 1980s writings—remains a point of departure. For the most exciting insight obtained from these classes, was our discovery that philosophic comprehension, notional self-relation was the methodology Raya had been following since the 1950s and which she made into an explicit category in the 1980s. It is this methodology which we seek to develop in the year ahead for all our tasks. Indeed, it is crucial not alone for the coming year, but for the whole future of Marxist-Humanism, as we strive to work out a pathway for recreating Marxist-Humanism in the 1990s.

—The Resident Editorial Board
July 26, 1989

A revolutionary Chinese feminist speaks

(continued from page 2)

At the top of the hierarchy are party and government officials who claim to be "public servants." With power, officials lead a highly materialistic life. While most people are still struggling for food and shelter, and famine is still the reality for many Chinese citizens, officials and their children are driving luxurious, imported cars, dining in grand restaurants, and having large amounts in foreign accounts. Government corruption is so serious that it has become one of the major sources of public indignation. People have lost faith in the Party. Distrust of the government is pervasive all over the country. It is a general belief that the Party has totally betrayed the principles it held at the time of its founding. Instead of serving the people, the Party has become an instrument to serve the interests of the top leaders such as Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, Yang Shangkun, and Li Peng.

THE PARTY AS AUTOCRACY

Power is the only concern of these leaders. In order to keep power, the Party has ruled the country through autocracy. Strict ideological control is combined with ruthless suppression of people who criticize or challenge this authority. Mao Zedong once put his comrades to death because they disagreed with him on some policies; Deng Xiaoping and Li Peng ordered soldiers to shoot peaceful demonstrators because they demanded their resignation. "Thought criminals" fill remote, secret concentration camps, and are executed secretly or publicly.

In slaughtering dissidents, the Party has never hesitated to use the most inhumane means. In the early 1980s, stories about a woman martyr were widely passed among people. Due to her criticism of the Party leadership, this woman was put into prison. There she was tortured, raped, and sentenced to death. The Chinese authorities were so afraid of a different voice that before they shot her publicly, they ordered her throat

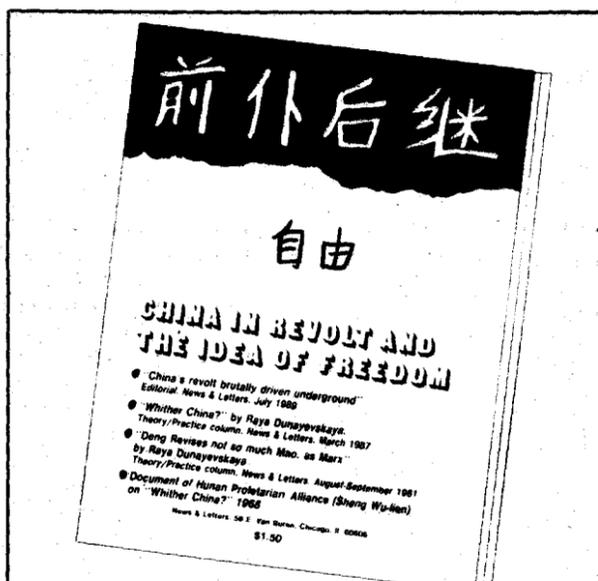
cut so as to stop her from speaking out in front of the public. It is hard to account how many people have been murdered by the Party, and how many political

prisoners have been jailed throughout the country.

The conclusion I draw is that China under the rule of the Communist Party is not fundamentally different 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 and freedom. For thousands of years, people have been persecuted for the same reasons: criticizing the misrule of the government, asking for their rights, attempting to change the society. The difference between the emperors and the leaders of the CPC is that while the former claimed to be the sons of God, the CPC dictators have always declared themselves to be the representatives of the people. They label themselves revolutionaries and condemn the persecuted as counter-revolutionaries since this well justifies their killings. These modern emperors never want to recognize the fact that even if they were once revolutionary, they have been following the path of the ancient tyrannies after 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 pro-democracy movement is the continuation of the revolution that started in 1911. The ultimate goal of the revolution has remained unchanged, that is, to end tyranny and build China into a free and democratic society where the people can decide what they want, where people can express their opinions, feelings without being persecuted, where truth, not lies, prevail and where the government and the army are for the people, not against the people.

China has been in the shadow of terrorism. Scared by people's power, the Party and the government are continuing to purge pro-democracy protestors. Tanks and bullets may kill the bodies of the freedom fighters, but they can never kill the spirit of democracy. The Chinese people's struggle for a better society will continue in spite of the bloodshed. For the dictators, there are only two choices: either to change according to the people's will, or to be overthrown by people's power. For the people, the choice has already been made: to be united, and fight for their emancipation!



- "China's revolt brutally driven underground" Editorial, News & Letters, July 1989
- "Whither China?" by Raya Dunayevskaya, Theory/Practice column, News & Letters, March 1987
- "Deng Revises not so much Mao, as Marx" by Raya Dunayevskaya Theory/Practice column, News & Letters, August-September 1981
- Document of Hunan Proletarian Alliance (Sheng Wu-lien) on "Whither China?" 1968

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'WORKERS OF THE WORLD...'

The miners in Russia and in the U.S. have a lot in common. When you read about their conditions you can understand why Karl Marx called on the "workers of the world" to unite, because we have only our chains to lose, and a whole new world to gain.

**Traveller
West Virginia**

A look at the Polish press shows that the shock of the Beijing massacre evoked a great outrage in Poland.

A statement from the president of "Fighting Solidarity" said: "Let that tragic act of Chinese soldiers pushed against their countrymen open the eyes of the Polish officers, recruits and our whole society to the role set by the regime for the army—the role of a gendarme. Chinese Brothers—we don't know how to help you. We bow our heads to your bravery. Freedom, taken from you and us, we will take back in struggle and in solidarity."

At the same time, there is great opposition to compromising the principles of Solidarnosc. The paper KOS refused to register as an above-ground publication because they didn't want either the government's or Solidarnosc's censorship.

**Urszula Wislanka
California**

The most embarrassing defeat the leadership of the UAW ever experienced, when the Nissan workers in Smyrna, Tenn. voted two to one against them, raises serious questions for the working class of this country. Most workers don't like what the union bureaucrats have been doing ever since Doug Fraser saved Chrysler by opening the flood gates of take-backs, roll-backs, wage cuts, and plant closings. That kind of leadership is good for capitalism but hell for the workers. But the union is all we have to represent the workers right now, and is still better than nothing, in spite of our sell-out leaders.

If workers don't fight capitalism it will destroy us all. If workers hadn't organized the CIO in the 1930s where would we be today? It is clear that workers now will have to come up with something different to replace the old leadership. No matter what language they speak the capitalists are not the answer.

**Retired autoworker
California**

We keep hearing about American companies that run to Mexico or Korea and get work done for less by not giving those workers the same benefits that we have fought for in this country. But in Chicago we have a big French grocery firm, Auchan, that just opened up and won't give its American workers the benefits it has to give its unionized workers in France. The American workers don't have health insurance and have to agree that they can be fired without cause. I don't have to tell you Auchan is operating without any union contract.

No matter what the country is, the bosses all speak the same language. But it tells you a lot about this country when you see other countries coming here for their cheap labor.

**Meatpacker
Chicago**

EASTERN EUROPE TODAY

Developments that this country needs so desperately are not more than mere signals on the horizon at the moment. The spontaneous groupings emerging in Prague and other places are significant and I do not want to underestimate their importance. Neither would I underestimate, however, the strength of the powers-that-be, even if one learns from history that governments often falter and decline "suddenly." What Marx said is of help, but while situations may be similar they are hardly identical and each must be "solved" anew. This is very clear when looking at Eastern Europe now. Each country is different enough not to be a mirror of another. Humanity is above all creative.

**Correspondent
Czechoslovakia**

Readers' Views**REVOLT IN CHINA AND THE IDEA OF FREEDOM**

Hundreds of Chinese students from campuses across the U.S. met here in Chicago to form a student association in the wake of the Tiananmen Square massacre. It was exciting to be able to talk to a number of students who were eager to exchange information and ideas to move the freedom movement forward, and to sell them dozens of our new China pamphlet. But it was also disturbing to see how much the Bush administration as well as its democratic cohorts were trying to put their stamp on this meeting and to see some of the Chinese student organizers attempting to model their constitution on the U.S. Constitution. Many of the delegates showed their concern with the official agenda and responded coolly to abstract calls for unity. It remains to be seen whether their ideas will be debated.

**Marxist-Humanist
Chicago**

The people of China want truth and genuine democracy, not western democracy. We only know the Mao-style of Marxism which brings everything under the rule of the Party. I would like to know more about Marx's own writings. Is it true that he thought a society has to be rich and technologically advanced before it can achieve genuine socialism? Isn't that a misunderstanding of Marxism?

**Chinese exile
Iowa**

To me the Chinese movement stood for freedom of thought, having your own mind. I reread Raya Dunayevskaya's interview with a Chinese refugee, Jade, in the 1960s, where Jade talks about feeling like nothing more than an ant, when she was building a dam during China's "Great Leap Forward." That's what every worker feels every day on the job.

It's an indictment against every class society. But the rulers can't give us our minds back. That is what we have to do, break these chains on our minds. Breaking down that division between mental and manual labor: that is when we will become whole.

**Black worker
Los Angeles**

So few people—from the Left to the Right—view masses as Reason. Even some Chinese friends have told me that the Chinese masses don't know what "democracy" is. This is what separates Marxist-Humanism from all other tendencies in the Left, that category—masses as Reason.

**Julia
DeKalb, IL**

BLACK HEALTH IN AMERICA

We want to supplement the excellent article on Black health in America (July N&L) with a specific indictment of capitalism's health care "services" to mostly Black inner-city residents. Because most clinics are paid on a per-visit basis, needed lab tests are scheduled on different days, each involving at least a three hour wait and no child-care facilities.

A recent evening network news, special showed Black health as suffering from "ignorance and fear"—people waiting to go to doctors until it was too late. But when you combine the bureaucratic shuffles with the frequent tales of mistreatment and misdiagnosis, you realize that the ignorance is that of the health care system that has so fragmented a human being to fit into a "scientific" (or worse yet, a financial) frame of reference that it is only intelligent and sane to avoid it.

**Marxist-Humanists
Detroit**

The news media here recently discussed the case of a Black woman with young children, on Medi-Cal, who had for the last year complained to her physician of pain both in her back and chest. He dismissed it as psychosomatic and recommended psychiatric assistance. The woman got medical tests only

after she had passed out, to find that she had lung cancer and nine months to live! When the physician was questioned as to why tests had not been ordered sooner his response was that Medi-Cal wouldn't have covered the treatment.

In his article in the July N&L on "Visage of genocide in U.S. Black health crisis," Lou Turner quotes Dr. Louis Sullivan, Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services, attributing the decline in Black life expectancy to a Black "pathological lifestyle." I wonder how Dr. Sullivan would classify this woman's life.

**Full of anger
Los Angeles**

**WOMEN'S LIBERATION WORLDWIDE**

In the June N&L—Women Worldwide section—you printed an appeal for protest letters over the banning of the Philippine feminist coalition, Gabriela. It should be said for the record that the 'banning' is not officially by the Aquino government, but rather by forces in the military. We did receive quite a stack of letters in response to your appeal, and we want to answer them all. Any contributions for postage and supplies and to help with our work would be greatly appreciated. Send to: Gabriela Network, Sisters in Support Across the Pacific, PO Box 1310, New York, N.Y. 10018

**Gabriela
Philippines**

There are people here in Israel that say: "I would have done something to change the situation but what's the use. I am so small in comparison to the government/politics/history." This was also my feeling once. But any activity in protest of injustice and toward peace is blessed. It's like bricks. One brick is nothing. But with many bricks together one can build a building. That's why I am glad to meet every new member that joins the Peace Movement.

One of the things I fight for is women's equality. In Israel one can get married/divorced/buried only through the religious law. These laws were made hundreds of years ago and are not very women-loving. Women are considered to be intelligent only in connection to children and housework and incapable of independent life.

**Activist
Israel**

Canada has no law on abortion at present. There is no law preventing a boyfriend or husband from seeking to legally force a woman to bear a child. Recently the boyfriend of 23-year-old Barbara Dodd received an injunction preventing her from obtaining an abortion. Dodd, who is almost totally deaf, appealed to the Supreme Court of Ontario and won. The basis of her victory was that sufficient notice of the hearing was not given and that her boyfriend had lied in order to get the injunction. The court did not deal with the abortion issue itself. During the appeal her personal life and even her ultrasound was read into the public record and splashed across the front page of papers around the country. The end result is really no decision and a rash of similar cases are now being seen in various courts across the country. What Canadians need is a just law giving women control over their own persons NOW!

**S.D. Scarlett
Ontario**

When the Supreme Court decision gutting Roe vs. Wade came down, I wrote a short note to George Bush: "For over 40 years I have been one of your 'thousand points of light.' I just quit." Enclosed is my donation to help keep N&L in the fight.

**Subscriber
Hawaii**

COMMUNISM/CAPITALISM

We send a message of solidarity to all who are fighting against every war on earth as we prepare for the 27th International Anti-War Assembly on Aug. 6 in Japan. We can never erase the vivid memory of the holocaust at Tiananmen Square on June 4, and still the killing is going on.

The superpowers of the East as well as the West want us to believe the cold war is in the past. Stalinism cannot be reformed by "liberalization," nor capitalism by "new thought." There is no way to peace but overthrowing both of them.

**International Anti-War Assembly
Tokyo, Japan**

I'm interested in Raya Dunayevskaya's articles, but I strongly disagree when matters are stated in simplistic terms, as your writers and philosophers often do. Reagan and Gorbachev are the same!?

**Supporter
The Bronx**

"Vulgar and unthinking communism," Marx wrote, "completely negates the personality of man." Doesn't capitalism negate the personality of man too? What is the difference in so-called communism today and capitalism? Workers in both systems produce commodities for their masters to sell for profits. "Communism" and capitalism are two sides of the same coin.

**Felix Martin
Los Angeles**

We are not a Marxist organization but our roots are in the radical Christian left and our social philosophy owes much to the thought of Marx. We appreciate your emphasis on Marxist humanism (or is it humanist Marxism?) as opposed to state capitalism, whether eastern or western. African experiments with socialism have all too often floundered on the rock of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, to use the phrase coined by Issa Shivji in his seminal work on Tanzania.

We also appreciate your reports on South Africa, especially the labor movement there. Half of Lesotho's adult male labor force works in the South African mines, producing the wealth which maintains the luxurious life of white South Africa. It is important for people in America to know the truth about how Black workers are organizing themselves for change.

**Transformation
Lesotho**

UNIQUENESS OF N & L

The word "spontaneity" requires great caution, as every human action other than a mere physical reflex requires forethought. Yet events often move further and faster than the participants have anticipated. Workers in Petrograd took to the street to protest war hardships and brought down the Russian Empire. A bus boycott in Montgomery, Ala. triggered the whole Civil Rights Movement.

At the same time, a theory of revolution that relies entirely on spontaneity is no less sterile than vanguardism. If Marxist philosophy is not heard, other voices will be. The great rank-and-file initiative in the British miners' strike in 1984-85 existed side-by-side with enthusiasm for the pro-state-capitalist leadership of Arthur Scargill and political support for the Labour Party. Small groups like News and Letters Committees, whose starting point is theory, have an objective existence that weighs in the balance.

**Richard Bunting
Oxford**

Inviting readers to join in the "philosophic dialogue" around Raya Dunayevskaya's 1953 Letters expresses the uniqueness of N&L in a very concrete way.

**Supporter
California**

Editor's note: The name of the author, Stewart Quinn, was inadvertently dropped from "Youth in the 1917 Russian Revolution" on the Youth page of the July, 1989 News & Letters.

Black/Red View**NAACP embraces Bush**

by John Alan

Last month, at the annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Detroit, Benjamin L. Hooks, the executive director, in his key-note address severely criticized the Supreme Court for its adverse decisions on civil rights. Hooks said that the Court "is more dangerous to the legitimate hopes and aspirations of Blacks in this nation" than the outright foes of civil rights. He went on to say that the Court is "stripping us, in many instances, of the precious hard-won victories we have secured."

However, Hooks' passionate condemnation of the retrogressive nature of the Supreme Court was not extended to include President Bush, who as Reagan's Vice-President, played a political role in creating the present reactionary Supreme Court. Thus Hooks' key-note speech literally set the stage for the warm welcome that Bush's Vice-President, Dan Quayle, got from the NAACP delegates; the kind of welcome that Bush did not get when he spoke before the 1983 convention of the NAACP.

QUAYLE'S FORKED-TONGUE

It is now obvious that the leadership of the NAACP believes, in the words of Mr. Hooks, that Bush has lifted the "veritable iron curtain" that Reagan had placed between the Black leadership and the White House.

While it is true that Reagan kept Black leaders at a distance, making Bush and Quayle more accessible to Black leaders does not open the road toward securing Black civil rights. Once you strip away the rhetoric about "affirmative action is going to be the policy of this Administration," Quayle's speech to the convention becomes essentially the conservative ideological position on affirmative action. Quayle expresses it by saying, yes, we are for affirmative action, we are only in "opposition to absolute quotas. 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 positions of power by being ideological supporters of Reagan. Any real dialogue between them and Black leaders must face that ideological barrier. Bush has clearly shown that he is following in the footsteps of Reagan by his unconscionable veto of a minimum wage raise, while pressuring Congress to spend billions

Inkatha 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 falling. Inkatha has lost a huge membership because those people who were spoon-fed to enroll for membership were not told exactly what Inkatha stands for, namely, to crush and destroy by violent means any peaceful opposition to the system of apartheid and white domination.

I was called in our Union office to attend to an urgent telephone call from my wife at Empondweni. She said, darling, I hope you will understand that I have, together with other teachers in different schools in Natal, resigned to counter the oppressive legislation introduced by the Kwa-Zulu Department of Education (KDE). She said that the notorious Education Department, controlled by Inkatha and the petty Zulu government, revealed its hostility to the principle of freedom of association at a teachers meeting held at Winterton Hall, in Natal, on May 13.

The chairman of this meeting, a Mr. Mdunde, from the Inkatha-controlled Natal Teachers' Union, told all the teachers who had come from all parts of Natal and other Inkatha-dominated areas, such as Ladysmith, Harrismith, Winterton, Bergville, Colenso and many more, that Dr. Dlomo, the Minister of Education, has issued a warning that "his department will not tolerate any teacher who associates with communist-inspired organizations like UDF (United Democratic Front), COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) 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 those who attended the meeting? She abruptly told me no one would attempt to oppose the order or seek clarification because of the intimidation and acts of violence that would follow.

My wife told me the main problem is that Inkatha has lost membership, and that this action was seen by them as the only means to force people under their authority to join UWUSA (United Workers Union of South Africa) which is under the wing of Inkatha. Inkatha has again taken advantage of the huge unemployment situation in Natal, which would force any teacher to first consider his or her family situation before reaching any decision. However, in Durban and Pietermaritzburg, Inkatha strong-holds, Inkatha has still lost huge membership because of its humiliating attitude towards other organizations.

Inkatha has already lost this war. I am Zulu myself and firmly believe that Inkatha wants to maintain tribalism before liberation. The delaying tactics adopted by Inkatha boss, Gatsha Buthelezi, to resolve the Natal fighting, will no doubt lead to another outbreak of war, which will claim the lives of more innocent people. I told my wife, however to exercise patience because this kind of hostility can only be opposed by a mass revolution.

—Trade union activist

on the "stealth bomber."

At a news conference, Mr. Hooks said that if Congress fails to modify the action of the Supreme Court, the only other recourse left is "civil disobedience, on a scale which has never been seen in this country before." The possibility of this materializing under the leadership 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 80-year history, it has never ventured to lead direct mass action against the established powers that be.

LIMITS OF CIVIL RIGHTS

The middle-class Black leadership has reached the outer limits of its political and judicial options and is hopelessly immersed in the general crisis of American capitalism. The futility of their position is demonstrated by the dispute between Black civil rights leaders over whether the Black conservative William Lucas should 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 Lucas' hostility to civil rights just in order to get a Black into high office. Focusing the argument against Lucas on his lack of qualifications also hides the real reason why Bush wants him in the Justice Department, that is, why he is ideologically acceptable to Bush.

Marx long ago pointed out that civil rights was a good thing. But, nevertheless, it was not real human emancipation, which, above all, must be practical. For large numbers of Black Americans civil rights has not been practical, i.e., it never changed the objective or subjective conditions of their lives. Alongside civil rights there exists the perpetual Black "underclass," joblessness, poor or non-existent medical care, as well as overt and covert racism.

As we approach the last decade of this century, Black America seeks a new beginning in thought which perseveres and goes beyond the narrow limits of political and civil rights.

Black World

(continued from page 1)

ing report (July 16) of this Third World congress:

"Held on behalf of the 'forgotten' two-thirds of humanity living in poverty, the conference included doctors, poets, rights activists and labor leaders from Haiti, Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, Mozambique, Zaire, Brazil and the Philippines.

"Orlando Melgueiros da Silva, bare-chested and in a feather head-dress, represented Brazil's Union of Indigenous Nations.

"The meeting of the Seven Poorest Peoples was under 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.

"We seek an alternative economic development which will do away with social injustice, the North's domination of Third World countries and the thoughtless pillage of the earth's resources," said the conference's final declaration."

CHALLENGE OF THE THIRD WORLD

The one Third World nation that the U.S. was impelled to talk to at the summit was Mexico. First, Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady and then Pres. Bush met with Mexican President Carlos Salinas to try to reach an agreement on a paltry \$1 to \$2 billion debt relief fund to service Mexico's \$100 billion debt.

And the \$2.25 billion that Japan has offered to the Third World for environmental purposes merely illustrates that the U.S. is not the only industrialized nation who suffers from the self-deception that any crumbs from its capitalist-imperialist table is sufficient to appease the Third World.

The truth is that the attitude of the industrialized West toward the economic reality of the Third World remains today exactly what it has been throughout the post-war era, namely, it has absolutely no intention of investing capital there. "The lack of flow of investment capital to the technologically underdeveloped countries," Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in *Philosophy and Revolution* in 1973, "is certainly not due to the fact that they

Gangs need new 'colors'

Los Angeles, Cal.—On July 12, two rival street gangs had a shoot-out on 43rd Street and Kansas Avenue that left two killed and three critically wounded. This took place after a fierce fist-fight between 16 gang members, and then 50 shots were fired. One neighborhood resident described this as "a night in Vietnam...I don't know if it was an Uzi, an AK-47, or what...but it was heavily automatic."

There is a war going on in the streets of L.A., concentrated in the Black and Latino "varrios" (barrios-neighborhoods) of South-Central L.A. and Watts. Gang-related homicides city-wide increased 39.3% for the first three months of this year. Even though police say those killed on July 12 were gang members, neighborhood residents say that three of those shot were not. One was a working youth.

There are many ways to die in the streets of L.A. Just being Black and young you can get caught on the middle ground: not a gang-banger or a cocaine-slinger, but a case of mistaken identity. Getting caught wearing the wrong colors in a rival gang neighborhood, be it blue, red, or purple, can cost you your life. If you're young and Black in the inner-city ghetto, such as Watts, life is cheap.

For the parents, many see the increase in police as an alternative to the street violence, but the youth know better, because the police treat them as villains and public enemies, a threat to their "white control." There have been many killings by the police of gang members and non-gang members. As one Black woman put it, whose brother Marcus Donel was killed by a sheriff: "What makes him so different that he can go out and shoot somebody and say, 'Well, because I have a gun and a badge, it's OK, whether it was the suspect or not.' It's just not right."

Out of 1000 complaints to the District Attorney's office for use of excessive force since 1980, they prosecuted officers less than two percent of the time. Now accountability is being taken to the streets, by some in the Black community. Just recently, two L.A. Police Dept. officers were called to the Jordan Downs project in Watts, and were wounded with three shotgun blasts when they arrived.

Many Black youth are calling for an alternative of a different color. Many of them are gang members themselves, after being incarcerated and politicized in prison, who are just tired of seeing their homeys being shot down in the streets and are crying out for drastic change. They are identifying with Black as the color of the future, a power for the 1990s. And the red, black, and green liberation colors of Africa are a rallying cry for a no sell-out unity to fight the powers that be. This white racist system must pay the price for these many deaths.

The Yankee dollar and greed lays the ground for control over our lives and destruction of Black people. It promotes drugs and gang warfare among ourselves. The Black youth must cry out that Black is back and Black don't crack, because there are many young Black street-wise soldiers on the streets of L.A. looking for a common enemy that oppresses us all.

—Gene Ford

Third World at Summit

are supposedly so backward, so lacking in technical personnel that they could not put the capital to use...No, the reason no capital flows that way as far as the 'West' is concerned is that private capital does not get invested there at all, now that they have found that they can get greater rates of profit in the developed countries of Western Europe" (p. 223). That is why the economic package for Poland and Hungary, though paltry, was no mere debt re-servicing.

Despite the "imperialist economism" of "socialist" Pres. Mitterrand, who believes that allowing the Third World leaders a few minutes on the viewing stand and a night at the opera with the leaders of the capitalist West will "bring the world's poor nations into Western prosperity," the meaning of the economic package for Poland and Hungary was not lost on Gorbachev.

Gorbachev understands that the 15 annual Western economic summits were from the beginning the West's response to the restructuring of the global economy which began in 1974-75 with the world-wide recession and the new revolutionary upsurges in the Third World that extended to Europe itself with the Portuguese Revolution. Because Gorbachev is no more interested in the Third World than the Western industrial nations, to whom he addressed a letter indicating his desire to "engage in a constructive dialogue" on international economic issues, it is no accident that he never invited the Third World to any of the superpower summits.

It is not possible to comprehend the economic reality of the Third World, as Raya Dunayevskaya concluded in *Philosophy and Revolution*, "apart from the compelling objective forces of world production, the pull of the world market, and the underlying philosophy of the masses which Marx called 'the quest for universality.'" The retrogressive legacy of capitalist crises and the contradictory emergence of Third World revolutions in this decade, nevertheless, challenges us, in Dunayevskaya's words, "to hold on to the principle of creativity, and the contradictory process by which creativity develops" (p. 246). This perspective, not summits, will prepare us for the 1990s.

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Farmworkers union wins new contract in tomato fields

Detroit, Mich.—The Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) based in Ohio just signed a three-way 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 \$4.22 to \$4.45 an hour this year, and to \$4.90 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 NLRB (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 office explained that the goal is to make day care standard throughout the industry instead of it being a variable within individual contracts.

Of FLOC's 7,500 members, 3,300 are now covered by contracts, but the contracts with Vlastic and Heinz and their pickle growers expire this year. At one



pickle farm included in the Vlastic contract, FLOC is attempting to develop an exact economic formula to achieve employee status for farmworkers. Currently under the system of declaring farmworkers to be independent contractors, the growers avoid paying into Social Security and the workers are not credited with enough weeks of continuous employment to be eligible for unemployment or workers compensation, 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 union contracts have brought the workers who harvest pickles a 50% share of what Vlastic pays the grower per hamper, the hand-weeding and trimming of the plants prior to harvest is still unpaid labor, for which FLOC is struggling to gain a minimum hourly wage while retaining pay incentives for harvest.

The struggle continues for other farmworkers as well.

Last year, workers at Princeton Farms mushroom processing plants in Illinois spontaneously went on strike and turned to FLOC. They are not on strike at this time, but many of the 400 workers at the plant which functions year round have signed with FLOC and promised to be a permanent base of support for the union. One of the most outspoken FLOC supporters, who was fired from Princeton Farms in retaliation, is now a full-time FLOC organizer and is also suing the company under an Illinois statute prohibiting yellowdog contracts. There was recently a large FLOC march, rally and picket at both the plant and company building in this rural area.

—FLOC supporter

El Salvador protests

Los Angeles, Cal.—Several protests have been held here to oppose Cristiani's rise to the Presidency of El Salvador and his appointment of a Death Squad leader's brother-in-law, Jose Mauricio Angulo, as consul to L.A. At one rally 200 gathered and 12 were arrested at the Salvadoran consulate while demanding the ouster of Angulo.

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

As a departure from past protests (see N&L, August-September, 1988), student leaders called for all participants to not cover their faces during the march, sending a message to the military and newly "elected" right-wing ARENA party of a new boldness in challenging their rule.

Despite the fact that hearing about new activity among the youth in El Salvador helps us to deepen our activity in the U.S., I find it to be a constant battle to find out what new thinking the masses in El Salvador are engaged in. This is not just due to any lack of information in the bourgeois press.

What I am also coming to see is that very few of the organizations in solidarity with El Salvador seem to be concerned with initiating dialogue on where the movement is going.

Why is that? Now, when Elliot Abrams' substitute Bernard Aronson has just travelled to El Salvador bringing Cristiani the news that an additional \$5 million of U.S. money has been appropriated for the continuation of the nine-year-old civil war, the 1990s seem to be looming over us like a dark cloud.

More than ever, we need a dialogue to begin.

—Mitch Weerth

Hospital workers rally

New York, N.Y.—Days after the contract of 47,000 workers at 53 hospitals in the New York City region expired, 20,000 members of the 1199 hospital union, almost without exception Black and Latino worker-activists, marched from the east side to the west side of Manhattan, July 11. The demonstrators, including nurse's aides, technicians, and orderlies, confronted at his offices the president of the League of Voluntary Hospitals, William J. Abelow, who had repeatedly asserted through the press that the workers, in refusing to settle on his terms, were deliberately attempting to "damage our ability to provide care."

Also among the demonstrators were patients, some in wheelchairs, demanding that the hospital workers be given the support they needed to provide genuine care. This seemed important in view of the union and politician speakers at the rally who put everything in terms of "business," money and "the contract."

The determination of the hospital workers to place before the public the total picture of what is happening in health care was shown by the massive, standing-room-only rally at Riverside Church, July 20. This was followed three days later by a one-day strike against the hospitals, when thousands of workers again marched across Manhattan, rallying at St. Luke's-Roosevelt on the west side, and Mount Sinai on the east side. These militant actions are to continue if no settlement is reached.

—Filipina nurse and activist

Marxist-Humanist youth groups on campuses

The Marxist-Humanist Club

Earl Hall, Columbia University
New York, NY 10027

News & Letters Youth Committee-NYU

Box 84, 21 Washington Place
New York University
New York, NY 10003

Forum for Marxist-Humanist Thought

Holmes Student Center
Northern Illinois University
DeKalb, IL 60115

The Marxist-Humanist Forum at Loyola

Loyola University of Chicago
Centennial Forum
6525 North Sheridan Road
Chicago, IL 60626

Cal State News & Letters Youth Committee

P.O. Box 29194
Los Angeles, CA 90029

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Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

In two short weeks, the massive, spontaneous and unprecedented general strike by Russian coal miners, which began July 11 with a wildcat sit-in in one Siberian mine and swept through virtually every major coal region, issued the most serious challenge yet to Gorbachev's "perestroika" and "glasnost." As the miners' numbers swelled to half a million, they brought steel production and electrical output to the verge of shut-down and won some concessions for change in their dismal working and living conditions.

Gorbachev took a non-confrontational position when the strikes began, publicly "sympathizing" with the miners' demands. Later, fearing the miners' actions would "infect" other workers, he threatened that force would be used if the walkout did not end quickly. At the same time, Gorbachev strengthened his hand by blaming party, trade union and industry officials for the conditions which sparked the strikes, and threatened to unleash another purge.

The miners' anger was aimed not only at the state-capitalist party bureaucracy, but at changing the totality of their day-to-day lives which have deteriorated drastically under Gorbachev's "restruc-

U. S. miners strikes—see page 3

turing." Their demands ranged from transforming working conditions, to ending the damage and pollution from vast open-pit mine operations, to building more schools, housing and medical facilities.

The strike began when the 77 night-shift workers who refused to leave their mine in Mezhdurachensk grew overnight to 12,000 miners on strike on the morning shift. Within days, most Siberian mines were shut down, and the miners had organized strike committees. Miners and their families held continual rallies and mass meetings, and slept in the town squares at night. They were supported by non-mine workers who struck throughout Siberia. The strike erupted within days in the Russian coal fields of the Ukraine, and flashed north to Vorkuta and south to the Karaganda mines in Karzakhstan.

At no time did the miners separate economic from political demands. The fundamental question for the Siberian miners was the need to gain control over the mines, to set the rate of coal production, and to have the right to dispose of coal produced in excess of state contracts. The strike committee stated that money from the sales of excess exported coal was to be put back into improving living conditions for the miners. They also demanded an end to privileges for mine managers, and a cutback in the Moscow mine bureaucracy. The state made vague, conditional promises.

Nor were the miners satisfied with the response to their demands to improve safety and working conditions, which kill over 600 miners each year. Ukrainian miners demanded an end to obsolete, unsafe mine procedures and technology, and Siberian min-

Nicaragua's revolution

A vast crowd of 300,000 assembled in Managua on July 19 to attend Nicaragua's celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the revolution against the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship. But ten years later, much of the revolutionary vision that overthrew Somoza has been lost.

Under Reagan and Bush in the 1980s, hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent to organize, arm and supply the criminal *contra* bands, who have killed tens of thousands, and tortured, raped or wounded many more.

In addition has come economic strangulation: total embargo by the U.S., and U.S. pressure to make sure they get no international loans or aid. At the same time, both Gorbachev and the West European Social Democrats have cut their support sharply since 1985.

Nicaragua's per capital income, always low, has now sunk below that of Haiti. Unlike Haiti, Nicaragua's revolution has created health and literacy programs, but the Sandinista-run government has yet to work out a pathway that could give the revolution a new beginning.

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Russian miners challenge Gorbachev



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

ers drew a direct connection between the drop in their standard of living in the early 1980s, and the increase at the time in mine mechanization.

Miners went back to work, saying their strike was "interrupted, not ended." They have vowed to maintain the strike committees to monitor the state's response to their demands over the next three months, and to go out again if they are not met. Gorbachev agreed to immediately begin shipments of food, clothing, medical supplies and goods that have been non-existent in Siberia for years. He promised an equal settlement for Ukrainian miners whose demands included improved working conditions, fixed days off, changes in pension rights, and other concerns. Supposedly the concessions will be paid for by raising the price of coal, but one Siberian miner bitterly predicted that the money for the settlement would be taken from the miners themselves.

Israeli maneuverings

The pathetic maneuvering of the Israeli Likud and Labor Parties, as well as the U.S., over Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's so-called peace plan for the Palestinians only revealed once again to the world that Israel is not ready to negotiate any type of autonomy, let alone a Palestinian state. So many reactionary conditions have been placed on what was already in essence a sham proposal for elections among the Palestinians, that they may never take place. Meanwhile, the neo-fascist Israeli extreme Right grows stronger by the day, accusing even the Likud of leniency toward the Palestinian Arabs.

During all of this, the *intifada* continues unabated. With all Arab schools closed by the Israeli army since January, underground classes have proliferated, with students and teachers risking arrest since any alternative education is forbidden.

The Israeli occupiers' decision to reopen many of the Arab elementary and high schools in July was certainly not a sign of strength or generosity. So effective were the underground classes, including distribution of workbooks from Al-Quds Open University, a Jordan-based Palestinian university, that students on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip were getting ready in great numbers to take their high school graduation exams despite the occupation authorities forbidding classes, let alone exams.

From Italy: a look at the European elections

Milan, Italy—National rather than European issues dominated in the June 18 European Parliament elections. In most countries only around 50% of the electorate voted, the exceptions being Italy where more than 80% voted and Greece, Ireland and Luxemburg where national elections were held on the same day.

The elections showed a noticeable increase in the votes for the socialists and the ecologists, while the demochristian-conservative alliance lost its majority. The socialists won 181 seats in Parliament, communists—42, Greens—32. The European popular party (Christian Democrat) received 123 of the seats, non-aligned—20 and the neo-Gaullists—19, while the liberals won 45 seats, the English conservatives—33 and the rightist parties—22.

Preoccupying is the increase of the right which is made up mostly of neo-fascist parties. This increase represents a general tendency throughout Europe although most of these votes come from Germany.

The results of the European elections held some real surprises for the national governments. In England, the election results have been disastrous for Margaret Thatcher. The Labor Party got a majority of the votes. Most voters were probably protesting about the economic crisis in Britain where the price inflation at 8½% is the highest of all of the large industrialized countries.

In Germany, the two Christian Democratic parties that have governed in recent years received 7% less votes than they had in the 1987 political elections. The

Japan's election upset

"In Japan, women's aspirations and capabilities have been oppressed, and we women are dissatisfied and angry beyond any man's imagination." Japan Socialist Party (JSP) head Takako Doi uttered those prophetic words even before the stunning July 23 defeat of the reigning Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) in Senate elections. The LDP has held power ever since 1955, when it was founded as the party of the conservative and pro-U.S. business establishment. But in July, the votes of angry housewives and working people, especially the women, defeated them by a greater than two-to-one margin.

While LDP Prime Minister Sousuke Uno has had to resign, the LDP may be able to hold onto power until next year, since it still controls the lower house of Parliament, unaffected by the July election. Alternative LDP leaders to Uno have virtually all been linked to the massive Recruit corruption scandal.

The biggest share of the July vote went to the JSP, which rode a feminist wave to victory. Uno's involvement in an economically and sexually exploitative relationship with a geisha, as well as his party's recent heavy tax on consumer goods, touched off a wave of anger from women. As Kii Nakamura of the Japan Housewives Association stated during the campaign: "Someone who does not respect women is not fit to be Prime Minister of Japan." Uno's agriculture minister only underlined the LDP's sexism when he retorted publicly that "women have no place in politics," adding that Doi was not fit to govern since she was single and childless!

The rapid ascendancy of the JSP and other mainly Left opposition parties is sure to shake up U.S.-Japan military relations. Although Doi has begun to move away from some of the JSP's anti-military platform, such as disbanding the armed forces and scrapping the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty in place since 1960, she has stated her opposition to U.S. nuclear ships visiting Japan.

The July vote also represented a protest by the working people as a whole against both the corrupt anti-labor LDP, and against their own condition of life and labor, which are far indeed from proving any sort of Japanese "economic miracle."

surprise from France is the emergence of the ecologists.

The Italian government fell around a month before June 18 elections and, due to the insistence of the Socialist Party, the formation of a new government was put off until after the elections. It was taken for granted that the Communist Party, which has had continual losses in the last ten years, would be the loser and that the socialists would win these votes. Thus a demochristian-socialist government could be formed without problems. Instead, the Communists won 27% of the votes, that is 1% more than in the political elections of 1987, while the socialists remained steady at 14%. The votes for the Christian Democratic party decreased from 34% to 32%. The other parties remained more or less stable.

In Portugal, the Social Democrats, who have governed for the last three years, lost almost 20% of their votes. Despite its name the Social-Democratic Party is a free enterprise party that supports the privatization of everything. The gains were made by the socialists and the communists.

In Greece, the tremendous scandals on corruption were certainly the principal cause for which the socialists lost power.

Despite the national issues that dominated in these elections, the European voters have shown that they do not want simply an economic union, that they want to protect their social rights and also their environment.

—Margaret Ellingham