We welcome this month, Gene Ford, a new contributor to this column.—Marc Morrocco.

"You could say we lost the strike, but it was a victory too. Before, I was getting straight time for the first 40 hours a week I was working. Finally we shook them up enough so that we get overtime pay. Also, now we all know that the cops can't control us."

The sullen and tired voice of a Mexican worker, one of the 150 sanitation workers of Western Waste Management Company who walked off the job in December, is suicidal hope in the air.

The workers will not stand by and be excluded from any new contract being proposed. This worker felt the...

(continued on page 2)

Black World

Boston’s racism unmasked

by Lou Turner

Charles Stuart’s suicidal leap into Boston Harbor on Jan. 4, after hearing that the investigations into the brutal murder of his wife and their prematurely-delivered son in the Black Mission Hill section of Boston on Oct. 23 had turned him as the prime suspect, personified the racist leap to judgment which characterizes the American political system.

The Black Boston community was literally occupied by the police for two months on the accusations of Charles Stuart’s murder. In the course of a false arrest suit had suddenly entered his car while he was driving his eight-month pregnant wife, Carol, from a nursery where the baby was being picked up, robbers shot him, his wife and seriously wounded. Some 150 Black men a day were demonstrably searched, some strip-searched. Laws guaranteeing due process had already been suspended by Boston Mayor Raymond Flynn, supported by Black state and municipal officials.

TRAGEDY OF BLACK BOSTON

Such laws shortcuts are the offspring of the “legal” way around the law that Ronald Reagan made so popular in the 1980s, and for which George Bush provides inspiration now. After all, Bush was elected on the same racist assumptions that Charles Stuart relied on, when his election campaign made a law-and-order phenomenon of a Black convict, Willie Horton.

The willingness of the police to believe Charles Stuart’s story in the face of a host of incriminating evidence, and to the union and to become the obse-

quious mouthpiece of the police, even as the police and the Black community, is disturbing but by no means new. In the worst racial crisis in Boston since the court-ordered school desegregation battles of the 1970s, no wonders there is a public frenzy...

(continued on page 10)

On the Inside

From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya — Whence the Revolution of the 20th dimension p.4

Women as Revolution—Montréal massacre...

Essay Article—Paths to internalizing the idea of Freedom...

25¢

The truth—seen in the context of the Malta summit—freed both rulers to “clean up their own backyards,” by assuring each other that in the period immediately ahead, superpower collision would be temporarily replaced by superpower collusion.

Such collision has become the order of the day precisely because the superpowers are straining to control the revolutionary dynamic which has caught the imagination of the world ever since the uprising in China last spring. That dynamic of the Idea of Freedom is not limited to the “East,” as Bush would have us believe, though it has certainly spread the furthest throughout East Europe. The overthrow of the brutal Ceausescu regime in Romania sent tremors through the Middle East and China; the unrest in Cuba and Nicaragua, Chechno-

vaka stood in the same proportion to Panama’s population, place the toll at 1,000 or more, but “even” 617 Panamanian amanians dead, along with 26 Americans. Other sources manage to ask for a count of the civilian death toll. Of

The massive revolts that have encircled the world this year, from China to East Europe, have brought to a new stage what Raya Dunayevskaya called in its counter-revolution.

The massive revolts that have encircled the world this year, from China to East Europe, have brought to a new stage what Raya Dunayevskaya called in its counter-revolution. George Bush...
Women's March

Tel Aviv, Israel—The last days of December were the time of peace demonstrations. The 29th of December was customary for the crossing of the Jordan River. Two thousand women—Israeli, Palestinian and European—took part. Most significant was the fact that in the meeting of the left-wing organizations, we all went to stand around the French Square, the usual Jerusalem Women in Black. It was really very im-

Women living Under Muslim Laws

Women's untold stories

19th century Black writers


The reader may shake with both fury and wonder at these autobiographies by Black women who overcame slavery's cruelties and recreated their lives after emancipation. Some of these narratives are as well known beyond the academic world as was Mark Twain's

Women Living Under Muslim Laws


decision to issue the collection, the books of Phillis Wheatley, Harriet Jacobs, Sojourner Truth, Mary Prince, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, Mary Ann Shadd Cary, Charlotte Forten Grimké, and Elizabeth Keckley are displayed in a framed copy of her narrative and in four, and more in the set will be in May.

Mary Prince's 'narrative' is an essay written for the antislavery movement in England. The others are later memoirs of American former slaves. Most detail the horrors of slavery and the impact of emancipation in contrast to the Tolstoy and pietist of the authors. The very fact that a slave woman had a readership in 1811 is astounding, at a time when the concept of women's independence was a far-off dream, that they were being...
**Workshop Talks**

*(continued from page 1)*

demand to be counted and not to let the company or union pay them off so easily.

In working to improve our work conditions, we were supposed to vote on the new contract. Many of us found that our names had already been crossed out, supposedly because we had been uncooperative. Rather than stand with us, they take sides with the company. A worker in this workshop is not only aware of what the company is doing, but of how the union is doing it, as well.

That get-rich-quick capitalist mentality plagues the old-thinking union bureaucrats who won't speak up against forced overtime or unsafe working conditions which ring more sweet and profit out of labor. This capitalist relationship is reflected in the fact that workers are never asked but are always told what to do by the union bureaucracy. Our East European brothers and sisters have a saying that to get a confession from a worker is to throw away three years of work.

What is the key to the workers' struggle in 1990 is more of what we faced in the 1960s: an anti-labor system of government, regardless of who is in office, Republican or Democrat. The 1960s taught us that our struggle needs to be supported by thousands of corporations that displaced millions of workers— their hours cut or laid off and permanently unemployed.

The capitalists are probably looking forward to a new Jefferson plant, a new2000 cars a day. This is a direct result of this mass movement of workers.

Workers are needed by working people to reflect the fact that we are the union, in need of new beginnings in thought and in organization.

### U.S. let uranium miners dig and then die

**Oklahoma City, Okla.—I saw reports on TV that the U.S. government knew 40 years ago that uranium miners were being exposed to a substance that could give them cancer, but refused to tell the miners. Instead they secreted away the records and then destroyed them. In 1982 they were watched as more and more miners died of lung cancer. They never told the miners, but it was no secret to those who worked underground. We learned about it from N&L in November, 1982. We found out the government knew but said it was a secret. This situation was deadly. Later it turned out it wasn’t just the uranium, but radon gas.**

I want to put ventilation into the mines to clear the air because it would cost too much money. When finally forced to ventilate the mines they left the mine entrances open and the air was just as bad as before. It was also no secret that the government was studying the health of miners and ex-miners. I remember college kids coming into mining towns and interviewing those who had worked in the uranium mines to cough into a little bottle first thing in the morning. But GM did similar testing just last fall here with workers in the pit, and didn’t tell them the results either.—GM worker

### Pact stifles rank and file

**Milwaukee, Wis.—Several months ago our plant began negotiations for a new contract. At our union meeting we came up with our proposals. Most of the workers are aware that the workers have had enough of working weekends and that we needed raises. We also elected our negotiating team at this meeting and have had meetings with the company. We thought that our proposals were fair enough and, together with the union leaders, we would have much more control over the negotiations. Well, it turned out that the first union meeting we had the leaders informed us by the company that the workers would have to vote on a new contract. The company rejected most of our proposals and came up with some of their own, including a elimination of one day of work per week. The workers could not let our fellow workers be eliminated from the program. We voted 1,700 to 1,700 against this proposal. The proposal hung over our heads all through the negotiations and really limited our bargaining position.**

We learned that there was a time when the elimination proposal too, but from my experience at these negotiations the union was more concerned with the benefits and the long term goal for all the workers. How much could they really care about the workers and their proposals?

When was the last time any of them actually worked in a shop. Years ago? Maybe never! How hard can you expect people to call themselves “leaders of the workers” to fight for you when they have salaries at the same level as or higher than the heartless company flunkies they are bargaining with?

Pretense is not a strong enough word to describe the company reps. They did not care whether we worked or not or if we had money to live like human beings or not. All they really cared about was how good would they look to their superiors and how much money could they make. They never told the miners, but it was no secret to us, that the miners had already started and the workers were just the playing pieces. We did get a small raise and at the last minute they decided not to eliminate the department. But next time the company will want more for less and the union will want less for more. They will get back to their roots and remember why unions were organised in the first place. We, the real workers, must change our way of thinking so we can take charge of our own lives.—Martin Almora

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

Charles Denby, Editor (1985-1983)

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Organizational

Eugene Walker, Managing Editor

Mike Connolly, Marxist-Humanist Archivist

Felix Martin, Labor Editor

News & Letters is a union shop.
World View of Black Dimension

Indispensable for Black History Month
American Civilization on Trial
Black Masses as Vanguard

By Raya Dunayevskaya
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

Editor's note: For Black History Month we have selected two excerpts from Raya Dunayevskaya's Collection which illuminate the Black Dimension. The first is a segment from the David X. Raye series on the Revolutionary Black Intellectuals, published in 1968 in the book Marxism and Freedom, and the second is an excerpt from an article which was carried out—makes it imperative to look at the whites, not only with whites in general, but with[the] President ... and ended throughout the USA, and celebrated in a very new way in the Negro community, is at the core of the question. It demands the whole of the Negro intellectual and revolutionary Black mass... 

Dear Colleagues...

January 26, 1967

I will not begin with the historic origins either of civil religion or of capitalism. We must begin with this continent—in other words, the American Negro—because from a Marxist-Humanist point of view, the critical... the Negro... at every point in time and every situation we are in. That determines the relations of people at production, in other words, management and worker, and many people who are not in production, whether it is student or white collar worker or artist, who are not prone to be placed outside of production... which decides the type of society you have, and the type of relations you have.

In this other element to this stage of production—the extra-leaves—is provided to make history; the topic of nation versus black. Was there a nation that is provided by the minority groups, or what is known as the national question. We will get down to [the national question] eventually, and I think we will get down to it, will be the Negro and whether the Negro is a national question. It used to be defined from the point of view of what is the stage of production, and what is the other necessary ingredient, the bourgeoisie. [...]

We therefore must view the question, even though it is a world view of the Negro, in the context of America, and the context of which the Negro is the most important part, in fact an indivisible part. So our first division will be: the first division is of what I call the intellectual part, and our second division will be the World View...

I. From Slavery Through Reconstruction

One of the neglected things about the Negro, which has nothing to do with the truth is the Negro who was brought here was just so happy with his masters, that he even on the master's side when he was supposed to get freedom. In fact, the whole history of the Negro in this country, is a history of Negro re-
Paths to internalizing the idea of Freedom

by Peter Wermuth

The ongoing conflict between Eastern Europe, which has so captured the world's attention, has been the subject of much discussion in the media and on the East-West world of communication, which are claiming the events prove the "death of Marxism." Wrong as they are to identify Marxism, a theory, with liberation, the practice of emancipation, the events in East Europe once again pose the question: how can genuine Marxism be worked out anew?

The last writings of Raya Dunayevskaya, in which she repeatedly expressed the need for "new beginnings," speaks very directly to this question. One dimension of her last writings, cut short by her death on June 9, 1987, was her re-examination of Georg Lukacs’ The Young Hegel.1 It was not, of course, the first time that she returned to a work of Lukacs which was of interest to her in May, 1987, was Lukacs’ view of a key philosophic category in Hegel—Erinnerung, i.e., recollection, internalization.

Let us then explore Lukacs’ view of Erinnerung in light of some of Dunayevskaya’s last writings (especially her marginal notes to The Young Hegel) to see if it can illuminate the problem of working out "philosophic new beginnings" in genuine Marxism today.

I. LUKACS VS. DUNAYEVSKAYA ON ERINNERUNG

Taking up Hegel’s concept of Erinnerung in the final two chapters of The Young Hegel, which deal with Hegel’s Phenomenology of Mind. In "Absolute Knowledge," the concluding chapter of the philosophy, Hegel presents Erinnerung as not only the "re-membrance of things past," but also as what can enable "the subject to seem to reach new stages in development. For when spirit "gives itself over to Recollection," Hegel writes, "it is as if from the "stage" of knowledge" is "a new stage of existence, a new world, and a new embodiment or mode of spirit."2

But in Hegel’s view, recollection cannot help give birth to any "new" world. Instead of recollection’s "staging," the Hegelian stage of "internalization" amounts only to a "post-festum commentary" on events already past. He says, "having come this far, Hegel’s account of the survey of history, presents the present...we are surveying in retrospect an evolution that has already taken place." Thus, the recollection of Hegel’s recollection of recollection can help to give birth to any "new" world. Instead of recollection’s "staging," the Hegelian stage of "internalization" amounts only to a "post-festum commentary" on events already past. He says, "having come this far, Hegel’s account of the survey of history, presents the present...we are surveying in retrospect an evolution that has already taken place." Thus, the recollection of Hegel’s recollection of recollection can help to give birth to any "new" world.

This is not Dunayevskaya’s view at all. Where Lukacs writes that Erinnerung is only a "post-festum commentary" on events already past, Dunayevskaya writes, "Meaning it all means, not post-festum, but new beginnings.3 What is new with 1844 is that Marx puts humanity back into the dialectic by pouring the proletarian struggles at the point of production and the struggle for new man/woman relations as the Subject of History. This truly changes everything. For once Marx humanity back into the dialectic, objectivity is no mere "externalized self-consciousness," but now becomes "the true active relating of man to himself." Which, Marx tells us, "is only possible as result of history." Whereas Marx’s re-introduction of the human subject into the matrix of the Hegelian dialectic reveals the his- toric character of all of Hegel’s categories, Lukacs skipping over Subject prevents him from the pres- ence of actual history within "Absolute Knowledge." Thus, Lukacs writes, Marx’s "materialist criticism of Hegel is based on his account of the real premises of human thought and human praxis." (p. 563). Dunayevskaya writes in the margin, "Man, not only as human praxis, but as Subject, as Reason, as Absolute."4

II. "EXTERNALIZATION" AND "INTERNALIZATION" IN THE PHILOSOPHIC MOMENTS OF 1844 AND 1953

To dig out why Lukacs insists that Erinnerung is only a "post-festum commentary" on things already past, we need first of all to see what Marx does once he makes History integral to the dialectic in his 1844 "Critique." For Marx does not save it at History. The integrality of History and dialectic signifies to Marx the power and concreteness of the whole of Hegel’s dialectic of absolute moments. Marx therefore goes beyond the "objectiv- ity" not alone of externalization, but also of the "trans- cendence" of Erinnerung. Marx spells out this "transcendence" of externalization through the concept of Erinnerung. It all comes to head in their very different views of the final paragraph of Hegel’s phenomenology.

In that final paragraph, Hegel jamae together History as "contingency" with "Science," or philosophic comprehen- sion. "History as contingency does not mean Histo- ry as an act of the particular only." On the contrary, History comprehends the socialization of Man and the histori- c development that Hegel has traced out in the phenomenology, the historical development. This process of the historical development that Hegel has traced out in the process of its unfolding through the "passing of universality into individuality through specification [an] also the rev- erce."5 Thus, the Hegelian principle of History is nonetheless still "contingency" insofar as it has not yet been philosophically comprehended. Erinnerung is central here, for at issue is how the recollection or internalization of the past, when united with the concept of "continuing History" comprehended, forms at once the Recollec- tion and the Golgotha of Absolute Spirit...6

As Dunayevskaya remarks, "The death of Marxism." Wrong as they are to identify Marxism, a theory, with liberation, the practice of emancipation, the events in East Europe once again pose the question: how can genuine Marxism be worked out anew?

To this Dunayevskaya sharply objects. Where Lukacs, "the negation of the negation," for expressing the "actu- al movement of history," Marx spells out this "transcendence" of externalization and "continuing History" through the concept of Erinnerung. What is new is that Marx puts humanity back into the dialectic by pouring the proletarian struggles at the point of production and the struggle for new man/woman relations as the Subject of History. This truly changes everything. For once Marx humanity back into the dialectic, objectivity is no mere "externalized self-consciousness," but now becomes "the true active relating of man to himself." Which, Marx tells us, "is only possible as result of history." Whereas Marx’s re-introduction of the human subject into the matrix of the Hegelian dialectic reveals the historic character of all of Hegel’s categories, Lukacs skipping over Subject prevents him from the presence of actual history within "Absolute Knowledge." Thus, Lukacs writes, Marx’s "materialist criticism of Hegel is based on his account of the real premises of human thought and human praxis." (p. 563). Dunayevskaya writes in the margin, "Man, not only as human praxis, but as Subject, as Reason, as Absolute."4

In a word, Marx releases so deep, so total, so human a vision of a new society because he has jour- neyed so deep into Hegel, through the concept of the "negation of the negation" as to become Erinnerung.7 In a word, Marx releases so deep, so total, so human a vision of a new society because he has jour- neyed so deep into Hegel, through the concept of the "negation of the negation" as to become Erinnerung.7

We need your help! (continued from page 1)

• We have just published our newest pamphlet, the Polish translation of "State-Capitalism and the East European Revolutions" from Dunayevskaya's Philosophy of the Decade series, which you can order at 25c per copy or 50c per 3 copies. Proceeds of the sale of this pamphlet will be used to cover the printing costs. If you can help us to sell out the current supply, please write to [address]

• As part of our struggles against U.S. imperialism's war on Latin America, we continue to urge you to possibly the next issue of [address].

Above all, although we continue to have no paid staff, the soaring costs of rent, supplies and printing of News & Letters continue to escalate and threaten us daily.

It is you, our readers, who have helped us at every critical moment since our birth in 1965, and who have enabled N&L to keep going. We turn to you once again to support your financial contribution to your ideas. We CANNOT CONTINUE WITHOUT YOUR HELP. Please, give as generously as you can to keep N&L going and expanding!
When Marx wrote that the material economic conditions of life determine people's consciousness, he was talking specifically about capitalism and not the struggle to create the new society. Too many Marxists want to reduce people's consciousness, he was talking specifically about capitalism and not economic conditions of life determine the ideas. In the U.S., youth organize demonstrations but we have a tendency to think about them only as actions. But in El Salvador, I saw youth who would think about the problems. They made me feel that I have to know about these ideas. In the U.S., youth organize demonstrations by shouting "let's go to El Salvador, I can talk with Salvadoran youth about philosophies of revolution."

Young Chicanos Chicago

Raya's Feb. 1, 1972 letter to the National Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees, pinpointing the "uniqueness, originality, and difficulty" of Philosophy and Revolution raises serious questions. For example, Louis Duper's Preface to the 1986 edition speaks of Raya as "interpreting" the historical development of the struggle; for freedom, while Raya points out that he stood Hegel right side up and got the new pathways for the struggle. He says that he stood Hegel right side up and got the new pathways for the struggle.

Mitch Weerth Los Angeles

Now that Ceaucescu has fallen, it is important to recall who his "friends" and defenders were—not only Stalinists and capitalistic rulers, but also even some intellectuals and radicals. For instance, Petrini Kelly of the West German Greenpeace speaks at Columbia University in December on his involvement in the Iberian revolution. Not only did Kelly refuse to support Solidarnosc, claiming that he was not a "national" in Poland. She also lauded Ceausescu for the totally organized from above "peace" movement which he had just been imposed in Romania.

Kevin A. Barry

This is the type of attitude by Left and anti-war groups in the West that has done such much harm to the popular links between the freedom movements throughout the world. Thank you for my donation.

Prisoner Pennsylvania

PHILOSOPHICAL DISCOURSE

In the article written by Eugene Walker about how Raya Dunayevskaya was developing the meaning of Hegel's latest issue of "Activism to Objectivity" we see how Raya was inspired to come back to Hegel, to be able to explain the retrogression that we experienced in our time. New forms of organisations were born out spontaneously in Nicaragua, South Africa, North Vietnam, and Iran. But they were not prepared to re-interpret the Hegelian ideological pull of the era. The rulers were not prepared to influence the minds of both the spontaneous rank-and-file, and the "vanguard" Left.

The Exiled Worker: Organ of the Communist International of Exiled Expatriates/subjective

I don't get Walker's statement "What was new in the mid-1980s was how...the objectivism/subjectivism debate..." I don't get it abstract. But when I say "the number one problem in health is intelligence, my right as a woman to consent for abortion is not good for my body and not. My right as a woman, I have a mind. Because I'm a youth, it does not mean that I have less of a mind than anyone else. My body is my own. I know what my intelligence, my right as a woman and as a human being. The thought of having control of their own bodies over the hands of their parents. This is not right. And I will fight this to the very end.

High school student, Chicago
(continued from page 1)

The invasion of the Nicaraguan ambassador's residence in Panama City, far from being the "screw-up" Bush had claimed, was a brazen challenge to the Nicaraguans. Bayardo Arce Castano, a member of the communist party, was taken to a military tribunal to stand trial for the incursions of November and December. So high was Bush riding after the invasion of Panama that even before his trip to European capitals he was able to state triumphantly from the desk of the president of the Suez Canal Association that Bush cleaned up his act in Panama.

The Romanian events are the most condensed expression to date of the unfolding drama in East Europe. When Brucan announced Jan. 1 that the council for National Salvation would run its own presidential election, he stated that the day of elections in the capital was called "for all, not six days, the Romanian masses brought down the Ceausescus." That the outpouring of nearly the whole population. It brought to a close one of the ugliest chapters in the Andes from Colombia to Bolivia, even before his "present world situation" Russia's "only response to the "Drug Summit" set for Feb. 15. The widespread outrage and in the SED party headquarters, occupying their closed locked file cabinets to examine surveillance documents. A large crowd of workers and students alike—in the movement within East Europe, today, is how "the East" can quickly overcome its "technological, economic and political backwardness." In 1989, over 400,000 of those who had left our political life and the right of nations to self-determination within the Empire.
Panamanian speaks

Los Angeles, Calif.—I was born in Panama City in 1925. I, as a Panamanian citizen, could not transit free through my own country. We'd have to cross the Panama Canal Zone. There were separate drinking fountains and separate commissaries for U.S. citizens and non-citizens (in the Canal Zone). The passes were called "alums." The "alums" pay scale was a small fraction of the U.S. pay scale.

Manuel Noriega, small monster created by the U.S. government. They took him when he was a young officer and trained him for their purposes. The U.S. invaded Panama—politically, militarily, and economically. The Panama government under Noriega owned the canal. The canal paid huge taxes to the government because of the U.S. military, which was 90% of the Panama economy. The U.S. had its military base in Panama. The U.S. had to go to war with Panama. The U.S. government said "No Violence!" because they wanted to vote Noriega, but he's not well known in Panama nor is he to be equated with the Panamanian Revolution or any of our laws. He's a complete U.S. puppet.

It's a farce and hypocrisy to say that Panama is a free democratic country now. We don't have sovereignty.

We are colonists against the U.S. invasion

Hong Kong deportations

Oxford, England—The real war of Thatcherism is the war against Communist totalitarianism shows up in her actions of forcibly returning the "boat people" to Vietnam. The Vietnamese government and the U.S. government, Noriega, and the U.S. have been fighting for years. The U.S. has been in Vietnam for 30 years. The U.S. still has 50,000 troops in Vietnam. Why? Because of Noriega's promises.

The SEA (Southeast Asia) war is not over. It is only on the basis that the U.S. can keep the middle classes' hearts and votes. Against Collor's well-oiled campaign, backed by a major media colossus, Globo Communications Network (Brazil's largest), Collor won the elections.

The PRT seems lost in old platitudes that were assailed by the Left. The Left's image is what triumphed over the PT's image of a maverick above party politics, a man who could be trusted with the future of Brazil. The Left's image will be put to the test soon enough. After all, Collor's youthful boasts will turn into mirages under the hot Brazilian sun—and so will the demise of the Left, its serious economic policy, and its opposition to the government's murder of 14 trade unionists in San Salvador, the office of PENEFRA (a trade union coalition) and CoMadres (a women's organization) in San Salvador, the FMLN (Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front) called an all-officers against a sidearm. The army forced them out of the building. Then we marched, crisscrossing down and dispersing, about 1,000 protesters reconvened on Sixth Avenue. Then we marched, crisscrossing down and dispersing, about 1,000 protesters reconvened on Sixth Avenue. Then we marched, crisscrossing down and dispersing, about 1,000 protesters reconvened on Sixth Avenue.

The crowd. Chants like "No Violence!" and "The fighting for our lives."
Racial chauvinism of H.L. Mencken

Black/Red View

by John Alan

The posthumous publication of The Diary of H.L. Mencken last December sent a shock wave through the world of cultural historians and liberal journalism. These words appeared in published articles and in private letters to individuals, even letters to George Orwell. These words were a part of Mencken's philosophy of social Darwinism, a philosophy that actually separated Mencken from his own age of revolt. It was long ago with writers who held to the intellectuals that it was Mencken's philosophy of social Darwinism which determined his real attitude toward Blacks. Mencken had a struggle, but now of the fundamental conflicts within the society can be resolved. Like his mentor, William Graham Sumner, the American 19th-century social Darwinist, he accepted as the gospel truth that it was "laws of natural selection and the survival of the fittest" that determined the development of a society and the inequities that exist within it, class, race, etc.

ROLE OF BLACK INTELLECTUALS

Mencken's affinity for Blacks and the Harlem Renais­ sance was selective. It was directed toward "exception­ al" writers and artists. In an article he wrote for the American Mercury in 1925 praising a collection of essays on black intellects, he asserted that one of the main problems facing them was that "the vast majority of the people of their race are two or three inches below the full range of the American experience. Thus as the editor of the American Mercury he published the early spirituals of Henry Hughes and the social satires of George Schuyler.

BEHIND MENCKEN'S ICONOCLASM

But Mencken was not wholly unconcerned with belles lettres; he had an ongoing interest in American society, its politics, its morality and its racial problem. It was the latter that brought him into a close, friendly relation­ ships with the Black leadership of the NAACP. In 1919, shortly after the "race riots" in Chicago and Washington, D.C., he wrote to a young W.E.B. DuBois, then an official of the NAACP, supporting the idea that the agitation for lynching was being instigated by "low-caste white men," a "cruel polish," because "...once he is convinced that chasing Negroes is dangerous, Hill will stop." During the 1920s and the early 1930s Mencken was a major source of support for movements to end lynchings and other violence perpetrated on Blacks. He singled out the white South and castigated it for its wanton crimes against the Negro. In his book Rope and Let­ ters, he had an ongoing interest in American society, the Black inner city falls outside the guarantees of the Bill of Rights. In his book Rope and Letters he wrote:

"...once he is convinced that chasing Negroes is dangerous, Hill will stop."

The historic Greensboro sit-in which unleashed a new stage in the struggle for African American Rights Movement was initiated on Feb. 1, 1960 by four heroic Black students, Franklin McCain, Ezell Blair, Jr., and Joseph Mc­ Neel. DuBois gave a speech which he had prepared as the educational director of the NAACP, to be given to the noon-to-nooned United Nations, in which he ap­ pealed for freedom for the African American. He spoke for an hour. When he got through I said I wanted to ask a question, but first I had to motivate it. Therefore, I bested to ask in a different way. It was a Martha's vineyard and statistics show that just isn't true." The question that all the reports overlooked was that there was a Martha's vineyard and statistics show that just isn't true. The question that all the reports overlooked was that there was a Martha's vineyard and statistics show that just isn't true. The question that all the reports overlooked was that there was a Martha's vineyard and statistics show that just isn't true.

The exacting task of comprehension does not stop here...the posthumous publication of The Diary of H.L. Mencken...so palpable is this spectre that the media's sentimen­tation of American history...the Boston police department...reinvention of racism in the Reagan era...perhaps that gives Black Harvard law profes­sor Charles Stuart calling from his car phone to the Boston police department.

30th anniversary of Greensboro sit-in

Los Angeles, Cal.—The Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors recently revealed its plan to build eight new jails in the county, a plan, the board declared, "to get something published. Nkrumah must be won back and lead a strike in his country in aid of his wife. And yet, no one seems to think that there is any­thing "tragic" about the draconian police crackdown on Black workers in Mission Hill. Last June, News­ week asked its readers, in its Jan. 22 cover-story on the Boston murder, to "imagine being miles from the scene of the crime and ask yourself if it was worth it for absolutely no other reason than that you are young and Black." But in the Black community, the tragedy is not only the loss of African American leaders, but also the loss of Black American intellectuals, not just in the Black American liter­ enals probably knows little, or has never heard, of Menck­ en. But in his heyday, in the post-World War I decade of cultural ferment, young African American leaders were deeply influenced by a whole generation of Black and white intellectuals... The other was [Nnamdi] Azikiwe, now the head of the United Nations which consists of Britain, France and United States. Charles Stuart's murderous "hooch" was successful because it was intellectually rooted in America's on­ going reinvention of racism in the Reagan era. By its very existence and position in American class society, the Black inner city falls outside the guarantees of civil rights. And because the Black masses instinctively grasp the injustice of this fact of American life, they do not, as sympathetic characters. Furthermore, a "controversy" is created that they are the ones who put "American civilization on..."

REINVENTION OF AMERICAN RACISM

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Black Dimension

by Nancy P. Hartson

Jobs not jails

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Editor's note: Below we print excerpts of a report from Eric, an American youth who has spent the last several months traveling in East Europe.

Leipzig, East Germany—The young people I talked to and listened to have a lot of hope. They believe in the movement, but they can be impulsive; it can be politically abused. Students East and West are causing headaches for the GDR (Unified Socialist Party of Germany). They fear what can happen—and are working so that this can happen.
The students in Leipzig, for instance, though ambiguous about one Germany, are not ambiguous in their belief that a democratic socialism is possible. They have their “party” and with a “free market,” free of the dogmas of materialism and idealism. They say “One Germany yes, but what kind of Germany?”
In the two Berlin people are the most celebratory in a land full of celebration. People are making new friends and working freely with both communities.
While TV presents the celebrations, many West Berlin students can’t find a place to live or a place to work. The reason is that East is all over Germany, but worse here. Students at the Free and Technical universities are glad about what the East has done, but are skeptical of Kohl and his ideas of one Germany. They are asking about the problems of West Germany—economic, housing, unemployment, bureaucracy, ecology, treatment of “foreigners.” (Some Turks have been here for over five years.) Many were here before the Wall came down to live in only certain districts, segregated from richer areas with the worst jobs when they can find something.)

These problems must not be forgotten in the euphoria, because the rejection of materialism is used to ignore the demands in the West.

High School Coke boycott

Chicago, Ill.—The senior philosophy class at the all-girls St. Scholastica High School deals with social justice issues. Our teacher refers to us as his “radical” students and friends, contacts, and crossing freely in both directions.

The students in Leipzig, who started the protests that forced Black farmers to beg for the basics of life, are forced to lead in South Africa and were in shock. Here were human beings who had to beg for the basics of life: three square meals a day, clean water to drink, sanitary living conditions!

We think we can make a change somewhere, no matter how small. Too many people have no faith in teenagers today—but they see from just that we care enough to make a difference. I’m proud to belong to such a community and hope others will become aware of problems faced by people in South Africa, but everywhere.

St. Scholastica student

We have just prepared a new brochure describing this 15-page booklet. Write: The Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund, 59 East Van Buren, Chicago, IL 60605

Today's freedom struggles need the help of all free peoples.

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High School Coke boycott

(continued from page 5)

n al sentiment of those who made the Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund possible is not therefore the expression ‘the two together’ but both taken was to mean practice as well as philosophy. In fact, if it’s not practiced, it’s as much a part of the philosophy, revolution as well as commensal [that] must undergo the Crucif-
cion by being born, by changing people and raising people to be close to us and help us, and we always need to remember why we did this.

—Walter V. Vieira Jr., 19-year-old

A Romanian young speaks

"In the first days, we faced terrorists with arms. Now we are faced with terrorists with ideas, and we must know more about them. It’s not enough to love, not enough to hope, except as we are. They are from the old order, they are from the ground where change will happen if there is humanism is happening everywhere now. The further we get from Bucharest, the more acute the struggle. It is a power struggle. Every day the people can see that we are in a new age, it is as though we have been in a cage. Now the door to the cage is open, and we are not going to fly, but there is a feeling that we don’t yet know how to fly. We don’t know how to use this freedom, but we also have to be close to us and help us, and we always need to remember why we did this."

—Walter V. Vieira Jr., 19-year-old

Coming next issue—

Workers in Iranian Revolution
by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

The discovery that President Bush sent two officials to Beijing last July, only a few weeks after the June 4 Tiananmen Square massacre, and Lawrence Eagleburger, Deputy Secretary of State, violated the President’s June 20 ban on any high-ranking U.S. government officials’ express U.S. government aid to the Chinese rulers. The July 14 trip was soon afterwards reversed. At the time of his visit to Beijing made by the same two envoys on Nov. 9, Bush by this time purportedly to brief Chinese officials about the U.S. government’s massive help for the U.S. government, which has recently been the subject of significant promise of aid to the Chinese rulers.

The Chinese state’s attempts to rewrite the history of the massacre have been foiled by the deep, silent, but deadly opposition of the Muslim armies, the government’s efforts to impose Muslim sharia “law” on the South. On Jan. 5, 2014, the government has fought a civil war against the largely Christian and animist Southerners, many of whom support the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Front.

Genocidal measures have been used: 1) massacres by rival Muslim ethnic groups in the region, who are divided along ethnic and group lines; 2) the capture of Southern Blacks, especially women and children, and their sale into slavery in the North; 3) army massacres, and 4) the relocation of crops and prevention of famine relief supplies from getting through, in a starvation policy that killed 250,000 in 1989 alone.

This policy continued after President Sadik al-Mahdi was overthrown last year by Gen. Omar Hassan Ahmed al-Bashir. The aim of the Northern reactionsaries is to impose Muslim sharia “law” on the South. In Jan. 16, a plan even to allow international relief agencies to distribute food was squashed by the government. That same month the Sudanese government from then on, which periodically issues a mild diplomatic protest over the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Front.

Bulgarian unrest shakes up government

In recent weeks dramatic changes at the top in Bulgaria and from below have begun to shake up this ultra-loyal satellite of Moscow. Ever since long-time Stalinist ruler Todor Zhivkov resigned in November, the new Communist Party (CP) leader Peter Mladenov has promised Gorbatchev-style reforms. Mladenov has put under house arrest, Jan. 18, and charged with treason and mismanagement of government property and money. But the coup makers have already stitched things back together.

Bulgaria is left with a new “government coalition” that is expected to see the country in the process of becoming one of the most prosperous economies in the region in the near future. The new government, led by former Prime Minister Simeon Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, consists of several parties, including the centre-left Socialists, the centre-right Democrats and the nationalist Nationalist Party.

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