

# Theory/ Practice News & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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## Taking back control of job and life



We welcome this month, Gene Ford, a new contributor to this column.—Felix Martin and John Marcotte.

"You could say we lost the strike, but it was a victory too. Before, I was getting straight time for the 65 to 80 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 only solution is to create our own union, controlled by us."

This is the angry 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, defying the union and management who stood against them. Their main demand was against forced overtime, which is out of control in the hands of the company. (See December, N&L)

As well, their one-day wildcat strike was against their Teamster union bosses who treat their members, the backbone of any union, as an invisible number.

Now this worker can speak of a victory of self-recognition, that "we are the union," and that workers have to take control back from the union bosses and put it back in the hands of the workers themselves.

### LIES AND INSULTS

A Black worker told me that what sparked the wildcat was a 50¢ an hour wage increase they were given without their consent. The workers took this as an insult, the fact that they had no voice in the contract. The workers will not stand by and be excluded from any new contract being proposed. This worker felt the

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### 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 to him as the prime suspect, personified the racist leap to judgment which characterizes the American mind.

The Black Boston community was literally occupied by the police for two months on the accusations of Charles Stuart. Stuart said a Black man wearing a running suit had suddenly entered his car while he was driving his eight-month pregnant wife, Carol, from a natural childbirth class, robbed them, shot his wife through the head and seriously wounded him. Some 150 Black men a day were stopped and frisked, some strip-searched. Laws guaranteeing due process had already been suspended by Boston Mayor Raymond Flynn, supported by Black leaders, in the city's "war on drugs."

### TRAGEDY OF BLACK BOSTON

Such lawless 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 the media's rush to become the obsequious mouthpiece of the police, even as the police laid siege to 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, the police and press fed a public frenzy

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### On the Inside

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## Editorial Article—The world after Malta summit:

# Bush's Panama invasion; Gorbachev and the East European uprisings



Bombed-out Chorrillo barrio in Panama City



Youth in Romania after overthrow of Ceausescu

by Michael Connolly

Six weeks have passed since George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev met at the Malta Summit, where Bush hailed a "new era of cooperation" and Gorbachev proclaimed the "end of the Cold War." And yet the world has seen hardly a single day of the promised "calm and stability" since. From Panama to Romania, from East Germany to Colombia, from Azerbaijan to South Africa, the weeks following Malta were filled with turmoil. It is true that at Malta the superpowers agreed to work toward a new treaty reducing their massive nuclear weapons stockpiles, and to discuss reductions in the obscene troop concentrations which have cast a shadow over Europe since World War II. And it is true that they agreed to meet again in June, 1990 in Washington, D.C.

But the greater truth is that 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 collusion 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 events in East Germany and Czechoslovakia became the focus of discussions in Latin America and Africa.

### PANAMA: THE ARROGANCE OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

Fifteen days after Bush returned from Malta, 24,000 U.S. troops invaded Panama with F-117 Stealth fighters, helicopter gunships and heavy artillery. The purpose of "Operation Just Cause" we were told, was to oust and arrest Gen. Manuel Noriega, a leading target in Bush's "War on Drugs." What was revealed instead was the arrogance of U.S. imperialism and the obsequiousness of

the U.S. media.

Forgotten in the "hunt" for Noriega was the fact that his dictatorial rule in Panama was sponsored from the beginning by the CIA, which paid him handsomely for his cooperation in its counter-revolutionary adventures in Central America. George Bush, who had been in charge of pay-offs to Noriega in the 1970s, now offered a \$1 million reward for his capture.

Hidden in the media chorus of praise for Bush's "resoluteness" was the huge loss of Panamanian lives in the first two days of the invasion, Dec. 20 and 21. Aerial bombing and ground assaults on the Chorrillo and San Miguelito sections of Panama City—neighborhoods filled with close-packed wooden shanties—turned those sections into something resembling the Beirut of the Western Hemisphere. The media, though they were present from the first hours of the invasion, never did manage to ask for a count of the civilian death toll. Official estimates, made two weeks later, totaled 617 Panamanians dead, along with 26 Americans. Other sources place the toll at 1,000 or more, but "even" 617 dead stands in the same proportion to Panama's population, as the total U.S. casualties in 10 years of the Vietnam War to the population of the U.S.

More relevant to the reality of the events in Panama than any of the rhetoric about "Drug Wars" were the images of U.S. troops holding Black Panamanian youth on the ground, guns at their heads. One U.S. general, when asked why the "mop-up" was taking so long, inadvertently came much closer to the truth about the invasion: "It's not taking long at all," he argued. "Look at something comparable—Detroit in 1967. It took us 10 days to restore order there."

The truth—seen in the context of the Malta summit—is that the Panamanian invasion was not only about removing a Noriega who no longer served U.S. interests. It was also about proclaiming to all Latin Americans that Bush now felt free to assert his "gunboat diplomacy" anywhere in the hemisphere.

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## WE NEED YOUR HELP!

The massive revolts that have encircled the world this year, from China to East Europe, have brought to a new stage what Raya Dunayevskaya singled out and traced for over three decades as a ceaseless struggle for freedom from state-capitalism calling itself Communism. For over three decades those revolts were woven into the very fabric of the Body of Ideas she called Marxist-Humanism.

For over three decades Marxist-Humanism has held those revolts inseparable from the revolts at the other pole of state-capitalism, right here at home—where workers, from miners to meatpackers, are seeking to change their conditions of labor; women are demanding the right to control their own bodies; and youth are fighting to end both war and the racism that pollutes the land.

In the pages of News & Letters, those voices of revolt—from East Europe, from Africa, from Latin America, from Asia, and in the U.S.—not only have never been separated from each other, but have not been separated from working out a philosophy of revolution, without which we cannot move to full freedom. Never was a journal like N&L more needed!

In one of the last writings from her pen, published in the journal Praxis International (October, 1988), Raya Dunayevskaya warned:

*"The indispensability of spontaneity not only as something that is in the revolution, but that must continue its development after; the question of the different cultures as well as self-development, as well as having a non-state form of collectivity—makes the task much more difficult and impossible to anticipate in advance. The self-development of ideas cannot take second place to the self-bringing-forth of liberty, because both the movement from practice that is itself a form of theory, and the development of theory as philosophy, are more than just saying philosophy is action."*

That is why, integral to the expansion of our activities in the freedom movements at home against Bush's ever-greater extension of Reaganism, we are seeking to deepen the reach of Marxist-Humanism nationally and internationally. Thus:

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## Woman as Reason

by Terry Moon

On Dec. 6, 1989, a man, Marc Lepine, walked into the University of Montreal in Canada and gunned down 13 women and stabbed another to death. Six women were slaughtered in their engineering classroom when Lepine separated the women from the men and forced the men to leave the room. He said to the women, "You're all just a bunch of feminists," and opened fire.

Before Lepine killed himself he wounded nine other women and four men—the worst shooting massacre in Canadian history.

What has been so devastatingly revealing since the massacre is the debate that began immediately after the murders: was this an "isolated incident" or, as so many women in Montreal are saying "this has everything to do with sexism and it's a continuum of violence. How is it that it's not clear to everyone else?"

At the candlelight vigil the very night after the murders, when a member of the Concordia Women's Collective tried to speak of how Lepine was the extreme manifestation of a sexist society, men in the audience jeered and one yelled "Shut the f— up!" The male student council president ripped the microphone out of her hands saying the dead were not men or women, only students. Women shouted him down when he used the male pronoun (*ceux*) in speaking of the dead women. "It is women who are dead, god damn it. They were 14 women!" a woman in the crowd cried out.

Danielle Comeau wrote in a joint issue of a student newspaper put out by Concordia and McGill Universities: "As always, women were being told to be silent when anger and rage at the murders were more fitting." Canadian women, like all of us, have reason to rage. In Canada one woman out of three will be raped in her lifetime, one out of four will be sexually abused, 300,000 Quebec women have been assaulted by their husbands or partners, cases of wife battering have increased six-fold in the Montreal area between 1980 and 1987, 15% of homicides are of women killed by their husbands and, in 1988, ten Native women were killed by one man in British Columbia.

### BEFORE AND AFTER THE MASSACRE

Before the massacre, women had been fighting against sexism on campuses. At Concordia University when two women wrote a letter complaining of a sexist engineering paper the men responded with a pornographic broadside dedicated to the women making allegations about their private lives including brutal insults. At Queens University, male students responded to a campaign against date rape and the slogan "No Means No" with hundreds of their own signs plastered all over the University that read "No means kick her in the teeth." "No means harder." "No means dyke."

After the massacre, in an Ontario 12th grade electronics class, a boy said to the only girl in class, "You're a feminist," and shot her with a squirt gun. At Carleton University, posters for a memorial for the murdered women were defaced with drawings of guns and women with bullet holes. As reported in the Concordia/McGill paper, Montreal feminist activist Charlene Nero was accosted on a train by a man who launched into an anti-feminist tirade: "You're the ones who deserved it. It's too bad those 14 girls got killed and not you."

Most revealing and horrible to me was how the women were dehumanized and even desexed. The 14 women who were killed were all between the ages of 21 and 31.

## Chicana feminist speaks

Los Angeles, Cal.—I first became involved in feminism about five years ago, in defending women going to clinics for abortions. I saw a newsletter that said Clinica Eva Defense Committee needed someone who spoke Spanish because most of the patients were Latinas, and the right-wing was picketing the clinic.

So I went there and I saw many timid Latinas who had made the difficult decision to have an abortion, they had overcome the obstacles of the guilt from the Catholic Church—and then they had to put up with all this harassment and name-calling from the anti-abortionists. I saw how much courage these women had and that gave me courage.

I had been aware of politics ever since I was a teenager during the 1950s McCarthy hearings. But I had already been intimidated by so many things, like when I was a child and had started school and the teachers made me stop speaking Spanish. We were punished if we were caught speaking our own language. Being Mexican was less than anything.

Since I became involved in clinic defense my eyes have been opened to so many injustices. It's not only here; it's the Latinas in Mexico, in El Salvador, what they go through in their fight for equality, for health care, for education for their children. In those countries, only the rich women can get abortions; is it going to be the same again here?

I want to speak up for Latinas. Many of us, because of how we were raised, still feel that we can't yet speak. But when I see my sisters from Central America, the way they fight and speak out for their cause, it gives me courage.

Politically, it used to be that I didn't even know the difference between the Right and the Left! But now I guess you could say that I'm sitting more on the extreme Left. I'm slowly but surely evolving—into what, I don't yet know.

—Angie

## Montreal massacre

They were constantly referred to by the press and the clergy as "girls," "students," "just kids," "youngsters," "daughters," "children."

Danielle Comeau wrote of how "The funeral became a state-run affair, presided over by no less than 80 male clergy. The radical potential of mourning these women was effectively silenced as we were told by Cardinal Gregoire that the murders were 'an act of God,' thus beyond the control and responsibility of men."

As for Marc Lepine, there seemed to be a phobia about saying he was a man. He was called a "troubled child" (he was 25 years old), a "young person," "this child." Typical was a talk by the one male speaker at a memorial service held in Chicago. He talked of how the "person" who "pulled the trigger was an instrument"—how he was "not a man. Real men," he said, "are not insecure; real men are not afraid to love women as equals; real men do not hate anyone or resort to violence."

### DEGENERATE MAN/WOMAN RELATIONS

It's not only that every woman I know has met some form or another of Marc Lepine, that I was so enraged by this attempt to make this massacre one where a "young person" shot down other "youngsters." It is because that covers up what this massacre reveals: how utterly degenerate and dehumanized are relationships between men and women.

It is not just that it appears that the relationships of men to women takes on the character of men's relationship to things, to one who is less than human. That is what they really are. That is the state of man/woman relations in this society. That is what Marx said about the relationship between people in capitalist society—that production relations appear as a relationship between things because that is what "they really are." It just kept running through my mind over and over—that is what they really are, that is what human relationships have become. It doesn't change a thing by saying Marc Lepine wasn't a man. On the contrary, he lays bare exactly what it means to be a man in this society.

Once you see this, then what becomes so clear is that we need to create the kind of revolution that can totally transform all human relationships—they have to become human. That is what revolution has to mean. That is what we fight for and that is why our fight for freedom means a fight for universality—a new society, new human relations, a new world.

### 19th century Black writers

## Women's untold stories

Six Women's Slave Narratives, *The Schomburg Library of Nineteenth-Century Black Women Writers* (Oxford University Press, 1988; paperback, 1989) \$9.95.

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. Sometimes their hardships seem beyond comprehension—Mary Prince working in a West Indian salt mine from 4 a.m. until dark every day of the week for years, with only a little corn to eat, a cattle stall to sleep in, her feet and legs covered with boils from standing in the salt water. But the fact that these women managed both to obtain freedom and to make their voices heard, turns their difficult lives into our proud history.

This volume is one of 24 books published in 1988 by the Schomburg Library, a major depository of Black historical material, under the general editorship of Henry Louis Gates, Jr. The Schomburg series enables those struggling for freedom today to know another dimension of our heritage, and the paperback editions make them more affordable. In addition to this volume, the books of Phillis Wheatley, Charlotte Forten Grimke, and Elizabeth Keckley are now in paper, and four more in the series will be out in May.

Mary Prince's "narrative" is an expose written for the anti-slavery movement in England; the others are later memoirs of American former slaves. Most detail the horrors of slavery, and emphasize in contrast the virtue and piety of the authors. The very fact that a slave woman had a readership in 1831 is astounding, at a time when Black women's routine existence included severe beatings, endless hard labor, and constant fear of losing their families.

The center point of their stories is their constant ideas of obtaining freedom. Listen to how Annie L. Burton describes her childhood: "The times changed from slavery days to freedom's days. As young as I was, my thoughts were mystified to see such wonderful changes...I saw all the slaves one by one disappearing from the plantation (for night and day they kept going) until there was not one to be seen...I could run down to the gate and see down the road troops...and in the midst of them gangs and gangs of negro slaves who joined with the soldiers, shouting, dancing and clapping their hands. The war was ended, and from Mobile Bay to Clayton, Ala., all along the road, on all the plantations, the slaves thought that if they joined the Yankee soldiers they would be perfectly safe."

If the ideas and talents of these Black women, and the millions more whose stories are lost forever, had really been able to flourish in a thoroughgoing revolution, we might be living in a "new world" indeed.

—Anne Jaclard

### Direct from Israel

## Women's Peace March

Tel Aviv, Israel—The last days of December were the time of peace demonstrations. The 29th of December was designated as the women's day. About two thousand women—Israeli, Palestinian and European—took part. Most significant was the fact that in the meeting, apart from the usual left-wing groups, some very "middle of the road" organizations participated.

Nearly everybody came dressed in black and at one o'clock, the usual Friday "Women in Black" hour, we all went to stand round the France Square, the usual Jerusalem Women in Black place. It was really very im-



pressive, thousands of women standing quietly, with one slogan only: Stop the occupation!

During this hour lots of additional women, especially Palestinians, came to join us. At two o'clock we started moving in a procession from west Jerusalem towards the east—4,000 women, all in black, walking slowly and quietly. Now the slogans were more varied, from "Stop the Occupation!" to "Peace Now!", "Talk with the P.L.O. now!" The Women for Political Prisoners and some friendly Italian groups walked with a poster showing an administrative detainee and demanding rights for women prisoners.

But more impressive than the demonstration itself was the reaction of the police: there were some 2,000—ordinary policemen, mounted policemen, border police—all standing along the route with police helicopters cruising above our heads. There were water guns on wheels, armored cars, all policemen with their weapons at the ready, especially gas canisters.

It looked as if they were really afraid that we were going to attack them or, more probably, they were waiting for a chance to attack us. The sexist innuendos and catchwords, at the beginning only sporadic, were now heard from all sides. They started interfering, taking men out of the line who wanted to walk together with their wives, and trying to make us walk more quickly.

When we arrived at the Haganati theatre, they at last found what they were looking for: there stood a small group of Palestinian women with a Palestinian flag waiting to greet us. They jumped on the women with gas canisters, with sticks, beating, kicks and hair pulling. Several were arrested, among them an Italian member of European Parliament who tried to protect a small Palestinian girl that was beaten.

Only some hundreds of us succeeded in getting into the Haganati theatre. The rest were dispersed by the police. But this was only a foretaste. The great day of the police was coming on the morrow, the day of the Peace Now demonstration. But this is another story.

—Activist,

Women's Organization for Political Prisoners



## Women-Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey

After two long years on strike, the "Hibbing 7" have finally won! The seven women must be rehired by the American Linen Supply Company, Hibbing, Minn., (see April, 1989 N&L) and their union reinstated according to a ruling by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). The NLRB ordered the company to reinstate the women with back pay (approximately \$300,000), fire their scab replacements, recognize their union and resume bargaining on a contract.

The women's group HELP is rallying worldwide support to stop the deportation by Japan of an Iranian woman facing death by the Iranian government. Ginoos Yaftabadi divorced her Iranian husband after he abandoned her in Japan, and later had a child with another man. Iranian law does not recognize a woman's right to divorce, and charged Ginoos with "adultery by a married woman"—punishable by stoning to death. Nearly 10,000 Iranian women have been tortured, jailed or executed by the regime since 1979. Protest letters can be sent to the Japanese Prime Minister c/o HELP, 2-23-5 Hyakunin-cho, Shinjuku, Tokyo 160, Japan.

—From Women Living Under Muslim Laws

# 'Invisible workers' seek their rights

New York, N.Y.—The "invisible workers" that keep the economy going just as sure as those in large-scale industry are usually unseen by the press unless a tragedy happens, as occurred this fall with the fiery crash of a van carrying Haitian workers from Brooklyn to their jobs in various Long Island factories. The horror of this crash made at least the local news for a day. But the daily tragedy of the living and working conditions of hundreds of thousands of workers like these goes unrecorded.

I have many friends who are "undocumented" workers. That is, they are violating the government's "pass laws" by living and working here. They do not look or act any different than other workers. They want the same things. They are human beings like you or me, thrown into our great "free labor market" to sell their labor power to the highest bidder. That marvelous free market where equality supposedly reigns.

I wonder if anyone would say the little children of the migrant farmworkers in Florida "freely" sold their labor power to the growers, when they and their parents were pressed into the orange groves 12 hours a day to pick the crop before it was lost to the freeze in December? This was documented by leaders of the farmworkers in Avon Park, Winter Haven, Winter Garden and other Florida towns.

My friend from Uruguay sold his labor power at a supermarket. He told me, "I worked hard, 16 hours straight with just 40 minutes off. They paid me eighteen dollars. Another man who works there puts in 12 to 14 hours every day and gets 200 dollars a week. See how they take advantage when they know you have no papers! If I had known, I would have filled three boxes with groceries and put them out with the garbage, to pick them up later. When I saw my pay, I wanted to wreck the place."

An older worker from Peru, Tio, went to work for a man who owns five dry cleaners in the Bronx, who said he wanted to train him to manage one of the stores. Tio worked 12 hours a day plus ten hours on Saturdays. Six months later he realizes he's been had, because the boss knows he has no papers and has no intention of letting him learn pressing or spot removing or anything that

would let him get another job.

We know that workers everywhere long for a better way of life. That is humanity asserting itself. How can these "invisible workers," living in the cracks of society, with no rights, no voice, no union, no vacations, no medical benefits; for the most part no social security, no compensation, no disability; no medicaid, food stamps or welfare; how can these workers resist this exploitation?

Because I do not want to jeopardize anyone, let us just say there are many creative ways workers have found to get around the repressive immigration laws. "Undocumented" immigration has not been stopped. There are new "undocumented" workers finding a way to survive and support their families every day.

Getting around the law often costs thousands of dollars. That means getting loans, finding credit, then the constant hustle to pay off creditors. There is time only for work, finding extra jobs, odd jobs. Sunday is no different than Monday. Five to fifteen workers share one apartment, several families share an apartment. They don't do it "because they like to live that way," as I have heard some insensitive or stupid people say. With rents in N.Y. at \$1,000, there is no other way.

The other form of resistance is the cooperation among immigrant workers. My friends constantly seek work or better work not only for themselves, but for a friend or family member. When one has a job, he or she supports others, sometimes nearly strangers, till they get a job.

This cooperation seemed so natural to me, I did not think of it as a form of resistance to the employers and the state. But without that solidarity, I don't know how these workers would survive. —John Marcotte

# 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 deadly levels of radiation, but refused to tell the miners. Instead they secretly studied the miners' health over the years, and watched as more and more miners died of lung cancer.

They never told the miners, but it was no secret to them, including my uncles and father, as I wrote in N&L in November, 1982. We found out the government knew as early as 1951 that low-grade uranium mining was deadly. Later it turned out it wasn't just the uranium, but radon gas.

They refused to put ventilation into the mines to clear the radon because it would cost too much money. When finally forced to ventilate the mines they left the miners working underground in temperatures as bitter as the outside. The expense is why they closed most of the mines down and moved operations to South Africa.

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 getting 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, Wisc.—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 let the union bureaucrats know that they had had enough of working weekends and that we needed raises. We also elected our negotiating team at this meeting and I was one of the workers elected. I had thought that our proposals were fair enough and, together with the union leaders, we would not have much trouble getting some of our demands accepted.

Well, it turned out that the first union meeting we had was the last meeting we had before it was time to vote on a new contract. The company rejected most of our proposals and came up with some of their own, including the elimination of one whole department. We as workers could not let our fellow workers be eliminated from their jobs even if it meant going on strike. This proposal hung over our heads all through the negotiations and really limited our bargaining position.

The union leaders were concerned about the elimination proposal too, but from my experience at these negotiations the union was more worried about loss of membership and dues than the actual loss of workers. How much could they really care about the workers and conditions at our plant?

When was the last time any of them actually worked in a shop. Years ago? Maybe never? How hard can you expect people that 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?

Heartless is not a strong enough word to describe the company reps. They did not care whether we worked weekends or not, whether we had enough time and money to live like human beings or not. All they really cared about was how good they would look to their superiors up in the board room. Maybe they will get that promotion, now that they saved the company money.

These were the feelings my fellow workers and I had at these negotiations. Anger. Hopelessness. Frustration. Feelings that everything that we said didn't make a difference. The game between the company and the union 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 bureaucrats will not be able to change this until they get back to their roots and remember why unions were organized 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

## Workshop Talks

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

I was also told: "After the strike, we were supposed to vote on the new contract. Many of us found that our names had already been crossed out, supposedly because we already voted. It was just another of the union lies. Rather than stand with us, they take sides with the company, hoping to get rich off of us."

That get-rich-quick capitalist mentality plagues the old-thinking union bureaucrats who won't speak out against forced overtime or unsafe working conditions which ring more sweat 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. Our dues are taken, but our ideas are never heard or represented.

### WHAT KIND OF LIFE?

Listen to yet another worker's voice, describing his day of work, which I am sure reflects many workers' inhuman, robotic type of working conditions in the 1990s: "You get up at 5:00 AM and go to work. At 9:00 PM you get back to the house. And what do we do all day? Throw garbage around, rack our brains with the noise of the machinery. If you were sitting at a desk, would it be human to work those kind of hours? Maybe, I don't know. But it sure ain't like this."

What we working people face in 1990 is more of what we faced in the 1980s: an anti-labor system of government, regardless of who is in office, Republican or Democrat. The 1980s have shown us a capitalist restructuring 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 "kinder, gentler relationship" with the union, but the workers are not going for that same old circus act we had to perform in the 1980s, with more and more concessions and two-tier wage systems. The workers had to jump through the fiery hoop, while the ring master holding the fiery hoop was the company. The company used the union against labor as a whip, while we the workers were the lions that got our tails burned yet again and again going through that fiery hoop. Enough.

Our East European brothers and sisters have struck out against their state-capitalist rulers, demanding control over their life and labor. Of course, there are many questions that need to be worked out even when there is such a tremendous movement.

This paper, News & Letters, is a forum for working those questions out. As the worker-editor of N&L, Charles Denby, said, from our newspaper's beginnings in 1955: "Workers talk and think about everything while on the job—things about everyday life, but also about world affairs. News & Letters must continue to elicit from workers thinking their own thoughts. Actions are sure to follow."

Now that's the kind of thought to action the company and union bosses fear most. And it is what is most needed by working people to reflect the fact that we are the union, in need of new beginnings in thought and in organization.

## East German union

*Editor's note: The following is a News & Letters translation of a leaflet issued by members of the "Initiative for Independent Unions," based in East Berlin. N&L wishes to thank Bruce Allen, author of Germany East: Dissent and Opposition for sending us this document. Readers can contact Bruce at: Box 284, Main Station, St. Catharines, Ontario, Canada L2R 6T7.*

### Organizing Appeal

On Dec. 20, 1989 workers from 40 industries and institutions, women and men, met in Berlin to discuss a future committee to represent the interests of workers. In part those who met represented other colleagues and collectives. The overwhelming majority came to the conclusion that the FDGB [the official trade union linked to the State and the Party] cannot be sufficiently reformed. Thus we need a completely new organization. We therefore call all workers to the establishment of base groups which will join together in an independent union.

- We go forward from the principle that there exists an opposition of interests between the workers on the one side and management and the state on the other. We represent exclusively the interests of the workers.

- We are not opposed to an efficient economic system, insofar as it is socially accommodating, but we want to block any economic development that leads to the oppression of workers.

- We want to have a voice in the goals and methods of production, from management to housing. This includes the election and recall of politicians and other leaders.

**ANSWER THIS CALL! BUILD UNIONIZED BASE GROUPS! ACTIVELY TAKE PART IN FOUNDING AN INDEPENDENT UNION!**

By Jan. 15, 1990 we want to have an alternative constitution drafted in outline form; we ask for your cooperation. From this basis a founding conference should be prepared.

## UAW aids Chrysler closing

Detroit, Mich.—Shocked and angry at the surprise November announcement that Chrysler Corp. was closing its Detroit Jefferson plant in February, 1990, the workers acted immediately by withdrawing from every cooperative program that resulted from the concessionary contract forced on the rank and file two years ago. Those same contract negotiations "assured" the 1,700 workers that they would keep their jobs until Chrysler's new Jefferson plant would be in production—supposedly in 1991.

Chrysler Jefferson workers felt completely betrayed, by both the company and their union, the UAW. And there was another aspect to the betrayal—that of the Kenosha, Wis. Chrysler workers whose plant was closed, with the cars they were were making, the Omni and Horizon, moved to the Jefferson plant.

Chrysler claims there is no market for the Omni and Horizon, but the UAW is trying to come up with a plan that may keep some of the 1,700 Jefferson workers on the job producing some of the more "popular" models that supposedly appeal to the youth.

In the meantime, the Jefferson workers, facing a long-term layoff, aren't sure of anything—and that includes the promise that they will be called back to work when the new plant opens. By now the Jefferson workers know only too well what all auto workers are increasingly aware of—that promises in the auto industry don't mean a thing. —Retired worker

## News & Letters

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## From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya Marxist-Humanist Archives

By Raya Dunayevskaya  
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

*Editor's note: For Black History Month we have selected two documents from the many in the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection which illuminate the Black Dimension. The first is a Jan. 26, 1987 letter Dunayevskaya wrote to her colleagues on the Resident Editorial Board of News & Letters, Microfilm #11208-09. The second is a transcript of a talk Dunayevskaya gave on May 14, 1960 as part of a lecture series on her book, *Marxism and Freedom*, entitled "World View of the Negro Question." The latter document is contained in the section on Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution*, recently deposited as part of Vol. XIV of the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, #13736-54. We have only excerpted selections from each of these important documents on the Black dimension and invite our readers to study these and other writings in full, from the Marxist-Humanist Archives. See ad page 7.*

January 26, 1987

Dear Colleagues:

The current outburst of ever-present racism, brought to a new virulence by the six years of Reagan retrogression, not only in the South, but in the North—and not only in Forsyth County, Georgia but in Howard Beach, New York City, where a new kind of lynching (running over a fleeing Black with a speeding auto driven by a white) was carried out—makes it imperative to look at the whole history of how American civilization continues to be on trial. This history is not just a matter of a book or a single period. It demands the whole of the Marxist-Humanist Archives before you can see the other, absolute opposite of this racism—the revolutionary Black dimension as ONGOING.

...Certainly this Black History Month will be celebrated throughout the USA, and celebrated in a very new way. The newness, however, on the part of the liberals, cannot be made into an excuse to forget their own history. After all, the Civil War was the bloodiest and longest war seen to that time. And it was needed just to put an end to slavery in the U.S. It is that birthmark of American history that is still so deeply rooted that it becomes the target not just of Reagan's retrogression, as with what they are now doing with the anniversary of the Constitution, but what Kennedy liberalism attempted to do with the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1963....

It is of the essence to show that there has never been any separation between past and present and future on the question of the Black Dimension. And that holds both for the U.S. and for Africa. The reason it remains so important is that it was still in the 1950s when I considered that so crucial was the coming birth of a Third World as a new stage, both historically and philosophically, that Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions needed to be made a category along with Marxism and Freedom—a category directed against the administrative mentality which was the new enemy within the revolutionary movement. Nor was it an accident that it came precisely at the time when I didn't consider West Europe and the U.S. and all the "advanced" countries advanced philosophically, ideologically, or even culturally. The End of Ideology was my enemy and the joke against [Daniel] Bell was "The man is always in search of something and very deliberately doesn't find it."

Yours,  
Raya

...I will not begin with the historic origins either of civilization or of the Negro in his homeland, but on this continent—in other words, the American Negro—because from a Marxist-Humanist point of view, the critical and decisive point always is what stage of production 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 do not like to be placed outside of this central core which decides the type of society you have, and the type of relations you have.

The fact is that the other element to this stage of production—the extra-leaven—is provided to make history: the human force besides the working class is that which is provided by the minority groups, or what is known as the national question. We will get down [to that] a little later when we discuss ideologies as to whether the Negro is a national question. It used to be denied, even though it is not denied now. And therefore from the point of view of what is the stage of production, and what is the other necessary ingredient, the human factor, that is, what is provided by the national question in this country, is [the] decisive proof that both of these elements show you the course of history.

We therefore must view the question, even though it is a world view of the Negro, in the context of American history, of which the Negro is the most integral part, in fact an indivisible part. So our first division will be American history, the later part of it, and our second division will be the World View....

### I. From Slavery Through Reconstruction

One of the established myths and bourgeois ideologies which have nothing to do with the truth is that the Negro who was brought here was just so happy with his master that he was 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-

volt, and none more so than the period of the slave revolts.

A little pamphlet of 76 pages that was written by a freed Negro, David Walker, called "An Appeal to the Colored People of This Country," had dared take issue not only with whites in general, but [with] the President who had written the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson, who himself had slaves even though he had written that all men are created free and equal... Every Southern legislature was called into session and there was a price [put on Walker's] head. Naturally, the pamphlet was banned, but it was a best-seller. Even though the Negroes who were slaves were mostly illiterate they knew every word in that pamphlet. Those who could not read would go to somebody who could.

The reason why this is very important is the ideology. The dynamism of ideas that came out of this David Walker was far superior to anything that existed in even the highest, most liberal whites in the world that I'm always playing up—the Abolitionists. I am always talking about the fact that the Abolitionists added a dimension to the American character because the white

don't ask me why they wanted a man to chair—except Frederick Douglass. 1848 was the year of the great European revolutions which gave birth to Marx's *Manifesto* and the struggle for the abolishing of all class societies....

The last part in this period from slavery through Reconstruction is that after the slaves were freed, there was the first introduction of public education in the South. The Black legislators during Reconstruction instituted public education.

The gentlemen's agreement, like all gentlemen's agreements, is a great fraud and conspiracy.... The Southerners said, we'll give you the presidency even though [Hayes] lost provided you remove the troops from the South, and let us rule as we choose down there (in other words, transform the freed slaves into sharecroppers), and if you start any industry at all it is to be white industry. Textiles was white, so the Negro was forced to be a sharecropper.

### II. The Populist Movement and the IWW

This ends the first period. The propaganda all tries to tell you that even if all that I have said is true, the prejudice against the Negro, outside of the stigma of slavery, arises at this period. In other words, they never go on to any white and Negro collaboration. That is one great lie.

Despite the fact of the Black Codes, despite the fact that the Southern way of life had free rein all over again, just ten years after [the Hayes-Tilden Compromise], there grew up the greatest mass movement this country has ever seen until the CIO—the Populist Movement. They practically won the presidency, and they did win many state offices. [The Negro] Populist Movement in the standard books is referred to in footnotes as an organization one-and-a-quarter million strong in the Deep South ten years after Bourbon rule was re-established.

Not only does that abolish the myth that the Negro is incapable of organization and had not organized himself, but proves also that even though they had their own organization they collaborated with the whites. It was ten years before they were defeated....

The Populist Movement was an agrarian revolt against oppression by the big industrialists when they had just begun to get started. The Industrial Workers of the World [IWW] is a very different movement. The birth of the proletariat in this country in the basic industries like lumber mills, the mines, etc. [marked] some of the bloodiest battles in American history.

I put it in this same period because they also included miners, and miners were Negro in the South. The South excluded the Negro from light industry, but the mines and mills were considered dirty and hard and Negro's work. To organize these industries you had, therefore, to include the Negroes. Again, these were the only proletarians at that time that collaborated.

### III. Heavy Industry and Basic Ideology

During this period, which will bring us up to World War I, I want to show you what had gone on in ideology. It was just before the Abolitionist Movement that you had David Walker's Appeal. In the period of the Populist Movement the ideology was no different on the part of the white and Negro, even though they felt kinship towards the newly arisen working class in heavy industry. On the whole, farmers were more numerous and were the decisive factor until the turn of the century. Various movements then began of a different nature, the IWW, etc., on the part of the Negro.

By this time the Negro in the North was beginning to develop [new] Negro intellectuals. The greatest of these was W.E.B. DuBois. He is one of the finest products as a writer and as an historian. His book, *Black Reconstruction*, is superior to any white history of that period because none of them revealed with such documentary force the role of the Negro in Reconstruction.

In this period DuBois started the movement called the Niagara Movement which fought for Negro rights—political, economic and social. It was the first movement which began to fight within the Negro community. He fought Booker T. Washington, who had arisen as the first Negro leader to accept the conditions of second-class citizenship. DuBois said that is nonsense and Uncle Tomism in the intellectual field and would have none of it. It was this [the Niagara Movement] that was swallowed up by the NAACP. Those who say if we don't want a complete revolution we better do something established the NAACP; but the Niagara Movement came before and was superior.

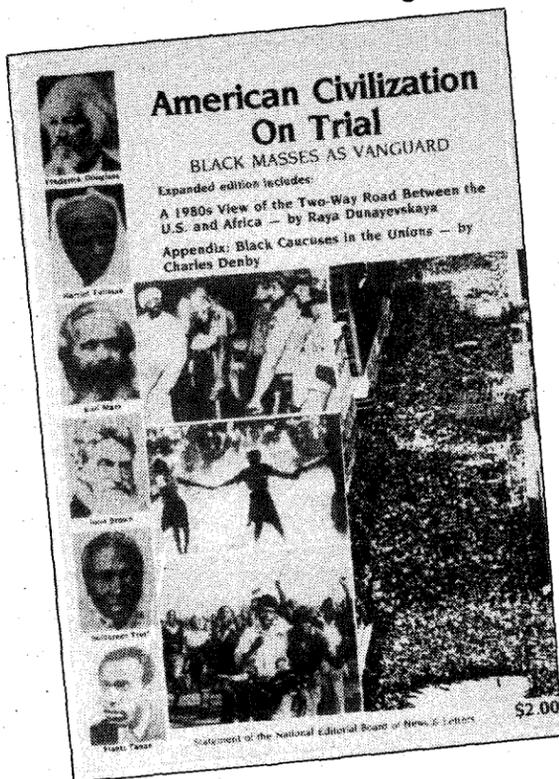
There were two differences DuBois had with Marxists. One was on the "talented tenth." He said that without the "talented tenth" to lead you to freedom we are nowhere. He wanted an intelligentsia to lead the working class. (We don't feel any movement should be subordinated to a leadership whether it is their own leadership or not.) On the second point, Pan-Africanism, he did, however, write some good things. For example, he held that even though the American Negro does not consider himself African and does not know African languages, nevertheless, Africans and American Negroes have something in common. However, his peculiar idea of this was to appeal to established organizations—in other words, the very people who are oppressing you—to recognize this fact.

We will jump to our own era for just a minute. In 1945, the greatest Negro library in this country, the  
(continued on page 10)

## World View of Black Dimension

Indispensable for Black History Month

### American Civilization on Trial Black Masses as Vanguard



"Just as it was the Black dimension which sounded the alarm against U.S. imperialism's first adventure in the Philippines and the Caribbean at the turn of the century, so today it is the Latino dimension which is opposing Reagan's imperialist actions in Central America and the Caribbean. The gunboat diplomacy which saw the United States invade again and again—from Cuba and Nicaragua to Panama and Honduras in the period from the turn of the century into the 1930s—has returned in a vicious new form under Reagan."

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New England intellectuals associated with the runaway slaves following the North Star to freedom. They had given up everything to be the social medium for this precise struggle for freedom. Now I want to turn it around and tell you that the Negro added this dimension to the white. He was a vanguard even in this.

Not until several years after Walker's pamphlet did we have the first appearance of the great Abolitionist paper, "The Liberator," and its slogan is "the world is my country." That is another great revolutionary fact, because here in 1831 William Lloyd Garrison says that the national boundaries are insufficient to give him a country. It is at that point when the white intellectuals come toward the struggle and the actual revolt in the South led by Nat Turner and before him Denmark Vesey and before him someone else. The two forces unite to form the great forward movement for 30 years before they finally achieve the Civil War in the U.S.

In this struggle women, the white women in the North, but more especially the Negro women in the South, who didn't know how to read, were great doers and revolutionaries and thinkers, particularly the two greatest of them, Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman.... It was not only that they were so great as leaders for the struggle for freedom for their own people, but they were very great in stimulating the struggle for white women.... That's when there was no man who would chair their meeting [at Seneca Falls in 1848]—

## Essay Article

### Dunayevskaya vs. Lukacs on the creativity of cognition

# Paths to internalizing the Idea of Freedom

by Peter Wermuth

The ongoing freedom struggles in Eastern Europe, which have so captured the world's attention, have been met with a true emptiness of thought on the part of the media commentators, who are claiming the events prove "the death of Marxism." Wrong as they are to identify Marxism, a theory of liberation, with Communism, the practice of enslavement, 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 projected the need for what she called "philosophic 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*.<sup>1</sup> It was not, of course, the first time she entered into a critique of Lukacs.<sup>2</sup> What 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.<sup>3</sup>

## I. LUKACS VS. DUNAYEVSKAYA ON ERINNERUNG

Lukacs takes 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 *Phenomenology*, Hegel presents *Erinnerung* as not only the "remembrance of things past," but also as what can enable the Idea of Freedom to reach new stages of development. For when spirit "gives itself over to Recollection," Hegel says, what can be "born anew from the womb of knowledge" is a "new stage of existence, a new world, and a new embodiment or mode of spirit."

But in Lukacs' view Hegel's concept of recollection cannot help give birth to any such "new world." Instead of leading to new beginnings, Lukacs insists that *Erinnerung* amounts only to a "post-festum commentary" on events already past. He says, "having come this far, Hegel now conducts a retrospective survey of history up to the present...we are surveying in retrospect an evolution of the spirit now at an end" (p. 507).

This is not Dunayevskaya's view at all. Where Lukacs writes that *Erinnerung* is only a "post-festum commentary," Dunayevskaya writes in the margin, "Meaning is all it means, not post-festum, but new beginnings" (p. 546).

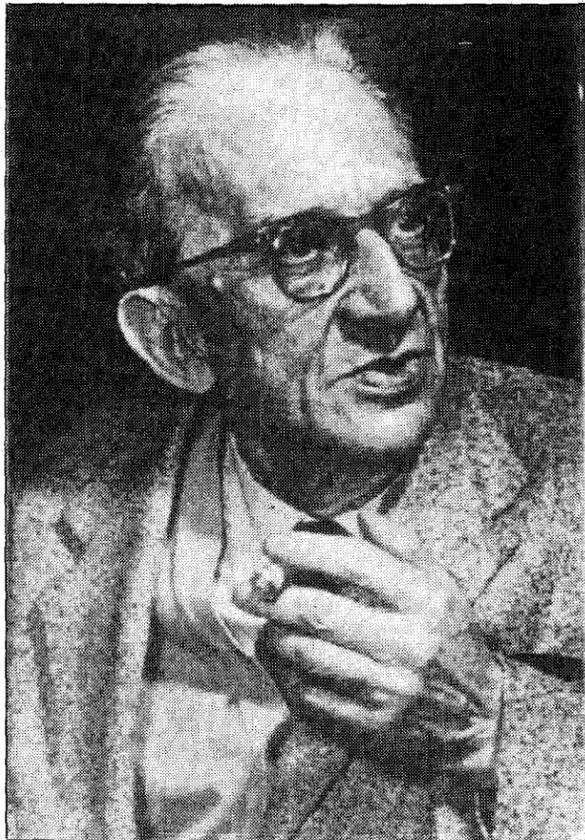
Lukacs in fact argues that it is not *Erinnerung* or internalization, but rather externalization that contains the "materialist kernel" of the Hegelian dialectic. He well knows that Hegel's concept of externalization contains an idealist mystification: since the active force in Hegel is "spirit" or "self-consciousness," externalization means that all objectivity is "externalized self-consciousness." In critiquing this mystification, Lukacs shows that Hegel's presentation of externalization in the parts of the *Phenomenology* preceding "Absolute Knowledge" expresses in abstract form the actual unfoldment of the alienation of labor in human history.

When it comes to internalization, on the other hand, Lukacs sees no such positive features. Since objectivity to Hegel is "externalized self-consciousness," Lukacs argues that the "transcendence" of externalization, or internalization, can amount only to the "abolition of the objective world." He thus counterposes externalization, which expresses real history, to internalization, which supposedly "annuls" history.

This is not to say that Lukacs views "Absolute Knowledge" as do the vulgar materialists. He writes, "The manifestations of man's evolution belong in the sphere of 'absolute spirit' by virtue of their objective truth content...throughout the entire process, man never ceases to conquer terrain hitherto unknown" (p. 511).<sup>4</sup>

Despite such powerful statements, and despite all of his criticisms of Hegel, Lukacs never gets around to critiquing Hegel for his fatal flaw—the reduction of the Subject of History to some disembodied "spirit."

Lukacs' skipping over of the question of Subject is in sharp contrast to Marx's 1844 "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic." Marx there hit out at Hegel for making disembodied "self-consciousness" rather than live men and women the Subject of the dialectic at one and the same time as he praises Hegel's dialectic of negativity,



Georg Lukacs

"the negation of the negation," for expressing the "actual movement of history."

What is new with 1844 is that Marx puts humanity back into the dialectic by posing 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 puts humanity back into the dialectic, objectivity is no longer mere "externalized self-consciousness," but now becomes "objective man, true, actual man as the result of his own labor." And once Marx puts humanity back into the dialectic, "internalization" is no longer some abstract "return of spirit to itself," but now becomes "the true, active relating of man to himself" which, Marx tells us, "is only possible as a 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 seeing 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. 553). Dunayevskaya writes in the margin, "Man not only as human praxis, but as Subject, as Reason, as Absolute."

## 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 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 leave 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 negativity. Marx therefore singles out the "objectivity" not alone of externalization, but also of the "transcendence" of externalization, or internalization.

Marx spells out this "transcendence" of externalization thusly: "Communism is humanism mediated by the transcendence of private property. Only by the transcendence of this mediation... does there arise positive humanism, beginning from itself."

Lukacs never reached this vision of a totally new society that "transcends" both private capitalism and "vulgar communism." But today's Marxist-Humanists who "accept" this vision must not skip over the process by which Marx comes to it. He gets there, first, by projecting the inseparability of History from the dialectic, and second by plunging deeply into the dialectic of absolute negativity itself. In Marx's hands the dialectic thereby not only reflects History, but also anticipates the future.

In a word, Marx releases so deep, so total, so human a vision of a new society because he has journeyed so deep into Hegel's dialectic of "the negation of the negation" as to embrace internalization.<sup>5</sup>

This is also why Marx traces out all three parts of Hegel's *Encyclopedia of the Philosophic Sciences* in his 1844 "Critique." He first traces out the movement from Logic to Nature, i.e., how Logic "externalizes" itself into Nature, or History. But unlike Lukacs, he does

not stop here; Marx goes on to the movement from Nature to Mind. "Mind," the subject matter of Hegel's *Philosophy of Mind*, is where internalization becomes most fully developed. Marx breaks off his commentary on Hegel's *Philosophy of Mind* with para. 384.

It is continuity with this dialectic on the level of the new of our era that we see at work in Raya Dunayevskaya's May 12 and 20, 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes."<sup>6</sup> In the course of commenting on para. 575 of Hegel's *Philosophy of Mind* in her Letter of May 20, Dunayevskaya discerned within Hegel's Absolute not only a movement from theory to practice, but also a movement from practice to theory. Thereby, she posed live men and women, actual History as integral to Hegel's Absolute.

It is crucial to see what Dunayevskaya did once she made History integral to the Absolute in her Letter of May 20, 1953. That breakthrough made the whole of Hegel's epochal "summation" of his philosophy in the three final paragraphs of his *Philosophy of Mind* concrete for her. So much was this so, that she did not stop her journey with para. 575, in which Nature or History is the middle term.<sup>7</sup> She went on to trace out the dialectic of Hegel's self-comprehension in full, commenting on para. 576 (in which Mind is the mediation) and para. 577, where we confront the "Self-Thinking Idea."

Far from this "Self-Thinking Idea" signifying to Dunayevskaya an abstraction or only a "remembrance of things past," it led her to anticipate the future inherent in the present. It is after quoting the end of para. 577 that she declared, "we have entered the new society." As she later put it, "I consider that Marx's 'revolution in permanence' is the 'eternal Idea.'"

As against Lukacs' emphasis on Hegel's "owl of Minerva spreading its wings only with the setting of dusk" when Marx in 1844 and Dunayevskaya in 1953 put the human being back into the dialectic, the energizing principle was discovered for grasping the power of the Idea itself, not only as a reflection of what is, but as an anticipation of what can be—a new, truly new society.

As Dunayevskaya put it in *Philosophy and Revolution* after commenting on para. 577 of Hegel's *Philosophy of Mind*, "What is needed, it seems to this writer, is to be aware, even oppressively aware, of the simple truth not only that Hegel's categories are saturated with reality, but also that the Idea itself is real, lives, moves, transforms reality" (p. 43).

## III. THE "END OF HISTORY"—OR PHILOSOPHIC NEW BEGINNINGS?

We can now get at the heart of the difference between Lukacs and Dunayevskaya concerning Hegel's concept of *Erinnerung*. It all comes to a head in their very different views of the final paragraph of Hegel's *Phenomenology*.

In that final paragraph, Hegel jams together History as "contingency" with "Science," or philosophic comprehension. "History as contingency" does not mean History "as an act of the particular only." On the contrary, History as contingency refers to the whole course of historic development that Hegel has traced out in the preceding 808 pages of the *Phenomenology*, in which each stage unfolds through "the passing of universality into individuality through specification [as] also the reverse process..." (Baillie trans., p. 790). This 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 philosophic comprehension, leads to new beginnings. Though we cannot develop this here, Hegel twice mentions the word "organization" in discussing this.<sup>8</sup>

In the very last sentence of the *Phenomenology*, Hegel spells out the unity of "History as contingency" and "Science" thusly: "Both together, or History (intellectually) comprehended, form at once the Recollection and the Golgotha of Absolute Spirit..."

Immediately after quoting this in *The Young Hegel*, Lukacs writes, "this amounts to the self-annulment of history" (p. 546). To Lukacs, Hegel's insistence on jamming together "History as contingency" with "Science" "annuls the whole scheme of history elaborated by objective idealism."

To this Dunayevskaya sharply objects. Where Lukacs writes, "this amounts to the self-annulment of history," Dunayevskaya writes in the margin "Key Error" and "No, No, No." And where Lukacs writes of History's "immanent reality" being annulled at the end of the *Phenomenology*, Dunayevskaya writes, "not reality, but Science." The point is, it isn't History that Hegel "kills off": It's instead Science, the philosophic comprehension of History, that Hegel puts to the test of Golgotha.

As Dunayevskaya wrote in her "1953 as Concept vs. Experience," of May 13, 1987 in commenting on this fi-

(continued on page 11)

1. *The Young Hegel* by Georg Lukacs (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1976).

2. See especially Dunayevskaya's "Lukacs' Philosophic Dimension" (*News & Letters*, February, 1973) and "What is Orthodox Marxism," (*News & Letters*, March, 1973).

3. Dunayevskaya's marginal notes are not yet included in her Archives. The Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund is now working to preserve and make available these and other marginal notes in her voluminous library. While Dunayevskaya studied Lukacs' *The Young Hegel* several times in May, 1987, she never lived to write up her critique. The importance of the subject is reflected in her May 11, 1987 "possible outline" for her planned book "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy," which projected a section of a chapter on "Marx's 'Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic' vs. Lukacs' *Young Hegel* on end of *Phenomenology*."

4. Dunayevskaya re-wrote this sentence in her copy of *The Young Hegel* to read, "Man/Woman never ceases to conquer terrain hitherto unknown."

5. This can also be seen in Marx's 1844 "Private Property and Communism": "Communism...is the return of man to himself as social, i.e., human man, complete, conscious and matured within by the entire wealth of developments to date...this communism, as completed naturalism, is humanism."

6. Dunayevskaya's May 12 and 20, 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes" can be found in *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* (*News & Letters*, 1989).

7. For Dunayevskaya's view of Nature not alone as Practice but as History, see her "Why *Phenomenology*? Why Now?" of April 3, 1987, in *Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, Vol. 13, #10883-88.

8. For a discussion of this, see my essay, "Towards Philosophic New Beginnings in Marxist-Humanism," *News & Letters*, June, 1988.

## THE INTER-COMMUNICATION BETWEEN TODAY'S FREEDOM STRUGGLES, EAST AND WEST

I read the December N&L from cover to cover and your editorial on Gorbachev and the revolts in Eastern Europe is the best I've read anywhere—by far. I also appreciated very much John Alan's article on "Black Oakland after the earthquake"—I have not seen such an analysis of the real impact of the earthquake on Oakland in any other paper. I also appreciated the articles on Women for Women Political Prisoners. **Bridges**, a new publication that will create an intersection between activism, cultural work, and theory will be publishing an overview of U.S. and Israeli feminist organizations for peace and justice in the Middle East. These groups are almost invisible to the mainstream press, but are growing in strength and numbers. Finally, I was glad to see Terry Moon's impassioned response to the Montreal massacre—which has been buried likewise by the mainstream press once the initial sensation was over.

Adrienne Rich  
California

I appreciated the sharp challenge the December editorial posed to the illusions that Bush and Gorbachev have been trying to weave. The quote from Marx on the rulers never looking to the "principle of the state" as the origin of social maladies made me think that whereas Bush might welcome the revolts against Communism, he has no problems with Communism's "principle of the state."

Karl Armstrong  
Los Angeles

You must be very happy at what is going on in Eastern Europe. While watching the fighting in Romania I couldn't help thinking of China. Definitely, the events will have an impact on China. The people will feel happy to see Ceaucescu go, and perhaps may start planning for actions. What might the army do? I have a feeling that there will be bloodshed again, since it seems that there is no other way except violence that they can overthrow the hardline government. It is possible that when Deng Xiaoping dies, fighting would occur within the army in support

of a certain leader to seize power. Even if this would turn out to be true, it wouldn't come soon, however.

Xu Wei  
Chinese exile

The mandatory classes on so-called "Marxism-Leninism" which the youth in Czechoslovakia fought to abolish, are not so different from classes that we have to take in the U.S. Here too we have to take courses about the U.S. government, memorize things that we don't believe and regurgitate them. Just recently I read about the Paris commune in Raya Dunayevskaya's **Marxism and Freedom**. I could not believe that I had never heard or read about such a significant event in any of my history books in high school or college.

Maya  
Chicago

It's great to live these days when everyone is sure there will be no more a brutal end to this "autumn spring." Of course, there are questions of brutal reality looming ahead. A new group has formed called Left Alternative in which a new generation of youth as well as participants in the 1968 events are involved. There seems to be no socialist party worth the name and Marx is not even mentioned by anyone, the Communists included.

Correspondent  
Czechoslovakia

The events in East Europe are very intriguing, even if only one set of capitalist regimes are being replaced by another set. The workers are nevertheless shaping their own ends. However optimistic it may seem, I think that in the not too distant future we'll see the end of the Thatcher regime, though what replaces it will not be an awful lot different.

Laurens Otter  
England

As opposed to Fukuyama's "end to history," Marx said that history would first begin with the new society, or humanism. What is going on in East Europe now is the first negation, opposing

## Readers' Views

### THE WORLD OF WORK

The Pittston miners still don't know what's in the tentative contract negotiated by UMWA President Rich Trumka and the coal company. From the little information that has come through, it looks like the two main points—pensions and health care—are what the miners can live with. But nobody knows what the trade-offs were. Right now, it looks like the biggest hangup is getting rid of the more than \$60 million in court fines against the union and miners during the strike. That Virginia Judge, Donald McGohtlin Jr., who did all of the fining, might be the hardest nut to crack since the UMWA official who ran against his father for the state legislature won the election last November due to the miners' hatred of the judge. But as the Pittston miners have said: "We've been out for nine months—and we'll stay out nine more if we have to."

Andy Phillips  
Ex-Miner, Detroit

After learning of the Pittston strike in **News and Letters**, I tried organizing a holiday donation of clothing and food from the Chinese dissident community. This didn't work out. I was able, though, to go down to Pittston's Camp Solidarity as part of a 100-person contingent organized by the UAW which donated \$100,000. While I had heard of the miners' militancy before, I was impressed to actually see their high spirit for myself. To see the links they are forging with workers from elsewhere in the U.S. and all over the world, by having them as guests at the Camp, was also impressive.

Chinese dissident in exile  
New York

Reading Marx's 1844 Essays made it very clear to me that other philosophers or economists were betraying humanity by not looking right under their noses at what was happening. They sidestep workers' estrangement. How tragic it is that work in this society is a means to sustenance, rather than what your creative forces are impelling you to do. A friend of mine was studying studio art. He dropped out and got a job on Wall Street and now wants to be a corporate lawyer so that he can retire at age 35. Does that mean work is just a route to get to be 35, that your life doesn't begin until you retire?

Student  
New York University

### SOLIDARITY AGAINST APARTHEID



Pietermaritzburg, Natal is a key scene in the revolutionary fight against apartheid and for true liberation. The BTR Sarmco workers there are hanging on in South Africa's oldest strike: a four-and-a-half-year fight after being locked out when they struck for union recognition. They need money for food and medicine and letters of support. The Anti-Apartheid Solidarity Committee is coordinating a U.S. solidarity campaign. For more information, contact:

AASC  
c/o Box 143181  
Chicago, IL 60614  
(312) 935-5255

Leicester Transport and General Workers Union members Gary Sherriff and Ross Galbraith have been sacked by their employer for refusing to work on an order for South Africa. Ross and Gary are now suffering great financial hardship due to their principled stand. If you or your trade union can make a donation, it would be most welcome.

South Africa Solidarity Committee  
c/o Leicester and District  
Trades Union Council  
139 Charles St.  
Leicester LE1 1LB England

### GUNBOAT DIPLOMACY IN LATIN AMERICA



The U.S. invasion of Panama in December was a major imperialist invasion, a total breach of Panama's national sovereignty. But now it is being treated as a "past issue." Many people in the U.S. didn't support the invasion, but they didn't like Noriega either. They were afraid to make too much about it. I feel that this is a problem which those of us in the Latin American solidarity movement should have talked about earlier, before the invasion happened.

Jerry M  
Chicago

I liked the Lead article on El Salvador in the December N&L. What our government is doing there makes me very sad. On Dec. 20, I participated in my first civil disobedience, a sit-in at the Federal Building against U.S. aid to El Salvador. I was the only minor arrested so they separated me from everyone and sat me in a room alone with a policeman. At first I was scared. Then I thought: what is happening to me is nothing like what happens to people in El Salvador, the terror that they go through knowing that they might be killed.

High school student  
Los Angeles

I received the December issue today, and found the coverage of the murder of two San Salvador women Nov. 16 disturbingly overshadowed by the murder of their Jesuit bosses. There was the front page article by Michelle Landau, in which the murder of these women didn't "happen" until the 11th paragraph. Then on p. 10 "Protester" uncritically quotes the slogan, "Arena, fascists, assassins of the Jesuits."

I wonder if this kind of coverage doesn't help privilege a view of the Jesuit priesthood as an organized force leading the Salvadoran struggle, making it harder to see the self-organization of working women and youth. Isn't it important to struggle against a repeat of the Shiite clergy's arrogating the leading role in the Iranian Revolution, or Aquino's party doing the same in the Philippines?

Boeing machinist  
Seattle, WA

I'm not excited about the election of Aylwin in Chile. Supposedly a democratic government is replacing Pinochet's. That's no fundamental change.

Cristina  
Chicago

What hit me when listening to a talk at our campus by Peter Hudis, on "Humanism and Revolution in Latin America," was that he kept stressing the unity of theory and practice. When I was in Columbia last year, I became familiar with the M19 group. They call themselves Marxists, are nationalists, and have been negotiating with the government. But they lost support from the people. I think the reason they have been falling apart is that they lost sight of theory. They did not have theory/practice as one.

Ecuadoran-America youth  
Illinois

## 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 Revolts" from Dunayevskaya's **Philosophy and evolution**, and hope to circulate it widely to continue the three-decade-long dialogue Raya had with East European revolutionaries. **WE NOW NEED HELP** to pay the printing bill and to reach those who are trying to move the magnificent events there to full social revolution.

• At the same time, the Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund has just donated a new Supplementary Vol. 14, on the process of her writing her "trilogy of revolution," to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection at Wayne State University, which is thereby now expanded to 15,000 pages. **WE NEED YOUR HELP** to get the powerful new brochure detailing this collections' tremendous scope and depth to those who can ensure that the microfilms are ordered for libraries everywhere to enrich the work of scholars and activists alike—whether in the movement of Labor, Women's Liberation or the Black Dimension.

• As part of our struggles against U.S. imperialism's wars on Latin America, we consider it urgent to introduce as widely as possible the new Spanish editions of both **Marxism and Freedom** and **Philosophy and Revolution**, which are now coming off the press in Mexico. **WE NEED YOUR HELP** to pay the staggering postage costs for such work.

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 1955, and who have enabled N&L to keep going. We turn to you once more, at this historic moment, to ask for your financial contribution and your ideas. **WE CANNOT CONTINUE WITHOUT YOUR HELP.**

Please, give as generously as you can to keep N&L going and expanding!

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**THE BATTLE OF IDEAS CONTINUE**

When I was in El Salvador last year, many Salvadoran student revolutionaries kept asking me questions about Marx, about Hegel and other revolutionary philosophers. They made me feel that I have to know about these 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 get together and think so hard about a statement that they wanted to write for a demonstration. I'm very eager to read both **Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution** by Raya Dunayevskaya so that the next time I go to El Salvador, I can talk with Salvadoran youth about philosophies of revolution.

**Young Chicana  
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 Dupre in his Preface to the 1989 edition speaks of Raya as "interpreting" the historical development of the struggle for freedom, while Raya points out that she is concerned with anticipating the next stage of revolt. In chapter 1, "Absolute Negativity As New Beginning," the "as new beginning" is something fundamentally different from merely interpreting the world, or engaging in philosophical debate for the sake of it alone.

**Mitch Weerth  
Los Angeles**

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 Marx to a vulgar materialist and say that he stood Hegel right side up and broke with him. But the truth is that Marx practiced and deepened Hegel's philosophy all his life, and especially in his **Grundrisse and Capital**.

**Philosophy teacher  
Mexico City**

Now that Ceausescu has fallen, it is important to recall who his "friends" and defenders were—not only Stalinists and capitalist rulers, but also even some independent radicals. Sadly, I recall hearing Petra Kelly of the West German Greens speak at Columbia University in December 1981, on the eve of martial law in Poland. Not only did Kelly refuse to support Solidarnosc, claiming that we should not "meddle" in Poland. She also lauded Ceausescu for the totally orchestrated-from-above "peace" movement which he had just formed in Romania.

It is this type of attitude by Left and anti-war groups in the West that has done so much to undermine possible links between the freedom movements in the West and the East.

**Kevin A. Barry  
Illinois**

News & Letters seems to be the only theoretically based paper in the country. It keeps me informed on developments throughout the world. Thank you for my donor sub.

**Prisoner  
Pennsylvania**

**PHILOSOPHIC DIALOGUE**

In the article written by Eugene Walker about how Raya Dunayevskaya was developing the meaning of Hegel's study of "Attitudes to Objectivity" we see how Raya was impelled again to come back to Hegel, to be able to explain the retrogression that we experienced in our time. New forms of organization were born out of spontaneity in Nicaragua, South Africa, Poland and Iran. But they were not prepared to resist the retrogressive ideological pull of the age. The rulers were able to influence the minds of both the spontaneous rank-and-file, and the "vanguard" Left.

**Youth of the 1990s  
Los Angeles**

I don't get Walker's statement "What was new in the mid-1980s was how...the objective/subjective reality of our state-capitalistic age...and the philosophic

new beginnings emerging from Dunayevskaya's following out of the self-determination of the Idea merged." You mean Dunayevskaya's development of philosophy and the "objective/subjective reality" didn't "merge" until the mid-1980s? What about the 1950s, when Dunayevskaya created the category "Marxist-Humanism" following the 1956 Hungarian Revolution?

**Puzzled  
Chicago**

I work as a nutritionist and study acupuncture and encounter a lot of New Age people who are steeped in the "third attitude to objectivity." Faith is powerful when it comes to healing but I try to think dialectically about the struggle towards freedom (and health). To me disease is alienation. When I discuss this at school, many agree so long as I keep it abstract. But when I say "the number one problem in health is capitalism" I often get hostility. Evidently, I'll have to find a way to communicate my ideas more concretely.

**Nutritionist  
New York**

**THE MINDS OF WOMEN**

In some respects Israel reminds me of the time before the emancipation of women. Women are still getting less pay for the same work. There is now not even one woman in our government! It seems to me that in Israel women are getting less equal instead of the other way around.

**Woman activist  
Tel Aviv, Israel**

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's good for my body and what is not. Parental consent for abortion is not good for my mind or body. It cheats me of my intelligence, my right as a woman and as a human being. The thought of having parental consent robs young women of having control of their own bodies and puts it into the hands of their parents. This is not right. And I will fight this to the very end.

**High school student,  
Chicago**

**AN APPEAL FROM IRANIAN WORKERS ORGANIZATION**

**The Exiled Worker: Organ of the Council of Iranian Exiled Workers** is a new Farsi language publication which comes out of Bonn, West Germany. In its latest issue (#6) the editors write: "Workers in our country live in terrible conditions. But despite the suppression and the difficulties they are in search of new pathways for the struggle. They organize their protests in whatever way they can, through temporary and underground organizations...Solidarity between workers of the world has a very important impact on the lives and struggles of workers. But Iranian workers have been deprived of this international support."

The Exiled Worker appeals for support from and dialogue with workers internationally. It reports on the starvation conditions of Iranian workers who face an unemployment rate of 50%, an inflation rate of 500%, and new laws which replace older workers with youn-

ger workers hired on a temporary basis. It documents the arrests and executions of worker activists and the ongoing struggles to create workers' councils, independent of the Islamic Republic.

This issue of the Exiled Worker also includes articles about workers' struggles in South Africa and West Germany, a book review section, and a discussion article on the goals of an independent workers' movement. In this article, the writer asks: "Have we learned from our past mistakes? Have we reached new achievements? If you ask my opinion, I will say that there are no ready made answers. Forward movement demands deep and serious study and a multi-dimensional and widespread discussion."

The Exiled Worker is eager to "establish relations with all worldwide workers' organizations and other progressive groups." You can write them at:  
Postlagerkarte Nr. 123903 C  
53 Bonn 1, WEST GERMANY

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# Bush's Panama invasion; Gorbachev and East European uprisings

(continued from page 1)

The invasion of the Nicaraguan ambassador's residence in Panama City, far from being the "screw-up" Bush claimed it to be, sent a chilling message to the Nicaraguans. Bayardo Arce Castano, a member of the Sandinista Directorate, wondered aloud whether Nicaragua was the "next target," and said that in the "present world situation" Russia's "only response would be a protest" to a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua.

So high was Bush riding after the invasion of Panama that he rushed to carry out plans to station warships off the coast of Colombia and install surveillance stations in the Andes from Colombia to Bolivia, even before his "Drug Summit" set for Feb. 15. The widespread outrage in Latin America, however, even from the rulers, not only made him slow those plans down, but reminded Pentagon planners that the indigenous revolutionary movements throughout Latin America will not be so easily silenced.

## ROMANIA'S OVERTHROW OF CEAUSESCU

The very same week which saw the U.S. invasion of Panama saw the swift, stunning overthrow of Nicolae Ceausescu's brutal regime in Romania. In a span of only six days, the Romanian masses brought down the most monolithically totalitarian dictatorship in East Europe. The U.S. media, which had forgotten that Noriega was a creature of U.S. imperialism, did not fail to tell us that Ceausescu was originally a loyal Moscow subordinate until he went "out of control" in the 1960s in order to follow his own, nationalistically independent, but thoroughly Stalinist path.

The revolution which ended his rule was a deep, spontaneous outpouring of nearly the whole population. It brought to a new height the courage and creativity the Romanian masses had shown for years in their resistance to Ceausescu—from the 1987 uprising of truck and tractor factory workers in Brasov who stormed Communist Party headquarters, through the secret organization of students at Bucharest University, to the ceaseless resistance of Romanian women to Ceausescu's policies of forced childbirth and the banning of all birth control.

So rapidly did Ceausescu fall that it is perhaps easy to miss the many layers of society who participated. It was the Hungarian minority, long persecuted in Romania, who sparked the initial demonstrations, Dec. 16, in Timisoara. It was the workers there who, after the massacre of 4,000 or more protesters, launched a general strike Dec. 20, occupying their plants and threatening to blow them up. And it was the university students, secretly meeting in emergency session while Ceausescu visited Tehran, who organized the protests in Bucharest's Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej Square, Dec. 22. Those protests did not stop until Ceausescu had fled from his palace by helicopter. And even then, the masses, joined by sections of the Army, had to wage war against Ceausescu's 30,000-man "Securitate," the hated secret police. No previous Communist regime in the post-Stalin period had ever attempted so bloody a counter-revolution to maintain its rule.

By early January, however, many of the revolutionary forces were questioning whether the new government in power, calling itself the "Council for National Salvation," was usurping the revolution for which so much blood had been shed. Students at Bucharest University charged that the 11-member Executive Committee of the Council for National Salvation was largely made up of those who were members of the "nomenklatura"—Communist Party higher-ups—or of army generals, or both.

The role of the Army in the Romanian events looms very large. No fewer than three generals now hold cabinet posts in the Council for National Salvation government. Nor was the institutional unity of the Army fractured during the overthrow of Ceausescu; a great deal of continuity with the past characterizes its post-overthrow nature.

As for the party, on the one hand, its entire structure had collapsed with Ceausescu's overthrow. On the other hand, many of the new leaders were former Communist Party officials who had fallen out with Ceausescu in the 1970s and 1980s. These included Silviu Brucan and Ion Iliescu, two of the most prominent figures in the Council for National Salvation. Brucan had even managed a trip to Moscow five weeks before the uprising to confer with Party leaders there.

The reactions to the overthrow of Ceausescu in Moscow and Washington were strikingly similar. U.S. Secretary of State James Baker even invited Russia to invade Romania during the first days of the revolution, "if it would help finish off the Securitate." His Russian counterpart, Shevardnadze, visiting Bucharest Jan. 5, proclaimed the atmosphere there "absolutely purifying," and went on to offer his view that Romania didn't have to hold the same political system as the USSR. The Warsaw Pact, he said, is linked by other interests—"national, geopolitical"—which will be maintained as long

as NATO also exists.

As for Silviu Brucan, he declared that Marxist theory had been "destroyed," and that the new Romania "will have to give up concepts like socialism, communism, capitalism and fascism." Whatever such rhetoric may mean, the fantastic truth is that insofar as the Romanian revolution hasn't swept beyond the Brucans and the Iliescus, Gorbachev can feel that he has successfully "cleaned up his backyard," much as Bush cleaned up his 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 slate of candidates in the elections it had called for April, many activists reacted angrily, saying that "so much has changed, yet so much remains the same."

## EAST GERMANY: DEBATES ON THE SECRET POLICE, ON REUNIFICATION

This sentiment has also characterized the attitude of many in the protests continuing daily in East Germany. The latest demonstrations have included a rally of over 50,000 in East Berlin Jan. 15, at which thousands invaded the headquarters of the secret police, smashing open locked file cabinets to examine surveillance documents. The same day, factory workers in East Berlin, Jena, Gera, Karl-Marx-Stadt and Zwickau went on strike, demanding the immediate dissolution of the secret police.



Despite the best efforts of the new government leader, Hans Modrow, and the new Communist party (SED) leader, Gregor Gysi, few have been fooled by their attempts to continue the secret police under different names. Huge crowds have continued to demonstrate, in Leipzig and East Berlin, against the new government, and against neo-fascist tendencies within East Germany.

At the same time, the opposition movements have encountered a much more difficult question—the issue of German "reunification," an issue which at times has threatened to absorb all discussion. The weekly rallies in Leipzig have become divided between those calling for "Deutschland—einig Vaterland," (Germany—United Fatherland) and those insisting on "Grossdeutschland—nein Danke," ("Greater Germany"—no thanks). The East German Social Democratic Party, the rapidly-growing organization linked to the West German party of the same name, announced that if they were elected to power in the May 6 elections, they would open talks on reunification immediately. And, of course, parties further to the right—including neo-fascist groups—have also insisted on reunification.

What makes this issue so complex is that the debate over reunification operates on many levels. For the superpowers, it is an issue which they evidently agreed at Malta to put off for a later date. For West Europe, it is an issue which can interfere with plans for West European free trade set for 1992. For West Germany's Kohl, and for East Germany's Modrow, it is the dominant issue in elections set for this year in both countries.

The question that has preoccupied so many—workers and students alike—in the movement within East Europe today, is how "the East" can quickly overcome its "technological backwardness" and join in the standard of living supposedly enjoyed in "the West." In East Germany some, but by no means all, of this has taken the form of the demand for "reunification."

What has been much less reported, however, is the emergence of new organizations challenging the actual conditions of life and labor, production relations and relations between men and women. In East Germany this has included the creation of an "Initiative for an Independent Women's Association," organized in early December by 1,000 women from both official and unofficial groups, demanding an end to the "dictatorship of the Politburo." And it has included the founding Dec. 20 of an "Initiative for Independent Trade Unions" by workers from 40 shops and institutions who argued that the official union (FDGB) sponsored by the Party and the State could not be reformed. (See their leaflet, p. 3)

Workers active in this movement have even criticized the most "Left" of the opposition groups, the United

Left (VL). One worker complained that they were "intellectuals who fight with each other all the time. They have programs to present to the workers, but we have already had years of that." Members of the "Initiative" insist that workers have to make the decisions that govern production and their lives.

## HOW TO ESCAPE 'UNDERDEVELOPMENT'?

Indeed, throughout East Europe, two starkly different attitudes to the economic facts of life divide the masses from the rulers. In Hungary, which has already begun implementing an austerity plan approved by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), workers are told that they will have to shoulder the burden of a \$20 billion foreign debt imposed upon this country of only 11 million people. And in Poland, the Solidarity-led government has announced draconian austerity measures, in cooperation with the IMF, which will result in a minimum of 400,000 jobless this year—with the total possibly reaching as high as 2 million!—while real income will fall by 25%. The Romanian workers know what such "austerity" plans are like. Ceausescu reduced Romania's foreign debt from \$20 billion to \$2 billion by making the population do without heat in winter, without electricity, without meat.

As the East European freedom movements today seek at one and the same time to liberate themselves from Russian neo-colonial rule and to find pathways out of "underdevelopment," their quandary recalls that faced by the African masses of the 1960s, who had freed themselves from Western colonialism. As the West promised to aid African economic development in the 1960s, so the U.S., West Germany and Japan have rushed to promise aid to East Europe today. The harsh reality, however, is that just as the West did not "develop" Africa then, so it can not "develop" East Europe now. There is simply not enough capital to go around after decades in which the rate of profit has fallen, despite worker "concessions."

Raya Dunayevskaya's 1973 work, *Philosophy and Revolution*, spoke with an amazing todayness about this crisis. Dunayevskaya showed that the relationship of Russia to its allies "does not differ fundamentally from that of the U.S. to Latin America or Africa. State capitalism can no more industrialize the underdeveloped countries than can private capitalism...The crisis is so total [because] labor will no longer consent to be a mere object. That this is seen most clearly in the underdeveloped world speaks of the high political maturity of our age and the 'full knowledge' that such a relationship of capital to labor has never led either to full industrialization or to a different way of life for the masses." (pp. 234-35)

The relationship of leaders to ranks within the opposition movements therefore becomes crucial. In Poland today, Jacek Kuron, now Minister of Labor in a Solidarity-led government with plenty of Communist Party participation, put one attitude forward quite bluntly last month: "Different times call for different priorities. In 1980 I used to organize strikes. Now my job is to stop strikes."

## THE CHALLENGE TO 'SELF-LIMITING REVOLUTION'

There is no way to explain how a one-time genuine revolutionary like Jacek Kuron, who helped to found KOR (Workers' Social Self-Defense Committee) in the 1970s and Solidarnosc in 1980, could end up sounding like Mikhail Gorbachev, unless one confronts the power of an ideological pull. It was Kuron who, in 1981—before Solidarnosc was banned and its leaders, Kuron included, jailed—put forth the concept of "self-limiting revolution." Kuron had the illusion that if Solidarnosc could "control" the masses, "limit" their aspirations and self-activity, then perhaps the Russian state and its Polish allies would allow political and economic "reforms."

Instead, "self-limiting revolution" eventually proved such an appealing concept to the rulers that it became the philosophic gap into which Mikhail Gorbachev rushed. From the vantage point of 1990, we can see that Kuron's tendency of "self-limiting revolution" has now been "adopted," for entirely different purposes, by the state-capitalist rulers. Gorbachev's ideological pull today is precisely "self-limiting revolution" armed with state power.

It is this that Gorbachev hopes to impose not only on East Europe, but within the Russian Empire itself, from Lithuania to Azerbaijan, and from Georgia to the Ukraine. He would do better to recall Lenin's view on the right of nations to self-determination within the Empire:

"If Finland, if Poland, if the Ukraine break away from Russia, there is nothing bad about that. Anyone who says there is, is a chauvinist. It would be madness to continue the policy of Tsar Nicholas...No nation can be free if it oppresses other nations."

What is new in the "East" in 1990 is that the masses have forced state-capitalism to stop calling itself "Communism." They have rejected all Communists, of every stripe. In so doing they have created a new opening in the search for a philosophy of human liberation, one which will not stop either at capitalism—private or state—or at any halfway house of "self-limiting revolution." The absolute opposite to the collusion of Bush and Gorbachev, to their machinations for retaining their class control, is the Humanism of Marx. It has never been more needed than now.

—January 19, 1990

**Panamanian speaks**

**'We're a colony of the United States'**

Los Angeles, Cal.—I was born in Panama City in 1925. I, as a Panamanian citizen, could not transit freely through my own country. We'd have to cross the Canal, and if the U.S. did not make the means available to us, we could not go from the east side to the west side of our own country. It is still that way today.

In the 1940s and '50s, I worked for the U.S. military in the Panama Canal Zone. There were separate drinking fountains and separate commissaries for U.S. citizens and for Panamanians. We Panamanians were called "aliens." The "alien" pay scale was a small fraction of the U.S. pay scale.

Manuel Noriega is a 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. developed a military in Panama for their own military and economic interests. "Democracy" was of no importance to the U.S. Panamanians suffered under military governments supported by the U.S. Life was very hard and very repressive. You couldn't hold a conversation with a friend in a public place, for fear of being arrested. If you said anything against the regime, you could be jailed or shot.

Noriega served the U.S. government very well for many years, but when he became too independent, they decided he had to go. My opinion is, that if the U.S. really wanted to get Noriega, they had many, many opportunities to snatch him or kill him. But instead they decided on this tremendous air, land, and sea invasion that killed so many Panamanian civilians.

The real numbers of civilian deaths have been covered up. The U.S. government refused to give any num-

**Protest church on AIDS**

New York, N.Y.—"Stop the Church, I want to get off," I heard the crowd chant as I arrived at St. Patrick's Cathedral that Sunday morning of Dec. 10. I was there to join up with more than 5,000 other protestors organized by ACT-UP (Aids Coalition to Unleash Power) and WHAM! (Women's Health Action Mobilization). The purpose of the action was to demonstrate anger and outrage at the Catholic Church's stance on AIDS and homosexuality. We were focusing on Cardinal John O'Connor who has been outspoken in his support for Operation Rescue and in his opposition to safe sex education, reproductive rights, homosexuality and contraception. His insensitivity to people with AIDS is made clear in his suggestion that "Good morality is good medicine."

As the crowd kept up a high level of energy outside the church, demonstrators posed as worshippers infiltrated the Sunday Mass being led by Cardinal O'Connor. As the Cardinal gave his sermon the demonstrators rose up and shouted slogans demanding that the church support reproductive rights and AIDS education. Also, when the Cardinal was saying the Lord's Prayer some of the demonstrators, who were gay, said it out loud with him. This disrupted the service because of O'Connor's policy not to worship with homosexuals.

Meanwhile on the outside, demonstrators were forming themselves into small groups to enter the street and block Fifth Avenue in daring civil disobedience characteristic of ACT-UP. Each arrest in the street created greater tension and enthusiasm within the crowd. Chants like "No Violence!" and "The whole world is watching!" were heard; 113 people were arrested.

Later, when it seemed as if the demonstration was dispersing, about 1,000 protesters reconvened on Sixth Avenue. Then we marched, crisscrossing down and around mid-town Manhattan.

The demonstration at St. Patrick's triggered a torrent of criticism as well as support.

At the ACT-UP meeting following the demonstration, the entire two hours were dedicated to discussion on the action and the future of the organization. One could not pick up a New York newspaper that week without finding an article or editorial on the demonstration.

It seems more and more that direct action, like that taken at St. Patrick's Cathedral, speaks to the urgency of the issue of AIDS and reproductive rights. "We're fighting for our lives."

The significance and controversy over the demonstration at St. Patrick's Cathedral may change the, up to now, docile form of protest. —Will Cisco

bers for three weeks, and then gave a number of about 200 civilian deaths, to which I lend no credence. Former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark was in Panama, and his information added up to 4,000-7,000 Panamanians killed.

The U.S. military bombed the whole shantytown neighborhood of San Miguelito. San Miguelito has no military installations; it is shacks on the side of a hill. I guess the U.S. government decided to put these poor people out of their misery.

This has been an old practice of the U.S. government, to go in somewhere and commit atrocities, and then come a couple of weeks later with dollar bills to sop up the blood. They try to engage in an extreme cover-up. The only people they're hiding the truth from today are the gullible people in the United States.

The government in Panama now is not liked by the majority of the people. The people voted for Endara because they wanted to vote against Noriega, but he's not well known in Panama nor is he equipped to be President. He couldn't even quote from the Panamanian Constitution 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're a colony of the U.S.

—Panamanian against the U.S. invasion

**Hong Kong deportations**

Oxford, England—The real worth of Thatcher's "support" for the freedom movements against Communist totalitarianism shows up in her actions of forcibly returning the "boat people" to Vietnam from the crowded detention compounds of Hong Kong, while preparing to transfer Hong Kong from British colonial rule to the Beijing dictatorship in 1997. The deportation of the Vietnamese is defended on the grounds that they are "economic migrants," not "political refugees." British governments loyally applauded while LBJ and Nixon rained high explosives, napalm and Agent Orange on Vietnam. Now poor fishermen and women are being sent back, while the ex-dictator, Nguyen Van Thieu, has been living in an English mansion for years.

Thatcher proposes to issue British passports to some 250,000 Hong Kong people, mainly businessmen, high-ranking civil servants and their families. The working class will be left to take their chances with Li Peng. Even so, there is a racist outcry from right-wing Tories like Norman Tebbit and Tony Marlowe, who don't want any Hong Kong Chinese in Britain at all.

We need to defend the rights of all refugees, whether from repression or poverty or war, to seek new lives in Britain or anywhere in the world. A very immediate demand is self-determination for Hong Kong. British imperialism and Chinese state-capitalism cannot be the only alternatives. The people of Hong Kong should have the right to rule themselves until the road to freedom in China is open again. —Richard Bunting

**Eyewitness report**

**El Salvador at war**

Editor's note: Below we print excerpts from a talk by Eric Dahl-Bredine, a North American lay missionary in El Salvador. This talk was given in December to a group of youth at Central American Task Force in Chicago.

I live in a shantytown called Maria Madre de los Pobres, located on the edge of San Salvador. Most of the 30,000 people living there are displaced people, refugees from other regions of El Salvador who live in tin and cardboard shacks along railroad tracks. Most of the children can't go to school because they have to work. Most people are unemployed or sell fruit, vegetables or gum on the street. They have no sewer, no running water and see their children die of malnutrition and dehydration.

I work for the parish clinic, which is run mainly by high school and college students, who are also displaced people. All of us who work for the parish are very active in social work and have been the object of governmental repression. Many of our parish workers have been held in custody, beaten up and tortured.

After the ARENA government's murder of 14 trade union and human rights activists when it bombed the office of FENESTRAS [a trade union coalition] and CoMadres [a women's organization] in San Salvador, the FMLN [Farabundi Marti National Liberation Front] called an offensive against the government. On Nov. 11 when the offensive started, the military started a continuous and non-stop bombing of all poor neighborhoods. It became clear to us that this was more intense than anything before. The morning after the offensive we couldn't move around. Before the military came in, the air force went over the railroad tracks, strafing and rocketing the tin shacks. Many people, mostly women, children and older people were wounded. Later that day the army forcibly entered our parish. They placed us in the line of fire for the next three days. They accused us of collaborating with the FMLN. They kept threatening: "We'll bomb you to dust."

When the bombing was most intense, those of us in the orphan house of the parish were watching the news. President Cristiani was saying that the army wasn't bombing us, at the same time that we were hearing and seeing the bombs falling. It was ironic. I called the U.S. embassy and reported the bombing, and they repeated what Cristiani had said.

On the fourth day of the bombing, the army launched a mortar on the roof of our clinic. They killed children in the orphanage and wounded our doctors and nurses. At that point we had to evacuate the clinic.

Our priest Daniel said he was not leaving the parish. But after the news of the murder of six Jesuit priests and their housekeeper and her daughter reached us, we decided to evacuate everyone in the clinic. As we drove out, another mortar fell through the clinic. We took people from our clinic to a nearby school which already had 1,000 refugees. The city of San Salvador was full of refugees. And all of us were under a curfew. Many were shot when they went out after 6 p.m.

All the churches in El Salvador have been raided. Many Salvadorans were jailed and are still in jail. Members of CoMadres, workers, students, human rights organizations have been forced to go underground. And many North American activists were deported. I left because I was forced to, but I intend to go back.

**Brazil's election: why Lula lost**

"We destroyed the PT," cried Fernando Collor de Mello upon learning of his victory over socialist Luis Inacio da Silva, better known as "Lula," in last Dec. 17's presidential runoff election in Brazil. Lula's Workers' Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores—PT) was unable to avoid a defeat, although by a narrow margin, even in its own home turf of Sao Paulo, Brazil's largest city.

The destruction of the PT, however, is highly exaggerated and premature. It was exactly a year ago that the Brazilian media dismissed Lula as a serious contender for the presidency. Yet, it was Lula, a former lathe worker and union leader, who came closer to power than any other leftist candidate in Brazilian political history. He carried the South (16.4% of the electorate) with 51.7% of the vote and only lost in the southeastern and northeastern regions (a combined 71.9% of the total electorate) by narrow margins of less than 1% and 5% respectively. The young, best-educated and urban sectors of the population voted for Lula. The PT, through his candidacy, certainly demonstrated its strength in most progressive and urban centers of the nation.

However, Lula and his party suffered their most devastating defeat in the state of Sao Paulo, where the most advanced labor movement in the country was born. Its leader, Lula, received only about 44% of Sao Paulo's 18 million votes, Brazil's largest electorate. Collor was not merely a conservative candidate of the uneducated and rural voters of the interior, where he campaigned intensively. He was also an efficient, highly visible campaigner in the cities, who aggressively attacked his opponent. The Left begrudgingly rallied around the PT's red flag during the second round of the election, too late to give an impression of real unity.

Lula and his party were too timid in counterattacking Collor's smear and scare tactics, losing the initiative and ultimately the middle classes' hearts and votes. Against Collor's well-oiled campaign, backed by a major media colossus, Globo Communications Network (Brazil's largest and most influential TV and radio network), Lula's PT seemed lost in old platitudes that were assailed by

their opponents as policies bound to worsen Brazil's economic crisis. The voters were offered no new distinctive political platform by the PT or anyone else. Instead, they put their hopes on Collor's numerous Munchausen promises.

Collor's image as a maverick above party politics, capable of getting rid of corruption and solving the nation's serious economic woes, is what triumphed over the fears of ideology. This 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. —Sergio Tinosa

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## 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. Those long-hidden-away personal notes of Mencken revealed that the great American iconoclast, in his private thoughts, was a conservative bigot who disliked Jews and Blacks and had the utmost contempt for "lint-heads," poor white Southerners.

Our present generation of Black and white intellectuals probably knows little, or has never heard, of Mencken. But in his heyday, in the post-World War I decade of the 1920s, he had a powerful personal influence over a whole generation of Black and white intellectuals. As the editor of the *American Mercury*, he helped set into motion a new direction in American literature, not just white American literature but the Black American literature of the Harlem Renaissance. It was Mencken's contention and purpose to break American literature away from its puritanical genteel past and let it express the full range of the American experience. Thus as the editor of the *American Mercury* he published the early stories of Langston Hughes and the social satires of George Schuyler.

### BEHIND MENCKEN'S ICONOCLASM

But Mencken was not wholly concerned 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 relationship with the Black leadership of the NAACP. In 1919, shortly after the "race riots" in Chicago and Washington, D.C., he wrote a letter to James Weldon Johnson, then an official of the NAACP, supporting the idea that Blacks should defend themselves against the "low-caste white man," a "cruel poltroon," because "...once he is convinced that chasing Negroes is dangerous, he will stop."

During the 1920s and the early 1930s Mencken was probably best known for his condemnation of lynchings and other violence perpetuated on Blacks. He singled out the white South and castigated it for its wanton cruelty and ugly backwardness. Richard Wright, in his biography *Black Boy*, tells a dramatic story of how he discovered Mencken by reading a furious editorial in the *Memphis Commercial Appeal* attacking Mencken. This caused Wright to wonder what Mencken had said and at the same time revealed to him the power of words.

By 1930s standards Mencken appeared to be the most liberal white man in this country on the race issue. Some Black writers even imitated his style of writing and Walter White, in his book *Rope and Fagot*, accepted uncritically Mencken's thesis on the psychology of lynchers. And yet, once you delve into Mencken's iconoclasm, that is, his parodying and lampooning the American society, you find that it is grounded in the conservative, retrogressive philosophy of social Darwinism, a philosophy that actually

## Jobs not jails

*Los Angeles, Cal.*—The Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors recently revealed its plan to build eight more jails in south-central Los Angeles, claiming this would reduce crime by incarcerating more people more efficiently because the jails would be "where the criminals are."

But a new grassroots coalition is challenging that formula, not alone because of residents' subjective fears of 2,000 inmates right next to their homes, but because of the objective truth that this is but one more manifestation of the deep contempt that the County Board holds for this poor Black and Hispanic community.

At a Jan. 13 hearing, where some 150 residents and activists gathered, a state assemblyman opposed to the jail summed up the Board's attitude, "If they had their way, they'd fence off the whole community and that would be the jail!" A woman activist clarified the racism of the move: "They try to blame all the crime in the county on the Black community, but statistics show that just isn't true." The question that all at the hearing wanted to address is, why is this jail being proposed for this community and not others?

One after another, community residents angrily responded and told what they want. Their words echoed the very name of their coalition: "Jobs, not Jails!" One woman said, "They've built jails before, and the crime has just gone up. Why don't they look at what causes crime. It's poverty, and none of the Black politicians have addressed that!" Another woman reasoned that "It's because we don't have the social services, the drug rehab programs, the places that give young people something to do. In some other communities youth have those things available right in their schools."

"Jobs, not Jails" also held a successful picket at an elementary school adjacent to one of the proposed sites. There, schoolchildren carried signs they made saying things like "kids, not jails" and "2,000 jail beds will be for the homeless."

To this writer, this jail proposal is carrying out capitalism's drive for a two-tier society which deliberately tries to insulate the employed working class from the poor. But far from dividing the community, this drive is deeply opposed by workers as well as non-workers here, as clearly evidenced by the audience at this hearing. —

Wayne Carter

## Racial chauvinism of H.L. Mencken

separated Mencken from his own age of revolt.

It has long been well known among the intellectuals that it was Mencken's philosophy of social Darwinism which determined his real attitude toward Blacks. Mencken had a stubborn belief that none 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 Renaissance was selective. It was directed toward "exceptional" Blacks, such as writers and artists. In an article he wrote for the *American Mercury* in 1925 praising a collection of essays on Black intellectuals, 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 removed from gorillas."

The words "gorillas," "dark yokels only half civilized," "afroamerican baboons," are typical descriptions that Mencken applied to the Black masses. These words appeared in published articles and in private letters to individuals, even letters to George Schuyler. The obvious question is: why did it take so

long to discover that Mencken was a racist? Why didn't his Black associates pillory him for it? What affinity did they find in Mencken?

From today's vantage point it is easy to recognize that the phenomenon of Mencken's iconoclasm came at a time of an acute crisis in American thought. It was a period when the old traditions, moralities and ideologies of the ruling class were palpably at odds with a new consciousness of freedom that was emerging from Black and white intellectuals, from labor and the Black masses. To this upheaval Mencken didn't bring an alternative idea that could unify these movements for self-determination; he only brought criticism and more criticism to the point where it blurred the new reality.

The publishing of Mencken's *Diary* was not the greatest event of the last decade. Yet bringing Mencken and his ideas back into the consciousness of the present is not totally unrelated to the present crisis in thought.

## Black World

(continued from page 1)

for revenge against the urban "Black peril."

So palpable is this spectre that the media's sentimental characterization of the Stuart killing as a "tragedy in Camelot" persists even after the revelations of Charles Stuart's cold-blooded murder of his pregnant wife. And yet, no one seems to think that there is anything "tragic" about the draconian police crackdown on Black men in Mission Hill and Roxbury. Instead, *Newsweek* asked its readers, in its Jan. 22 cover-story on the Boston murder, to "Imagine being miles from the scene of the crime and subjected to a strip search for absolutely no other reason than that you are young and black." Then, it declares incredulously, as if it has happened onto a startling revelation of American society: "That simply does not happen to white people in similar circumstances."

What *Newsweek* and all the white media have missed, was summed-up by Chuck Turner, a Black Boston community activist: "Here's a man who is trying to get rid of his wife. Chuck Stuart didn't drive into a white neighborhood to do it. He understood very clearly the mentality of the public. The emotional construct of white female endangerment by a black male is such a strong emotional force."

In the Black community, the tragedy is not only the police department's wholesale annulling of Black civil rights, nor even that James Moody, a Black man, fatally shot the same night as the Stuarts, elicited no such public concern. As his girlfriend said, "no mayor called about my loss." The tragedy, in the true sense of the word, is that some segments of the Black community participated in its own betrayal. So overwhelming is the rhetoric of the state's "war on drugs" that 66% of Black adults polled in Boston were in favor of the unconstitutional stop-and-search policy of Mayor Flynn and the Boston police department.

Perhaps that is what gives Black Harvard law professor Derrick Bell the temerity to insist that "Mr. Stuart's hoax was plausible because black crime is real." Historically, American racism has never needed the perception of "Black crime" as an excuse to terrorize the Black community. Such racist brutalization of the Black community is the cruel "hoax" of American civilization. Charles Stuart's murderous "hoax" was successful because it was ideologically rooted in America's ongoing 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 also comprehend the Marxist-Humanist notion that they are the ones who put "American civilization on trial."

### REINVENTION OF AMERICAN RACISM

The exacting task of comprehension does not stop there, however. For not only had the alarm of Black endangerment of white society that the media sounded become so deafening as to drown out any doubt about Charles Stuart's story. In a single instant there appeared at one and the same time the media image of the "Black peril" and the "great white hope." We heard the media's constant replay of the "heroic" voice of Charles Stuart calling from his car phone to the Boston police, reporting the senseless shooting of his wife and himself by a Black assailant in a black running suit, the supposed uniform of the Black inner city drug pusher.

In the racist tangle of the American mind, which gets played out in the phenomenal world of the media and whose ironies are ideologically manipulated by the likes of Reagan and Bush, can there be any doubt about the efficacy of such a media-driven image in America's broader political context? On the excuse of endangerment of American "white" lives, especially the threat of sexual assault to a military officer's wife, Bush invaded the predominantly Black nation of Panama.

Neither Panamanian strong-man Manuel Noriega, nor, as the Boston press would have us believe, the three Black men held in the Stuart case, are portrayed as sympathetic characters. However, in the nation's catharsis with the "drug war," the actual victims remain the poor Black masses whose communities are occupied, whose civil rights are violated, whose minds and lives are thrown up against the wall of American racism.

## 30th anniversary of Greensboro sit-in



The historic Greensboro sit-in which unleashed a new stage of freedom activities in the Civil Rights Movement was initiated on Feb. 1, 1960 by four heroic Black students, David Richmond, Franklin McCain, Ezell Blair, Jr., and Joseph McNeil.

## Black Dimension

(continued from page 4)

Schomburg Collection in New York, had a series of lectures called "A World View of the Negro Question" and invited important speakers, the most important of whom was DuBois. I attended.

In that same period there were many people from Africa who wanted to go back to their country and fight for African freedom—African exchange students. They also came to these lectures. The names did not mean anything then, but you will recognize them now. One of them was Kwame Nkrumah, now the head of Ghana. The other was [Nnamdi] Azikiwe, now the head of Nigeria.

DuBois gave a speech which he had prepared as the educational director of the NAACP, to be given to the soon-to-be-established United Nations, in which he appealed for freedom for the African people. 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 wanted to say openly that I was a Marxist, and believed in the freedom of all peoples and all workers, and therefore could not understand how you could appeal to the United Nations which consists of Britain, France and Portugal, all of whom have a part of Africa, to give you your freedom. So I wanted to know what was behind the appeal and why it was being handed in to this institution [the UN].

DuBois is a very polished man, a graduate of Harvard and [the University of Berlin], speaks with an English accent, and in general very sophisticated. And here was I, a little rank-and-filer. He says, the lady says she's a Marxist, so I don't think she deserves an answer. He was really only making a speech, he wasn't asking for any questions.

There are about 5% whites and 95% Negro, and all through the hall there's a great tumult saying she certainly does deserve an answer—not only that, we want to know. We agree with her, not with you. The two who jumped up to defend me and demand he answer were Nkrumah and Azikiwe.

At the end of that I had more people around me than DuBois had around him. All of them had pamphlets in their pockets. If you were under British rule, you had one against British imperialism. Everybody was trying to get something published. Nkrumah said he would go back and lead a strike in his country and that was how he would win freedom, not by asking....

**Youth**

**East German youth in protest**

*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 and listened to have a lot of hope, yet hope is innocent; it can be politically abused. Students East and West are cautious as well as hopeful—not trusting Kohl or the SED (United Socialist Party of Germany). They fear what can happen—and are working so that this fear won't come true.

The students in Leipzig, for instance, though ambiguous about one Germany, are not ambiguous in their belief that a democratic socialism is possible, without a "party" and with a "free market," free of the dogma of Marxist-Leninism/elitist "socialism" and of capitalism. They say "One Germany yes, but what kind of Germany?"

In the two Berlins people are the most celebratory in a land full of celebration. People are making new friends, contacts, and crossing freely in both directions.

While TV presents the celebrations, many West Berlin students can't find a place to live or a place to work. The housing situation is bad all over West Germany, but worse here. Students at the Free and Technical universities are glad about what the East Germans have 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 20 years. Many were born here but are allowed to live in only certain districts, segregated from richer Germans and with the worst jobs when they can find something.)

These problems must not be forgotten in the euphoria. The liberation process of East Europe must not be used to ignore the demands in the West.

Right now, the major split is over the question of reunification—when, on what terms, and how. Some students and intellectuals like Christa Wolf also ask "why?" fearing a situation where the achievements of the last few months, and the uniqueness of DDR (East Germany) could be levelled out under the banality of West German capitalism.

The students in Leipzig, who started the protests there, were speaking and thinking about new possibilities, democratic socialism. They and many intellectuals felt that this means continuing two Germanies.

Yet the majority of people see unification as the prerequisite for making anything else. Though they are making a social experiment now, the mood of workers, farmers, ordinary people is that they want "democracy

and the standard of living of West Germany now"; "talk to us of socialism and experiments after we have experienced what this is like." Yet now they are experiencing it with free travel to the West.

What Marx critiqued the materialists for forgetting, that it is men and women who change circumstances and that the educator himself needs educating, has a profound relationship to the East Germans today telling the elite, the police, and the party functionaries who set themselves above society, "we are the people."

**High School Coke boycott**



**Chicago, Ill.**—The senior theology class at the all girls St. Scholastica High School deals with social justice issues. Our teacher refers to us as his "radical" class because we immediately get to the problem and come up with answers we think will work. When we think we have just solved a major world crisis, we wonder why others haven't done so—and then realize the classroom isn't the real world.

The issue that most enraged us was apartheid. We saw movies showing the horrible life Blacks are forced to lead in South Africa and were in shock. Here were human beings who had to beg for the basic necessities of life: three square meals a day, clean water to drink, sanitary living conditions!

Then we learned that Coca-Cola was heavily invested in South Africa. We wanted to let them know we wouldn't stand for what they wanted to do. Each class saw the movie and discussed it, and there was a significant change in what people were drinking after that.

When Coca Cola got wind of what we were up to, we received new bicycles and tee-shirts as a present for our many years of "being good customers." That was the real test for us, would we continue with the boycott? We decided everything should go back, the Administration agreed, so back they all went.

We think we can make a change somewhere, no matter how small. Too many people have no faith in teenagers today—but they can see from just this 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 people face, not only in South Africa, but everywhere.

—St. Scholastica student

**A Romanian youth speaks**

"In the first days, we faced terrorists with arms. Now we are faced with terrorists with ideas, and they are much more dangerous. They are more adept than we are. They are from the old order; they feel the ground being cut from under them. It is happening everywhere now. The farther you get from Bucharest, the more acute the struggle. It is in every factory, every institution. The truth is, 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 free to fly, but we don't know how to do it. We don't yet know how to fly. We don't know how to use the freedom we have won. We need people to be close to us and help us, and we always need to remember why we did this."

—Vilutza Virtejanu, 19-year-old

**Essay Article**

(continued from page 5)

nal sentence of the Phenomenology, "Heretofore<sup>9</sup> the expression 'the two together' or both together was taken to mean practice as well as philosophy. In fact, it isn't practice, it is Science as well as philosophy, recollection as well as consummation [that] must undergo the Crucifixion and be 'born anew.' This is absolutely phenomenal, and I don't mean phenomena."

It surely is. For it signifies that for the philosophy of freedom to be worked out anew, it is necessary that "Science," the philosophic comprehension of History that the founder of a new continent of thought and of revolution has achieved, must itself be "born anew" in the hands of a new generation.

Lukacs' rejection of Hegel's concept of "Science" on the grounds that it "annuls history" has everything to do with why he could not see how Erinnerung leads to new beginnings. Once he skipped over the question of Subject, he was unable to grasp the presence of History in Hegel's Absolute. And once he did that, the concreteness of the power of the Idea eluded him. He thereby skipped over the energizing principle that can enable the internalized totality to be shaped anew as new beginning. As Dunayevskaya put it in her March, 1973 critique of Lukacs, "mediation became Subject-less; 'totality' became cult."

In a word: Erinnerung without "Science," Recollection without the power of the Idea, cannot work out Absolute as new beginning.

The tragedy is that while Lukacs tried to work out political new beginnings after allying himself with the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, he failed to overcome the barriers standing in the way of philosophic new beginnings, precisely because he shied away from the dimension of philosophic self-comprehension—the realm Hegel develops most fully in his Philosophy of Mind.

To overcome those barriers today entails working out the concept embedded in Dunayevskaya's 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes." As we saw earlier, in discerning a movement from practice to theory within Hegel's Absolute in her Letter of May 20, 1953, Dunayevskaya not only posed the inseparability of History from the Absolute, but went on to project the power of the Idea itself.

The urgency of returning to and working out that 1953 breakthrough as concept cannot be over-emphasized, because it surely is possible to grasp the centrality of Subjects of revolution—i.e., workers, women, youth, Blacks and other minorities—without grasping the power of the Idea itself. Dunayevskaya critiqued her colleagues for this in her Presentation of June 1, 1987, writing "We were so overwhelmed with the movement from practice that we were hardly as enthusiastic or as concrete about the movement from theory, if not actually forgetting it. I therefore wish to go into great detail about those two letters of 1953, not as the small coin of concrete questions, but as the many Universals inherent in it..."

Nowhere does it become more important to unearth those "many Universals" than on the question of organization. For it is on the question of organization where there is always a pull to come to a conclusion without working out the power of philosophic comprehension. But to pose the "unity" of History with an organization based on philosophy while skipping over the power of philosophic comprehension, cannot possibly get us on the "untrodden path" of dialectics of organization and philosophy that no post-Marx Marxist has yet traveled.

The working out of Dunayevskaya's "philosophic moment" of 1953 as concept is thus not only a question of recollecting the past, but also one of anticipating the future inherent in the present. In this sense Dunayevskaya could well have been writing of her own philosophic moment when she wrote in the margin of her copy of *The Young Hegel* (p. 566), "Because it is not immortality that is of the essence, but whether the next generation can jump off from that ground. Each generation finds new jumping off points from [Hegel's] Phenomenology..."

9. See Dunayevskaya's Presentation to the Resident Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees of March 23, 1987, in Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, Vol. 13, #10727-33; see also her 1960 "Notes on Hegel's Phenomenology," reprinted in *News & Letters*, May 8, 1987.

**Theory/Practice Caucus**

*"Each new generation must, out of relative obscurity, discover its mission, fulfill it, or betray it."*

—Frantz Fanon

At the Progressive Student Network (PSN) Fall Conference, 12 students from Illinois State, Bradley, Bowling Green, Edwardsville and Northern Illinois participated in a workshop on "Youth as Subject for Revolution." Participants agreed that open discussion of ideas and historical movements for freedom are squelched at PSN gatherings. We all know many others who had similar experiences and left the PSN for that very reason. We agree that activity, practice, and concrete organizing are essential to all freedom movements, however, it cannot be separated from the historical development of the idea of freedom.

If we are to succeed in uprooting this sexist, racist, homophobic, classist mess of a society, our generation must grasp and develop that idea of freedom for our own age. As Marx wrote in 1844, "Material force must be overthrown by material force. But theory, too, will become material force as soon as it seizes the masses. Theory is capable of seizing the masses as soon as it is...radical. To be radical is to grasp the matter by the root." The root of humanity is the human being.

At the closing session of the conference we gave a report declaring the formation of the theory/practice caucus, asserting that the anti-intellectualism of limiting discussion solely to concrete organizing tasks under the guise of "avoiding ideological debate" is itself an ideology.

That ideology is pragmatism, which produces an administrative mentality of seeing issues and people as resources. Pragmatism is the ideology of capitalism. We must transcend this form of thought if we are to transcend capitalism and achieve our goal. That goal is absolute freedom.

In the 1960s there was a lot of concrete organizing with millions in the streets and yet we still have racism, sexism, homophobia, and classism. The civil rights and abortion rights that were won are now being taken away. How do we, as a movement overcome the contradictions of the 1960s and avoid another collapse and another retrogression? We propose that in place of the sham abstract unity of vague goals, we forge a unity through the struggle of ideas and action.

Elitist attitudes are predominant among "leaders" in the movement today. We cannot have a movement towards true freedom as long as these attitudes continue. In order to avoid this we must develop an understanding of the subjectivity of oppressed peoples. This includes both studying revolutionary thinkers and studying the self-activity of the masses as a form of theory.

—Participants

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Coming next issue—  
*Workers in Iranian Revolution*

## Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

The disclosure that President Bush sent two officials to Beijing last July, only a few weeks after the June 4 Tiananmen Square massacre and while dissidents were still being rounded up, jailed, and executed, indicates his total contempt for the freedom struggle of the Chinese people.

The secret mission undertaken by no less than Brent Scowcroft, Bush's National Security Advisor, and Lawrence Eagleburger, Deputy Secretary of State, violated the President's June 20 ban on any high-level official exchanges, supposedly meant to express U.S. condemnation of the Chinese rulers. The July trip was exposed shortly after a nearly identical visit to Beijing made by the same two envoys on Dec. 9, sent by Bush this time purportedly to brief Chinese rulers on the Malta summit.

The Chinese state's attempts to rewrite the history of the 1989 freedom movement, including the authorities' slaughter of the opposition, has found an echo in the Bush administration's attempts to alter the historic memory at home. Thus, the purpose of the December trip to China was cynically described by Bush's press secretary: "Once the public gets used to more normal-

## Genocide in Sudan

In late December, over 2,000 African Southerners were massacred by a pro-government Muslim militia in Jelebein, in the Sudan. Four Muslims were killed in the violence, where the raiders used automatic weapons. For the past several years, the Muslim-dominated Northern 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 armed to the teeth by the government and dubbed a militia; 2) the capture of Southern Blacks, especially women and children, who are then sold into slavery in the North; 3) army massacres, and 4) the destruction 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 Sadek al-Mahdi was overthrown last year by Gen. Omar Hassan Ahmed al-Bashir. The main aim of the Northern reactionaries is to impose Muslim sharia "law" on the South. On Jan. 16, even a plan to allow international relief agencies to distribute food was squelched by the government. That same government gets massive aid from the U.S. government, which occasionally issues a mild diplomatic protest via U.S. Ambassador James R. Cheek.

## Bulgarian unrest shakes up government

In recent weeks dramatic changes at the top in Bulgaria and discontent from below have begun to shake up this ultra-loyal satellite of Moscow. Ever since long-time Stalinist ruler Todor Zhivkov resigned in November, Communist politicians such as the new Communist Party (CP) leader Peter Mladenov have promised Gorbachev-style reforms. Zhivkov was put under house arrest, Jan. 18, and charged with inciting ethnic hostilities and misuse of government property and money.

But the masses did not wait to see changes trickle down from above. Within a week of Zhivkov's resignation, crowds as large as 50,000 cheered demands by dissident leaders for: "liquidation of all that remains of the totalitarian system," a free press, elimination of the secret police, and release of all political prisoners. Two specific grassroots demands, however, were hardly in line with a Gorbachev-style economic "restructuring" along so-called "market"

ized contacts, it won't be focused on the past," that is, the massacre of June 4 and repression that has continued to this day.

After the December visit, the Bush administration loosened restrictions on China getting World Bank loans, and allowed them to import a quantity of satellite technology. Bush had earlier vetoed a bill passed in Congress that would have allowed Chinese students in the U.S. to extend their visas indefinitely (see December N&L). As Scowcroft said of U.S. policy toward China after his December trip, it was designed "to reduce the negative influence of irritants in the relationship" between China and the U.S.

Events in Romania and their effect on China have proven to be an "irritant" the U.S. can't control. The Chinese Communist Party leaders had aligned themselves closely with the Ceausescu regime. They were shaken by the Romanian army siding against Ceausescu in the overthrow. Reportedly since then in China, the army has been subjected to political indoctrination classes on how "the party must exercise absolute control over the army."

It was also reported that some groups of Chinese students put up posters and banners ridiculing Ceausescu as a "lost dog" suggesting he might come to China and join four other "dogs," namely, the four senior Chinese leaders. Even more daring was an earlier demonstration,

when a half dozen protesters surrounded by a few hundred people staged a hit-and-run protest outside the government-run Ministry of Radio, Film and Television in Beijing. They carried a big banner asking, "Why is China so poor?"

The Chinese economy is reaching a new crisis level as the 1990s begin. In austerity measures aimed at slowing rampaging inflation, the state has shut down hundreds of rural enterprises and urban factories in its "market economy" sector. In the past year, the 1988 17.7% growth rate was slashed to 6.8%, and most of that took place early in the last year. The abrupt halt to the hot-house state-capitalist growth in China has resulted in growing unemployment and labor unrest, especially among China's young workers.

The reported lifting of martial law in a number of military sectors in Beijing on Jan. 10 was obviously a step with the scenario in which the U.S. has played a part. Within hours, the U.S. lifted opposition to World Bank loans totaling some \$780 million. In fact, a large number of soldiers and secret police personnel have been folded into the civilian police corps in Beijing. Martial law is still in effect in many other areas in China, whether formally or de facto.

Many reports from within China concur that it is not a question of whether new mass protests will erupt, but when they will take place.

## India after elections

Before and since Rajiv Gandhi's corrupt Congress Party went down to a massive defeat in India's November elections, accounts have been accumulating of the oppressive rule of Congress in this so-called democracy. During the campaign, for example, assassin's bullets apparently from pro-Congress elements barely missed opposition leader Vishwanath Pratap Singh, now the Prime Minister.

In poverty-stricken and Congress-dominated Bihar, numerous villagers in Alipur complained before the election that their votes were routinely stolen. They said they had never voted, because whenever they tried to vote the local political machine told them that their vote had already been recorded! Only after the election was it revealed that 1,000 people, mainly from the Muslim minority, had been killed in Hindu-Muslim violence in the area of Bhagalpur, also in Bihar. This October massacre was totally covered up by Congress, elements of which seemed to have orchestrated it.

The new government is based on an uneasy coalition between Singh's moderate Right Janata Dal Party, the far Right Hindu fundamentalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), and the Stalinist Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPM). In fact, Bharatiya Janata made the biggest gains and now holds about 17% of the parliament seats. It advocates immediate production of nuclear weapons. This coalition will hardly be able or even inclined to alter the oppressive living conditions of the masses in today's India, where 37% live below even the official poverty line, and 60% of the population can neither read nor write.

Our correspondent in Bihar wrote one day after the election: "There's a mixture of feelings—something good has happened and that is that people have expressed they do not want to be ruled by Congress any more (though in the south they have supported it, but not in the north). In concrete, in Bihar, Congress got only 3 seats out of 54!"

"At the same time there is no absolute majority for any party and Janata Dal has to look for a coalition. The parties for this coalition are: BJP with very strong communal tendencies (India for Hindus—BJP has come up very much in the last elections) and CPM (Marxist-Communist Party). BJP and CPM are mortal enemies! So how this coalition is going to work has to be seen in the future.

"There is in the mind of everybody the 1977 elections when Janata Party came to power and it split very soon—and the result was that Indira Gandhi came back stronger. Now, Janata Dal, BJP and CPM have in common their opposition to Congress, but it is a difficult marriage. The Left Front (all left parties together) got 50 seats in Parliament—that is around 10%. Let us see how the new government deals with Jarkhand" (a movement among tribal people in Bihar).

## Philippines coup attempt

What December's sixth military coup attempt in the Philippines since Aquino's rise to state power in the wake of the 1986 People Power uprising revealed internally was that deepening counter-revolution won't rest until it gains total power, and that it strikes hardest at times calculated to sow the most disorientation among the Left. This time it came on the eve of a planned massive Welgan Bayan, or People's Strike, over recent fuel and food price rises.

The last most serious coup attempt, in August, 1987, followed directly upon the heels of another Welgan Bayan—also against fuel price rises—which brought into the streets in nearly every city the massive and diverse, many non-party-centered, "cause-oriented" groups.

Externally, President Aquino re-opened the door to U.S. military intervention—which hadn't really ceased since 600,000 Filipinos were killed in their war of independence against the U.S. military, 1889-1906—by inviting in Bush's U.S. war planes.

—Victor Hart

## Just Off The Press In Polish

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lines: improved social security benefits and raises for low-paid workers.

By mid-December, jeering crowds dominated by students circled the parliament building, heckling Mladenov with cries of "mafia" and "shame on you" when he tried to address them. In the next few weeks, large nationalist and racist rallies took place against the restoration of some rights to the long-persecuted Turkish minority. These rallies were instigated, at least in part, by the most Stalinist wing of the CP in an attempt to undermine even Mladenov's mild reforms.

The coming months and weeks will tell whether Gorbachevism will set the agenda for Bulgaria, or whether a deeper, revolutionary opposition will emerge, as was hinted at in the November slogan of "liquidation" of totalitarian rule. For now, however, Mladenov and Gorbachev seem to be control.

## 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*.