Gulf war ends: battle for mind of humanity intensifies

The military victory George Bush has now won against Iraq is but the first battle in a drive for single world mastery, for which the Middle East is but the starting point. By the time Bush finally called a temporary halt to his monstrous onslaught against Iraq, tens of thousands of its people lay dead and both Iraq and Kuwait were reduced to cratered wastelands. For seven months Bush murdered nothing to slow his merciless drive to crush Iraq—from his rush to send hundreds of thousands of fresh troops to the Gulf in August, the fastest mobilization in history, to the merciless bombing unleashed in January, the most concentrated in all of history; to the ground attack launched one week later, the most massive since World War II.

The collapse of the Iraqi Army in face of this onslaught also reflects the fact that the Iraqi masses felt no desire to die for the sake of their brutal dictator, Saddam Hussein. Whether Hussein remains on the scene or not, the Iraqis feel the aftereffects of his defeat.

And while the justified fears that Saddam Hussein would use chemical or biological or other mass-killing weapons were ignored by the media, the fact is that the most barbaric weapon in history, the incendiary bomb—known to Pentagon spokesmen called "steel rain." Reporters marveled over the "kill boxes" assigned to Air Force pilots—grid coordinates for air attacks on computer-generated targets.

Black America: The war abroad and the war at home

by John Alan

"The war in the Persian Gulf is wrong, unnecessary, unprovoked, against the people of Kuwait, against the standard of fundamental human rights," declared the over 100 Black civic and religious leaders who gathered in what was called a "National AfroAmerican Summit" in Harris on Feb. 15 to call for an emergency UN assembly and to demand that George Bush declare an unconditional and immediate cease-fire to his "imperial racist" war.

The meeting, primarily made up of Black religious leaders such as Rev. Calvin Butts of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, where the Summit was held, and Rev. Joseph Lowery of SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Council), was a reflection of the overwhelming mood of Black American opposition to Black barbarism in the Persian Gulf, the whole celebration of African-American History Month this year has opened a debate on "should Black Americans fight in the Gulf war?" was not a formal debate, but only a public expression of Black American opposition to the war. The Oakland Tribune and other newspapers carried this question into the Black neighborhoods and found that most Black Americans were saying NO:

Brad Brown, the news editor of the Oakland Tribune, put this negative vote in the context of the deterioration of Black life in the inner cities that these instances is approaching Third World conditions. Brown wrote: "And on top of all this abuse, hate crimes against us are increasing, and are increasingly violent." Brown agreed with Bush that there are issues worth fighting for. "But for Black people those issues are right here at home."

"JOHN F. KENNEDY," 1961

What more damning evidence of what needs to be fought here at home than the fact that the Black infant mortality rate has more than doubled in some depressed areas even higher! Along with this high infant mortality rate has appeared the worsening phenomenon of despair. According to a recent study by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, nearly half of the nation's Black children live in poverty and if "current trends hold, for these children it will be increasingly hard to overcome the hardships of their poverty." The report pimpined that the tremendous deepening of poverty among Black children has already reached 25.5%.

After a great deal of outrage and agitation for the administration to do something about the unconscionably high rate of infant deaths, the Bush administration finally sent to Congress a plan through Louis Sullivan, his Secretary of Health and Human Services. What Bush proposes to do is to reduce the already pitiful provisions that serve pregnant women, poor children and the homeless by cutting back on those city services that have the highest rate of infant mortality.

Above all, the "State of Black America" is revealed in the fact that the current severe recession in the Black community is "a permanent feature of the American landscape." (David Swinton, Dean of the School of Business at Jackson State University put it in the US Bankruptcy's annual report, using the latest Census Bureau data to make his point. Blacks receive only three-fifths as much in income as whites and are three times more likely to fall below the poverty line. When nationwide unemployment (of those who are still counted) jumped to 6.2% at the beginning of the recession, the Black unemployment rate rose to 11.9%. Urban League president John Jacob said that rate would look "almost nonexistent" by the time Black communities, where unemployment had jumped to 12.5%—and has been in double digits for a full decade.

In the face of this reality, Black Americans can only reject the total sham of a president who talks about freedom and self-determination while at the same time that he vetoes a mild civil rights act on the false ground that it would set up a quota system in employment; sends out his hatchet man, William Bennett, to tell racists that the gutting of affirmative action is the president's top priority and, when shamelessly has one of his Black officials try to kill scholarships for minority students.

With a new version of the Civil Rights Act before him, Bush is as recalcitrant toward it as he was to the bill he vetoed at the end of last year. "The close-up of the vote that I quote to have seen is the disproportionate representation of African-Americans in the armed services," charged Michigan Congressman Conyers. It is, nevertheless, one of the emergent contradictions of Black political leadership (that even Conyers, a "left social democrat," voted for the House resolution authorizing Bush's use of military force in the Persian Gulf."

The word "quote" is one of Bush's code words. It is the political adhesive which binds right-wing racists to kill scholarships for minority students.

(continued on page 10)
we are proud to announce a new, expanded edition of
Raya Dunayevskaya's
Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution
to be published in late Spring by the University of Illinois Press
For the first time this book was originally published in 1982, and of Raya Dunayevskaya's major works—Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution, and Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution—will be in print at the same time. In addition to the reprinting of those books, as well as Dunayevskaya’s writings during the last year of her life, 1986-87, are published the public in her Archives. (See page 4) Two unpublished documents from the Archives will be included in this edition.

FROM THE NEW FOREWORD BY
ADRIENNE RICH:
Raya Dunayevskaya portrays a brilliant, beautiful, independent woman, passionately internationalist and dedicated to her own people — in short: a human being. The woman who saw herself as Marx's philosophical embodiment of the German revolutionaries' 'people's spontaneity' in practice never, it seems, deserted her people's struggle. The woman who, in her own unique way, transcended the traditional image of the political woman...does not stop here...Luxemburg’s life and thought became a kind of jump-off point into the present and the future—what she saw and didn’t see, her limitations as well as her accomplishments.

FROM THE NEW INTRODUCTION BY OXYA DUNAYEVSKAYA:
In Part Two on the Women's Liberation Movement—the point I chose to elaborate was...the contradiction between the women's movement as an accomplice in what I consider an extension of the war and the women's movement as a whole as an integral part of the liberation movement. This is a contradiction that I was able to examine and analyze more closely in the years following 1985. The fact that the women's movement was蒺exampled, the women’s liberation movement was likewise stiffened. The fact that the women who had participated massively in revolutionizing the working class and the fact that the women who had been the ones who initiated that [Russian] revolutionaries...not a single one of the post-Marx Marxists, beginning with Engels and continuing with Luxemburg, Zetkin, and later, with the whole new generation that was forced...also intended to cut down and destroy the whole of Marx...the whole Third World...as well as Women’s Liberation.
No raise, what bonus?

Carson, Calif.—Workers at ARCO's Los Angeles Refinery have been on strike for six months. They want $1.98 raise as part of their struggle for parity. What we ARCO workers want is a union shop.

The production, quality and safety norms the bonus program is based on weren't published until the day after we voted it in. One clause gives management the right to change the goals, exclude any individual employee, fire a worker, and even stop the program without consultation with the union, which one worker said, "is just as good as a blank check. We can write a memo to the company saying we want our raise and they say 'It's out of our hands.'"

We've spent a lot of time congratulating us on 1 million work hours without a "lost workday injury," but doesn't correct unsafe working conditions. They pass out flyers telling us about good housekeeping on the job and that "all accidents are avoidable." Some workers told me they have started to keep a log of "unreported" accidents.

The company and the union have been holding meetings called "Partners in Crime," more commonly called "Partners in Crime or even "Partners in Concessions" by some workers. At these meetings, workers are told to keep the program going, and even sign up for supplemental work, all at the risk of losing the program.

This is all a failure of the bonus package! For forty-two hundred people were ultimately displaced. Forty-two hundred people were ultimately displaced. Forty-two hundred people were ultimately displaced.

Together, we want to talk about the labor conditions. It seems like war and production are produced in the mines, mills and factories to produce more jobs...more jobs...more jobs.

Korean workers sue U.S. multinational

Editor's note: Three Korean workers, Ms. Yoo Jum Yoon, Ms. Lee Sang Young, and Mr. Lee Sang Kook, are demonstrating in front of the American Embassy in Seoul about their fight against the multinational corporation Carter-Peccari. The three workers are part of a group of 3,000 Korean workers who were laid off by the company three years ago. The company, headquartered in Liverpool, N.Y., Pico Products filed suit with the Korean court on February 1989, suing three of its former employees. The workers have been told to send to: "Pico Workers Support Committee," Jinsoo Kim, Center for Human Rights. The church, 900 N. 6th St., New York, NY 10012. We print excerpts from their talk.

Our people's struggle began in February 1989 with the initiation of 30,000 workers who were laid off. The machinery was scrapped. Pico Products was bought out and reorganized. Our people's struggle began in February 1989 with the initiation of 30,000 workers who were laid off. The machinery was scrapped. Pico Products was bought out and reorganized. The workers have been told to send to: "Pico Workers Support Committee," Jinsoo Kim, Center for Human Rights. The church, 900 N. 6th St., New York, NY 10012. We print excerpts from their talk.

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The Marxist-Humanist Archives

"Our theoretical contributions for the past three decades not only parallel the 30-year movement from practice, but anticipate the future in the present" —Raya Dunayevskaya, 1983

- Raya Dunayevskaya’s confrontation with Hegel on the creativity of cognition, on philosophy’s power to transform the future:

"Whatever Hegel said, and meant, about the Owl of Minerva spreading its wings only at dusk simply does not follow from the objectivity of the drive, the idea of the Absolute Idea is the second negation in the present... When subjected to the dialectic method from which, according to its nature, truth can escape, the conclusion turns out to be a Marx-Humanist’s projection of the inseparability of the 1955-56 Montgomery Bus Boycott from the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, which anticipated the decadence of new Black struggles which followed:

"There is the forceful voice of the Alabama Negroes who have turned this matter freedom into their own hands and have let go at all these major ideas... The kind of self-assertion and the organization of their forces to keep up the boycott was a simultaneous action, it is here that we can see what is truly historical and contains our future... The greatest thing of all in this Montgomery, Alabama, spontaneous organization was its spontaneity... the creative content of the chain of ideas from being taken for granted, our "new Humanism" is the re-creation of Marx's new "taken for granted." It is the second negation alone that is new beginning. There is no trap in thought: Though it is finite, it breaks through the barriers of the given, reaches out, if not to infinity, surely towards the creative content of the chain of ideas from being taken for granted, our "new Humanism" is the re-creation of Marx's new "taken for granted." It is the second negation alone that is new beginning. There is no trap in thought: Though it is finite, it breaks through the barriers of the given, reaches out, if not to infinity, surely towards the new Humanism—its new beginning.

- Dunayevskaya’s 1986-87 articulation of a new, deadly stage of retrogression in life and in thought which she characterized as a "changed world":

"The changed world I've been talking so much about is not the world before the war, but what happened to the world in the years 1955-56 or began at the end of 1955... The world is a stage now that has a new stage of human life which is characterized by a second negation—i.e., absolute negativity which alone reveals totality by developing it as a new beginning. That’s not Hegel’s moment of beginning, it is Marx to the question of philosophy of revolution as grounded in the "new moment of Marxist Humanism." Let’s catch our breath right here because the "new Humanism" for our age that we represent must not be taken as the "new moment of beginning" of Marxist Humanism at a time when. This "when" means nothing less than that Hegel’s "moment" is the "when" that is our age. It signifies the stage of human development which was brought onto the historic stage of our own age. That’s not the "Great Divide in American History" in the Middle East, in Africa, in the West; and in multi-colors of Black, Yellow and Brown and Red; with a whole new generation of Youth and all the others as well as by a movement from theory that, though not from the same origins or as total as ours, is no less as philosophic as Franz Fanon’s Wretched of the Earth.

Part II
Editor’s note. The following consists of excerpts of Parts II and III of Raya Dunayevskaya’s “Twilight of Revolution” (University of Illinois Press, 1983) which is a continuation of the new beginning that was reached this Spring, when a new edition of Rosa Luxemburg’s The New Beginning came to publication. The second edition is being used by this Society of Marxists in the U.S. as the basis for our newly established News and Letters Committee. Before the establishment of the Committees we had, when still a part of the State-Capitalist Tendency, brokethrough philosophically on the Absolute Idea. That happened in 1953. Then the new beginning came before establishment of organization—News and Letters Committees, 1955.

Here are the conclusions of the Committees we had, when still a part of the State-Capitalist Tendency, brokethrough philosophically on the Absolute Idea. That happened in 1953. Then the new beginning came before establishment of organization—News and Letters Committees, 1955.

II. THE UNCHAINED DIALECTIC IN MARX, 1843-1883, AND IN MARXIST-HUMANISM, 1953-1983

It was Marx who unchained the Hegelian dialectic by denouncing the "negation of negation," designating it as a "new Humanism" in 1844, and as "revolution in permanent development" in 1850, while in 1857 recreating Hegel’s "absolute movement of becoming" as integral to what would follow capitalism when revolutionary socialism came to full bloom. Nor did Marx step in 1867 when he finished his greatest work, Capital, while he re-created the dialectic as "new beginning," having furthered his last decade of his life the creative nature of the mind of Marx, founder of a whole new continent of thought and of revolution in the whole world.

These new revolutionary moments of human development become a "new beginning," creating a new historical organisational forms and revolutionary principles that, as we have seen, he concluded that the form of the First International was not re-statable in its historical form after the fall of the Paris Commune. The point was not "to beguile about anything," as the "all-around movement of becoming" of the individual would provide that humanity reached the end of the "field of becoming" and opened up the new one.

Then the new society could operate on the new principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to the result of work" for his "own State and the end of the division between mental and manual labor must achieve the principle that the absolute movement of becoming" to become reality—"which made possible an all-around development of the individual. Nothing less than that could be called "all-around development of the individual." Nothing less than that could be called "all-around development of the individual..."

"Whatever Hegel said, and meant, about the Owl of Minerva spreading its wings only at dusk simply does not follow from the objectivity of the drive, the idea of the Absolute Idea is the second negation in the present... When subjected to the dialectic method from which, according to its nature, truth can escape, the conclusion turns out to be a new beginning. There is no trap in thought: Though it is finite, it breaks through the barriers of the given, reaches out, if not to infinity, surely towards the new Humanism—its new beginning.

- Raya Dunayevskaya’s 1983 breakthrough on the Absolute Idea, contained in her Lettres of May 7 and 30, 1983, are available in The Philosophic Notebooks of Marxist-Humanism. Raya Dunayevskaya’s 1983 philosophical revolution is the articulation of a "new moment of Marxist Humanism," in which she asserted that "the creative content of the chain of ideas from being taken for granted, our "new Humanism" is the re-creation of Marx's new "taken for granted." It is the second negation alone that is new beginning.

- "The Three Attitudes to Objectivity." Actually it is four attitudes, but the fourth, the Dialectical, being the whole, is not a given number since it occupies all the works of Hegel, and Hegel and Marx. It is the "attitude" that

- Marx’s Humanism, that is "the attitude to objectivity"... The first is "the attitude of the ‘Great Divide in American History’ in the Middle East, in Africa, in the West; and in multi-colors of Black, Yellow and Brown and Red; with a whole new generation of Youth and all the others as well as by a movement from theory that, though not from the same origins or as total as ours, is no less as philosophic as Franz Fanon’s Wretched of the Earth..."
search for new pathways to liberation by militarizing the world, and by attending to the very idea of a free, bomb-filled future, not tomorrow but today is the time to participate in the process of working out philosophical questions.

In one of her last writings entitled "What is Marxism-Humanism?" (March 16, 1987), Raya Dunayevskaya spoke to this in posing what she called the "most difficult task" facing each generation of Marxists to work out the "whole of Marx's Marxism since today". It involves the kind of "modernity," he said, achieving the kind of "continuity" with Marx that "is in discontinuity, i.e., in working well for your age." Let us explore what it takes to actualize his dialectic of continuity-discontinuity, by jumbling together two of Marxism-Humanism's unique philosophical categories—"Absolute Negativity as New Beginning," and "Hegel's Phenomenology of Spirit." This indicates that attaining continuity with Marx's thought is not just about "evolving" back to a "remembrance of things past," but also a movement towards a new real, a totally new beginning.

2. "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning," and "Hegel's Phenomenology of Spirit." This indicates that attaining continuity with Marx's thought is not just about "evolving" back to a "remembrance of things past," but also a movement towards a new real, a totally new beginning.

(continued on page 9)

3. This statement is from Dunayevskaya's Summation to the 1981 Plenum of News and Letters Committees and will appear as part of the new Introduction to its 1991 edition.

HEGEL'S REACHING FOR THE FUTURE

In Chapter 1 of Philosophy and Revolution, Marx背诵了黑格尔的"哲学的运动" (Philosophy of Movement) 以及他关于"绝对的否定性"的定义。他认为，绝对的否定性是"绝对的创造性"，是"绝对的革命性"，是"绝对的力量"，也是"绝对的开始"。在海尔的分析中，特别是在他对"绝对的否定性"的分析中，我们可以看出，海尔对马克思的"绝对的否定性"的定义是正确的。
I am shocked and angry at the si­
ence of the American press toward
anti-war activists—after Bush's cold,
cruel, murderous, open-ended war on
women and children as they tried to
take refuge in an air raid shelter from
the continuous U.S. bombing in the
Persian Gulf—the shooting down of an
Iranian airliner killing 290 civilians—
was met with a similar deadly silence.
Has Reagan/Bush's decade of militar­
ism and mass persecution made them
that they only think the loss of the
American lives is worth mourning?

Feminist activist 
Illinois

The rising patriarchy we see today is
giving dangerous voice to reactionaries
here to meet to discuss how to stop this
brutal war.

Andy Phillips
Detroit

Bush has insisted on continuing the
war, the hegemony and imperialism of
which man is alienated from himself
and they try to convince us that the struggle
for women's liberation is and should be
put aside, because the concept and practice
of the war does not seem to concern
us.

Old radical
Pennsylvania

During the televised McCarthy hear­
ings back way in the 1950s, the cameras
captured Sen. Joe McCarthy plotting with his slimy side, Roy Cohn, to suppress
even some Palestinians feel the same
way, the myth for different reasons.
Instead, I think it shows the humanism
of those thousands of rank-and-file soli­
diers, who chose to live rather than die
in Bush and Saddam's wars. History
shows us many examples where the col­
apse of a league led to upheaval and
revolution at home: France 1871, Russia
1905 and Iraq 1916. Bush's drive
down into Iraq is not only to top­
ple Hussein. It has also to be a strong
force on hand to make sure that, if
the Iraqi masses rise up against Saddam's
capitalist regime, the U.S. will be there to
prevent a genuine social revolution.

Correspondent
Chicago

Marx's writing in 1844 that the extent to
which women are emancipated is expres­
sed in his relations to women comes to
mind when reading Duanyvev­

myth for different reasons.

Marx never strayed organizationally from
his philosophy of "revolution in perman­
ence" and, in particular, in his orga­
nizational relations to women.

Marx recognized that: "the feminist fer­
ment was inherent in revolutions through­out history." If we want to see how far Post-Marx Marxism has strayed from its origins in
Marx's philosophy and its essence, free­
dom in women's lives is the test at the still present
existm-in the Left. The pull to sepa­
rates dialectics from revolution is strong, and the question remains: how to begin anew in our present struggles
within newly forming anti-war groups

Student of Marxism

Eight years of Reagan was enough bad, but I didn't imagine I could live through such total militarism. It's appalling to see how easy it has been for the militarists to attain its goals. It makes me wonder whether any opposition has a chance in this era if it isn't rooted in a total phil­
osophy of freedom.

Experienced revolutionary
Chicago

my brother is in the service in Saudi
Arabia. I think the military has caused these...
selected publications from news & letters

books


- Philosophy and Revolution from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao 1989 revised edition by author $17.50 per copy

- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution 1988 edition by author $17.50 per copy

- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future 1988 edition by author $10.00 per copy

- The Philosophical Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two Historic-Philosophic Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya 1988 edition by Raya Dunayevskaya $15.00 per copy

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses in the 20th Century. Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "A 1886 view of the Two-Way Road Between History and Noir," by Raya Dunayevskaya, "and "Black Capricies in the Unions," by Charles Denby $2 per copy

- Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions by Raya Dunayevskaya $1.25 per copy

- Constitution of News & Letters Committees 1973 edition $0.50 per copy

- Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts Special bulletin on Marxist-Humanism as a body of ideas by Charles Denby, Eugene Walker, Michael Connolly and Olga Domanski $1 per copy

- The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. by Andy Philip and Raya Dunayevskaya $2 per copy

- 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. A History of Developments by Raya Dunayevskaya $1.50 per copy

- Working Women for Freedom by Angela Terrano, Marie Djigan $1 per copy

- Pranz Fanon, Sowito and American Black Thought, by Lou Turner and John Alan New Expanded edition contains Introduction / Overview by Ray Gray, Pranz Fanon and John Alan Appendices by Rene Depestre and Ngugi wa Thiong'o $3 per copy

- The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts by Ron Brokawer, Franklin Dimitrov Raya Dunayevskaya $1 per copy

- Dos ensayos por Raya Dunayevskaya, Spanish language pamphlet 1989 edition $2.00 per copy

-pamphlets

- The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—A Half-Century of Its World Development A 15,000-page microfilm collection on eight 16mm reels $100


-newspaper

- Subscription to News & Letters Unique combination of worker & intellectual, published 18 times a year $2.50 per year

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in the first of our series of classes on "Marxism-Humanism: Revolution of Marx's Marxism for Our Age," Peter Watson delivered a discourse from page 18 of Raya Dunayevskaya's Philosophy and Revolution: Hegel's concept of philosophy as "the thought of its time involved...a meeting of the challenge of the times in a way which would unlock past philosophies and yet be a historic continuity that was totally new." He then asked: Can we absorb the high points in activity and thought in such a way as to release a new being?—a new—"He then asked: Can we absorb a new being?—a new—"He then asked: Can we absorb a new being?—a new—"He then asked: Can we absorb a new being?—a new—"He then asked: Can we absorb a new being?—a new—"He then asked: Can we absorb a new being?—a new—"He then asked: Can we absorb a new being?—a new—"He then asked: Can we absorb a new being?—a new—"He then asked: Can we absorb a new being?—a new—"He then asked: Can we absorb a new being?—a new—"He then asked: Can we absorb a new being?—a new—"He then asked: Can we absorb a new being?—a new—"He then asked: Can we absorb a new being?—a new—"He then asked: Can we absorb a new being?—a new—"He then asked: Can we absorb a new being?—a new—"He then asked: Can we absorb a new being?—a new—"He then asked: Can we absorb a new being?—a new...
Black America: The war abroad and the war at home

(continued from page 1)

his party. Since the "Desert Shield" operation the word "quota" has even become the justification for the dis­
proportionate number of minorities in the armed forces. Clearly, the President's budget reflects the U.S.'s mili­
tary drive toward single world domination. And, at the same time, the text of the speech to the Gulf War hero­
en in the armed forces are Black. In the army the fig­
ur of Black America: The war abroad and the war at home

counts of its aftermath, as well as various Left alter­
natives to the two-party system. In the U.S. and world capitalism. It is this ongoing crisis of capitalism on the domestic front that has produced the present stage of political development in the community as well as the widespread opposition to that poverty.

The Black dimension continues to expose the hol­
lowness of American civilization, but it is not with­
out its discontinuity. Bush's demagogic use of Black History Month to cover up his real intentions has become a hollow ritual. "I am not going to fight. This is not my war."" And "The Black dimension continues to expose the hol­
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Review: Dunayevskaya on the Middle East

by Eugene Walker


Dunayevskaya became the Middle East today in the midst of war, each country—from Iraq to Iran, from Lebanon to Afghanistan—has its own internal struggles, its own history, its own social and political configurations. The power of the working class and its allies, the peasantry and the toiling masses, is often hidden amidst the multiplicities of oppression, of which imperialism is a leading force.

The following is an excerpt from "The Middle East of the post-WWII period: the rise of oil and the decadence of a social revolution," a 1976 essay by Raya Dunayevskaya.

**Can our age transcend post-Marxist Marxism?**

(Dunayevskaya's emphasis) "...the working out of a philosophy of revolution."

A critique of Georg Lukacs in terms of this, see my "Anti-Lukacism and Dialectic Materialism." See also "What is Philosophy? What is Revolution?" written in 1960.

The incompleteness of a social revolution, rooted in the refusal to work out a philosophy of revolution, is integral to each of Hegel's Absolutes. And History consists not only of humanity's deeds but also of its thoughts, such as the philosophies of Hegel, Marx and Marxism-Humanism. The Idea too has a "History," which each one of us has the responsibility of absorbing in our own life.

As Hegel once put it, "Within the short span of man and woman's own life an individual must learn the particular historical moment: what was Caesar before Julius and what did it mean after the Holocaust; what was Israel's fight against British imperialism and its fight against Nazi imperialism in the region; what was Israel at the time of the Israeli-Arab War; and what was Yasser Arafat's ambivalent role in Lebanon's Civil War."

In this 1976 essay Dunayevskaya wrote: "When history and thought get into each other's way, and revolution get separated, there is no exit from counter-revolution."

Dunayevskaya's body of ideas is the much needed Marxist alternatives to Marx's Marxism. Even the greatest post-Marx Marxists, in different ways, kept Marx's Marxism so very difficult. Yet that only makes it all the more necessary to defend and transform it. Through the power of thought, through and thought into another new beginning.

The present conflict means reuniting the pull of reducing dialectics to a "tool" to be applied. Dialectics is not an applied science, and the dialectic of negativity is not something that can be treated as a tool, but must instead be re-created in face of new realities, the creation of genuine new beginnings in our own time. The Middle East is where we are most in need of a "new beginning."
Theorized language of "collaborative damage." Hence an "ideology of one." What helped Bush get the air-raids against ourselves out of the world was the appearance of a new phenomenon—"democracy"—for 45 hours was the fact that Saddam Hussein seized the moment to launch a "peace plan"—which was at once rejected by the people and, more importantly, the peace plans which followed in the next seven days could stay Bush's bloody hand. For the truth is, as War Secretary Cheney decried to brace the day the ground war began, the precise date and even hour of that moment—of that full two-week deadline, on Feb. 11, Bush clearly had no intention of letting any events in the intervening days change anything. Hours before the U.S. and an old man interviewed in Baghdad by CNN asked: "Iraq offered to surrender?" Why? Why would there be a "peace offer" which the withdrawal from Kuwait would take place. Rhetorics can be a new surge of the new Harry Truman drop nuclear weapons on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 and annihilate hundreds of thousands of workers it was not possible to hand over to the American people who were fully aware that these mass pamphlets that Marx's 1843, or ourselves in the 1950s—be it from the year 1776 to 1789, or in any case, but retrogression. Whether that is called Ja- come only from so great a philosophic breakthrough as the words "individual responsibility" with the phrase which went through Marx and Lenin after grappling with Hegel "immanent criticism"—as the way we stood in this way we reached beyond anything done by any other Marxist. It is this, just this, which, at one and the same time, led us to see the size of the need for the "new" Third World theorist, Frantz Fanon, and the movement of theory to practice. It is important, therefore, in the paper and in the self-development of the members and the growth of the organization. The new book, with its challenge to post-Marx Marxists. It was to resurrect Reagan's maniacal "Star Wars" plans, which the breakdown between theory and practice all over the world. The aim then, as now, is the drive for single world mas­ ism as a pejorative." She saw a wide and growing gap between theory and practice all over the world. Now that Bush has his military "victory," he will bush get to the theoretic preparation for revolution. We labored at the theoretic preparation for revolution. We were ready to collaborate on a work which Marxism and Freedom not only brought out of the historical continuity with the Russian revolutionary Marxists at the highest historic turning points—Lenin in the Russian Revolution and its Ideology, with which we worked; and the newest revolutionary force as Reason, Women's Lib­ ration, not only as an Idea whose time has come but over the masses.

**From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya**

(continued from page 4)

III. WHY, THEN, ARE THERE STILL PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION?**

The fact is that many of us experienced the "pull"— the historically new in our age which it became im­ pertinent to generalize was that movement from practice which is itself a form of theory, which had emerged in the new. We believe that Marxism and Freedom is still as much a "proving" state-capitalism. It was that imperious character that transformed Marxism and Revolution and to theory was shown in deepening the division between Marxism and Freedom. What we didn't acknowledge in full even though we had practiced it well. In the 1970s we practiced the concretization of theory, Be it in Nationalism, Communism, Marxist Hu­ manism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions or American Civilization on Trial. But not all, even in ourCommunist, were fully aware that those mass pamphlets that flowed from us during the turbulent 1960s were not the products of the movement from below, that they could only come out from a great philosophical breakthrough which represented, first in the Letters on the Absolute Idea, and then followed through in Marxism and Freed­ dem of theory/practice.**

Every time a new historic Turning Point is reached objectively and subjectively. In this sense, ideology is to separate on some "simple", concrete in the in the importance of Theory/Practice gets put into practice, all the "simple" problems, which mented that appears as "skipping over" the gener­

This is why Hegel made the Third Attitude to Objectivity not the dialectic, which is never in a straight line in a process of "dialectic," that it is not a return to the old, the point is that retrospec­ tion is not the point of historical movement in its time, it is to examine what follows. It is why we totally reject this, not only as counter-revolution, but even as tailoring.

But what is totally new is that we place philosophy of revolution on a level with the organization, not only as counter-revolution, but even as tailoring.

The fact is that every identity of ide­ as as we had hoped would result in Philosophy and Revolution. We were fully aware that when the move­ cible or a return to the old, the point is that retrospec­ tion is not the point of historical movement in its time, it is to examine what follows. It is why we totally reject this, not only as counter-revolution, but even as tailoring.

Thus, the new in Marxism and Freedom was not the dialectic, which is never in a straight line in a process of "dialectic," that it is not a return to the old, the point is that retrospec­ tion is not the point of historical movement in its time, it is to examine what follows. It is why we totally reject this, not only as counter-revolution, but even as tailoring.

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Nationally/Internationally: voices from the anti-war movement

From an American Youth

Every week on the California State Los Angeles campus there are usually meetings, protests, and rallies where we have been attempting to show the world we are not part of Bush's America, but another very different one. In fact, the fact that the genocidal bombing against Iraq has crept—or leapfrogged—into our world is something we are not sure we can believe. We simply cannot accept subjecting ourselves to the militarism pervading the government, the media, the universities, and even our schools.

The events have not merely been condemnations of the Gulf War. We are aware that if we are silent it will all be in vain. There has also been an exciting flow of new ideas, new perspectives. I am sure in their meetings, Iran is pressuring Kurdish fighters who were in Iraq are now stuck because Saddam is a fascist makes it "easy" for Bush to convince—

From a Kurdish revolutionary

In a "anti-war/study/discussion group" we talked a lot about a Black student who spoke of the Kurds. He said, "I own the war, and I like the protests, but I've got a brother and a cousin in Sa­di­r­m­a. It's hard to raise a family. Where are they? Are they alive? Are they dead? Can we imagine what 80,000 sorties does? What are they getting for their lives?"

A Palestinian student, during our meeting, was debating whether to hold a student group every Thursday evening to "let off steam." Was it pure activism, said: "We need something to keep us from getting too sick. We need to feed ourselves with, things that are happening. We need to give ourselves going to stop the war. When we talk to each other about trying to organize a talk about who is going to raise the funds, arguments just start, it's like we just run from one activity to the next without thinking about where we're headed; brigade assembly, talking to help us in answering the difficult question of how the movement can grow, be sustained, grow. We need to think of the Kurds, example, at those of us who have been active since day one against this barbarism, a group of about 15 women and men. They had some trouble, they had some very so much activity, it gets harder every day to keep up with our families."

But rather than getting burnout and expecting our "ranka" to be replenished, how can we show the "long road to freedom" can be sustained by all of us with our work and school schedules.

From Israeli peace activists

As citizens of Israel, we are opposed to Iraqi mi­ssile attacks on civilian targets and we deplore the government's policy of terrorism. We also condemn the occupation of Ku­wait and demand its independence. At the same time we applaud the Kurdish government's efforts to fight for freedom today. That's my understanding of what dialectics is, as worked out by Marx in his day and to extend U.S. hegemony throughout the Middle East and to ensure that the Middle East will become a permanent future without having a fundamental oppos­ition has been a permanent feature of the Kurds. There were some studies that the current Iraqi regime is destroyed the Kurds might set up their own state. However, the Kurds always the Turks have slaughtered the Kurds that they will enter Iraq and prevent such a development. What makes the struggle much more difficult is that in the last decades the Kurdish area has been vastly militarized.

In Iraq last month a number of Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) activists were executed. News of this has been silenced by the thunder of war. It is very ironic that those who horrifically killed many dozens in the name of war. These are the same people who assassinated Qassem—the head of the KDP—last year in Austria. Qassimlu—the head of the KDP—last year in Austria.

The Kurds have always been the Achilles heel of any war. These are the same people who assassinated Qassem—the head of the KDP—last year in Austria.

The horrible price of their war is paid by ordi­nary people: Iraqis, Americans, Kuwaitis, British, Israelis, and Palestinians. We are constantly reminded of by what the United Nations has been impressed. Increased repression of the international commu­nity to force Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait, by tightening the economic and political sanctions against Iraq.

By convening, after the withdrawal from Ku­wait, an international conference in order to achieve Israeli-Arab and Israeli-Palestinian peace, and to ensure that the Middle East will become a completely free and non-­nationalist and non-­terrorological weapons.

With the withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait, for­eign troops will withdraw from the Gulf States.

We call upon the government of Israel not to use the war as an occasion for provocation. The entry of Israel will only aggravate and complicate the war, and hamper the achievement of Israeli-Palestinian peace. The entry of Iraq and other states of the Middle East into the war will either or another way.

The struggle for peace is a struggle for justice. We have to demand both sides to participate in the new future.

From a Black woman resister

A couple of years ago, something said to me, take this name—Azania—because it means "struggle." I am an African-American woman trying to survive, I'm married, have five kids, am a single mother, and trying to help with my student loans, so I wouldn't be so poor. How can we say that it is wrong to go to war when we couldn't conceive of war. All I wanted was to die. But if you know the history of your government, you know that government is always trying to make the world and we sexiest marching cadsenes. Often in basic training there were 100 men and 60 women. Why should you have to salute an officer? Why aren't they shaving us? I'm just as good a person.

Our family lived in a shanty in the projects. We lived in heat dormitories with bathroom, we were in huts where we had to peel potatoes, we had to make beds. We could, and we had to walk down the road to our outhouse.

As African-Americans, we have more of a proud history. Fighting for freedom in Africa and in the time for that to stop. How can we have patriotism toward a country that we can never be seen as equal. The division is lower than whites. They crowd us into our schools. They spend money on the military rather than on social programs that could help us attain a higher standard of living for Blacks and all poor people.

We are defending our right to oppose the Gulf War. I'm defending their right to oppose us! This country has to stop. I'm trying to tell us we have a stake in the country, that we can fight for peace.

Sara DeToles and I applied for conscientious ob­jector status on Dec. 17. The process can take six months. Our arguments have been quite convincing to the scientific objector application wherever we are, even if that means for the draft board, we are not called. The People are being court-martialled first, then discharged administratively—which is a bad discharge. Most are people without any criminal record, no Axis power against the government is not going to come down on them and too, as in the case of Jeff Patterson was court-martialed and they gave him an ad­ministrative discharge in the middle of his court-mar­tal.

I am an African-American student and I am willing to write on the tactics of justice, one Black and one white.

Sara DeToles and I have had to demonstrate at the Chicago Tribune against their bi­ased reporting of the war and anti-war movement.

From an Iraqi woman

Last summer when I saw the first wave of American soldiers being sent to Saudi Arabia saying goodbye to their families, I cried to see the little children hanging on to their mothers. Then came the first bombings of Baghdad. When I thought about my family, when I thought about my future, I cried. I cried for a country I left, for a people I love, the family I left behind.

When I watch the Pentagon briefing it's a Nintendo game, void of humanity. It's not killing people; it's "collateral damage." We are stripped of our human dignity. To see my nephews, who are on the other side, I cry. I cry for a country and a people I love.

Iraqi-American woman

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Iraqi-American woman
Lithuania, which', has suffered under Barre's rule. By March 1991, more than 10% believe what the government says about the economy, though not drainage. • • •

Our Life and Times
by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Two people were killed in Lithuania's capital of Vilnius, Feb. 22, as protests escalated against the Communist government, which was forced to arrange for elections on March 31. Decades of cripple labor strikes were passed but have been ignored by workers. The rulers have lost all grip on Lithuania's moribund economy. They became so disoriented by the growing mass unrest that they rushed to reassure the people with no oil for cooking, that virtually all the increases will go on strike in March, threatening to cripple the economy, as they did in 1989. Gorbachev's promises, including dismissal of cabinet's campaign, stepped-up since the Persian Gulf war, have produced a 60% price hike for virtually all food. Gorbachev promises that 85% of the increases will be paid, if the workers strike. But, as he is to be taken at his word, itself a highly dubious measure against its opponents, killing thousands and sending nearly an army of thousands, including soldiers, of ethnic minority groups, against the death squads and against the complicity of capitalist bureaucrats term "noncombat situations." That type of repressive action appears to be the future of the Soviet Union. We are not only for ethnic minorities, but also for workers and intellectuals who continue to challenge his moves to achieve peace and democracy and reformation of Party-Police-Military rule.

Chinese protesters jailed

During the past three months, China's rulers have begun to condone the staged trials of nearly 90 intellectuals who participated in the 1989 Tiananmen protests. Reports, widely released for showing some "condition;" many are being lured away from the American press. Ren Wanding, participant in the 1978-79 Beijing Student Movement, was put on trial for his "role in planning of 1989 student movement-13 years in prison.

Gao Hailing, student—4 years.

Yao Yuan, student—2 years.

Luo Geqing, on police list of 21 most wanted students, put in solitary for conducting fellow prisoners in singing the Internationale.

Wang Dan, first on list of 21 most wanted students—4 years.

Chen Ziming and Wang Juntao, veterans of the 1976 Tiananmen protests, now charged with "no willingness to reform, " for statements he made to foreign journalists after June 1989. Nor do they touch on the many workers and unemployed workers, and their classes, executed shortly before the June 4, 1989 bloody country-wide crackdown.

Terror in El Salvador

Right-wing military death squads are unleashing terror on the El Salvadorian people, with increasing cruelty, at a time when the Bush administration has renewed military aid of $42.5 million. Working people had their wages cut, the Mihama power plant, near Kyoto. A major power source, appeared, and Alia was forced to arrange for elections on March 31. Decades of cripple labor strikes were passed but have been ignored by workers. The rulers have lost all grip on Lithuania's moribund economy. They became so disoriented by the growing mass unrest that they rushed to reassure the people with no oil for cooking, that virtually all the increases will go on strike in March, threatening to cripple the economy, as they did in 1989. Gorbachev's promises, including dismissal of cabinet's campaign, stepped-up since the Persian Gulf war, have produced a 60% price hike for virtually all food. Gorbachev promises that 85% of the increases will be paid, if the workers strike. But, as he is to be taken at his word, itself a highly dubious