

East Europe's revolt at the crossroads

The new page of freedom written by the East German and Czechoslovak masses who took to the streets by the millions, taking destiny into their own hands, stands in stark contrast to the deliberations of the superpowers at the Malta Summit, where each leader spoke of their desire to create a "new era" of "calm and stability." While Gorbachev came to the summit (concluded just before we went to press) shaken by events in East Europe and Russia, he was offered new promises of economic and political support by Bush. Both embraced "a new era of cooperation" as a counter-weight to what the rulers call the "persistent instability" brought on by the freedom struggles from below.

So much has the world changed in these past few weeks that one Bush administration official actually managed for once to tell the truth, saying, "What we are dealing with in Eastern Europe is a revolutionary situation. And revolutionary situations have a dynamic of their own." What drove Bush and Gorbachev into what they called "a new spirit of mutual assistance" at the Malta "non-summit summit" is their effort to contain and control this dynamic. In this sense Oleg Pere-

sykin of the Soviet Foreign Ministry also let the cat out of the bag when he said, "The interests of East and West have come into balance in Eastern Europe."

THE FERMENT FROM BELOW

The revolutionary dynamic from which the superpowers seek to seize the initiative reached a new stage in mid-October, when the East German rulers failed in their effort to defuse the mass protests there by replacing Erich Honecker with Egon Krenz. Faced with ever larger mass demonstrations and the mass flight of East Germans to the West, Krenz opened the Berlin Wall on Nov. 9. Though that too was intended to defuse the protests, what was unmistakable—except to the Western press—is that it was not the rulers of either East or West but the East German masses who forced the Berlin Wall open.

What constantly troubles the rulers is that the Idea of Freedom recognizes no national boundaries. Thus, Czechoslovakia—where opposition movements witnessed a rebirth in the last year as some 30 new organizations sprang into existence—became the next powderkeg to explode. The turning point was reached Nov. 17, when

police brutally broke up a rally of 10,000 in Prague. Though this signalled a possible "China solution" to the protests, the masses, far from being intimidated, embarked on a whole new series of protests, as students organized strikes in the high schools and colleges, new opposition groups like Civic Forum appeared, workers formed strike committees in the factories, and hundreds of thousands poured out for 11 straight days of protests. Following the Nov. 27 general strike—in which seven million took to the streets throughout Czechoslovakia—the Communists were forced to agree to a series of sweeping reforms.

As the protests deepened, the Czech and Slovak masses recollected the experience of Prague Spring 1968, especially its vision of "Socialism with a Human Face." The rebirth of its spirit of Humanism was expressed in innumerable ways, as when one young woman said, "We have already learned to fly like birds and to swim like the fish. Isn't it time we learned to live like humans?"

What is new in 1989 even as against 1968, when

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Theory/
Practice

News & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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25¢

Black World

Blacks and the Law



by Lou Turner

The racist brutalization of Blacks by the Chicago Police Department is widespread and obvious to anyone living in the Black community. A Nov. 5 **Chicago Tribune** poll reported that the majority of Blacks interviewed complained that the police treat Blacks unfairly. This followed several months of public controversy over new revelations of police brutality, public hearings at the Chicago City Council where testimony after testimony gave personal documentation of police abuse, and a mass march through the white Bridgeport section of Chicago, known both for its racist treatment of Blacks and as the home of Mayor Richard Daley.

CHICAGO POLICE BRUTALITY

On this anniversary of the 1969 police murder of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, the resurgence of police brutality surfaced in September 1989 when a young Black man was gunned-down on the South Side by a Black Chicago cop. Not only did this precipitate a spontaneous rebellion, but it called attention to the siege mentality that Blacks live with in the shadow of racist police authority. As one community activist explained at a local meeting to protest the South Side police killing, "Racism is about color, and in this case the color is blue vs. black."

Following the South Side police killing in September, fresh revelations of past incidents of police brutality came out. One involved the terrorizing of two Black teenage youths. Fourteen-year-old Joseph Weaver and Calvin McLin were picked up by two white cops near White Sox stadium in August, slapped around, verbally abused, and then purposefully dropped off in the poor white enclave of Canaryville. There, they were chased down and beaten by a mob of white youths.

Measured against the sheer magnitude of the crisis of Blacks and the law, the call for a citizens police review board is particularly ineffectual and political escapism. Thus, not only have exposes of police torture of Black inmates with beatings and electroshock in Cook County lock-up been ignored by Chicago's Black political leadership, but the new round of police sweeps and "lock-downs" at Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) projects in November elicited little protest from the Black leadership. On the contrary, Black CHA director Vince Lane and Police Superintendent Leroy Martin are

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On the Inside

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Bush's ongoing wars: in El Salvador, in the U.S.

by Michelle Landau

A grinning President Bush didn't even attempt one staged tear over the brutal torture-murder of six Jesuit priests, in San Salvador Nov. 16—dragged from their beds before dawn and shot, and then their brains removed—as he addressed a well-heeled crowd of Republican Party loyalists in Chicago four days later.

When a woman, a nun, shouted out from the audience: "Why are we killing priests in El Salvador?" the President replied, "The answer is we're not," and smirking said, "and you be quiet." When a man then called out "End the repression in El Salvador, in the name of God," Bush retorted: "Who's next? I love it. It livens things up," as security guards dragged the protesters outside, where they were arrested by the police.

Two days later, Bush donned his "kind and fatherly" image for an intimate fireside chat on Thanksgiving Eve. He focused his words, greased with lies, on America's commitment to "freedom and democracy," and the "new pilgrims" of East Europe setting out to realize in their own lands the resplendent glory of the American way of life.

In truth, there could be no more opposite manifestations of the human spirit than the historic actions and emotions for freedom of the East European masses in motion, and the blood and filth-soaked wars the Bush Administration is waging to crush liberation and life itself, both in Latin America and right here at home.

The war in El Salvador, financed by the U.S. to the tune of \$1.4 million a day, is that decade-old, dirty little secret that President Bush and the U.S. Congress worked together this year to have the American public forget.

DECADE OF DEATH IN EL SALVADOR

They certified as "democratic" the heavily boycotted Salvadoran elections of March 1989, held under conditions of civil war and right-wing death squad terrorism; and then they embraced the winning ARENA party, founded by the unabashed admirer of Hitler, Roberto d'Aubuisson, who is widely acknowledged to have masterminded the 1980 assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero and thousands of other death squad slayings in the early 1980s, when bodies appeared by the roadsides each morning with hands or tongues chopped off.

The Reagan administration was compelled to ostracize d'Aubuisson after the 1984 revelation of his plan to kill U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering; but that ostracism ended when Bush's Vice President Quayle conferred this year with d'Aubuisson.

In August 1980, Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in the News and Letters Committees Perspectives Thesis, "Today and Tomorrow": "El Salvador is a country where the U.S. could still stop the genocide of a whole nation, but won't. Here is a country...with so minute a landed elite as to be openly called 'los cañorces' (the 'fourteen families'), which, plus the military, owns 60% of the farmland, the entire banking system, most of the nation's industries, and 50% of the whole national income."

What has changed in the decade since is not the abject poverty conditions of the Salvadoran masses. All that has changed by now is that no less than 70,000

have been butchered by the military—some 12,000 more deaths than all the Americans killed in the U.S. decade-long war in Vietnam. And this in a nation with a total population of only five and half million!

These Salvadoran dead are not mainly guerrilla combatants, but rather civilian human rights activists, union leaders, rank-and-file workers, poor peasant farmers, teachers and students and nuns. Many had been tortured and killed by the death squads.

Across the U.S. in the last weeks of November, thousands of demonstrators protested not only the right-



Demonstration against murder of Jesuit priests in El Salvador is held at Salvadoran Embassy in Washington.

wing murder of the Jesuit intellectuals and their cook and her teenage daughter, but also the Salvadoran government's bombing and strafing of working-class urban neighborhoods by made-in-the-U.S.A. helicopter gunships and explosives. Hundreds of civilians perished.

One former Ambassador to El Salvador, Robert E. White, wrote: "The failure of U.S. policy makers to press for a negotiated end to the war in El Salvador has placed our country in league with a clique of assassins masquerading as an army.... No competent observer doubts that the Salvadoran revolution is home-grown, authentic, and enjoys wide popular support." (*Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 21, 1989)

Nonetheless, the gutless Representatives and Senators in the U.S. Congress uttered no more than a few mild, obligatory phrases about human rights, and were unable to muster the votes for a weak, temporary 30% withholding of aid.

In contrast, striking Eastern Airlines machinists proceeded from their Nov. 18 picket line at the Los Angeles airport to a Salvadoran support rally downtown, focusing on labor solidarity and the Oct. 31 bombing of the National Trade Union Federation of Salvadoran Workers that killed ten people, including labor leader Febe Elizabeth Velasquez (see article, page 10).

THE WARS AT HOME

Neither George Bush nor Ronald Reagan was the first U.S. President to embrace Latin American fascism as the preferable alternative to the drive towards liberation by the Latin American masses in "our" backyard.

What is crucial to see is that the consistent history of U.S. intervention is not some accidental aberration of U.S. "democracy," but appearance which reveals essence: capitalism's heedless disregard for human life that returns home again to roost, for the

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Loyola U. women fight center shutdown

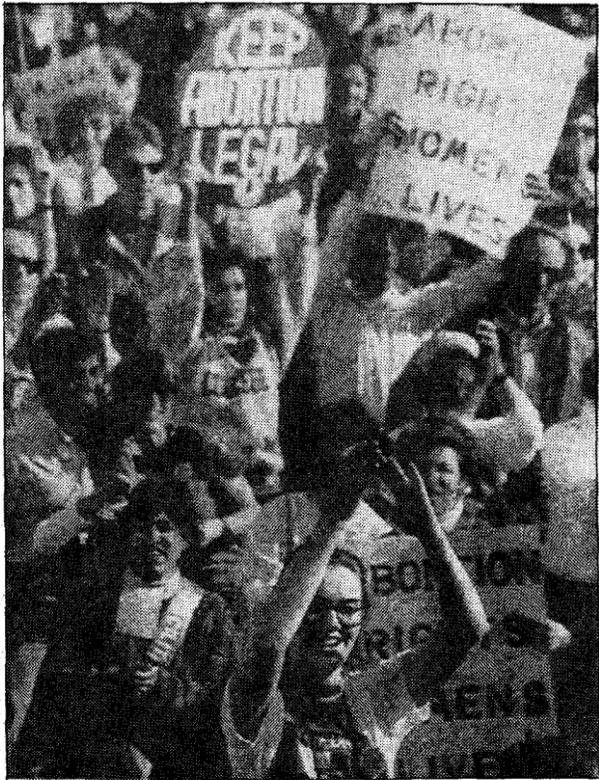
Chicago, Ill.—Last summer's Webster Supreme Court decision served as impetus for intense activity at Loyola University by the Women's Center—a group of undergraduate and graduate students who have united their efforts to fight the retrogressive trend that threatens the rights of women across the country.

Far from having the special designation that the name implies, the Women's Center is not even recognized as a group. It has been in existence since 1978, but this year has been under constant attack by the Loyola administration. Although we are listed as a student group in Loyola's student handbook, the Loyola administration insists that the Women's Center does not exist and they have attempted to censor and suppress our activities by bombarding the group with bureaucratic requirements.

For example, although the Women's Center has a Constitution approved in 1982 that clearly states the nature of the group, Loyola refuses to accept it, saying that our present activities are not included in the Constitution. The administration demands that all activities must be sponsored by the Loyola Women's Studies Program as in their view the Women's Center does not exist. (It's a figment of our imagination!)

Nevertheless, the "non-existent" Women's Center has taken up the specific issues of abortion and contraception as well as making clear our progressive stance on gay and lesbian rights. Our activities have included a mobilization for the March on Washington for abortion rights as well as local and state marches, a literature table where we hand out helpful information on birth control, women's health, AIDS and abortion (all of which the Loyola Health Center fails to do), educational movies, speakers and fundraisers.

Abortion rights rallies across the U.S. Washington, D.C.



On Nov. 12 up to 300,000 rallied in Washington, D.C. to once more show our determination to control our own bodies, to keep abortion legal and safe. Again it was young women who showed up in such stupendous numbers and expressed such militancy. One young woman student from Northern Illinois University told us: "This march is so exciting! Everyone I talk to is so angry and so determined that they will never take our right to abortion away from us."

No one thought that this march would be so large, so angry, so determined—especially because the National Organization for Women (NOW), who called this rally after the July 3 Supreme Court decision which gave states more leeway to restrict abortion, was opposed by other groups like Planned Parenthood and the National Abortion Rights Action League. But rather than slugging it out, all agreed to have the big rally in Washington as well as over 150 other events across the country.

What became clear on Nov. 12 was that women who participated in Washington, D.C. and elsewhere could not care less about what those who planned the events had in mind. They simply took the opportunity to pour into the streets to demand the right to control our own bodies, to say once more, "Never again!" to back-alley, butcher abortions. We demand to have a say over what it means to be a woman in this society.

That determination and the results of recent elections have fanatical anti-abortion legislators shaking in their boots. All of a sudden some leaders of the Republican Party are saying that there is room for pro-choice views in their party. Since when?

The Catholic Church is running so scared they are contemplating excommunicating Catholic public officials who express the belief that women have the right to choose abortion. State Assemblywoman Lucy Killea of San Diego, a State Senate candidate, was barred from taking communion by the Church because of her pro-choice stand. It helped her win the

The Women's Center is the needed voice of Women's Liberation on a campus that is attempting to impose its Catholic views on the consciousness of the student body. After all, Loyola's more than benign support of the anti-choice group on campus makes clear its sexist stance on women's issues.

This makes the Women's Center more than an issue of rights—free speech, expression, dissent. It makes it a necessity for the intellectual growth of the women and men at Loyola. One student summed it up: "The fact that Loyola's position on abortion considers the rights of a clump of cells as more important than the rights of a woman reduces the women of Loyola to mindless baby machines! Without the Women's Center, that's how we would be represented by the anti-choice group and by Loyola itself. We need the Women's Center to show that Loyola women have minds and choices!"

Loyola University's attempts to crush the voices of women and men united in the call for freedom has failed. Women will continue to speak out against the oppressive attitude of the university on the issues of abortion, contraception, gay/lesbian rights, etc. and the Women's Center will continue through the concerted efforts of its members and sympathetic faculty and staff to thrive, to exist!

Women from Catholic Universities across the country have declared Jan. 22, the anniversary of the Roe vs. Wade Supreme Court decision, a nationwide day of protest against the suppression of the voices of Women's Liberation and certainly the Women's Center, whether it "exists" or not, will participate.

—Feminist student at Loyola

Senate election.

The very fact of those 300,000 in Washington, D.C., and the thousands more across the U.S., reveal just how determined we are to make the difference, to be the ones who, for once, tell those who think they run this country that here we draw the line: "Not the church, not the state, women will decide our fate!"

Los Angeles

Los Angeles, Cal.—On Nov. 12 tens and tens of thousands gathered at Rancho Park Recreation Center to demand the right to safe and legal abortion. "Mobilize for Women's Lives," part of mass pro-choice demonstrations held across the country that same day, drew women and men, young and old, to voice that the majority of Americans want to keep abortion legal.

As a participant, I was impressed by the large number of grassroots coalitions that had been organized to show support and foster discussion. Nurses, parents, teens and many others wanted to show where they stood, and the dimension of labor was strong. Many young students from colleges, high schools, and junior high schools carried banners with their school names.

As one Pitzer College student said, "It's a fundamental issue. We have to keep our reproductive rights." At Pitzer College young women have revived the women's center, a restored house with a coffee shop and library, where they can gather daily to talk and hold meetings.

While the rally's planners remained mainly white and middle class, the presence of minority women, under such banners as "Asian-Americans for Pro-Choice," exposed the lie that abortion is not their issue.

Although the speakers focused their remarks around winning through political pressure within the state, the number and variety of the people who packed into this rally shows the determination of people to control their own lives and to give voice to what concerns them.

—Ginny Adams

Chicago

Chicago, Ill.—Over 2,500 people tried to jam into a large church on Chicago's near west side on Nov. 12 to support women's right to control our own bodies. The crowd's militancy was reflected in chants of "Let's march!" (to Cook County Hospital) as the speeches dragged on into their third hour, and we yelled back at the handful of counter-demonstrators to drown out their anti-woman propaganda.

One thing distinguished this rally from all the others we have attended—the overwhelming presence of Born Again Liberals who were nowhere to be seen throughout the whole last decade of reaction. Suddenly they were as thick as thieves and trying to use the feminist vote to get themselves elected—they even set up voter registration tables! Yet where were they ten years ago when local politicians ordered Cook County Hospital—the only public facility in the city—to stop performing abortions for poor women?

One Black woman we met at the rally called the organizers "myopic" because they failed to show the connections between abortion rights and other forms of oppression that people face. Most exciting were the young women and men who expressed themselves with many buttons such as "Another non-voter for choice!" This was especially popular with those too young to vote who insisted they have a right to be heard. That day we were heard all over the country.

—Participants

Montreal massacre

The first reports of 14 women murdered at the University of Montreal in Canada have just reached us as we go to press. They were gunned down in their engineering classroom by a man who yelled, "You're all a bunch of feminists!"

The picture in the newspaper shows a young woman, shot in the head, lying in blood. Why? Not because she was a feminist. Her murderer did not know what she believed. Was he trying to kill the idea of feminism—the idea that women are full human beings, that women have the right to go to college and to be engineers?

These horrible murders force us to face the reality of what it means to be a woman in this society. It is devastating. It is to be despised, it is to be reduced by anti-abortion fanatics to a "walking womb," it is to be raped, and it is to be murdered if you dare—if you dare—to try and change what it means.

We are deeply affected and we mourn the deaths of our young Canadian sisters. We know it could have been any of us, and we vow to change this world to one where women, where all of us, can grow strong and free.

—Terry Moon for
Women's Liberation-News & Letters

Israeli feminists work to free Palestinians

Editor's note: On Dec. 1 Yael Oren Kahn, an Israeli woman and a founder of the Women's Organization for Political Prisoners (WOFPP) (see May and June 1989 N&L), spoke at the American Friends Service Committee office in Chicago as part of her national tour. Below we print excerpts from her talk.

"The group (WOFPP) is about 50 women, some single mothers, some very committed who give more than 20 hours a week, and this on top of full time jobs....I suggested the idea of working with women political prisoners and it was accepted by women who wanted to do something as women for other women.

"Our group was formed in May, 1988. At first we thought only to establish an office to gather information about where women prisoners were held....In the year and a half we have been active, naturally we became aware of a lot more atrocities committed by the Israeli government and military forces. Most of all we became aware that we had the power, the strength, the ability, to put an end to many of these atrocities....

"We became aware of the use of sexual abuse and harassment in detention. We learned that during the first four months of this year, since Jan. 23, all the detainees in Jerusalem detention center, in the Russian compound, were exposed to some kind of sexual harassment and abuses. The problem of sexual harassment by the military authorities is not only in detention. This was a pressing problem, and in fact systematic, in the refugee camps and the cities.

"One of the methods we developed in getting information and in giving support to the Palestinian women was to do field work in the occupied territories of the Gaza Strip and West Bank. That we could gather information and be trusted by the Palestinian women, reporting on one of the hardest experiences for any woman in the world to speak of, was due to confidence created during months of our presence in the occupied territories....

"We learned of many women who are exposed to attempted rape and we learned of one case of rape. No one has ever been charged, even when women made a complaint. The woman who was raped made a complaint; then she was threatened by the military forces, so she dropped it. So we also made a complaint to stop the use of sexual abuse against women either in the streets or at home. We were successful by recording this information and then by publicizing and exposing it.

"We don't only verbally denounce the occupation. We do more concrete work and then, of course, achieve more concrete changes, results. So we try to mobilize other groups in the same direction as well. We're trying to get the Women in Black [a group that holds silent vigils all over Israel to show opposition to the occupation] to be more active and not so limited in the sense of their very passive and quite frustrating action....

"It's a big responsibility on the Israelis because the fact that we can be very effective means that when we choose not to do that we have to take responsibility for what the authorities say they are doing in our behalf."

Yael related several examples of WOFPP's work, such as protests, organizing, getting international publicity on abuses and winning the release of women prisoners and hostages including a young woman who had been arrested and tortured for writing graffiti.

Yael asked for funds to continue WOFPP's work and stressed how effective telegrams from the U.S. to Israeli officials can be in getting women released. She asked for help in their campaign to free 15-year-old Yasmin Da'adra who was arrested Oct. 7 for throwing stones. Yasmin was at that time, and still is, very ill. While in prison she was tear-gassed, her hands and feet bound and her head beaten against the wall. Yasmin was transferred to the Hasharon Prison and is still ill and spitting up blood.

Funds can be sent to Women's Organization for Political Prisoners, P.O. Box 31811, Tel Aviv 61316, Israel.

Renewed fights for shorter work day

LA Sanitation Wildcat

Los Angeles, Cal.—On Dec. 4, over 150 sanitation workers at the Western Waste Management Company—responsible for trash collection in elite Beverly Hills—walked off their jobs in a one-day wildcat strike. They were demanding a contract and that they be treated with respect as human beings. During the more than 16 hours of standing together, demanding their rights, they continuously fought off the constant barrage of attacks by both the company and the union (Teamsters) trying to break their spirit.

The workers are Latinos, Blacks and Armenians. They told *News & Letters* about their horrible working conditions: an average 65-hour work week, with some forced to work up to 80 hours. Several complained of muscle aches and, on the one day off, "the only thing I can do is sleep."

The boss, according to some, had tried to divide them, pitting Armenians against Latinos against Blacks. One worker told us, "But we can't give in to that. I see these guys more than I see my own children. How can I go against them?"

The union was just as bad, joining with the owner to try and convince the workers to "go home and cool off." After three months with no contract, the workers refused, and demanded a strike vote. They voted to strike, 135 to 11. The union rep came back 10 minutes later and announced that the company would fire anyone who did not report to work the next morning and that the union could not support an immediate strike.

The workers' anger was boundless, exploding in spontaneous speeches, discussions and outbursts against both union and management.

As we go to press, the workers have returned to their jobs, for the moment, and continue to discuss their next course of action. —Strike supporter

Chicago Toys-R-Us workers

The newest thing that has been happening in Toys-R-Us with the start of the Christmas season is that they have cut out the overtime bonus. Many of us have to work six days a week, from eight in the morning until something like nine o'clock at night.

Most workers here are making \$3.55 an hour. People are fighting to work as much overtime as they can get, because they just can't afford not to. So without any kind of bonus this year, there is no way to make it except by working loads of overtime. The shortest work week is probably 55 hours a week. One guy I know is working more than 80 hours a week.

I personally feel run down working these extra hours; I'm of no use for anything at the end of a shift. Actually, I'm not even of use to them after a long shift. It's just not possible to do your work right when you work so many hours.

It used to be that each worker was responsible for a single section of the store. But now they have broken it down so that no one has responsibility for any single section. This way, they make you responsible for the whole store. This has allowed them to cut down the workforce by 20 people in this one store alone. So we are just getting bounced from section to section.

The result is that there's no part of the store anyone knows well. Maybe they want it this way—that way we're all expendable, and they can always fire us to get anyone in here to do the work.

All of this overtime we have to work means the company can keep the workforce as small as possible. It also means they can keep paying us as little as possible—they avoid having to raise wages this way. It's all about economics.

It's amazing how many changes have been made by the company, all in the course of just one year. Even with the new law being passed on raising the minimum wage, they have got so many concessions out of labor in the 1980s that it doesn't worry them—they think they'll be able to make their money back by working us harder and harder. It's going to take a tremendous movement

in the 1990s to overcome what has happened to labor in the 1980s. —David Anderson

Chicago Eckrich meatpackers

Editor's note: We print below a leaflet written by an Eckrich worker in Chicago and distributed at the plant in November. Although the current contract expires on Dec. 17, Eckrich workers had received no word on the progress of the negotiations as of Dec. 3.

I am concerned about the negotiations for our new contract at Eckrich. The meeting to discuss contract proposals and to elect a negotiating committee was held nearly two months ago. We haven't heard anything since.

When I talk to people about the contract, what usually comes up first is money. Money is important, especially eliminating the three-tier wage system and the three-year "training" period so that everyone doing the same job gets paid at the same rate. But I don't want people to forget about the "non-economic" demands—the ones about the attendance policy and about overtime.

It's hard to think about overtime when things have slowed down and people are laid off. We have to remember what happened last spring and summer in departments 645 and 647: 12-hour and 13-hour Saturdays, working 13 days in a row, and the company changing the start of the work-week to Sunday and making Sunday mandatory. Nobody had a life outside this place. Our children hardly knew what we looked like anymore. This could happen next year if we don't change the contract now.

What we are asking is that the mandatory work-day be limited to ten hours per day, and that Sunday always be the seventh day and always be voluntary. That gives the company 60 hours per week that they can require us to work. Isn't that enough? We are also asking that the company be required to notify us of overtime ahead of time.

These provisions on overtime will give us a little more control over our own lives. I won't vote for a contract without them. What about you?

—A concerned co-worker

Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal

by Charles Denby



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Hyatt Hotel job action

Los Angeles, Cal.—On Nov. 8, more than 850 people protested in front of the Hyatt Hotel in downtown Los Angeles, demanding a union contract.

The majority of the protesters were members of Local 11, Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union, composed of Latinos (mainly women) and Blacks.

The basic demands presented by the union officials were to stop the hotel management from forcing employees to work ten consecutive days without overtime pay, and to commemorate Martin Luther King's birthday as a paid holiday.

The union planned an action of peaceful civil disobedience to violate a court injunction placed against the employees, prohibiting them from stepping into the hotel lobby. Several union officials and members were arrested.

The main concern of the union officials seemed to be to maintain the workers at the legal aspects of the demands, and to present the hotel workers as essentially peaceful and obedient people.

From the hotel workers themselves I heard their concern not only with economic demands and holiday pay, but their greater concern with the inhuman working conditions that exist in this industry—excessive amount of work and hours, and speed-up. Most of the workers expressed the feeling that they do not have sufficient time off to spend with their family members. The small amount of money earned in overtime is spent on child care. Wages cannot provide for basic needs.

Workers thought that the Hyatt Hotel management wants to destroy the union or to force them to give up on their struggle, and that the same course of action would follow in the rest of the hotel industry.

A revolutionary spirit was felt through the whole protest, mainly among women that were almost ready to take over the building of the Hyatt Hotel, but the union officials and police officers were ready to hold back the workers. —Hotel workers' supporter

England building on death

Oxford, England—"Keep Death Off Building Sites" is the slogan of the Construction Safety Campaign, (CSC) formed by building workers in 1988. Aiming to transform the dangerous conditions in Britain's construction industry, the CSC sees organization and industrial action on the building sites as essential, while also seeking support from Members of Parliament, local councillors and doctors for stricter, more effective laws on health and safety.

In Britain there are 1.5 million workers in construction, more than six percent of the total workforce. Tens of thousands travel from Ireland, Scotland and the north of England to work in southern England, where a construction boom is going on. Statistics from the government's Health and Safety Executive show that fatal and major accidents per 100,000 workers have increased from 163.5 in 1981 to 270.7 in 1987-8, a jump of 65% over seven years.

Building work involves hazards of many kinds: immediate danger to life and limb from unsafe trenches and scaffolding and having to work too close to heavy machinery; longer term threats to health from toxic chemicals, dust, noise, cold and back strain. In London, from April 1987 to March 1988 there were 36 deaths and 413 major injuries on construction sites; but employers were prosecuted in only 18 cases, and the average fine was a paltry 1,050 pounds (\$1,680).

It works out cheaper for companies to make an allowance for fines and compensation when tendering for projects than to improve safety for workers. The CSC calls for employers to be sent to prison for gross negligence, especially in cases of death or serious injury.

Construction is a particularly tough industry for workers to get organized. As well as the temporary nature of the work, moving from site to site, it is notorious that the companies keep a blacklist of activists and "troublemakers."

Despite all, building workers are taking action, with some success. At Hackney in London, workers refused to handle timbers treated with arsenic compounds. Steel erectors all over London stopped work and won an increase in lodging allowances. On the biggest development of all, the Channel Tunnel, where three workers have been killed, workers held a week-long stoppage over safety.

—Richard Bunting

Spanish dockers update

Tenerife, Canary Islands, Spain—At this time, we have a very tense situation in our port, since 50 comrades have been given sanctions of 20 days without work and two foremen have been dismissed for refusing to work with non-registered personnel. In other ports of the country such as Bilbao, Algeciras, Las Palmas, Valencia and almost all others there are serious problems.

For example, in Algeciras, the enterprises Sea-Land and MAER have planned how to reroute their work to the Italian port of Livorno in order to pressure port workers to agree to what the businesses want, which is that the people do not come into the port, and to employ non-port workers (i.e., non-registered dockers) in the container terminals.

On the other hand, I have been in Hamburg, Germany on Sept. 21-25 at an international congress about high technology in the ports and its results on port workers. The view that we have taken to the international meeting is that all countries are experiencing an attack from the large transport multinationals and the governments, and it consists of a progressive deterioration in working conditions, loss of work positions, reductions in the hiring hall lists, etc. Examples are England, Italy, Spain and France, since at this time these governments have made decrees or laws altering statutes of longshore labor. All the countries and ports assumed responsibility for writing a letter to deliver to the International Labor Organization in Brussels. The letter will set standards concerning job security for longshore work in ports all over the world.

On the other hand, it is noteworthy that, at this time in Italy, only Genoa is experiencing a conflict due to the savage port restructuring by the government.

—Francisco Ramos Vargas

Federación Estatal de Estibadores Portuarios Reprinted from Update on Spanish Dockers, thanks to Don Fitz.

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From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya Marxist-Humanist Archives

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

Editor's note: In 1980, as part of her work on Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, Raya Dunayevskaya wrote the following letter to Harry McShane, who after some three decades in the British Communist Party, broke with it in the 1950s and became a Marxist-Humanist. Its discussion on the relation of philosophy and organization returned to her original 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes, and, as well, relates to the problematic of her work on "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy" in the mid-1980s. The letter is part of the new Volume XIV of The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: "The Writing of Raya Dunayevskaya's 'Trilogy of Revolution,' 1953-83—The 'Long, Hard Trek and Process of Development' of the Marxist-Humanist Idea."

June 17, 1980

Dear Harry:

...The topics on which I'm most interested in hearing from you are not so much all the theoretic contributions we have made in bringing Marxist-Humanism onto the historic stage, but the question of Organization. This is one topic I've had no help at all on, not even from Lenin. That is to say, in our rejection of the party-to-lead, I was anxious to show that the Stalinists have transformed that into opposite as they have everything else, and therefore in **Marxism and Freedom** I spent a lot of time showing the changes he himself had made between 1903 and 1905; those he introduced in 1917 when he demanded that the Party work be checked by the non-Party masses, and in the trade union debate with Trotsky in 1920-21. It's the last one that got reinstated in a new way ever since the death of Stalin, and that form became the beginning of the end with the Johnsonites [followers of C.L.R. James] so that it becomes a prelude to 1955 when we're fully independent, which is the period that is the jumping off point for the article I'm working on now.

Here is the difficulty insofar as my figuring out why Lenin did not make as great a break with his organizational past as with his philosophic past, considering that in the last years of his life that is exactly what speeded his death—seeing the bureaucratism in the early workers' state, sensing the horrors of the General Secretary, Stalin, and bringing into his Will that even the best of them, like Bukharin, who was the most scholarly, had so little conception of what the dialectic was that he couldn't even be considered a full Marxist. And yet there is no worked out methodology as to what that little word, "dialectics," would mean in the dialectics of the party.

I don't know whether you have in your files the original letters I wrote on the Absolute Idea in 1953, which were reproduced in 1955 as an Appendix to our first pamphlet on Lenin's **Philosophic Notebooks**.* If you do, you will note that I take that question directly into the history of both the Absolute Idea and the Party in various historic periods, thusly: I ask everyone to face the staggering truth that Hegel no sooner projects Absolute Idea, than he states that the greatest of all oppositions is in that. And I then break it down into being a movement from practice as well as from theory. Whereupon I show the following in relationship to the history of 1903-23, and then I leap to our period, 1953:

Where Party, as "simple" class instrument, dominated Marx's period with its concentration on spontaneity of the masses, be that in the 1848 Revolutions or the 1871 Paris Commune, Party became the divider of tendencies 1903-1917.

As divider of tendencies—Marx certainly knew plenty of tendencies, beginning with the Communist Manifesto on—Party began having a very new interpretation with Lenin's theory of the Party, 1902-03, where the politics demanded that the tendency itself be the organization—Bolshevism.

Also as divider of tendencies, with politics predominating over the trade unionism of the German Social Democracy, it became clear that Lenin was preparing for revolution organizationally, where even so great a revolutionary as Luxemburg was not.

With, however, the actual conquest of power, the destruction of capitalism has by no means solved the question of the mass party, and it is at that point when Party becomes different social layers including especially the triangular relationship of Party, Trade Union, and Non-Party Masses in the 1921 debate, that Lenin becomes a very, very sad person. He literally doesn't know what to do when confronted with the very grave contradiction between the Party that is now the state and the poor masses that still get exploited; the Party, or rather its leadership, is so very, very thin a layer that "knows" history and theory and organization and is still on the way back to capitalism. And the reason Bukharin worries him so much is not only that he was with Trotsky in the trade union debates but, in his **Economics of the Transition Period**, shows he does not understand dialectics, i.e., the development of a very necessary new relationship of Party leadership to ranks and to masses. And Lenin dies.

What we have seen with the rise of Stalinism is not anything "theoretical" as the Party becomes the suppresser of revolutions, be it in Russia, China, England in the late 1920s, or the Spanish Revolution, 1937, cli-

* Editor's note: Dunayevskaya's 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes" appears in **The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two Historic-Philosophic Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya**, available from **News & Letters** (see p. 7).

Ideas that live in an organization

maxing with the Hitler-Stalin Pact, 1939.

And yet, why haven't we been able, in rejecting the party-to-lead that so misled, to work out some organizational form that would attract, I mean, have a pull on the masses and the intellectuals that party-to-lead had?

When I show the rise of the new tendency, I mean state-capitalism, 1941-50, I designate it as clarification of ideas, elaboration of theory, eyes on the masses.** That's good, but not good enough, because it becomes clear in 1951 once we, instead of just being a tendency within Trotskyism, finally break once and for all with Trotskyism and become responsible for organization, that organization without philosophy, like state-capitalism without humanism, leads only to the break-up of the state-capitalist tendency. And it's only after that break that we work out Marx's Humanism, even as (without being conscious that that was what we were doing) the breakthrough on the Absolute Idea as a movement from practice that is itself a form of theory anticipates the June, 1953, revolt.

My point is that there is nothing abstract about philosophy because its generalization is historic and poses—it only poses, it cannot be the organization—so new a relationship of theory to practice and practice to theory, that there must be a new form of organization.

Committee form is good both in its correspondence to what comes from the masses themselves and the non-rigidity of "the Party form." But it, too, is not fully adequate because so much time had to be spent on making the leadership listen to the masses that self-development of ideas was very nearly subordinated to

** Editor's note: see p. 43 of **The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism**.

self-development of the individuals in the committees, especially what we called "the third layer."

Unless we take seriously the form of organization, indeed organization itself, then the leadership leaves open what shouldn't be left open—responsibility that the projection of the ideas lives in an organization.

...I'm very anxious to find out from you what you have thought about organization ever since you broke with Stalinism.

In this, the 25th year [of **News and Letters Committees**], we have produced so many unique historic contributions, from state-capitalism to Marxist-Humanism; from the appreciation of the deepest layers of the proletariat to new forces of Reason like the Blacks, like women, like youth; from **Marxism and Freedom** which laid the ground for pamphlets, beginning with **Workers Battle Automation**, **Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves**, the **Afro-Asian Revolutions** and the birth of a whole new Third World, to **Philosophy and Revolution** and now the **Luxemburg book**—none of which ever stopped the daily activities or participation in mass movements—that it seems to me that we simply must now also work very hard on the question of Organization.

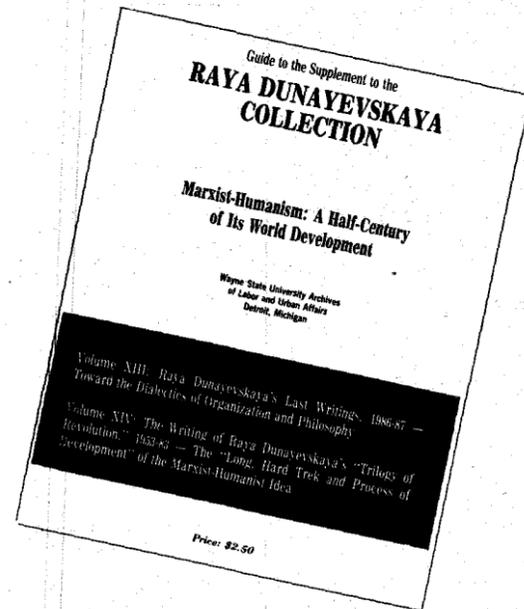
Have you thought of this quarter of a century, not only as all the revolutions and counter-revolutions, that is to say, the objective situation, but also how does a "Party"—naturally I do not mean the party-to-lead but a group of workers and intellectuals like ourselves that is very vigilant about a live link to Marx, this historic continuity of that new continent of thought, at the same time as we do not let our eyes wander from today—create so new a form of organization that it realizes philosophy of revolution?

Just added to The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection

Volume XIV: The Writing of Raya Dunayevskaya's "Trilogy of Revolution," 1953-83: The "Long, Hard Trek and Process of Development" of the Marxist-Humanist Idea

● If you have read one or more of the "trilogy of revolution" you can now study the process whereby Raya Dunayevskaya wrote **Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution, and Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution**. Chapter files, notes, presentations, draft chapters on her major writings are included in the volume.

● Now available, selected correspondence with a wide range of thinkers and activists on a broad scope of philosophic and political topics. Among the participants: Herbert Marcuse, George Armstrong Kelly, Louis Dupre' and Erich Fromm; Iring Fetscher, George Lichtheim, Alexander Ehrlich and Ivan Svitak; Sheila Rowbotham, Maria Barreno, Lawrence Krader and Jonathan Spence; Mihailo Markovic, Stephen Bronner, Hayden White and Meyer Schapiro.



— From the Introductory Note —

The present volume seeks to document, as fully as possible, the process of development of Dunayevskaya's "trilogy of revolution," from her 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes to the paragraphs she added in 1982-83 to **Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution** after the book was already set in type.

In the arrangement and description of the documents included in Vol. XIV, we were able to draw on the concept and practice of archives Dunayevskaya developed throughout her life. By 1986 she held that:

"The significance of Archives for any Marxist-Humanist has, as ground, what we learned from Marx's Archives, especially from the writings in his last decade, and especially the **Ethnological Notebooks** which were first transcribed in 1972....These Notebooks so integrally related the 'new Moments' of Marx's last decade that it made it possible to grasp Marx's Marxism as a totality. In a word, the new moments of his last decade, and the very first writings of his break from capitalism and his founding of a whole new continent of thought and of revolution in 1843-44, were one continuous development of what Marx called a 'new Humanism.'"

Whether Dunayevskaya considered the works of Hegel, of Marx, or of Marxist-Humanism, her concept of archives focused special attention on those writings which marked the "birthtime" of an Idea, and on those which represented its final determination, its summation. Taken together, these works not only offered a view of the work of a founder "as a totality," but made it possible for another age to grasp this totality "as new beginning."

Dunayevskaya's 1986-87 re-examination of her "tril-

ogy of revolution," and of the Marxist-Humanist body of ideas as a whole, discloses two movements: 1) the "long, hard trek and process" in the self-determination of the Idea of Marxist-Humanism, from its birth in the 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes, through its test in revolutionary and counterrevolutionary events and in battles with other ideas over three decades and more, to Dunayevskaya's final, 1986-87 view; 2) the labor of summation of the totality of the body of ideas from the vantage point of the last years of Dunayevskaya's life. This summation, reaching back over that whole process of development, is the founder's philosophic self-comprehension of the freedom Idea, or what Hegel called "Erinnerung"—a summation that is at one and the same time a recollection and an inwardization of the Idea, and thus a "new beginning."

● **Volume XIV is available as a 3,750-page collection on microfilm from Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Detroit, MI 48202, for \$40.**

● **The Guide to Volume XIV is available in the Guide to the Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection. Order from The Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund, 59 E. Van Buren, Chicago, IL 60605 for \$2.50 plus 75¢ postage.**

East Europe's revolt at crossroads as superpowers maneuver

(continued from page 1)

many still put their faith in the Communist Party to implement needed change, is that today the masses say they are fed up with Communists of any stripe. This is true not only of Czechoslovakia but also of East Germany.

But the battle between the opposition and the Communist leadership is far from over in East Germany and Czechoslovakia. On Dec. 3 Czech Prime Minister Adamec announced a new "coalition government" that was to include five non-Communist ministers; clearly, such "concessions" are meant to get the opposition off the streets. While prior to Adamec's announcement some leaders of Civic Forum urged a halt to further demonstrations as they entered negotiations with the government, the opposition immediately condemned Adamec's plan as a Communist ploy to hold onto power. The students quickly responded by extending the nation-wide strike of high schools and universities and new protests involving up to 200,000 demonstrators erupted, forcing Adamec's resignation.



Czechoslovak masses in persistent protests against their state-capitalist regime.

STALINISTS DRESSED IN NEW CLOTHES

Not only in Czechoslovakia and East Germany, but also in Hungary and even Bulgaria, the Communist Parties are trying to hold onto power by "reforming" themselves along the lines outlined by Mikhail Gorbachev. The wooden unanimity with which Communist leaders in East Germany and Czechoslovakia now vote for reforms, when but weeks before they arrested dissidents who advocated them, belies any illusion that the Communist Parties are becoming more independent of Moscow. On the contrary, in purging themselves of resistance to Gorbachevism, they are once again demonstrating their unquestioned fidelity to Moscow.

In doing so, the chorus of Communist deputies following Gorbachev's lead in pointing their fingers at former leaders as the source of all maladies recalls Marx's statement that "The state will never see in the 'state and system of society' the source of social maladies...[it] seeks the cause in accidental or deliberate shortcomings of the administration....The mightier the state is, the less it is inclined to grasp the general principle of social maladies and to seek their basis in the principle of the state."*

Indeed, the apparent ease with which Stalinist bureaucrats prove able to "transform" themselves into advocates of "reforms" and "free market mechanisms" on a day's notice only further underlines the truth that there is no fundamental class difference between the state-capitalism of the "East" and the private capitalism of the "West."

GORBACHEV'S IDEOLOGICAL PULL

But the impact of Mikhail Gorbachev on the latest events in East Europe is not limited to his impact on the various Communist Parties. For "Gorbachevism" contains an ideological attraction that truly crosses party lines. That is the significance of Gorbachev's latest article in *Pravda*, published but a week prior to the summit. In this article, he suddenly proclaims himself an exponent of "humane socialism" while insisting that the "Communist Party remains the vanguard." The apparent contradiction between daring to dress himself in the mantle of "humane socialism" while insisting on leaving the basis of the military-party-production apparatus of Communist totalitarianism intact is no matter

* See Marx's 1844 essay, "The King of Prussia and Social Reform."

of inconsistency in choice of words. It is a calculated step in the struggles for the minds of men and women—men and women who in Eastern Europe have struggled some 40 years for a new, socialist humanism independent of both Western capitalism and Communism. Despite countless attempts from 1953 to today, the Communists have failed to put an end to these revolts by force of arms. In face of this, Gorbachev now seeks to contain them by posing as an exponent of "humane socialism" while warning against any attempts at fundamental changes in the structure of Communist society.

In this, Gorbachev may well have found an ally in Bush. Just as prior Soviet leaders have tried to "save" an American president in crisis situations,** so it appears that Bush is intent on "saving" Mikhail Gorbachev, or "shoring up his position," as he put it before the summit. At Malta, Bush came through with promises of new economic aid for Gorbachev, ranging from allowing Russia entry into international financial institutions to new trade agreements. He also offered new political assistance, such as moving up the timetable on some arms reduction talks.

Of the many issues discussed by Bush and Gorbachev at Malta that we have not been told of, one was the explosive issue of German unification. The one thing we can be sure of is that Bush and Gorbachev want the events surrounding "the German question" to follow their timetable.

A NEW STAGE? OR A "NEW WORLD"?

Bush, Gorbachev and most of the media would have us believe the "new era of cooperation" announced at the summit means we have already entered into "a new world order." It is true we have entered a new stage, both of superpower relations and intra-European politics. But the emergence of a new world takes far more than rulers rearranging the furniture of power relations around a conference table. A truly new world cannot be created by fiat from above; it can only emerge from the creativity of the masses as they uproot their conditions of life and labor from below.

** See the many important analyses of superpower summits written by Raya Dunayevskaya, especially "Two of a Kind: Reagan and Gorbachev and their bi-polar world," in *News & Letters*, March 27 and April 10, 1987.

That does not mean the machinations of the rulers, especially at the Malta "non-summit summit," are not important.*** For what we now see is that while the U.S. surely wishes to move the markers that have divided Europe since World War II further East, it is also willing to shore up the power of Gorbachev so that he can continue to exert his ideological pull over East Europe. Thereby, the rulers hope the East European revolts can be restrained from moving toward full social revolution.

This is surely the lesson of Solidarity in Poland, which has reached the point of transforming itself from its early 1980s vision of a worker-controlled society to now taking part in a government that is imposing the very austerity measures that the private capitalism of Bush and state-capitalism of Gorbachev hold in common.

This presents a tremendous challenge before the new movements in Eastern Europe. The question is, will the revolts become a new beginning on the basis of 40 years of revolt that projected the vision of a New Humanism independent

of all state powers, or will the ideological pulls of this changed world exert its toll? As we solidarize with the ongoing East European struggles against Communist totalitarianism, it becomes necessary for us to recollect those 40 years of creative struggle, not as something past, but as what is crucial for the power of thought to shape anew in the face of today's changed world.

—December 6, 1989

*** The January-February 1990 issue of *News & Letters* will carry a fuller analysis of the changes sweeping Eastern Europe and the state of superpower relations.

Louis Dupre on East Europe and Dunayevskaya

In her recently republished *Philosophy and Revolution* Raya Dunayevskaya interpreted the riots and revolts of the past four decades in Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland as expressing a desire for liberation that went far beyond the establishment of a communist society totally controlled by an omnipotent socialist State apparatus. According to her thesis, the State, instead of becoming an instrument of liberation, had turned into one of repression. Its main purpose had become to stunt the very impetus toward freedom which socialist movements everywhere had unleashed. Her application of the principles of socialist humanism to the events and aspirations of Eastern Europeans met with a great deal of scepticism, both from Marxists and non-Marxists. How could there be a road to socialism without an initial State control and how could the State ever release its control without abandoning all previous acquisitions?

Recent events appear to prove her diagnosis of the kind of socialism Eastern countries do not want. In my introduction to the new edition I quoted her recent article in *Praxis*: "What the Russians fear most is exactly what erupted in Hungary in 1956. In all the changes since then, nothing truly fundamental has been altered. This is seen most clearly of all in the fact that it has always been a Single Party State that remained the all-dominant power." Those fundamental changes now suddenly are taking place and Raya's idea of humanist socialism appears to have become the only acceptable one in Eastern Europe. I wish she were alive to comment.

—Louis Dupre

Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Mike Connolly, Marxist-Humanist Archivist
Felix Martin, Labor Editor



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EAST EUROPE — IN THE HISTORIC MIRROR AND IN THE PHILOSOPHIC CONTEXT

It was instructive as to the power of Marxist-Humanism to see that where the media called the 1953 East German workers' revolt a "failed revolution," Raya Dunayevskaya described it in *Marxism and Freedom*, along with the Hungarian Revolution, as "two glorious pages in history." Re-reading her 1961 Weekly Political Letter "In Memoriam to the Hungarian Revolution" (November 1989 N&L) made me see with new eyes something she had written in 1986: that "to see the revolutionary Black dimension as ongoing, the whole of the Marxist-Humanist Archives is needed." That is not just for the Black dimension. It is true here too, because needing the whole of the Archives means it isn't only "facts" but methodology and ultimately, philosophy.

It jumped out at me in another way when I went back to read some of her other 1960s Weekly Political Letters in the Archives and found, in one describing the March 1965 Selma-Montgomery March, that the marchers confined to one section of Selma by a rope called it "the Berlin Rope." The whole of the Archives is needed because philosophic relationships are not "one to one." If you narrow it to "facts" you will miss the dialectic.

It is why I appreciated that the November N&L Lead on East Europe—obviously written before the Berlin Wall had been opened and the massive events in Czechoslovakia had occurred—nevertheless remained very current because it moved to and ended with Raya's warnings on the need to work out the "absolute opposite"—the dialectics of organization and philosophy.

**Marxist-Humanist
Detroit**

The new events in East Europe, far from showing that Marxism is dead, show it is very much still alive. Marx wrote that a change in the mode of appropriation changes nothing about alienated labor. The recent mine explosion in Yugoslavia, as much as the killings in El Salvador, points to the need for total uprooting, not reform.

**Economics teacher
New York**

The bourgeoisie all seem to be afraid of unity between the East and West. They must know that the youth who were crossing the border did not do it just for money; they wanted to discuss ideas.

**Old politico
Los Angeles**

After Communism we need something very different in Poland. I don't know that it is capitalism because I have lived in the U.S. for four years and see many problems. What I am worried about now is whether Poland in trying to be Western will end up as the Bangladesh of Europe.

I am going back to Poland to live very soon. I want first to return to the mine I worked for several years, to talk to my fellow miners. Not to go to a bar with them, but to be, at least for a short while, in the mines. To tell them about my experiences here and to learn what has been happening with them.

**Polish exile
Chicago**

When Gorbachev proposed a block on wages and an anti-strike law, the reactionary nature of his program should have become clear to everyone. The problem is that many who should know better are saying the free market is syn-

onymous with personal freedom. This really is a reactionary period.

**Correspondent
Italy**

What is all the talk about Gorbachev "cutting loose" the East European Communist Parties (CP)? Seems to me that they are about as "independent" of the Russian Party as the CPs were in the early 1940s when we used to sing a song about them that went: "First we're red but now we're green, Our line's been changed again ... Kaleidoscopic's what I mean, Our line's been changed again." That was when the CPers everywhere first said WWII was an imperialist war, and then overnight discovered that it was a war to "save democracy," as Joe Stalin entered it and called for a new line. Aren't they all just following Gorbachev's line now? The more some things change the more they stay the same.

**1940s "Youth"
Philadelphia**

The situation in Poland today is not friendly to anything calling itself Marxist or Left. I want to help get your ideas of Marxist-Humanism a hearing—but that may be difficult. I see parallels between the human body and the body of the State. Your philosophy may be the medicine needed for the sickness that has overtaken Poland—but it will be fought by the anti-bodies that were produced during Communist rule. You must understand—it is what the Communists called "Marxism" that destroyed my country!

**Polish writer
Chicago**

West Germany may be "freer" than East Germany, but the welcome for the East Germans we've been hearing so much about is in stark contrast to the treatment of Turkish workers who are shunted across borders by "the market." If there is one place where "East" meets "West" it is in the extent to which the state is involved in "controlling" not the market but oppositional thought and activity. Redbaiting, harassment, and the listing of leftists and union militants plays an essential part in regulating West German society. "Freer" is not free.

**British observer
New York**

All the analysts are saying that nobody could have dreamed of this situation a year ago. But bourgeois reporters have no knowledge either of history or the constant impulses in motion in East Europe. Today's events are one more confirmation of the validity of Marxist-Humanism. It is important, at such moments as this in history, for Raya's works to be translated and read both in East Europe and in China.

**Supporter
Detroit**

The deterioration of the Stalinist system is being treated as a great victory for bourgeois ideology. The West poses gleefully as the alternative to the East (while 35,000,000 sink below the poverty line in the U.S.) and a true proletariat with anarchist tendencies, like Lech Walesa, lacks the background to resist concluding that Thatcher, Reagan and Bush et al. are his allies. Against the babel of "expert" voices, Marxist-Humanism has an opening to inject itself forcefully as perhaps the only coherent analyst. What are you doing to join the battle of ideas?

**Physician
California**

AN URGENT NOTE TO OUR READERS

Urszula Wislanka has translated Chapter 8 of *Philosophy and Revolution*—"State Capitalism and the East European Revolts"—into Polish, along with excerpts from writings by Raya Dunayevskaya on Poland in the 1980s. We expect to have it off the press by the end of this month and ready to send to East Europe, where we will work to have it circulated as widely as possible as part of the urgently

needed dialogue around the crucial questions Raya Dunayevskaya's Marxist-Humanism addresses. We are greatly in need of help in this endeavor, both for addresses where it can be sent and for funds to pay the printing bill. CAN YOU HELP US GET RAYA'S WRITINGS INTO THE BATTLE OF IDEAS IN EAST EUROPE? Send contributions to News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren, Chicago, IL 60605.

Readers' Views

IN THE RICHEST LAND ...

The homeless problem is overwhelming. Last night I was walking past Macy's, one of the world's most famous department stores. Huddled in a doorway, next to a glistening polished brass Macy's nameplate, lay an elderly woman, slumbering fitfully until she was prodded into life and the search for another doorway by one of New York's finest.

In Harlem, I saw so many homes without water that most fire hydrants were pressed into service as communal taps. In the richest country of the world people were doing their laundry in giant pails on the street.

**British visitor
to New York**

I learned today that graduate students at Columbia University have been sleeping in the library cubicles. Rents around the University have become intolerable.

**Grad student
New York**

One point I have against this government is the way they're sending money to other countries and they forget about us, the homeless right here. We're on the back burner. They want us out of sight and out of mind.

**Homeless Black woman
Los Angeles**

FOR MICHAEL GRIFFITHS

For Michael Griffiths, Murdered Dec. 21, 1986, Howard Beach, N.Y.

Scrape
memory
from my brain

Outside
it's 1986
Inside, I
count
strokes of history

A lump of tar
in his throat
tire tracks
obscuring fingertips
rags of blood
hanging from limbs

I bury these images
every day

Sit here
greasing cartridges,
with my blood

**Jeffery Renard Allen
Chicago**

MARXIST-HUMANISM VS. VANGUARDISM

A young woman I know recently told me she dropped out of the vanguard party she belonged to because she "wasn't learning anymore" and was "just doing." It's sad to see someone with a vision of a new kind of world get sucked into a supposed revolutionary group which values them just as a "resource" to build the party. The N&L Constitution sees youth as "a most precious source of our development," not as a "resource" to be disposed of when no longer useful. Youth are thinkers and fighters who are demanding back our minds.

**Thomas
DeKalb, III.**

In your In Memoriam to Lillian Willis (October, 1989 N&L) you said that she "reached out to everyone she met...but most eagerly of all to every young person." I am one of them. I met her at a Kaiser workers' rally where I asked her sarcastically, "If you're revolutionary, why aren't you armed?"—since just the day before a member of one of the left groups I had discussions with had stressed the importance of armed struggle. Lillian's eyes lit up and she flashed a big smile as she pointed to her literature table and said, "Oh, but I am armed." I thought she would reach for something inside her purse, but instead she reached out to challenge me to discuss Absolute Freedom through philosophy. I bought my first

piece of Marxist-Humanist literature from her —*Marxism and Freedom* by Raya Dunayevskaya.

**Kaiser Hospital worker
Oakland**

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

I was reading Raya Dunayevskaya's *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* on the bus and a woman asked me, why I was reading about Women's Liberation? She was shocked that as a man I was interested. Even in the whole Left movement, women are put to a side. News and Letters Committees is the first organization I have known that has a full perspective for Women's Liberation, not as a gift from men. In other organizations, the purpose in having women was to do our typing and cooking. The Marxist-Humanist view of Women's Liberation is a real revolution.

**Latino revolutionary
California**

In participating in pro-choice activities, I often encounter the attitude that everything had been fine and secure in the 1970s, and then one day the right wing rose up like a monster out of the swamp. Even when Reagan and Bush and capitalism are critiqued, it remains separate from tracing how the crisis emerged from within capitalism, with Reaganism giving the green light to racism and sexism. I would like to study more Raya Dunayevskaya's concept of the "changed world." Reaganism is not a separate monster that occurred outside of history in 1981.

**Young feminist
Los Angeles**

The more politicians love the term "pro-choice," the more I am getting sick of it. Whatever happened to our demand for "Woman's Liberation" and the idea of "Freedom"?

**Women's Liberationist
California**

EL SALVADOR



The murder of the six priests, their household worker and her daughter shocked everyone. The horrible mutilation of their bodies revealed that what the right wing El Salvadoran government really fears is the minds of the people. What has enraged me as well, is how the household worker and her daughter have suddenly disappeared from the public mind. To me, the fact that they were brutally murdered for no other reason than they were in the wrong place at the wrong time, reveals the true nature of the government of El Salvador and the total disregard they have for the lives of their own people. Isn't that how 70,000 have been murdered in the last 10 years?

**Women's Liberationist
Chicago**

At a rally at Cal State-L.A. for the El Salvadoran university priests who were viciously murdered, 200 students showed up in support and solidarity. Unfortunately, the sponsors of the rally downplayed the fact that thousands and thousands of non-intellectuals have been killed in the last decade of the bloody wars in Central America. One speaker even said that we should work for freedom for others while retaining our own, as though we are really free here in the U.S.

**Latin American feminist
Cal State-L.A.**

It makes me furious that the U.S. media separates the struggle for liberation in Czechoslovakia from the struggle in El Salvador. They are fighting for the same thing: Freedom.

**Solidarity activist
Chicago**

WORKERS WORLDWIDE



You are cordially invited to send an observer to our Union's Biennial Workers Congress, Dec. 2-3 at the Community Centre in Dobonsville, Soweto. The theme of the Congress is "Working Class Unity for a Socialist Option."

**Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers Union
South Africa**

Editor's note: Beneath the letterhead logo reproduced here, are the words: "And with picks in our hands turned into mallets of justice, we must wield new power to lead the way through to light and freedom."

Iranian workers have been denied their most basic rights. For many even one hot meal a day or a roof overhead are unaffordable luxuries. Working 12 hour shifts, seven days a week is commonplace. Independent workers' organizations and industrial actions are illegal and strikers face imprisonment or bullets. The Islamic regime is trying to sustain harsh war-time conditions, such as militarization of factories, but now it's under the pretext of "reconstruction." Iranian workers have responded with many strikes and slowdowns. The Isphehan steel industry, Iran-National auto industry and Cit-e-Ray textile are a few of the major scenes of confrontation.

We ask American workers to support the labor movement in Iran by passing motions of solidarity and publishing news of the strikes and protest actions in union publications. For more information, contact us at:

Iranian Labor Solidarity Committee
P.O. Box 25A72
Los Angeles, CA 90025

I just read that the new Polish leaders have asked the U.S. government for help in creating an "American-style" program to help the hundreds of thousands of Poles they expect to lose their jobs as the Polish-style perestroika gets

going. They are asking the wrong people. If they want to know what the "American-style" program is like they had better ask some of the hundreds of thousands unemployed, hungry and homeless American workers.

**Unemployed
Michigan**

IRAN: HOW TO BEGIN ANEW?

In the Nov. issue's essay article on Iran, Cyrus Noveen shows that there was no lack of organization in Iran. Spontaneous organizations did emerge to exercise real power, controlling the neighborhood, fighting the goons, making the army's power of suppression irrelevant, managing the oil refineries. Precisely at this point, where a dual power exists, the Left falls back. It wants to "organize" what the workers themselves have already achieved. This is when counter-revolution can take advantage. It begins to organize, to transform itself politically, taking over the spontaneous organizations. If you do not prepare, the revolution will always be defeated.

**Iranian revolutionary worker
California**

How does Marxist-Humanism explain concretely the rise of Stalinism after the Russian Revolution? We in the Communist Party of Iran have started to study this by viewing social relations and not only economic forces.

**Iranian revolutionary
California**

What I liked about Cyrus Noveen's essay on Iran was that he doesn't just say there is counter-revolution in Iran. He shows you how this counter-revolution happened and why.

**Young Indian woman
Chicago**

I remember Iranian Marxist-Humanists in the early 1980s. Of all the tendencies you were the most rational. Marx did not invent communism. The term was there. He showed that to truly change social relations we must end wage slavery. Instead the bourgeoisie brought in national state-capitalism. To-

day we see the dead-end of that. It isn't that the forces for a workers' revolution are not there, but they must unite. That is why we need theory. Just as Marx wrote the *Critique of the Gotha Program*, so we have to come up with a new idea today.

**Iranian revolutionary
Los Angeles**

The essay on Iran, "How to Begin Anew?" is a concrete step toward theoretic-philosophic preparation for revolution in the way the self-critique is expressed so objectively. It truly looks at the revolution of 1979 with the eyes of *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism*, in 1989. It is this type of probing that is needed in all areas, including Women's Liberation. Our page is in danger of becoming "the abortion issue." Noveen's statement that "even the greatest spontaneous forms of revolt...could not alone overcome Khomeini's retrogressive ideology" applies as well to Bush's or the so-called "right to life."

**Women's Liberationist
Detroit**

A PITSTON VICTORY

The election result that meant the most to me was the one that took place in those little coal towns in Virginia where the striking Pittston miners organized a hasty write-in campaign for Jackie Stump, a local United Mine Worker official, and managed to throw the incumbent for 24 years, Donald McGlothlin, right out of his seat in the Virginia legislature. It wasn't that they had anything special against McGlothlin—but it was the only way they saw to get back at his son, who is the Russell County judge that fined the union over \$30 million for nonviolent civil disobedience during their long strike. They only campaigned for three weeks, but they won by a landslide—7643 to 3576!

**Ex-Miner
Detroit**

**TWO REQUESTS: FROM THE
PHILIPPINES, FROM ISRAEL**

N&L gives us news of struggles in other parts of the world. More important is the incisive discussion on social

thought which is useful in the seminars we conduct for workers here. You are right that what is important is not the kind of news we get from those who control the media business, but what people write about their own experiences and aspirations. Your invitation for us to write about the situation in the Philippines is very timely as the expiration of the foreign (U.S.) bases in our country will come in September 1991. Foreign interests and surely the CIA will move heaven and earth to have these bases stay, even to the extent of installing an outright military dictatorship.

Thank you for letting us continue to receive N&L. The two workers alliances in our area also request that they be given the same opportunity. Would that be possible?

**St. Joseph Social Services
Manila**

Shalom. Next week one of the groups I have joined is going to sit by the Office of Defense in Tel Aviv in a Hunger Strike in solidarity with Palestinians who are going to go on such a strike on the same day. Recently I went with friends in the Women's Organization for Political Prisoners (see p. 2) to Jerusalem and had contact with Palestinian mates of one of the four unions of women unions in the Territories. We're going to work on sending food, mainly baby food, and medicine to a certain village in the Territory which is in big need.

I would like to subscribe to *News & Letters* and I asked at the post office. It's not allowed to send money. I asked at the bank and it will cost a lot for me to send you even a small sum. Have you got any other idea of how I can pay you?

**Woman activist
Tel Aviv**

Editor's note: Because Second Class regulations require that all subs be paid, we have established a special fund for exactly this purpose. Readers—can you donate the price of a sub (or more) to send a gift subscription to someone who wants the paper but cannot pay for it?

**HAVE YOU PUT N&L
ON YOUR GIFT LIST?**

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—BOOKS—

- Marxism' and Freedom ...from 1776 until today**
1989 Columbia University Press edition. New 1980s introduction by author 381 pp.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$17.50 per copy
- Philosophy and Revolution from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao**
1989 edition. New introduction by author. 372 pp.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$14.95 per copy
- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution** 234 pp.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future** 294 pp.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$15.95
- The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two Historic-Philosophic Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya.** Contains "Presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy of June 1, 1987," and 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes." 52 pp.
\$3.00 paperback, \$10.00 hardcover
- Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal**
1989 Wayne State University Press edition includes Afterword by Raya Dunayevskaya, "Charles Denby 1907-83" 303 pp.
by Charles Denby \$14.95

—PAMPHLETS—

- Constitution of News & Letters Committees** 25¢ postage
- Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts**
Special bulletin on Marxist-Humanism as a body of ideas by Raya Dunayevskaya, Eugene Walker, Michael Connolly and Olga Domanski \$1 per copy
- The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.**
by Andy Phillips and Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
- 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.**
A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.50 per copy
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• *News & Letters*, as well as other Marxist-Humanist literature, is available on tape for the blind. For information, write to *News & Letters*.

Black/Red View

by John Alan

The Oct. 17 earthquake that violently shook the Bay Area in northern California was not discriminatory in the use of its powerful natural force. It destroyed and damaged the posh homes of the rich in the Marina section of San Francisco as well as the run-down homes and hotels occupied by the poor and the working class in the Mission and Tenderloin districts.

Across the Bay, in Oakland, the seismic temblor sent thousands of tons of concrete crashing down upon commuting traffic on the Nimitz Freeway (Interstate 880), killing 41 people; and, at the same time, it tore down a section of the Bay Bridge.

SOCIAL QUAKES

But the post-quake period soon showed that nature's indifference to social classes produces social quakes within a society by bringing into sharp focus existing class/race antagonisms, i.e., the two worlds that exist between rich and poor, between Blacks and whites.

What the national media seems not to know, is that the tragic collapse of I-880 not only revealed the negligence of Caltran (California Transportation Department) in not strengthening that freeway, but that I-880 was the result of an "urban renewal" policy that objectively segregated poor Blacks from the rest of Oakland.

At a series of post-quake public meetings held in West Oakland, Black residents called upon Caltran not to rebuild I-880. These meetings were extremely illuminating in recalling the 30-year history of "urban renewal" in West Oakland which destroyed and isolated a vigorous Black community.

One life-long resident of the area said: "First they tore down all the single family-dwellings and put up projects there. And when they built the freeway they took out another slug of single-family dwellings. When the freeway came the YWCA was lost and so was an orphanage and a daycare center and most of the business district. Now there is not even a major grocery store in the area."

Badge of peace banned

Editor's note: We print below a letter by artist Mitchell Kamen to the Jerusalem Post in response to its article of Nov. 4, 1989 reporting the arrest of Jerusalem's deputy mayor, Ornan Yekutieli, for wearing a badge created by Kamen showing the PLO flag intertwined with the Israeli flag, in violation of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Dear Jerusalem Post,

I am amazed, deeply saddened, and a little scared for Israeli democracy by the arrest of Jerusalem deputy mayor Ornan Yekutieli (*Jerusalem Post*, Nov. 4) for an alleged violation of the Prevention of Terrorism Act because he wore an Israeli-Palestinian peace badge at a municipal ceremony honoring PM Shamir.

The button was created as part of an ongoing, grass-roots project of exploring Middle East peace through art. Original visions of peace are created on blank posters, each sharing only a border inscribed with "Peace, Shalom, Sala'am" in English, Hebrew and Arabic script. This particular badge is derived from the artwork of a Jewish boy in Massachusetts, who was 9 years old in 1984 when he painted his portrait of two kneeling, biblically dressed figures above whom fly the intertwined Israeli and Palestinian flags.

Sure, this image is controversial. But the "banned" badge, and others like it, should be worn proudly by Jews and Arabs, Israelis and Palestinians who wish to acknowledge each other's legitimate political rights. Can't the Jerusalem authorities recognize the symbolism of peace in a child's drawing? Or does any manifestation of Palestinian nationalism, even in the context of co-existence with and recognition of Israel, ipso facto promote "terrorism"?

—Mitchell Kamen

Founder, Artists for Mideast Peace
Lexington, Mass. USA

Italy's African immigrant plight

The murder of Jerry Essan, the South African immigrant reported in the October *News & Letters*, was really a dramatic event and has had a massive public reaction. He was a militant in the struggle against apartheid. His father and son were murdered by racists in South Africa, while his wife and children live clandestinely somewhere in Africa. The UN had given him the political status of "political refugee." He came to Italy only to be murdered by Italian racists.

By chance Essan was interviewed by a TV reporter at a UN agency a few weeks before he was murdered. As Essan stated in this interview, UN recognition gives people in political exile legal advantage that other immigrants do not have, but as long as they are treated as illegal immigrants within the country, they will be economically discriminated against. In fact, Essan was working as a tomato-packer in southern Italy.

Many of the African immigrants are in political exile, and most of them, be they from Black or northern Africa, have a high school degree or even higher education. In the South of Italy, where ignorance and poverty are rampant (illiteracy is common in the South), these people work for wages that even the southerners would not accept and their living conditions are often much worse.

Thousands of Africans work as ambulatory sellers, selling things like cigarette lighters, T-shirts, blue-jeans, etc. In the North more Africans are being hired in fac-

Black Oakland after the earthquake

Another opponent of rebuilding I-880 pointed out that the state-owned land under the freeway is a blighted area of junkyards, factories and warehouses.

The general idea that came out of West Oakland is that I-880 had long been a line of demarcation behind which everything was allowed to deteriorate because it was a poor Black community. It was also clear that West Oakland was preparing itself to resist both the arbitrariness of Caltran to rebuild I-880 as it was, and the business-oriented policy of redevelopment pursued by Oakland's Black Mayor Lionel Wilson, a policy that gave scant attention to the human needs of poor Black neighborhoods.

WEST OAKLAND'S URBAN RENEWAL

West Oakland is poor and Black, with a very high crime rate. It was the birthplace of the Black Panthers, and on one of its streets Huey Newton was murdered. This, of course, is not the type of image that the political and financial powers in Oakland would like to see projected. But this is the mental image that many of the suburban whites have while traveling on I-880, high above the housing project, the run-down and boarded up houses. To expunge that image is the goal of Oakland's redevelopment agency. But dare they face the fact that the "negative image" contains within it the unfinished Black revolution in this country?

Any visitor to West Oakland, who is sensitive to that unfinished revolution, would see it as an idea everywhere. There is a lot of graffiti saying: "Huey Newton Lives, You can't Kill the Revolution." There are also large murals of Dr. King and James Baldwin on the walls of project houses and youth wearing T-shirts decorated with slogans calling for the liberation of South Africa.

If the visitor managed to talk to people about the earthquake and I-880, he or she would soon learn that people are fed up with being controlled from the outside by "they." The pronoun "they" is often repeated, but is never given a specific name. Everybody knows who

"they" are.

The Black people in West Oakland don't want Caltran to rebuild I-880 because it distorted their humanity and was the visible object that controlled their lives from the outside.

Now "they"—in the persons of a big downtown Oakland developer and the *Oakland Tribune*—are for the rebuilding of I-880, but not on the same spot. They want a new site closer to the Bay, according to the *Oakland Tribune*, in order to "give the Port of Oakland...a new advantage in the struggle to remain among the top West Coast ports."

In this plan, what is to happen to the people in West Oakland? They are not mentioned at all. What is envisioned is a new community of affordable homes for the middle class. Thus we come full circle in this system—urban renewal means removal of poor Blacks.

Black World

(continued from page 1)

extolled as a new generation of Black leadership in the post-Harold Washington era.

Nevertheless, Chicago is only a microcosm of the social and political retrogression in Black rights in this decade. For on no question more than the crisis of Blacks and the law can we survey the past with the disturbing certainty that we are also looking into our future of the 1990s. That is because it is in the judicial



Bridgeport march against police brutality

system that the effects of Reaganism have been most thoroughgoing.

THE REAGAN COURT

During his tenure, Ronald Reagan filled over 350 vacancies in the Federal courts. He also made three appointments to the Supreme Court and made conservative Justice William Rehnquist (a Nixon appointment) Chief Justice. The packing of the courts with appointees who have passed his ideological litmus test on social issues such as civil rights and abortion has assured Reaganism's ideological hegemony into the next decade.

There have been two areas in which the Reagan Court's rulings represent reactionary landmarks against Black civil rights. The 1987 McCleskey decision ruled against a Black death-row inmate's (Warren McCleskey) appeal that capital sentencing in the state of Georgia discriminated according to race.

The court ruled that while McCleskey had shown disparities attributable to race, they were not significant enough to acknowledge, inasmuch as any acknowledgement of racial discrimination in sentencing could lead to the Court's being forced to evaluate other statistical disparities in sentencing. In writing for the majority, Justice Powell expressed the Court's underlying fear in ruling against McCleskey when he stated that to have ruled in favor of McCleskey would have "thrown into serious question the principles that underlie our entire criminal justice system." Arguing for the minority, Justice Brennan replied that such fear amounted to a "fear of too much justice."

The other area of recent Court rulings affecting Blacks is that of affirmative action. Since the series of four Supreme Court rulings against Blacks and women seeking redress for past job discrimination this June, racial discrimination claims in some 50 lawsuits, many of them in Chicago, have been dismissed. With the *Patterson v. McLean Credit Union* decision, the last of the four June rulings, the burden of proof of racial discrimination was shifted to employees.

In naked contrast to the rationale used in the McCleskey case, that the Court would be compelled to re-open past cases where discrimination had been proven, the June Supreme Court rulings on civil rights and affirmative action effectively throws previous civil rights rulings back into the judicial and political arena, opening the way to legal challenges in hundreds of existing affirmative action plans.

However, the portent of Black resistance on the horizon is as unmistakable as the reactionary spectre of Reaganism in the 1990s when you consider the critique of Mary Frances Berry, former member of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission: "They (the Supreme Court) don't understand that the history of the civil rights legislation is conservative, not radical. The whole purpose was to keep the debate off the streets and off the picket lines and move it to the courts in the interest of public peace." It is increasingly evident that there is a breach in that "public peace," which will mark the 1990s at home, as much as it has marked the 1980s abroad.

Haitian electoral protests

Port-au-Prince, Haiti—After many public protests, the Provisional Electoral Council (CEP) has finally published the electoral calendar. This calendar extends over 16 months, and the transfer of power to a new government is planned for Feb. 7, 1991. The CEP has chosen to organize the elections in three stages (municipal and legislative elections will be at different times in different areas of the country, followed by presidential elections—ed.). This calendar is apparently accepted by the current military regime.

Leaders of several political parties have reacted forcefully. According to presidential candidate Hubert de Ronceray, the calendar is a maneuver to facilitate vote fraud. He demands elections before February 1990. Candidate Francois Latortue has said that partial elections are unjustified. Victor Benoit has said that spreading out the vote over eight separate election days will lead to a popular demobilization and will permit "anti-democratic forces to coalesce in the regions where the election is taking place to intimidate people and prevent the peoples' candidates from campaigning."

On the other hand, some candidates have accepted the electoral calendar, such as Marc Bazin, Serge Gilles and Dejan Belizaire. Bazin has said, "Better this calendar than none at all."

In the meantime, the prices of basic commodities such as soap, sugar, flour, etc. continue to increase. This has given rise to popular discontent. A nationwide general strike was organized by popular democratic organizations to protest against the high cost of living. This strike was supported 100%. But despite the general strike, the situation remains the same, or even worse, than before.

—Renan Hedouville
Correspondent

tories. The unions have begun to work for the legalization of all immigrants working in union companies in order to avoid scab labor. In fact, even if an immigrant is paid equal wages, the company does not have to pay its contribution for social security benefits.

Since Essan's death and his funeral, at which the Catholic Church took a strong position against racism, the press and the media are full of discussions on racism or the conditions of "workers from the Third World" as the Africans are now named.

An enormous demonstration was held in Rome at the beginning of October. I followed this event on TV, and my feeling was that there is something false in all of this. People came from all over the world to talk about how we are all equal if the color of our skins are different. The presence of labor union delegates as speakers was very noticeable, but the absence of Italian working people was equally striking.

Italian cultural and political leaders are saying that the immigrants must be accepted because they are willing to do work that Italians are no longer willing to do, just as Italian immigrants to more industrialized countries have done. The question is whether the Italians are unwilling to do the work, or are they unwilling to accept the low pay and long hours that are forced on the immigrants? Then, why should anyone live and work in such inhuman conditions?

—Margaret Ellingham, Italy

Philosophic Dialogue

by Eugene Walker

I. "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy" under the Impact of World Events and the Self-Determination of the Idea

In 1986, Raya Dunayevskaya, as part of a work she had tentatively titled "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy: the 'Party' and forms of Organization Born from Spontaneity," undertook a re-study of the "Attitudes to Objectivity" chapters of Hegel's *Encyclopedic Logic*. She had returned to these writings of Hegel at the same time she was confronting the objective/subjective reality of this retrogressive decade. Thus, in April, 1986, when Reagan's imperialist adventures in the Gulf of Sidra occurred, it meant the need for a reorganization of the *News & Letters* issue then going to press. In a letter to her *News & Letters* Committees colleagues she presented that need not alone politically, but as "practicing organizational responsibility for Marxist-Humanism" rooted in our philosophic attitude to objectivity.¹

Among the objective/subjective events which helped to determine the form of Dunayevskaya's philosophic studies in the 1980s were the opposites of new revolutionary movements arising from the masses worldwide at the beginning of the decade, and the veritable shroud that the Reagan retrogression cast upon freedom movements.

As the 1980s opened, revolutionary movements reached from South Africa to Nicaragua, from Iran to Poland. New forms of organization arose in some of those revolutions that seemed to reject the elitism of the vanguard party-to-lead. In Iran, shoras (councils) of workers and of women arose; in Poland, Solidarnosc came to encompass millions of workers; in South Africa, a multitude of new forms of organizations from Black trade unions to community organizations in townships, to mass student organizations emerged.

Yet, at the same time, there arose Reaganism's political-economic offensive at home and abroad, including his military adventures from Nicaragua to Grenada to the Gulf of Sidra. Such retrogression put its stamp on the decade not only politically/militarily, but as an ideological pollution, one that even penetrated the revolutionary movements.

The new organizational forms—forms that had begun independent of the party-to-lead—began to be torn asunder by the ideological retrogression. They found that their new beginnings in freedom activity, including new organizational forms, were insufficient to arm themselves against the ideological as well as the material assault.

We became witness to such ideological pulls as: 1) the shoras in Iran looking to be taken over by the Left who in turn capitulated to Khomeini's narrow anti-imperialism; 2) in Poland a major current within Solidarnosc proclaimed the need for a "self-limiting revolution," and 3) in Grenada a faction of the revolution murdered its own leader. This set the stage for the U.S. imperialist invasion.

Under the impact of these counter-revolutions arising so quickly from within the new revolutionary movements of the 1980s and of the completion of the last of her "trilogy of revolution," *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, Dunayevskaya felt compelled to turn to a re-examination of her own epochal philosophic labors of more than four decades. This re-examination of the Dialectic of Philosophy, Marxist-Humanist philosophy, was at once a labor of summation and a creation of philosophic new beginnings.

It was her study, "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy," interrupted in mid-course by Dunayevskaya's death, where she sought to work out what she had posed in 1983 as a newly-added paragraph to the just completed *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*: "There is a further challenge to the form of organization which we have worked out as the committee-form rather than the 'party-to-lead.' But, though committee-form and 'party-to-lead' are opposites, they are not absolute opposites. At the point when the theoretic-form reaches philosophy, the challenge demands that we synthesize not only the new relations of theory to practice, and all the forces of revolution, but philosophy's 'suffering, patience and labor of the negative,' i.e., experiencing absolute negativity. Then and only then will we succeed in a revolution that will achieve a classless, non-racist, non-sexist, truly human, truly new society."²

What was new in the mid-1980s was how the need for philosophic new beginnings, demanded by the objective/subjective reality of our state-capitalist age under the assault of Reagan retrogression, and the philosophic new beginnings emerging from Dunayevskaya's following out the self-determination of the Idea within the Hegelian-Marxian dialectic merged. The merging took place precisely on the question of the relationship of organization and philosophy.

Her 1986 studies of Hegel's Attitudes to Objectivity formed one of those philosophic new beginnings. The original 1817 edition of Hegel's *Encyclopedic Logic* had no section on Attitudes to Objectivity. It only appears

Probing Dunayevskaya's study of Hegel's 'Attitudes to Objectivity'

in the 1827 edition. This is no mere chronological question. As Dunayevskaya wrote in a letter of Dec. 8, 1986,

"I'm enamoured with that early section of the *Encyclopedic Logic* outline of Logic, because it was written after Hegel had already developed Absolute Knowledge, Absolute Idea, Absolute Method." She continued, "history makes its presence felt, by no accident after the Absolute." Thus, "Attitudes to Objectivity," as the "history" of philosophic thought for Hegel, could be written in this form of just three attitudes because of the power of working out the Absolutes as a summation of totality. It "made possible the very form of compression of those innumerable polemical observations on other philosophers and philosophies into just three attitudes to objectivity."³

The creation of the Three Attitudes to Objectivity after Hegel had worked out his Absolutes did not end Hegel's journey. Hegel himself profoundly felt the liberating effect of his summarization of previous thought in these Attitudes to Objectivity which he added to the 1827 edition of the *Encyclopedic Logic*. It was only after this summation of "others" that he felt the freedom to complete his own summation of his "or-

the final sentence of her letter: "I see the dialectic flow in the Third Attitude to Objectivity from a critique of the one-sidedness of the Intuitionists to organizational responsibility." It is here where she most fully expressed her view of how Hegel's critique of the intuitionists spoke to Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy.

Dunayevskaya saw Hegel devoting a whole chapter to intuitionism as not alone a critique of one school of thought, but a development of the dialectic itself. As she expressed it to Kelly: "My attraction to the Third Attitude was not due to the fact that it was directly against those who placed faith above philosophy—the Intuitionists...Rather, the attraction for me continues to be the Dialectic. Far from expressing a sequence of never-ending progression, the Hegelian dialectic lets retrogression appear as translucent as progression and indeed makes it very nearly inevitable if one ever tries to escape regression by mere faith."

Dunayevskaya begins her expanded view of Hegel's Third Attitude to Objectivity by calling attention to Hegel's discussion of principles and organization: "The dialectical relationship of principles (in this case the Christian doctrine) and the organization (the Church) are analyzed as if they were inseparable." In her earlier work Dunayevskaya had often shown that while Hegel was certainly a believer in Christianity, he was no supporter of the established church, especially its role in academia.⁶

In her 1986 letter to Kelly she showed that something very different was at stake in how Hegel decided to take up the church in his discussion of intuitionism. What was at stake was organizational responsibility for a body of ideas as part of the proof of the power of thought to not be the act of a particular only, as intuitionism claimed. (Paragraph 61 of *Encyclopedic Logic*) Dunayevskaya cited Hegel's view of a body of ideas built on principles—and those principles were within an organization, the church—vs. the personal revelation of the Intuitionists. She quoted Hegel lashing out against Jacobi's faith in contrast to Christian Faith:

"The two things are radically distinct. First, the Christian faith comprises in it an authority of the Church; but the faith of Jacobi's philosophy has no other authority than that of personal revelation. And, secondly, the Christian faith is a copious body of objective truth, a system of knowledge and doctrine; while the scope of the philosophic faith is so utterly indefinite, that, while it has room for faith of the Christian, it equally admits belief in the divinity of the Dalai Lama, the ox, or the monkey..."

In contrasting two types of faith—personal revelation and Christian—a dividing line for Hegel was that Jacobi had no proof, "no other authority than the philosopher who revealed it," while Christian faith has what Hegel called "a certain authority of the church," that is, organization.

Hegel's discussion occurred, "not in the context of a philosophy of religion so much as in the context of the great dividing line between himself and all other philosophies that he initiated with the *Phenomenology of Mind*." The reference Dunayevskaya was making was to the many stages of thought that the mind must go through before it can reach Absolute Knowledge.

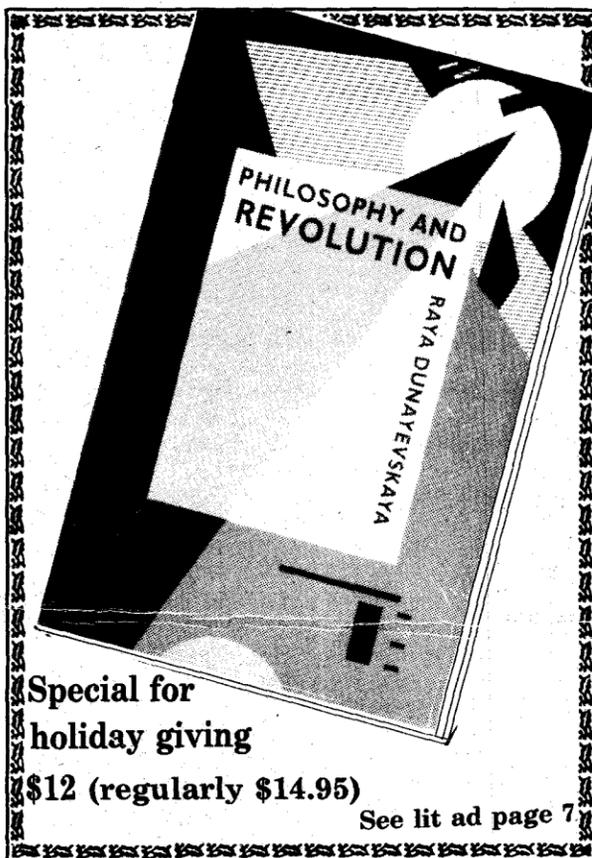
Intuitionism argued for "thought to be an act of the particular only." In so doing it sought to rule out any need for mediation, and thus to throw out Hegel's great contribution of bringing history into philosophy.⁷

In the *Encyclopedic Logic*'s Third Attitude to Objective Hegel takes up the objectivity of the relation of history and philosophy: "...it lies in the very nature of thought and subjectivity, to be inseparable from being and objectivity."

History became one of the pathways Hegel used to show the inadequacy of intuitionism as an Attitude to Objectivity. At the historic moment when Descartes expressed "I think, therefore I am," intuitionism was progressive in that it was a transition between the attitude of faith and superstition and that of empiricism which opened the door wide to science. But in the historic period of Jacobi, after Empiricism and Kantianism, intuitionism was a backward step, a retrogression.

In both the *Phenomenology* and in the Third Attitude in the *Encyclopedic Logic* history's relation to philosophy was not simply one of being parallel, or "background." Rather, philosophic mediation, history intellectually comprehended, expressed the relation. In the *Encyclopedic Logic* Hegel wrote: "The theory [Intuitionism] asserts that immediate knowledge is a fact. It has been shown to be untrue in fact to say that there is an immediate knowledge, a knowledge without mediation either by means of something else or in itself...To show that, in point of fact, there is a knowledge which

(continued on page 12)



ganization of thought" by adding the three final syllogisms (Para. 575, 576, 577) to the edition of *Philosophy of Mind* completed in 1830, the year before his death.

Dunayevskaya singled out the Third Attitude to Objectivity—Intuitionism—as one of the Attitudes which pulled at the revolutionary movements of our post-World War II world. (The German philosopher Jacobi who wrote before and at the same time as the young Hegel, is the philosopher who Hegel saw as representing Third Attitude.) She characterized this attitude as retrogressionism:

"Pause a moment to consider what is signified by Objectivity becoming a determinant to a philosopher like Hegel at every turning point in history. How could it possibly be that the long trek from 1) Faith, 2) Empiricism and Criticism (please do not skip over the fact that Empiricism and Criticism are one attitude to Objectivity—the second), comes to, not the dialectic—uninterrupted advances—but is still so fragile that a single slip off the rails of development produces a backward step, back to Faith, to Intuitionism at which point it is not the dawn of religion or thought or philosophy, but retrogressionism."⁴

In November and December, 1986, Dunayevskaya began to work out what she called "a totally new way" of viewing Hegel's "Third Attitude of Thought to Objectivity—Immediate or Intuitive Knowledge."⁵ Her letter of Dec. 8, 1986 to the Hegel scholar George Armstrong Kelly forms part of "New Thoughts on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy," the Introduction to the 1989 Columbia University Press edition of *Philosophy and Revolution*.

II. A New Vantage Point for Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy: Hegel's Third Attitude to Objectivity

What is entirely new in this letter is how Dunayevskaya discussed organizational responsibility for a philosophy of revolution in relation to Attitudes to Objectivity in Hegel's philosophy. As she expressed it in

3. Letter to George Armstrong Kelly, Dec. 8, 1986, Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, microfilm # 11223.

4. Letter to John W., July 13, 1986, Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, microfilm # 11262.

5. Dunayevskaya examined Hegel's Attitudes to Objectivity in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. In particular see her "Summaries of Hegel's Major Writings," Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, microfilm # 2806; and her work on *Philosophy and Revolution*, particularly the chapter on "The Thought of Mao Tse-tung" and "The Science of Logic, or Attitudes to Objectivity" section of chapter one, "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning—The Ceaseless Movement of Ideas and History."

6. See for example *Philosophy and Revolution*, footnote 90, page 299, for citation of Hegel's attack on the church which Dunayevskaya felt illuminated a modern day critique of the vanguard party.

7. It is in Absolute Knowledge of Hegel's *Phenomenology* where history's relation to philosophy is comprehensively developed. There he brings history into philosophy not only as contingency, but as intellectually comprehended organization, that is, as science. Is Hegel saying that history, when developed through an organization of thought, transcends contingency? That history, when intellectually comprehended, becomes one of the "proofs" that philosophy transcends the particular to become Universal, and thus not "an act of the particular only"?

1. "Dear Colleagues" letter, April 10, 1986, Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development, Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Detroit, MI 48202, microfilm # 11005.

2. Letter to "Dear Comrades," Aug. 26, 1983, Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, microfilm # 15370.

Bush's ongoing wars: in El Salvador and in the United States

(continued from page 1)

American rulers' wars against the "Second America" of workers, Blacks and Latinos, women and youth, right here.

• Black America has always borne the frontal assault of the U.S. wars at home in conditions of life and labor. What Bush openly calls a war—the "war on drugs"—has nothing to do with human beings and human relationships, and everything to do with a right-wing ideological offensive that is racist and militaristic to the core, building more and more prisons, cages for hundreds of thousands of human beings who are overwhelmingly, vastly disproportionately, Black, Brown, and poor.

One Black woman, commenting on the sensationalized media focus on Black youth gangs, told N&L: "The police are the biggest gang. They say to you, 'I can do what I want, but you have to do what I say.' They'll beat you up, and there's nothing you can do. They're the law."

Another Black woman, a former addict herself whose son had recently been killed in a gang-related slaying in Washington, D.C., had told drug czar William Bennett on nationwide TV: "How dare you just lock all these Black men up and think you'll solve the problem? Now you're planning more prisons for our brothers and sons—and you're quite content when they kill each other or themselves—but if you don't deal with or touch the human being, what does it mean to be a human being, you'll never be able to solve anything at all."

• American youth, Black and white, know that it is their young lives that will be on the battle line should the U.S. again engage directly in war, and the youth of the 1980s have been in the forefront of all this decade's anti-war protests. There, many have learned some hard lessons about American "democracy," with revelations of extensive FBI spying and file-keeping on Central American solidarity groups.

U.S. out of El Salvador!

Chicago, Ill. On Nov. 29 a demonstration sponsored by the student activist group Peace, Bread and Justice took place at the lakeshore campus of Loyola University. I have never participated in one like it.

Amidst the movement of the demonstrators, continually chanting loudly the familiar "No more killing, no more war, U.S. out of El Salvador!" which reflected the strong imagery and words on the brightly colored banners; and listening to the speeches given by four faculty members and one Salvadoran, I asked myself: Is anyone listening, do people care?

The answer was a resounding, Yes! The call to act was in response to the brutal killing of six Jesuit priests, their housekeeper and her young daughter, in El Salvador earlier this month. There could not have been a more appropriate location than this Jesuit university. Unfortunately, it took something this drastic to draw a strong response out of this religious institution. Nevertheless the crowd, which numbered over 70 people, braved cold winds so that the familiar message would ring loud and clear in the ears of the Loyola administration and students: "We are in part responsible for this war waged on its own people, currently funded with our tax dollars (\$1.5 million per day and President Bush urges far more)."

Is this a just battle of our government against "communism" or outright terrorism and murder of a country? In the eyes of many Salvadorans, "communism" is understood and appreciated as a basic ideology that assures the essentials for survival, food, land, and health. But apparently to their government as to ours, that is asking far too much. How can the U.S. government, which has long denied these basic human rights and supports state terror, merit calling itself a democracy? It cannot and we must make that known.

Students can serve as a voice for peace and justice in El Salvador. The first step is education, the second, direct action. But in order to be successful, the former demands the cooperation of many and the recognition of a human responsibility to fight, above all else, apathy, the food fed us by our government.

—Jose

Los Angeles, Cal.—There have been no less than a dozen demonstrations here over the past several weeks to protest the U.S. government's responsibility for El Salvador's civil war. Immediately after the six Jesuit priests, their cook and her teenage daughter were murdered, more than 200 demonstrators showed up at the Salvadoran Consulate to shout, "Arena, fascists, assassins of the Jesuits!"

In MacArthur Park, two days after the murders, nearly 2,000 came out to let Bush and our debilitated Congress know what they thought of an imperialist policy that fuels the most reactionary elements in the decade-old war. Many of the half million Salvadorans in Southern California don't even have the luxury of voicing such anger given their shaky legal status in the eyes of U.S. and Salvadoran law.

At Cal. State University at Los Angeles, two days after the protest at the park, 200 gathered to hear students and professors call for an end to the war, and at the federal building two days after that, 64 of an angry crowd of 300 were arrested as they attempted to prevent anyone from entering to conduct more militarized "bizness" in the name of democracy.

—Protester



More than 100,000 massed for homeless march in Washington, D.C. in October.

Young people forced into the military because of family poverty confront such unsafe working conditions that 2,000 members of the armed forces die in "accidents" each year, for which the Dept. of Defense is immune from lawsuits. And there's the frightening legacy that veterans of America's war in Vietnam are disproportionately represented amongst this nation's homeless and disinherited.

That American youth have not yet been sent to fight in El Salvador or Nicaragua is one measure of the opposition of the American people; yet ... how gaunt a victory that is, once we call before us the names of the 70,000 Salvadoran dead, the tens of thousands more war dead in Nicaragua and Guatemala—all killed with weapons supplied by the U.S.A.

That does not mean there are not also American youth dead, young lives ravaged by this dehumanized system. Each year, some 5,000 teenage runaways are buried in unmarked graves.

• The U.S. wars in Central America are not a "foreign" question to the refugees who have fled here from their devastated homelands—not only El Salvador, but also Guatemala, where U.S. troops, clandestinely, are engaged in "counterinsurgency operations" with Guatemalan forces.

Many live here as "illegal aliens," surviving on sweatshop jobs of \$1 an hour, women and children working at home with their own equipment, earning 90¢ to sew a designer-label sweatsuit that markets for \$25.

Even the current \$6.00 an hour average wage of the "legal" American worker is not enough to raise a family over the government-designated poverty level; and entire families today are among the nation's three million homeless, including families with working adults, who cannot afford both food and rent.

Murder of El Salvadoran revolutionary

Febe Elizabeth Velásquez

The bomb that killed 10 Salvadoran trade unionists Oct. 31 in San Salvador, including two young girls, took the life of Febe Elizabeth Velásquez. Velásquez, only 27 years old, had been a revolutionary trade unionist since she was 17, when she joined other workers in a sit-down strike at the Levi Strauss and Calvin Klein Circa factory in San Salvador in 1979. She knew where the road of trade union activism could go—the leader of the Circa strike was murdered in 1980—but that never stopped her.

That strike at Circa was crushed by the right wing but Velásquez continued the fight. By 1985 she was leading street demonstrations and was elected to the Executive Board of the National Trade Union Federation of Salvadoran Workers (Fenestras). It was the Fenestras office that was bombed on Oct. 31 as trade union families were sitting down to lunch.

Velásquez did not separate her trade union activism from her feminism and was very much aware of what it meant for a woman to hold a high union office in El Salvador: "It's not just that Fenestras wanted women in the leadership but that we've won this through struggle. We've shown that we have the capacity, and we'll fight harder as more women become involved."

In 1986 Velásquez became part of the Executive Committee of the National Union of Salvadoran Workers—the same year she was arrested and held incommunicado for four days. She was freed only after the outcry of her fellow workers. Only a few weeks before she was murdered she had returned from Scandinavia where she had gone to gain support for the trade union movement in El Salvador.

All hold the government armed forces responsible for the bombing and murder of the Fenestras activists and children. We have lost enough revolutionaries to right wing violence—to those who know they can never win by their feeble ideas and so murder revolutionaries in their attempt to murder the Idea of Freedom. That they will never do. We will not forget our revolutionary sister, Febe Elizabeth Velásquez. The struggle continues!

—Terry Moon

Editor's note: To give aid to those injured in the bombing and to the families of those killed and help rebuild the Fenestras office, checks made out to the Salvadoran Labor Fund—Febe Velásquez Memorial should be sent to: Fenestras, 1300 Connecticut Ave. N.W., Room 808, Washington, D.C. 20036.

A striking Eastern Airlines mechanic told N&L: "So many workers are losing their jobs now, with the constant mergers, and management trying to get three workers for the price of one. I think that the great surge of energy happening in East Europe will translate itself over here. It's inherent in men and women: you don't want someone stifling who you are."

IDEA OF FREEDOM VS. VISAGE OF HITLER

The drive and struggles for freedom, for a new, human way of life, persisted all through the 1980s, yet we nevertheless experienced the hurricane-force winds of the right-wing offensive driving everything backwards. The very thought of revolution seemed impossible.

It is that thought that the rulers, East and West, want now to obliterate from our minds completely, as the masses' seething discontent begins to erupt. It is the inter-relatedness of the freedom struggles, East and West, abroad and at home, that they are bent on concealing—that charged slogan carried by one marcher in East Germany: "East Germany and El Salvador: One Fight for Freedom."

One of the rulers' weapons to conceal the relation of freedom struggles East and West is the Big Lie: the attempt to bury Marx's philosophy of social revolution, by identifying it with the state-capitalist regimes calling themselves Communists, "reformed" or otherwise.

Whether Bush speaks of the "utter failure" of "Marxism," or Gorbachev of his "renewal" of "Marxism": what gets covered over is genuine, Marx's, Marxism, a philosophy of human activity, of the human hand, and heart, the human being a simultaneously thinker and doer, an end to the division between mental and manual labor and an end to the fetishism of commodities.

Marx began in the 1840s with the worker's quest for universality; the lie of using the word "Negro" as if it were synonymous with "slave"; the need for new Man/Woman relationships; the need for a totally new society to realize in a human fashion all our human senses. By the end of his life, Marx's vision had extended to the Third World, the multi-dimensionality of cultures and pathways to revolution. His philosophy of permanent revolution was searching to be inseparable from its organizational expression.

In 1985, Dunayevskaya wrote of the "barbaric ideology"—"Hitler's visage" beginning in South Africa—that our rulers are trying to foist on us; and there is no more accurate expression than that for the grinning George Bush joking about the slaughter in El Salvador. The absolute opposite is the Idea of Freedom, and our responsibility to deepen, develop, and concretize it in revolutionary praxis, as pathway to its realization.

It is the huge and historic challenge we carry with us as we enter the 1990s.

Guatemalan Solidarity

Los Angeles, Cal.—This fall a delegation of 33 Guatemalans representing 17 different organizations arrived in Los Angeles to gain support for their struggle against the repression that once again has been escalating in their country. They spoke at a community center, union halls, and college campuses during their two week stay, telling of the incredible circumstances they're struggling under, their opposition to the Cerezo regime, and engaging in some debate over the question of what their movement is in need of as we head into the 1990s.

On the California State University (CSULA) campus we heard a member of the Guatemalan teacher's union speak on the recent strike they held in June where nearly 100% of the teachers stayed out. (Guatemala has the second worst illiteracy rate in the world at 62%.) An exiled indigenous woman now living in Mexico gave an account of the many ongoing creative acts opposing the army's genocidal attacks on the 22 different indigenous groups that still make up more than 50% of the nation's population. Much of their activity centers around taking advantage of being forced into the army's "civil patrols" by organizing clandestinely as they're "patrolling" their villages.

A representative from the outspoken Mutual Support Group (GAM) that was formed in 1984 to document and publicize human rights abuses spoke on the increases recently in brutal tortures, killings, and "disappearances" throughout the country. According to GAM about 100,000 have been exiled in this decade, and more than 1,000,000 displaced internally, and more than 100,000 children orphaned. Amnesty International figures show that 40% of all those "disappeared" in Latin America are Guatemalans.

Those of us with CSULA News and Letters were lucky to have the opportunity to speak to two of the students who attended representing the Association of University Students of San Carlos in Guatemala City, the organization that represents their 60,000 students. An exciting element of their group was without a doubt a woman representing a women's organization called "Tierra Viva" that has come to include working women, campesinas, indigenous, and "ladina" members. "We started out with lots of activity only," she said, "just thinking we had to support the labor and indigenous movements, leaving the women's struggle to later, when the 'bigger' problems would be resolved. But as we continued to listen to more women's voices we saw that our oppression was equally severe as the other forms and as well a result of an unjust system; today we stand as a fundamental part of the struggle, alongside labor and the indigenous movement."

Latin American Studies student, CSULA

Youth

New Edition of *Philosophy & Revolution*:

A hunger for philosophy

by Sheila Fuller

This month, a quest for humanism has been continuously emerging in the revolts in East Europe and specifically Czechoslovakia, where workers and youth called a two-hour nationwide general strike. In El Salvador too, where so many people are in the struggle against the fascistic U.S.-backed Cristiani government, it is the quest for humanism that is demanding solidarity. How can these humanist strivings continue to develop?

This was the concern of a book party for the new edition of Raya Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution* which was held last month at Loyola University in Chicago. This book party, which was sponsored by the Marxist-Humanist Forum, included 70 participants: youth active in the protests against racism and in solidarity with freedom movements in Latin America and South Africa; women's liberation activists who had marched in demonstrations for a woman's right to control her own body; meatpacking workers who are fighting against overtime and dangerous working conditions; fighters for democracy in China and Korea, and those fighting against Khomeinist fascism in Iran. What had brought us together was the search for new philosophic beginnings to overcome the retrogression and pollution of thought that has characterized this decade.

PHILOSOPHY & REVOLUTION'S TODAYNESS

The first speaker, Pat Johnson, the director of the Women's Studies program at the University of Dayton, Ohio and a philosophy teacher, touched many of us when she said that Raya uses the term "hunger" in a unique way, that when she talks about the "hunger for philosophy" she is showing that it is what human beings need to become whole. She felt that a problem within the freedom movement is that often we look for immediate solutions and become impatient. This is why she was interested in Dunayevskaya's view of the German philosopher, Hegel. Through Dunayevskaya's reading of Hegel, she could find ways of dealing with the "endless negation" that humanity has to go through in the struggle for freedom.

Another speaker, Kevin Anderson, spoke of how he saw the challenge of *Philosophy and Revolution*. To him, Dunayevskaya's view of Subjects of revolution meant that "without Mind, i.e. philosophy, even the most creative grasp of the new subjects will not carry us through to a total liberation of society and of the human person."

The relationship of *Philosophy and Revolution* to today's freedom struggles was also the concern of Michael Connolly, the Archivist for the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection. He argued that *Philosophy and Revolution* offers philosophic new beginnings for this "changed world." But "Philosophic new beginnings cannot be applied; they can only be recreated." This is why Connolly concentrated on what is new in this book: its category of "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning: The Ceaseless Movement of Ideas and of History." To him, it was crucial to see how Dunayevskaya had developed this concept all her life.

"ABSOLUTE NEGATIVITY AS NEW BEGINNING"

In the 1980s it meant that she was challenging the incompleteness of even spontaneous forms of mass activity that had rejected the vanguard party to lead. "Precisely because the 1980s saw counter-revolutions arise from within the revolutions even at this high stage of development, Dunayevskaya turned her study of the ramifications of 'Absolute Negativity as New Beginning' to the problem she called the 'Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy,' the subject which forms the Introduction to this 1989 edition of P&R."

Most of us who participated in this book party found

Questions in gay and lesbian movement

Los Angeles, Cal.—Nationwide, fundamentalist activists are mobilizing to promulgate an anti-gay, anti-woman, conservative agenda. In San Francisco a domestic partners ordinance, which would have allowed unmarried couples to register with the city so as to attain many of the rights granted married couples, was marginally defeated. In Concord, Cal., voters repealed an anti-discrimination AIDS-based ordinance, demonstrating the power of fear when linked to prejudices. In Southern California, voters in Irvine passed "Measure N" which overturned the human rights ordinance passed by the city council to ban discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

In the wake of the Nov. 7 electoral burial of lesbian and gay rights I attended two functions put on by the gay and lesbian community in Los Angeles. At Cal State University in Los Angeles, the Gay and Lesbian Association (GALA) sponsored a discussion panel on the gay community's responsibility in opposing the counter-revolutionary Christian right. The movie "Pink Triangles," which dealt with differing attitudes towards homosexuality and the need for the entire community to conquer the myths regarding human sexuality, was shown.

In the discussion that followed many questions and comments from the floor were directed toward established gay and lesbian political groups who ignore the question of racism. One Latino group commented: "Gay groups are ineffective in reaching racial minorities by not including racism in their platforms. If we are to come together, that will have to change."

the discussion challenging but very difficult. One young women's liberation activist from Loyola told me: "There was much that I did not understand. But there was one idea that I got out of this meeting: Doesn't Dunayevskaya's concept of Absolute Negativity as New Beginning relate to what Marx meant when he wrote that humanity 'does not seek to remain something formed by the past, but is in the absolute movement of becoming?'"

Another participant, a woman meatpacking worker told us: "Absolute Negativity is very difficult to grasp. But what I have gotten out of it so far is that the struggle is continuous."

To me this book party really opened some new doors for developing the humanist strivings that have emerged in mass struggles this year. It was a step toward preparing for the 1990s. This is why in the coming youth pages of *News & Letters*, we will continue the dialogue on *Philosophy and Revolution*.

Youth in Revolt

by Franklin Dmitryev



Czech students, who could not protest last June when the Chinese government massacred students around Tiananmen Square, took to the streets of Prague by the thousands Dec. 3 to express their solidarity with the Chinese students. Some wore headbands with Chinese characters. They linked the crackdown in China to the violent dispersal of a student demonstration in Prague on Nov. 17, which sparked the massive street demonstrations that toppled the government.

About 350 students at MacMurray College in Jacksonville, Ill., marched across campus with faculty and residents Nov. 6 protesting racist acts. Letters containing racial slurs and threats had been put in campus mailboxes of all the Black students and the one Black staff member at the small school.

Students and some lecturers held a sit-in at Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda, in November, protesting severe financial cuts imposed at the same time the government is building a second university. Officials closed the school indefinitely and soldiers and riot police were called in to seal off the campus.

In Champaign-Urbana, Ill., a group called Native American Students for Progress has been trying to get the University of Illinois to change its mascot from Chief Illiniwek and drop related degrading symbols and activities. Officials did promise to "discourage" the sale of university sweatshirts with an insulting picture of a Native American drinking beer, but the chancellor would not admit the mascot's demeaning nature—yet.

The same sentiment was expressed by an Asian student: "The racism practiced by white gay men in West Hollywood has gotten so bad that I refuse to go there any longer."

We must dig deep into ourselves through discussions with minorities in and out of the gay community in order to combat the threat posed by the monied, national traditional values coalition.

The other meeting, sponsored by the Young Men's Rap Group at the Gay and Lesbian Service Center in West Hollywood, also discussed a wide range of topics, most notably the recent political defeat. "Youth are apathetic about voting," remarked a gay youth. "With all the bureaucracy and initiatives, it becomes too much for one to make a full conscious decision."

What must now open up for discussion is the concept of gay liberation, for it is only through gay liberation—not political disappoinment—that the gay community may forge a pathway towards human liberation, and thereby create the needed new human relations that the movement calls for.

What becomes crucial is not to separate our right to our "own kind of love-making" from a philosophy of human liberation and of revolution. The 1990s will be a period of mass revolts worldwide by people demanding their freedom. Lesbian women and gay men are and will be participating earnestly in these freedom struggles. Only boldness in thought and the desire for liberty can bring about the conditions for a truly new human existence wherein the individual moves freely within the social order.

—Gay liberationist

Youth 'On the Line'

DeKalb, Ill.—I recently quit a job of grueling production work in a small plastics factory in northern Illinois. The workers there not only have to battle with the constant pressure by the bosses to speed up production, but they also have to contend with health hazards and the bosses' hypocritical "profit sharing plan."

This shop, that the workers have dubbed "the sweat hole," employs about 20 production workers, almost all of whom are young men between 18 and 25 years old. There is no union and many of the workers are skeptical about what good a union bureaucracy could do anyway, but that does not mean they are not interested in fighting back against the bosses' exploitation.

The main concern of the plastics workers is the conditions they are forced to work under. Every inch of the plant is covered with dry plastic dust, polystyrene fumes fill the air, and you have to be careful not to let the small fiberglass strands get in your eyes or on your skin.

When we discussed our working conditions, my fellow workers would get furious because we had no control over the health hazards that we were subjected to everyday. One young worker was fond of pointing out that moses sat in air conditioned offices all day finding the money to buy a new mixer and conveyor belt, but they couldn't afford a decent ventilation system or to pay a crew to clean the plant regularly.

Although the plastics workers are only paid \$6.25/hour, the demand of a wage increase rarely came up in our discussions. Instead they talked about the vast amount of wealth they produced each day and what a tiny fraction of it they got. On the line I worked on, for example, the 300 gallon mixer produces 2,400 pounds of plastic a load, and we would produce 5 loads in a day. The foreman told us that every pound of material we dropped on the floor cost the company a dollar. So we figured the four workers on that line produced a minimum of \$12,000 worth of plastic per day.

When a new worker was hired and put on our line, we'd point to the first four crates produced off the line and say, "See that, we just produced more than our day's pay. The rest of the work we do today is all slave labor, so don't let the foreman convince you we owe him anything."

Yet every week the foreman tries to convince the workers they owe more and more loads of plastic. Among the workers there is an unwritten rule to always produce one or two loads a day under what the foreman demands.

The more pressure the bosses put on the workers, the more vocal the workers become. Soon after the foreman lectured us on production quotas one day, a worker shouted for everyone in the lunch room to hear, "To hell with it! I'll work at my own pace, I'm not the one making millions a day!"

When talking about how much we produce, some of the workers said they thought we should get profit sharing. The last day I worked there the company passed out a sheet with its "profit sharing plan." But to be eligible for the plan one had to gross \$23,000 of regular pay in a year. The one production worker who had been there the longest said that the most he ever made in a year was \$16,000, and that was the year they were forcing him to work 60 hours a week. The workers concluded that the plan was simply a new incentive for the foreman and plant manager to put more pressure on us to produce more. "I don't know why we should share any of the profit with them," one worker said, "we do all the work."

—Jim Guthrie

Bush aids Deng with veto

President Bush made his stand with China's murderous rulers on Nov. 30 and vetoed a bill that would have extended for up to four years the deadline for 40,000 Chinese students in the U.S. to return home. Some of those who return face certain death or imprisonment—the same fate as thousands of worker and student demonstrators for freedom and democracy jailed or executed in the ongoing repression following the massacres in Tiananmen Square and in Chengdu on June 4. Millions more—whole categories of students, graduates and workers—are being exiled to the countryside.

Chinese living in the U.S. participated by the thousands this Spring in demonstrations in solidarity with the movement in China and against the imposition of martial law. They turned out in even more massive numbers to denounce the June 4 massacre even at the moment that personal risk to themselves increased. That banner of freedom extended far beyond China's borders, but Bush, by knuckling under to Chinese government pressure, is helping the repression cross borders.

In the past secret police of "allies" like South Korea, Taiwan and Iran under the Shah, were allowed to spy on, intervene in and try to silence opposition groups of their students and citizens in this country. The U.S. is no refuge from the reach of a "friendly" state-capitalist regime. Bush substituted for the bill he vetoed a process that would require each person to appeal deportation individually.

Deng Xiaoping, Li Peng and Yang Shangkun had good reason to fear their own people, workers, students and citizens. They were equally correct in having no fear of sanctions from U.S. capital—exports to the U.S. are up 40% this year, products of a work force disciplined for the moment by the bayonet. We will see next year if the usually spineless Congress will resubmit the bill that Bush vetoed, but in any case we will look for the next chapter of the Chinese movement.

—Bob McGuire

Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Namibians participated in elections in November that gave a 57% victory to the South-West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO), the resistance movement which has carried on a 23-year-long armed struggle against South African domination.

The UN-sponsored and administered election saw a 60% turnout only two days into the five-day voting period. Despite loopholes in residency laws which allowed 10,000 "absentee" whites dwelling in South Africa to vote, and a systematic disinformation campaign waged against SWAPO on the eve of the elections, SWAPO took the victory—although not by the landslide it wanted and expected.

The election for members to a Constituent Assembly, which will write a constitution for Namibia, is nearly the last step to ending outright South African rule. This concluded the last formal chapter of the UN-U.S.-Russian-South African brokered accords of last year which saw the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola in ex-

SWAPO elected to govern Namibia

change for Namibia's political independence.

Sam Nujoma, an activist since SWAPO's original founding as the Ovamboland People's Congress in the late 1950s, will become President. Since the electoral victory, he has been defining SWAPO's program for the transition to power.

SWAPO is calling for a "mixed" economy and encouraging capitalist investment by the West. No large-scale land expropriations are projected, except for certain absentee-owned holdings that SWAPO will compensate. Nujoma stated that a SWAPO government would concentrate on agricultural development as its first priority, in order to end dependency on South Africa for feeding Namibia's people.

While SWAPO pledged support of the UN's multi-party model for its future government system, Nujoma stated after the elections that "If the Namibian people choose a one-party state and it is done democratically at the polls, it should be so because of the will of the people."

One of the problems emerging from the election were reports from the left opposition United Democratic Front that SWAPO carried out a purge, detaining several hundred prisoners in Angola. It was also reported that many were persecuted for dissent or because they were not members of the Ovambo people, dominant in SWAPO.

Namibia's struggle to eradicate the marks of a century of colonialism is hardly ended with this election. Its economy is still tied into South Africa, which is leaving Namibia with a \$250 million debt and a large part of its people living in poverty. Even the towns are littered with the vestiges of barbaric colonialism, from streets named after the Kaiser to statues erected to the German butchers of the Herero people.

What will become determinant as SWAPO takes power is what happens after a change in political rule and how Namibia will relate to the dialectic of events within South Africa.

Bolivian general strike

The Bolivian Workers Central union federation defied a government crackdown and called a one-day general strike on Nov. 16 to protest the arrest of striking teachers and their supporters. The government had declared a state of seige one day earlier, rounding up over 850 teachers and union leaders.

The confrontation erupted after the three-month-old government of President Jaime Paz Zamora refused to meet teachers' demands for a one-time \$103 pay bonus. A number of teachers in the Union of Education Workers, which represents 80,000 public school teachers, had begun a hunger strike three weeks earlier. The government closed the schools after thousands of workers marched to support the teachers.

Paz Zamora has stated that his center-left government will continue austerity measures including a wage freeze and cuts in government spending. The minimum monthly wage in Bolivia is \$25, yet workers face one of the highest costs of living in South America.

前仆后继

The Dream of June

*The dream of June
is the dawn and a child's smile
and a rainbow above green grass
It wakes up under a tank*

*Blood stains fresh on the tank
in every longing heart
on every inch of land
the dream of June is calling*

—Chinese student in exile

Russian miners' wildcat

Russian coal miners have continued to press their demands against the limits of Gorbachev's glasnost. Miners in Vorkuta in the Arctic Circle region, site of one of the most notorious forced labor concentration camps under Stalin, have been on strike since late October.

The miners have directly defied measures passed earlier that same month to outlaw wildcat strikes in critical industries such as coal, and to impose arbitration and a cooling-off period for "legal" strikes. Among the major demands by the miners is an end to what they call "serfdom," that is, the loss of pension and other benefits if a miner moves to work for a different mine. The miners are also demanding punishment for party and industry bureaucrats who have failed to meet the miners' demands from last summer's historic strikes.

While Russian courts have already declared the Vorkuta miners' strike to be "illegal," miners have said the strike is not a "warning" but will continue until they see "results." Some 13 miners have gone on a hunger strike to support organizers being sued by local courts controlled by the state-run mines.

Vorkuta miners are demanding documented agreement to their demands before they consider returning to work. Verbal agreements that concluded the July strike are unacceptable. These agreements were never fulfilled. Their demands are:

- 1) Maintenance of hardship bonuses for workers laid off, or who move elsewhere;
- 2) Hardship bonuses to youth who grew up in the area, to be granted when they begin work;
- 3) Repeal of laws making the miners' strike illegal;
- 4) Official recognition of strike committees, and
- 5) Punishment of officials who stood in the way of fulfilling last July's strike settlement.

Miners in Siberia and the Ukraine have expressed sympathy for the Vorkuta miners' demands. They have also threatened to walk out in support if the agreements in Vorkuta are not satisfactory to the miners there.

United Nations 'Rights of the Child'

The United Nations General Assembly has adopted a Convention on the Rights of the Child, a "human rights" charter on the status of children worldwide. It took ten years of often bitter debate to come into existence. The articles concerning adoption, abortion and child labor were kept purposefully vague in order to win broad consensus for the entire draft.

One debate arose over draft sections that stated no child should be sent into combat. The U.S. fought against proposing a minimum age of 18 since it takes 17-year-olds into the armed forces with their parents' consent. Russia sided with the U.S.

Children are paying for the crushing debt burden

in the Third World. An estimated 100 million children around the world must work to survive. They work long hours at the lowest pay and are more likely than adults to be injured and suffer from serious health problems at work.

As average incomes have fallen by 10-25% in Africa and Latin America, child malnutrition has been rising. Health budgets in the poorest countries have been cut by up to 50%, education by 25%. At least half a million children died from poverty-related causes in 1988. During the same period, studies showed that capital outflow from the Third World was running at an annual rate of \$43 billion. The poor never saw benefit from the billions of borrowed dollars.

Philosophic Dialogue

(continued from page 9)

advances neither by unmixed immediacy nor by unmixed mediation, we can point to the example of Logic and the whole of philosophy." (Paragraph 75)

In another 1986 writing Dunayevskaya expressed philosophic mediation—philosophy's movement from appearance to science—calling it Hegel's organization of thought: "...philosophy at first appears only phenomenologically. To become a 'science' (Hegel's expression for a total philosophy) it has to reach organizational conclusions. It is true that so far as Hegel is concerned, the organization he speaks of is organization of thought."⁸

This concept of philosophy as the organization of thought had been Dunayevskaya's ground ever since her 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes. In 1986 Dunayevskaya returned to Hegel's Third Attitude to Objectivity, intuitionism. Did she see that in addition to organization of thought, Hegel was also writing of an actual organization, in the form of an organization which undertakes responsibility for a body of ideas? Was it this dimension which would open up new doors in 1986 on the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy for Dunayevskaya?

For Hegel the point was the church undertaking responsibility for the doctrine of Christianity, as a dimension of that philosophy. Hegel, who had fought the church's authority in academia throughout much of his life, must have had a powerful objective recognition of the relationship between a philosophy, a body of ideas, and its organizational expression—taking organizational responsibility—to have compelled him to hold up as example the church against the mere personal revelation of the philosophy. It was the church's responsibility for a set of principles.

It certainly was not the church and Christianity which was the point of attraction for Dunayevskaya. Rather, what Dunayevskaya had begun to work out in 1986 was a new vantage point from within Dialectics of Philosophy to encompass a Dialectics of Organization—organizational-philosophic responsibility for the Idea of Freedom in your age.

The entire post-World War II world has had the deepest flowering of new forms of revolutionary organization emerging from below. But by the 1980s it had become starkly clear that as needed and necessary as these new forms of organization were, a Dialectics of Organization by itself could not hew out pathways to a new society. As Dunayevskaya wrote in 1986: "Unless we work out the dialectic in philosophy itself, the dialectic of organization, whether it be from the vanguard party or that born from spontaneity, would be just different forms of organization, instead of an organization that is so inseparable from its philosophic ground that form and content are one."⁹

Those revolutionaries who had broken politically with the vanguard party, and who had hailed and aligned themselves with the creative spontaneous forms of organization, had nonetheless halted short of working out a Dialectics of Philosophy for our age. They had become trapped into seeing the opposition of vanguard party/spontaneity as the opposition. But the decade of the 1980s has soberly shown, in aborted and transformed into opposite revolutions, the insufficiency of that opposition.

What Dunayevskaya's continual study on Hegel's Third Attitude to Objectivity reveals to us is that retrogression awaits any movement, no matter how creative, spontaneous, revolutionary, if it fails to work out a Dialectics of Philosophy that in turn reaches to a Dialectics of Organization.

The fact that now, at the very end of the 1980s, we are witnessing momentous freedom movements emerging in the state-capitalist societies calling themselves Communists—from China to East Europe—including forms of revolutionary organization, as well as movements against the racist, sexist, class-divided societies of the West, only makes more urgent the need for our own deep dive into Dunayevskaya's last explorations into the Hegelian/Marxian/Marxist-Humanist dialectic, the Dialectic of Philosophy as we enter the 1990s.

Iran jails labor activists

Editor's note: As we go to press we received this letter from an Iranian revolutionary worker in exile on the frame-up trials of five Iranian labor activists. Solidarity activities to stay the hand of the Iranian regime are being planned. For more information on how you can be involved, contact: Anjoman Azadi, P.O. Box 802105, Chicago, IL 60680

Five Iranian labor activists working in an organization named Labor Unity have been put on trial in Iran on false criminal charges. A gory scenario of murder and robbery is being trumpeted by the Islamic regime in its propaganda to and about the Iranian working class.

In late September the regime's daily paper, *Kayhan*, published an extensive report on the leader of this group, Habib Salahshur, a longtime revolutionary labor activist, who spent many years in the Shah's prisons.

After the revolution he insisted that "revolutionary intellectuals cannot achieve their goals without workers' participation." He was pivotal in the formation of dozens of labor councils and the publication of the journal *Consultation*. As late as 1987 this tendency included several dozen members active in at least 11 shoras (workers' councils), especially in the northern Gilan province. Those arrested along with Salahshur are: Said Farhadian, Kumars Yeganeh, Mohsen Haghanifar, Farid Farhadian. Thirty seven others are now being hunted by the regime and are in hiding.

It is nothing new that wherever workers want to organize they are being suppressed under all kinds of false charges. But this case is particularly disgusting both in the regime's fake scenario of the workers' "crimes" and in its attempts to belittle their long history of struggle by characterizing them as "illiterate" or "isolated." They are neither. That is what the regime fears most.

These revolutionaries need your support now. We cannot let this be kept silent. Support these political prisoners in whatever way you can.

—Ebrahim Davani

⁸ Letter to John W., July 13, 1986, Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, microfilm # 11262.

⁹ "Talking to Myself," Oct. 6, 1986, Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, microfilm # 10788.