

Harry McShane



1891-1988

As we go to press we have just learned the sad news of the death of the Scottish Marxist-Humanist Harry McShane. Our In Memoriam to this legendary revolutionary and colleague of Raya Dunayevskaya will appear in the June issue of News & Letters.

Black World

Botha's unbridled state terror



by Lou Turner

The cold-blooded, early morning assassination of Dulcie September, chairwoman of the ANC (African National Congress) in France, on March 29; the April 7 car-bombing of the prominent ANC lawyer Albie Sachs in Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, and the dawn raid by a South African death squad in Botswana's capital city of Gaborone, on March 28, which left three women and a man dead, mark a new reign of state terror emanating from Pretoria.

There is nothing new in South Africa's imperialist incursions against civilian targets. What is new is that apartheid terrorism has moved onto the stage of those Western nations that have constructively abetted the Botha regime which the Black masses have been revolting against for more than a decade. That illicit liaison with apartheid has fostered an environment in the West in which South African death squads now feel confident that they can operate with impunity.

DEATH SQUADS UNLEASHED IN WEST

Dulcie September had earlier received death threats and had asked the Chirac-Mitterrand government for protection, but none was provided. And only two days before her murder, a bomb had been discovered and defused outside ANC headquarters in Brussels, Belgium.

It is significant that France's North African immigrant minority were among the thousands who immediately took to the streets in a number of demonstrations in Paris to protest the brutal murder of September, at a time when the most racist electoral campaign is underway in France as both the Left and the Right openly court the anti-African chauvinism of the white electorate. The fact is that "for

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New youth movement challenges Reaganism's racism, war actions

by Barry Keith

On the 20th anniversary of the worldwide youth revolts of 1968, a new U.S. student movement has begun to emerge and confront Reaganism and its legacy in anti-racist and anti-war actions from Berkeley to New Hampshire, and from Pennsylvania to Kentucky.

This new type of movement was born in 1987, in response to a disgusting series of on-campus racial attacks on Black and minority students. By 1988, the overall movement has grown in numbers, in seriousness of purpose, and in a willingness to engage in philosophic probings.

SPRING 1988: PROTESTS ACROSS THE LAND

In recent months, two major victorious student revolts have taken place. At the University of Massachusetts-Amherst, Black students occupied a building to protest the totally unprovoked beating of a Black student by racists. Thousands of other students rallied to support their demands. At Gallaudet University in



Photo from the Northern Star

Students at Northern Illinois University take to streets for sit-in. See story p. 11



Protest against racism at U.C., Berkeley

Washington, D.C., the whole campus rose up against the hiring of yet another non-deaf president for the largest college of the deaf. But the range and scope of the new protests were not limited to these two well-publicized ones.

At elite Dartmouth College, weeks of anti-racist forums, marches and rallies against the Dartmouth Review, a Reaganite, anti-Black, anti-gay, anti-Semitic student magazine, finally caused the administration to suspend three of its "writers," who had verbally and physically harassed a Black professor right outside his classroom. These racists are supported by big outside interests, and one of them was immediately given a staff job, during his suspension, by Senator Dan Quayle of Indiana. Despite a struggle since 1985, Dartmouth

still refuses to divest its massive South Africa-related stock holdings.

- At Berkeley, two separate sit-ins occurred in March and April. One was against racial harassment of a Black woman student. The other was at the law school, which has fewer permanent minority faculty than any other besides the University of Chicago, alma mater of Robert Bork.

- At Penn State University, 150 students occupied a building for 15 hours, demanding funded programs to recruit more minority faculty on a campus whose student body is 3.6% Black, with its faculty a paltry 1.6%. At least 89 students were arrested.

Anti-racist protests took place as well at University of Kentucky, where trustee, former governor and baseball commissioner A. B. "Happy" Chandler had used the word "n-----r" during a discussion on divestment. Chandler has not even been asked to resign by the administration, even though student protests have mushroomed, including the whole football team.

The same week, 500 students demonstrated at Duke University to support an affirmative action plan requiring each academic department to hire at least one Black faculty member by 1993. The plan has initially been voted down by the faculty, but this decision was reversed after a week of protests.

Outside of the campuses, youth are feeling the brunt of Reaganism still more sharply. Reagan budget cuts will reduce the number of youth summer jobs in Chicago from 24,000 to 14,000, which prompted over 100 mainly Black and Latino youth to protest outside the Chicago Federal Building. In the days before this demonstration, high school and college stu-

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Police launch racist sweep against gangs

by Gene Ford

Los Angeles, Cal.—The recent national attention that gang violence in L.A. has received shows Black Los Angeles as a haven for drug trade and murder. In reality, there have been over 80 shootings related to gang violence in Los Angeles County this year. So during the weekend of April 8-9 there was a small invasion of Watts and South Central L.A. by the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) which netted the arrest of 1,453 suspected gang members.

Only 103 were charged with a crime. Many of the arrests were for "nothing," like not having proper ID, spitting on the sidewalk, or littering. Even the L.A. chapter of the NAACP had to come out against these racist sweeps—which they partly called for: "What is disturbing is the fact that 46% of the individuals arrested were not gang members. These same arrests would not have occurred in Westwood Village (a predominantly-white business district)." The NAACP received 150 complaints during the weekend from the community for police harassment.

The sweeps took place with an additional 1,000 police officers. For the past few years, this police presence has been demanded by many of the established Black leadership and by a few community-based organizations that think equal justice under the law means more police on the streets. What that equals for the Black and Latino community is not more protection, just more guns on the streets. That is not what we need, because we as members, not criminals, of the Black community become the target of

arrests, beatings, and shootings by police. Being Black and poor under capitalism has always been a racist crime against us.

The recent release of the film "Colors" was feared by many established Black leaders as possibly promoting more gang shootings. They said this film could glorify gang life, but in fact it is nothing more than a police story which makes "all" Black and Latino youth look like little terrorists who must be contained, imprisoned, or killed.

In reality, what promotes gang life is a segregated community backed up against the wall, with a lack of decent-paying jobs or decent housing, which puts the Black community at the brink of explosion. Add a little "crack" money and some AK-47s, and you've got yourself a small-scale war where we all become victims.

The demand for an outside force such as the LAPD to be brought in to free us, so we can walk the streets without fear once again, is a fantasy. It is to fall victim to a fool like Chief of Police Gates who demanded and received a "limited" OK for wiretaps. Chief Gates sees "the greatest threat to democracy is democracy itself (sic)."

We in the Black community must take control of our own destiny by grasping freedom for ourselves, and not expect help from the very power that oppresses us and puts us in this position in the first place. Our demand should be for social revolution which can change the thinking of an oppressed people and can stop this Black-on-Black crime, which is a crime against ourselves.

China today: women's liberation's critique

Editor's note: Below we print excerpts from a much longer article sent to us directly by our correspondent inside China (see January-February N&L for her article on women's situation in China today).

In 1978 a national conference of the Communist Party (CP) of China issued the directive that socialist construction rather than class struggle would be the primary goal of Chinese society. For Chinese women, this statement presents few surprises as the official Chinese women's movement has always closely followed the CP's political line since the formation of the Party in the 1920s. Then women adhered to the Marxist belief that their emancipation could only be achieved with the liberation of the proletarian class. Thus women underwent the hardships in establishing socialist China and obtained many rights in 1949. Now what does this new stage in China's history mean for them?

Women seem to be given opportunities to display their abilities. Some women scientists have surpassed their male colleagues; women entrepreneurs have emerged as a noticeable group, and some women managers have reached important positions in business. Above all, China's 400 million rural women are playing a significant role in the economic transformation going on in the countryside.

According to *Women of China Gazette*, in those more developed areas, about 50% of the female rural population are occupied in commerce production and their products make up more than half of the total output. What must be mentioned is that these achievements are mostly due to the numerous workshops in which about 100 million country women have learned skills to improve their economic situation and more women are seeking such learning opportunities.

WINGS TOO HEAVY TO SOAR

The other side of the matter, however, is not so bright. This is not to say that women are innately not as capable as men, but that because of traditions as well as their present inferior situation, women may find, just as some of them have said, "Our wings are too heavy to soar into the large space open to us."

This saying is justified by the following: in education women made up 25.7% of the university graduates, 37.4% of the high school and 42.2% of the primary school graduates. Women count for about 160 million among China's 200 million illiterate or half-illiterate people. Although China before 1949 was accused of being the chief culprit, it is hard to deny the fact that many of these illiterate women were born after 1949 and a large group of them are teenagers or even younger.

Nevertheless, the most urgent problem is to relieve the 30 million women factory workers from job insecurity. Now a large number of them have been removed from their posts as surplus hands since reforms were started in the factory system.

Paradoxically, when the Party is enthusiastically talking about a change in the political structure and socialist democracy is loudly proclaimed, women are completely excluded from the central policy-making groups—the new Central Committee Politbureau offered not a single position to women.

More insidious are sexist conceptions still pervasive in the culture. As early as Fifth Century B.C., regulations in the *Book of Rights* (a Confucian classic), stated that a man should act in the public world, whereas a woman's place was in the home. In the process of socialization, these assumptions have become what Chinese call "unalterable principles."

NEW STAGE—HOPE AND CHALLENGE

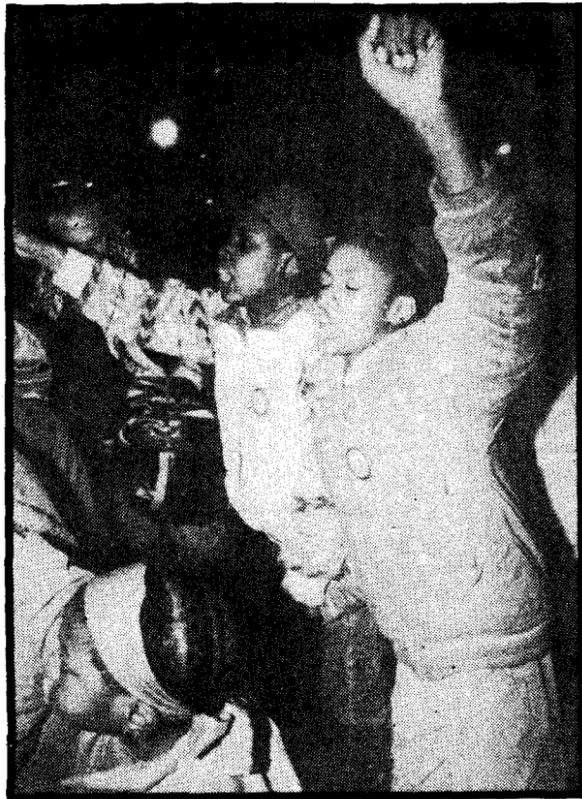
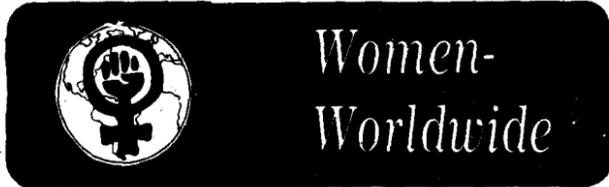
While the reforms are giving China a new look, the change in the mental construction has lagged behind. This has put Chinese women into a dilemma. If they are wise enough to seize the opportunities of self-development, they are sure to meet with resistance and be punished in various forms: marriage breakdown, because the husband can't stand a career woman; the possibility of not being able to find a husband, because men intend to marry women inferior to themselves. On the other hand, if women stick to the tradition in order not to lose men's "favor," they are surely unable to obtain a high social standing in the future of China.

The new stage means both hope and challenge. It heralds the entry of China into a historical phase in

which the people can enjoy more freedom and have more opportunities. Yet it also intensifies the problems women face. If solutions are not worked out to address their problems in education, employment, politics, family, and if changes are not made in the social constructions, the new stage may, unfortunately, weaken women's standing in the society.

What must also be realized is that, either for China or for Chinese women in particular, the new stage is essentially a long march that is by no means easier than the one the CP made during the 1930s. In this long march, Chinese women will either lose their present foothold or reach a world with more equality.

—Chinese Women's Liberationist



A coalition of women's groups held a rally in New York City, March 11, in support of Tawana Brawley, the 16-year-old Black woman kidnapped, raped and tortured by a group of white men in November, 1987. Several hundred people protested the rise in racist sexual attacks on women of color and the media's efforts to discredit Tawana Brawley's story, making her not the victim but the criminal.

Alexis DeVieux spoke at the rally: "We are not just talking about Wappinger Falls (where Brawley is from). We are talking about the 50-year-old Black woman from Newton, New Jersey, the little girls from the Bronx, and the Black woman beaten to death by the police. Here in New York City racist and sexual assaults have become a daily reality."

—Information and photo from *Womanews*

Students from St. Scholastica's College in Manila, the Philippines, participated in a street demonstration in early April waving a banner reading "Fight against U.S.-Aquino collusion!" Daughters of generals, government officials and other elite, the students have previously protested against American bases, rallied for land distribution, marched in funerals for slain leftist leaders and picketed a group of Norwegians who came to Manila to pick up mail-order brides.

Beginning June 1, Michigan welfare recipients will no longer need a doctor's prescription to receive free condoms. The sponsor of the new ruling, while pretending to care about birth control and AIDS prevention, revealed that they only want to stop women on welfare from having more babies. The Department of Social Services will monitor disbursements so those on welfare cannot get large quantities to "sell for profit." And the "more exotic brands" will not be covered.

Stanford University (California) students won their fight, March 31, to change the school's traditional Western Civilization course to one on Culture, Ideas and Values. The new class will include works by women, minorities and people of color. U.S. Education Secretary William J. Bennett, revealing his narrow view of Western history, denounced the change as a "retrogression in efforts to strengthen basic educational requirements that in time could weaken Western civilization."

A Profile of Working Women, released for National Secretaries' Week, April 25-29, revealed a dramatic change in the work force with no corresponding change in the work place by employers who "live in a nostalgic dream of the 1950s." They are challenged by vocal clerical workers demanding child care, family leave, health insurance and the raising of the minimum wage. Compiled by 9 to 5, National Association of Working Women, the data showed that 65% of women between 16 and 64 are working, yet 60% have no maternity leave and only 1/2 of 1% of businesses help with child care in any way.

'Scholar and the Feminist'

New York, N.Y.—Barnard College's 15th annual "Scholar and the Feminist" conference March 2 brought together over 200 women, including many whose international, Black and revolutionary ideas about feminism escaped the confines of the conference title: "Motherhood versus Sisterhood."

The most interesting speaker at the only non-music plenary session was Paula Giddings, who spoke of "Black Women in the Progressive Era," a period when women started their own schools, day care and community organizations, unseparated from their participation in anti-lynching, labor and suffrage campaigns.

Sylvia Law, who spoke second, described the lack of progress in getting women jobs in the construction industry. Rosi Braidotti of the Netherlands, speaking of "Everlasting Knots: Feminism and Critical Theory," critiqued theoreticians in the context of the current debates over "feminist" science and pointed up the irony that, after so many years of the women's movement, motherhood is once more defining gender differences.

Since no discussion was allowed in the plenary sessions it was in the workshops where the dialectics of thought unfolded, overflowed the classroom and found voice, if not inside, then at the News and Letters literature table.

In the workshop that jammed up the Italian Marxist Gramsci and the Iranian Revolution, we raised Gramsci's advice that the philosopher posits himself as an element of the struggle, in the context of Iran's rapid counter-revolution arising from within the revolution where the women were the first to decry it while the Left thought they could work with Khomeini. Several women agreed with this stark example of the importance of ideas, and came to our literature table to discuss Marxist-Humanism further.

In the workshop on "The Effects of Destabilization on Women in Southern Africa," we heard about the horrible destruction by South African-backed counter-revolutionaries in Mozambique on the small farmers, mostly women, who had been demanding that revolution change their lives. We made the question that had been implicit throughout the conference—"What happens after the revolution?"—explicit in these workshops and at our literature table.

There, a Dominican woman who had lived in Russia asked how Marxist-Humanism developed in opposition to the worldwide stage of state-capitalism. Two German women let us know that Raya Dunayevskaya's work was being discussed there. And an older woman guard at the College visited our table and commented that when the conference used to draw seven or eight hundred women "it was magnificent."

—Anne Jaclac



WRITE ON!

Beloved by Toni Morrison (Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York 1987.)

This Pulitzer prize winning novel is a lavish work written in the unique grace and style that Toni Morrison can give. It takes up a period of post-Civil War Ohio, and was developed by Morrison after reading a real-life, 19th Century news article on a Black woman who killed her child rather than handing the child over to slave owners.

With persistence and passion the story unfolds revealing, bit-by-bit, this grievous act. Sethe is the mother who recollects the past along with her dead child who appears first as "apparition" and then in the form of "Beloved"—a young woman demanding to know the truth of the past.

A novel is not an historical account, although it can reflect history. With *Beloved*, a mystical veil covers every part of the work. It is written as if in a dream, not surrealistically, rather, all the facts are never the all at once. Morrison gives a view of the horrors of slavery and some of the struggles against it.

Other Black women I've spoken with about the novel defend the work vigorously and are aware of every detail within the story. Some said the novel is not about that act alone, but about the desire to not be fragmented, to become a whole human being.

—Diane L

An Olive Schreiner Reader: Writings on Women in South Africa, edited by Carol Barash (Pandora, London and New York, 1987).

The South African writer, Olive Schreiner (1856-1920), was a friend of Eleanor Marx in the 1880s when both were in England. A well-known feminist, she published a book, *Woman and Labour*, in 1911 that was very popular. This collection of 11 of her essays and stories shows some beautiful moments in her fiction, especially on how children perceive the world.

However, the book's subhead, "Writings on Women and South Africa," is a misnomer. Rather, these essays reveal the opposite: Schreiner kept women's fight for equality and the Black fight for freedom in South Africa in two totally separate compartments. Because she doesn't see the movement for human liberation as Universal, her feminism is narrowed to Mother Right equal right to labor and to actually blaming women for the downfall of civilizations because of what she called "the parasitism of the female."

The afterward shows that Nadine Gordimer also saw no connection between Blacks and women's fight for freedom, claiming: "It was as bizarre then... as now... regard a campaign for women's rights—black or white—as relevant to the South African situation."

—Terry M

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Workshop Talks

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

I was travelling across the country by train a few months ago, and certain scenes I saw will not leave my mind. In Las Vegas, Nev. the train pulled in to the station early in the morning. The police were rounding up the homeless along the railroad tracks and putting them in police wagons. As the train pulled out, I noticed along the tracks the hundreds of pieces of rags and cardboard that had been the homeless people's beds.

In downtown Los Angeles the streets are full of the homeless, and the numbers are growing. It's not because, like the right-wing know-nothings say, "They're too lazy to work." Some homeless people have jobs, but with Reaganomics many people's wages won't buy both food and shelter!

The House Labor and Education committee has now approved proposed legislation to raise the current federal minimum wage of \$3.35 an hour to \$5.05, over the next four years. That is what the minimum wage should be now, to equal the 25¢/hour it was in 1940!

WELFARE FOR CAPITALISTS

President Reagan is threatening to veto the bill. How many times has he threatened to veto the welfare spending for the military-industrial complex? In the seven years of the Reagan administration, what has he felt an urgency to do about the 80 million poor, including the three million homeless Americans?

Reagan's so-called "Labor" Secretary, Ann McLaughlin, said that an increase in the minimum wage would hurt workers, that even to raise the minimum wage to \$4.65 an hour would lead to a

SF mass protest against builders' unionbusting

San Francisco, Cal.—Over 4,000 union construction workers and supporters gathered in front of Moscone Center downtown on March 7 to protest the Associated Builders and Contractors (ABC) convention. It was a healthy reminder that San Francisco is a lot more than fancy jogging shoes, psycho-babble, sharking entrepreneurs and creepy upscale professionals.

It was really exhilarating to see thousands of real live human beings of all variety on one side and to see these horrible starchy men and women of the trendy business set cringing their way to the scab convention under a hail of epithets and educational comments with eggs and bright red tomatoes arching gracefully through the air onto their stiff little grey suits. The protest was against non-union labor and the "two-gate" system. Two-gate hiring is using non-union labor with union labor or choosing a union with lower pay scales.

One worker said, "The ABC has stated that their aim is to break union control of construction in the San Francisco area and lower wages by more than two-thirds. We have to think about what union really means and work hard at it. It started in the streets and here we are again."

The protest really cut into the convention. The big ABC honchos asked for and got an injunction to limit the picket line, but the next day thousands showed up again but just stayed across the street. Several people were arrested for "possession of eggs."

There is new militancy and new opposition to this give-back economy and this two-tier and two-gate society. As one demonstrator said, "We can't just live on a past reputation of being a union town. We have to make the words 'union' and 'solidarity' mean something TODAY AND NOW!"

—Participant

Which side are M.D.s on?

Oakland, Cal.—There is a lot of discussion at Kaiser Hospitals about a letter from a physician, Dr. Taller, to the management protesting the policy that physicians "will be required 'as a condition of employment' to perform any and all non-physician duties" during strikes.

Dr. Taller finds "no argument" with making himself available "for these services," only he wants his obligation to come as a "Shareholder Physician" and part owner. He feels it is "unfortunate" that the new policy failed to make this distinction "when many physicians are feeling low morale and increasing powerlessness in controlling their professional lives."

The problem with Dr. Taller's opposition to the new policy is the century old mental chain of professionalism—a division of labor he wholeheartedly wants to preserve. In contrast to that, some residents and interns did sign a letter in support of the strikers.

The strike brought out something different from Kaiser's division of labor. "Everybody's attitude at work when a problem comes up is to say, 'There is a problem, but I only work here. I don't make policy.'" On the picket line, on the other hand, people who have the least amount of control of their work-life at Kaiser were making the decisions and taking responsibility themselves. They were mostly Black women and they were there on the picket line every day.

This division of labor is too deep even for the union to touch. The grievance procedure preserves and promotes it. They willingly give management certain prerogatives in the contract. I doubt that if you asked union officials, they would have much to disagree with Dr. Taller's letter.

—Kaiser worker

Working, yet homeless

loss of 800,000 jobs. But what does a job mean these days, when a person can have a full-time job and still not be able to afford a place to live?

Since Reagan took office, a job doesn't mean what it meant 20 or 30 or even seven years ago. Then, you could get a job, buy a house and car, and feed and clothe your family. Today, it takes two adults in the house both working, in some cases husband or wife working two jobs, to be able to support a family.

MARX ON REAGANOMICS

Over a hundred years ago, Karl Marx wrote that capitalism would demand that workers work 24 hours a day and live on air, and that still wouldn't be enough to keep the capitalist system going.

In Marx's work *Capital*, he quoted a doctor who examined the diet of the workers in England in the 1860s, showing that most of them didn't get enough nutrition to avert starvation diseases: "That cases are innumerable in which defective diet is the cause or the aggravator of disease can be affirmed by any one who is conversant...with the wards and out-patient rooms of hospitals." Isn't this part of the reality in Reagan's America of the 1980s? And where in the 1860s the doctor remarked "The home...will be where shelter can be cheapest bought..." in the 1980s many workers cannot afford even the cheapest home!

Marx continued quoting the doctor: "The insufficiency of food...fell as a rule chiefly on the women and children." And it is the women and children who suffer the most in Reagan's America.

Some people say that what Marx wrote 100 years ago is "outdated" and "doesn't apply" to the 1980s age of computers. But as a worker, I see what he wrote back then clearer than ever today. With Marx, I say it has to be the "new passions and new forces," the "gravediggers" of capitalism, who will uproot this inhuman system of the richest land on earth where children sleep on the streets.

UFCW dues up, rights down

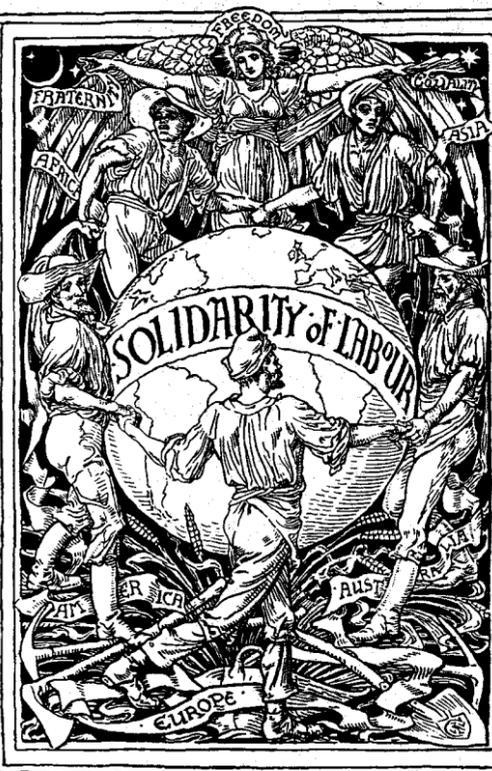
Chicago, Ill.—The union (United Food and Commercial Workers Local 100-A) raised our dues a dollar in April. People at Eckrich were angry, because we feel that the union doesn't do anything that justifies taking another dollar. What does the union stand for? They're supposed to be protecting our rights as workers and as human beings. I don't think they're doing that. They're just taking \$16 a month from us.

We are humans. We're not machines. I think people should have more of a say-so in the places that they work, especially on the equipment, on what would be more efficient, easier to repair and easier to operate. Like with the new machine on line #6 in department 647. Why did they buy that? We have other machines that run a whole lot better at a faster speed. Now they've got 30,000 pounds of meat a day for line #6. That would have been nothing—a regular eight hours probably—on one of those other machines.

The company should be maintaining things so that they don't break down all the time and we can do our work in eight hours instead of 11 or 12. If you work 12 hours, and most people should sleep seven or eight hours, that leaves you with four hours out of the day to take care of everything else. Traveling takes up most of that time.

Everything's against you. You can't eat right, you can't work right, you can't see the doctor without having to miss work. And then that goes against you, too, because of the time off. When you work people like that, they're going to get sick eventually, if they don't get enough sleep. Then there are the write-ups because you get sick. We're the ones that feel the effects of all the decisions the company makes.

—Eckrich worker



—Walter Crane

LABOUR'S MAY DAY
DEDICATED TO THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD
May 1, 1886: U.S. workers strike for 8-hour day
May 1, 1890: May Day becomes international
May 1, 1988: May Day's legacy—tasks that remain to be done

Wages sub-minimum already

Newark, N.J.—Where some of the capitalists on the right are saying that raising the minimum wage would hurt business and put people out of work, the liberal capitalists think it could be brought up to maybe a little over \$4 an hour.

I find both are on the same ground, because even if the capitalists would raise it this tiny bit it would not bring up my standard of living as a young worker much, if any. Many that started with the minimum are making more, but not much more.

Then there is the talk of paying young workers a sub-minimum wage, saying this would put more youth to work. This is a lie. That would just mean youth would start with less and would end up hardly making more than today's minimum wage even after a long time.

I will say that a little less than ten years ago I was working at one job at five dollars an hour for about a forty-hour week. Then as a high school student I could party and live all week long on my pay and still have money left over. But now I can barely survive on this money even when I work massive overtime.

For young workers who, when we were growing up, thought that we could at least make as much as our parents, all that there is now is just hanging on. These days, working class youth have but two ways if they can work at all. One is to work two minimum wage jobs and/or work as much overtime as you can, and the second is the one that I and some of my friends fell into, that of having to live with someone like family, someone you may not get along with.

This may all seem negative to people who do not see the actions of rebellious youth in these minimum wage jobs. Where I work, at Toys-R-Us, the company tried to have a contest to see who was fastest at working the new registers. When I looked at who had signed the list for this contest to act like a machine, I saw names like Mother Theresa, the Flying Nun, and so on! This shows the depth of the revolt in the minimum wage service sector jobs.

—David L. Anderson

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 internationally, 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.

From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya Marxist-Humanist Archives

by Raya Dunayevskaya, Founder of Marxist-Humanism

Editor's note: The current rampant racism in Reagan's America makes it most appropriate to re-publish this review of American Civilization on Trial, "Freedom occupies consciousness." It first appeared in the May, 1963 issue of News & Letters as American Civilization on Trial was coming off the press.

Two very opposite events, which reverberated around the world, first in 1957, and again in 1962, were held in unison in men's consciousness. In 1956, Sputnik No. 1 and Little Rock were the main headlines; in 1962, James Meredith's courageous attempt to enter the University of Mississippi took the lustre out of the spectacular six orbital flight of Astronaut Walter Schirra. An age in which "a little thing," like school desegregation, can hold in tow such scientific milestones is an age in which men's consciousness is preoccupied, not with science, but with human freedom.

Throughout history, all great turning points were characterized by "the progress in the consciousness of freedom." Under the impact of the great French Revolution, the German genius, G.W.F. Hegel, gave the most profound expression to the unity in the development of freedom and of thought. "Only that which is an object of freedom," he wrote, "can be called an idea." It is from such a Hegelian-Marxian point of view that the analysis of United States history is made in the pamphlet American Civilization on Trial.

A brief review, such as this must be, cannot do justice to a study of 200 years of the contradictory development of the United States which has, moreover, been written so concisely as to fit into 36 pages. I shall limit myself therefore, to two aspects only: (1) the radical departure of this study from previous ones, both bourgeois and radical, and (2) the relationship of theory to practice as activity, and to practice as organizational form of a unifying philosophy.

A RADICAL DEPARTURE

Hitherto Negro struggles for freedom, where dealt with in histories at all, have been separated from the mainstream of American development. The present study, on the contrary, makes the Negro himself "the touchstone of history":

"Because slavery has stained American civilization as it wrenched freedom from Great Britain, the Negro could give the lie to its democracy. At first he was alone in so doing. But with the birth of Abolitionism, and for three stormy decades thereafter, American civilization was placed on trial by whites as well who focused on the antagonism between the ideal of freedom and the reality of slavery. The Negro became the touchstone of this class-ridden, color conscious, defaced civilization which has an ever-expanding frontier but no unifying philosophy."

This is not only a matter of setting the record straight. Negro historians have striven mightily, and in many cases successfully, in recording the accomplishments of the Negro. The true writing of Negro history, quintessential as that is, is not yet the true writing of American and world history unless (1) there is a dialectical grasp of the relationship of minority and labor struggles, and (2) the movement of history is seen, not so much as a progression of great men, as a progression of great masses of men. Where old radicals tried to do this, they detailed the oppression without seeing the creativity of the masses. American Civilization on Trial shows these as the subject, not the object, of historical development. We can gain a glance at these proper subjects of history, that is to say, its molders, by viewing the contents page of this pamphlet. (We are not including the contents page. For full pamphlet, see ad page 9.)

THE "PSYCHOLOGY" OF JIM CROWISM

Being the proper subject of history has nothing, of course, to do with the subjectivism of the psychological approach to Jim Crowism which points to the prejudices of white workers as

25th anniversary of 'American Civilization on Trial'

Freedom occupies consciousness

"proof" that Jim Crowism is something apart from the class relationship between workers and capitalists. What these modern day "analysts" forget is this: just as the "stigma" of slavery could not have persisted so long if its economic remains in cotton culture and share cropping had not been the natural consequence of the unfinished state of the Second American Revolution, so the psychology of Jim Crowism would not have persisted if it had not been re-introduced by the develop-

ment of Northern industrialism into monopoly capitalism. The latter needed Southern racism for its plunge into imperialism even as it needed imperialism for its violent struggle against white labor's challenge to its exploitative rule. As we phrase it in the pamphlet:

"The psychology of Jim Crowism is itself the result, not the cause, of monopoly capital extending its tentacles into the Caribbean and the Pacific as it became transformed into imperialism, with the Spanish-American War.

THOUGHT AND PRACTICE AND THE FOUNDING OF NEWS & LETTERS

A new form of Mass revolt emerged during World War II. In Europe we witnessed the growth of the Resistance movements, and in the United States there was an outburst, in 1943, both of the first miners' strike and the first Negro demonstrations to take place right in the midst of a world war. The struggles in the United States nailed down the lie of workers' rights and full democracy propagated not only by the ruling class, but by the Communists, who, with the Nazi invasion of Russia, had become the most rabid "American patriots." They approved the no-strike pledge to chain workers to the war machine. They opposed any independent movement of Negroes for their democratic rights.

Witness the cynicism of The Daily Worker which wrote: "Hitler is the main enemy and the foes of Negro rights in this country should be considered as secondary." The Negro had no need of the later vicious McCarthy type of anti-Communism they knew the true nature of Communism and fought against it a full decade ahead of McCarthy's discovery for his own reactionary needs.

The period of new revolts which was initiated in 1943 was the period also of a great clarification of thought. Some of us who were later to found News & Letters had developed the following theoretical analyses: (1) Russia, which had long since stopped being a workers' state, had, with the outbreak of World War II, become fully state-capitalist society which would challenge its present Allies for world domination. (2) By seeing the new stage of capitalist development—state-capitalism—as a world development, and relating it to new forms of mass revolt, we put ourselves on the alert both to the Middle East, Africa, Asia, Latin American revolution against Western imperialism, and such phenomenal developments as the first revolt (East Germany, 1953) against Russian totalitarianism. (3) At the same time, by listening closely to the spontaneous remarks of miners in their struggle against the first appearance of Automation in 1950, as well as the continuous struggles of the Negroes, we were led to the discovery of the American and Humanist roots of Marxian philosophy, and therefore the break with all old radicals.

These three preparatory stages permitted the founding of News & Letters as the only paper edited by a production worker (who happened also to be a Negro) in a way in which it became a forum for the rank and file and was, simultaneously, a manifestation of a unique combination of workers and intellectuals. This led to the formation of News and Letters Committees and the publication of such diverse books and pamphlets: Marxism and Freedom...from 17' until today, and Workers Battle Automation; Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions, and Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves.

The latest pamphlet to come off the press, American Civilization on

(continued on page 9)

Raya Dunayevskaya



May 1, 1910 - June 9, 1987

*In the spring she went away
The scent of roses she loved filled the air
She had been away before, following the holocaust in Marxism
Surveying the wreckage of human and ideological carnage
That survived the Hitler-Stalin years
She always returned, never defeated, to seek new challenges
In Africa she traveled through bush and acclaim,
Twisting the British Lion's tail, seeking independence
for the oppressed, hearing voices crying UHURU and passing it on
Greeting both rulers, former students, and the people from the bush
She was in the African fight for freedom while it was in progress
At home again she set down what she had learned
Building an organization, based on philosophy and returning
Marxism to its humanist beginnings, combining theory with practice.
Traveling again, to the Orient, Japan, Hong Kong and China
Teaching, listening, learning the thoughts and aspirations
of far-away but kindred spirits, creating philosophy for the future
Now unexpectedly she went away again, never to return
She rests with the Haymarket Martyrs, whose lives like hers
were devoted to the class struggle for freedom and justice.
Philosopher, teacher, organizer, friend and companion
in our minds and hearts and memories she will always be with us.*

—John F. Dwyer

Freedom Ideas International

We are dedicating this issue of Freedom Ideas International to the memory of Raya Dunayevskaya not only because she was the most truly original revolutionary thinker since the death of Lenin, but most particularly because of her active relationship with blind people who are participants in every freedom movement. This caused her, in turn, to become a very special supporter of our struggle to gain access to the full world of ideas, which had been hidden from us in the medium of ink print.

I first met Raya in the fall of 1965. Packed into a small apartment on Manhattan's Upper West Side along with 20-odd other civil rights workers, mostly Black and Hispanic, all young, plus a couple of old Leftists. I heard her speak on the development of Maoism, his thought, its practice in China, its effects in the Third World and the American movement, and its inadequacy to answer the questions that we were asking. I was so moved by the breadth of her ideas and their relevance to our most immediate activity that at the close of the meeting I told her that I wished to continue the discussion, but would be unable to do this in writing because I had "poor eyesight."

AT THAT TIME I was still trying "to pass for sighted," hiding and denying my blindness even to myself. But I didn't fool Raya. Ignoring my "poor eyesight," she immediately told me of a tape-recorded correspondence she had had with a Marxist from England who was blind. Using tape had been her idea. She told me that she had been amazed to find that no one had ever suggested this to him before, much less done it. This use of tape-recorded correspondence had occurred in the 1950s, when only a few people in the field of rehabilitation had recognized tape as an important medium of communication for the blind.

Raya's biggest concern with everyone she met was that there be no barrier to the back and forth of ideas between them. In 1966, when I had become a Marxist-Humanist, she told me that the most important concretization of this decision would be for me to see that her book Marxism & Freedom was made available to blind people, if not in Braille, then certainly on tape. She said this was important "not only for you, who agree with these ideas, but also for many others who may or may not agree with them, but who will all have something important to say."

ALWAYS SENSITIVE TO the full meaning of language, in the early 1980s Raya insisted that sighted comrades stop using the rhetorical phrase "blind to the..." She insisted that physical blindness neither fostered nor limited the development of humanity or its ideas.

In 1981, I raised with her the fact that although we had already made News & Letters available on tape to blind subscribers, we, blind people, needed our own organization which would make revolutionary publications available to us. She stressed "if you do this, you must make sure to make the whole range of revolutionary ideas available, not only our own. Every idea gains from the test of its collision with other ideas. Blind people deserve to witness this no less than anyone else." It was this conversation which caused us to create the form of Freedom Ideas International.

—Steve Handschu, editor

Essay Article

Dunayevskaya's new perceptions of Lenin

by Eugene Walker

In 1986-87 Raya Dunayevskaya developed a startling new view of Lenin's philosophic journey through Hegel's *Science of Logic*. What she called "New Perceptions of Lenin's Philosophic Ambivalence" represented a profound deepening of her previous work on Lenin. Earlier, she had not only rescued Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks* (PN) of 1914-15 from Stalinist obliteration, but had presented a profound interpretation of Lenin's philosophic reorganization, and its political ramifications, ranging from his preparation for the 1917 Revolution to his practice in the new Soviet state.

Dunayevskaya had as well critiqued Lenin's failure to make those *Notebooks* public, which would have shown to other revolutionaries the philosophic roots of his new political practice. She had extended her critique to encompass Lenin's failure to reorganize his earlier concept of the vanguard-party-to-lead in light of his new philosophic vantage point.¹ Now, as we will see, her 1986-87 view dives deeply again into Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks* and presents new perceptions of their limitations as well as their greatness.

Her different view of Lenin's philosophic ambivalence was to become one of the central focuses of the problematic she was at work on in the mid-1980s—a new work on "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy: The Party and Forms of Organization Born out of Spontaneity."

Dunayevskaya's new critique of Lenin focused on how he had dug into Hegel's dialectic in the concluding chapters in the *Science of Logic*, particularly the chapters on "The Idea of Cognition" and the "Absolute Idea."

LENIN'S READING OF HEGEL'S TWO LOGICS

Of particular importance in following the development of Dunayevskaya's critique are her letters to the non-Marxist Hegel scholars, George Armstrong Kelly and Louis Dupre.² She wrote to them: "When Lenin completed Chapter 2, 'The Idea of Cognition,' he didn't really go to Chapter 3, 'The Absolute Idea,' but first proceeded for seven pages with his own 'translation' (interpretation)...I consider that he is still only on the threshold of the Absolute Idea. Indeed all that follows p. 219 in his Notes shows that to be true, and explains why Lenin proceeded on his own after the end of his Notes on the Absolute Idea, and returned to the smaller Logic." This is a view that she had not developed in her previous published works on Lenin.

It was not only a new study of Lenin's journey through the last chapters of the *Science of Logic* on the "Idea of Cognition" and the "Absolute Idea," but became an examination of Hegel's different versions of those chapters. In these same letters to Kelly and Dupre, Dunayevskaya asked them for their view of Hegel's abbreviated presentation of the Idea of Cognition and Absolute Idea as presented in Hegel's *Encyclopedia Logic* as contrasted to his fuller presentation in the *Science of Logic*:

"Whether or not Lenin had a right to 'misread' the difference in Hegel's two articulations in the *Science* and in the smaller *Logic* isn't it true that Hegel, by creating the subsection, 'Volition,' which does not appear in the *Science*, left open the door for a future generation of Marxists to become so enthralled with Ch. 2, 'The Idea of Cognition'—which ended with the pronouncement that Practice was higher than Theory—that they saw an identity of the two versions? These Marxists weren't Kantians believing that all contradictions will be solved by actions of 'men of good will.'

"There is no reason, I think, for introducing a new sub-heading which lets Marxists think that now that practice is 'higher' than theory, and that 'Will,' not as willfulness, but as action, is their province, they do not need to study Hegel further."

What is the significance of Lenin's never fully digging into the chapter on Absolute Idea in Hegel's *Science of Logic*, preferring instead this abbreviated *Encyclopedia Logic*? Let us briefly trace Lenin's journey. In *Marxism and Freedom* (1958) Dunayevskaya wrote, "When Lenin began his study of Hegel, as his *Philosophic Notebooks* show, he still felt compelled to emphasize that he is reading Hegel materialistically, instead of taking that for granted and going on to what was new." (p. 169) Thus Lenin began his reading by thinking of materialism as something external that he would have to introduce into the Hegelian dialectic.

But by the time Lenin comes to the Doctrine of the Notion he discovers "the germs of historical materialism in Hegel." (PN, p. 189) Materialism is no longer something that had to be "introduced" or "read into Hegel." It was right within Hegel's own thought. In contrast to the vulgar materialists, Lenin recognized this: "Intelligent idealism is closer to intelligent ma-

terialism than stupid materialism. Dialectical idealism instead of intelligent; metaphysical, undeveloped, dead, crude, rigid instead of stupid." (PN, p. 276)

Lenin's movement had been from appearance, where materialism was seen as external to Hegel's dialectic, to a concept that materialism was within the dialectic, part of its very essence. He writes: "When Hegel tries—sometimes even strains himself and worries to death—to subsume the purposeful activity of man under the categories of logic, saying that this activity is the 'syllogism,' that the subject plays the role of some sort of 'member' in the logical 'figure' of the syllogism, etc. then this is not only a strain, not only a game. There is here a very deep content, purely materialistic." "NB the categories of Logic and the practice of man." (PN p. 198) (Translation used here is from Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom*, 1958 edition.)

Lenin's profound grasp of this dimension of the Hegelian dialectic set the ground for all that followed as a practicing revolutionary from 1915 until his death.

But it was precisely at this point of Lenin's great appreciation of the richness of materialism within Hegel's



Lenin, May Day 1920

dialectic—where Lenin's dive into Hegel reached its highest point and stopped—that Dunayevskaya's new perceptions of Lenin's philosophic ambivalence began. What I believe she was probing in 1986-87 was that Lenin never fully grasped the Self-Determination of the Idea, not alone as practice, as profoundly linked by Lenin to self-determination of nations and peoples, but as Idea, as Notion within the Doctrine of the Notion, and as it was further developed by Hegel as the Self-Thinking Idea within the Absolute Mind chapter of *Philosophy of Mind*.

LENIN'S 'SHORTCUT' AWAY FROM HEGEL'S ABSOLUTES

Thus, it is not alone that there is materialism within Hegel's dialectic, though often shrouded in a mystical veil. It is that the movement, the Notion, is within the material, within objectivity when seen in its fullness.

At the same time Hegel was determined to show the movement of the Idea as Idea: "The pure Idea, in which the determinateness or reality of the Notion is itself raised to the level of Notion is an absolute liberation, having no further immediate determination which is not equally posited and equally Notion. Consequently there is no transition in this freedom...The transition here therefore must rather be taken to mean that the Idea freely releases itself..." (p. 485-486, S of L)

Because Lenin was preoccupied with what he saw as the need to work out the materialism within Hegel, he did not follow the Idea freely releasing itself, and began instead to quickly "translate" the dialectic. This was particularly true right within the chapter on the Idea of Cognition where Lenin had created that magnificent expression, "Alias: Man's Cognition not only reflects the objective world, but creates it." Following this expression Lenin had proceeded to divide the page of his *Philosophic Notebooks* in half, putting "Hegelianisms" on one side and his "translations" on the other.

Dunayevskaya had in her earlier writings pointed to these translations of Notion equaling Man, of Otherness which is in itself equaling Nature, of Absolute Idea equaling objective truth, as tremendously illuminating of the leaps within Lenin's thought.

In 1986 she saw these "translations" in a new light. They became part of what she saw as Lenin's rush to practice, to the Practical Idea, to Nature translated as practice. Here, did she not see that Lenin's great insight in translating Nature as Practice ended up as a great barrier, when that Particularization became, in Lenin, almost a Universal, one that perhaps kept him from fully following the sweep of Hegel's thought deeply through the Absolute Idea, and then into Absolute Mind?

Lenin's divided pages signified a shift from the Self-Determination of the Idea to the Self-Determination of Humanity. This certainly could be magnificent. But if that meant for Lenin the practice of man narrowed in such a way that it no longer would leave room to encompass the self-thinking Idea, then wasn't this a short-

cut, an avoidance of following Hegel into Absolute Mind? It is precisely within Absolute Mind where Lenin might have been able to work out spirit as the realm of the realization of human nature, which would have expanded human practice to the dimension of human praxis.

When Dunayevskaya followed Lenin into his commentary on the chapter on Absolute Idea, what she confronted first was a Lenin writing his 16-point definition of the dialectic created before he had worked through the chapter. In 1986-87, Dunayevskaya drew attention to the fact that Lenin's definition of negation of the negation was to be an "apparent return to the old." But could Lenin have possibly limited it to an "apparent return to the old" if he had jammed negation of the negation together with working out what Hegel had termed the unresolved contradiction between "two worlds in opposition" that appeared right within the Absolute? Dunayevskaya pointed out in her letters to Hegel scholars that this "did not faze Lenin because he felt that the objective, the Practical Idea is that resolution." She added, "Nothing, in fact, led Lenin back to the Idea of Theory and away from dependence on the Practical Idea."

Dunayevskaya was showing in so many ways that what was pulling at Lenin in Hegel's discussion of the Practical Idea, in Hegel's concept of Nature, both of which Lenin translated as Practice, was Practice not fully immersed in the Absolute. Even the magnificent translation by Lenin of the Notion as Man, had within it a narrowing of Man to practice. For Dunayevskaya, every practice had to have within the Idea, the Idea as the fullness of all of Hegel's Absolutes.

HEGEL'S ATTITUDES TO OBJECTIVITY ILLUMINATE BARRIERS TO REVOLUTION

Dunayevskaya's study of what pulled a revolutionary thinker away from a full journey into the self-development of the Idea of freedom led, in 1986, to an examination of another of Hegel's last writings—his *Attitudes to Objectivity* added to the *Encyclopedia Logic* in 1827. Despite Lenin's preference for this smaller Logic, he never commented on the three Attitudes to Objectivity which were among the additions Hegel had made to the 1827 edition.

The Third Attitude to Objectivity centered upon Hegel's critique of the Intuitionists represented by the philosopher Jacobi, who wished to reject any kind of dialectical mediation by equating mind to mere consciousness, "an unmixed immediacy." Dunayevskaya had earlier shown that this retrogressionism had its modern day practitioners, developing a chapter on "The Thought of Mao Tse-Tung" in her *Philosophy and Revolution* on this ground.

But in 1986-87 it was not the specificity of Hegel's critique of the intuitionists so much as his critique of a philosophic concept of faith that was not based on a set of principles, an organized body of ideas, that she was examining. In the Third Attitude to Objectivity Hegel sharply contrasted two kinds of faith—that of Jacobi's philosophy and that of Christianity: "The two things are radically distinct. Firstly, the Christian faith comprises in it an authority of the Church; but the faith of Jacobi's philosophy has no other authority than that of personal revelation."

Dunayevskaya here commented, "As we see, Hegel now has suddenly equated Organization to Principle, Doctrine." She then continued to quote Hegel, "And secondly, the Christian faith is a copious body of objective truth, a system of knowledge and doctrine; while the scope of the philosophic faith is so utterly indefinite, that, while it has room for faith of the Christian, it equally admits belief in the divinity of the Dalai Lama, the ox, or the monkey..."

It is not a question of the Christian doctrine and its organization versus Jacobi's intuitionism. Indeed, in the same period that she was writing on the Third Attitude to Objectivity and Hegel's contrasting Christian faith to Jacobi's faith, she recalled having read Hegel's *Philosophy of Religion* and his attack on the Catholic Church in the period when it sold indulgences, and that such corruption is beyond any reform and must be abolished: "The point is that everything in Hegel, from when he was just a student, was grounded in his opposition to theologians and how the clergy can still dominate the schools, and that philosophy must free itself from this oligarchy...his friends invite him to become a professor of philosophy and theology. Hegel responds that it's like asking someone to be a white-washer and chimney sweep."³

The new that Dunayevskaya was discerning in Hegel's Third Attitude to Objectivity was the objectivity of retrogression once the dialectic movement stops, even at as high a level as the Idea of Cognition, and is not followed out to fullness of the organization of thought in the Absolute. When the Idea is not fully labored over, continually recreated, including working out an organizational expression, then there is nowhere to go but retrogression. As Dunayevskaya wrote, "Far from expressing a sequence of never-ending progression, the Hegelian dialectic lets retrogression appear as translucent as progression and indeed makes it very nearly inevitable if one ever tried to escape retrogression by mere faith."⁴

When Dunayevskaya concluded that Lenin got no further than the threshold of the Absolute Idea, it is not that Lenin didn't study the Absolute Idea; his *Notebooks* show he did. No, it is that philosophically Lenin

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3. Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, Microfilm 10788.

4. Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, Microfilm 11223.

1. Dunayevskaya's first work with Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks* began in the 1940s when she made the first English translation of Lenin's *Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic*, 1949. (Microfilm 1492, The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development, Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Detroit, Michigan). These were subsequently published as an appendix to the first edition of her *Marxism and Freedom*, 1958. To trace the development of her thought on Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks* see especially the following: Chapter X, "The Collapse of the Second International and the Break in Lenin's Thought" in *Marxism and Freedom*; "Lenin on Hegel's Science of Logic: Notes on a Series of Lectures," Microfilm #3885 The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection; Chapter 3, "The Shock of Recognition and the Philosophic Ambivalence of Lenin," *Philosophy and Revolution*, 1973; "A Preliminary Note on the Dialectic: In Marx of the early 1840s; in Luxemburg, 1902; in Lenin, 1914" in Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, 1982.

2. See "Dialogue with Non-Marxist Hegel scholars" in Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, Microfilm 11216-11250.

LABOR'S SHARP CRITIQUE OF PRODUCTION AND SOCIETY

John Marcotte's "Workshop Talks" column in the April N&L showed exactly how this country is pushing down labor. You go through eight hours or more of hell on the production line, and then the rest of your life is hell, too. I was talking with two women, and they were saying about the need for new relationships between men and women. One woman has been divorced for eight years. The other woman said that the man she is with had already whipped her twice that day. The true story of people's lives in this society really shakes you up sometimes.

White worker
Los Angeles

A grain elevator blew up in Joliet, Ill. yesterday, killing five workers. It was a "grain dust explosion." The TV news says that this is "not uncommon" in grain elevators. Evidently, two different conveyor belts were loading and unloading grain at the same time, working full speed, when one of them set off a spark at the top of one elevator, blowing it up. Then a chain reaction went off, blowing up the whole row of elevators, turning them into rubble. All the publicity was focused on the search for survivors, even though it was known that there was virtually no chance. A grain elevator executive said that "it's a terrible thing accidents like this have to happen."

But the way I see it, it's no accident. Not when "accidents" like this are "not uncommon." They are treated as something you come to expect, like a worker's life is not worth much. It makes me so angry.

Working woman
Chicago

I went to a meeting of the DSA (Democratic Socialists of America). They were stressing education as an end in itself, focusing on what they called "the big picture," the economic problems, and not going into class relations or racism or sex discrimination.

NEW QUESTIONS FOR SOLIDARITY MOVEMENTS

I had a sharp exchange with an anti-racist activist at a recent meeting here. The subject was the campaign to save the Grenada 14 from the gallows. It was not that I did not support that aim. The character of the trial (rightly described as "an exercise in power by U.S. imperialism"), the inhuman treatment of the prisoners, the possibility that some of them are genuinely innocent, and the barbaric nature of the death penalty, all justify this.

I objected because in my view she was drawing a veil over the events that preceded the U.S. invasion in October, 1983—the military coup led by Hudson Austin, the mass demonstrations, the army opening fire on the crowds, the murder of Maurice Bishop. It is not true that we have to rely on the capitalist media for our picture of these events. The N&L pamphlet, *Grenada: Revolution and Counter-revolution*, includes an eyewitness account by a Canadian health worker, Carol Green. The real problem isn't that the facts are difficult to establish, but that the majority of the Left are unwilling to face up to them, or to work out their philosophical and political meaning...

Richard Bunting
Oxford, England

In your April Editorial on "All U.S. Troops Out of Central America," I agree with your analysis that Reagan does not see Nicaragua as an isolated country and sees Central America as a whole. I saw Nicaragua's signing of the Arias Peace Plan as trying to cut some U.S. tentacles. It helped to destabilize the contras and gave the Sandinistas the upper hand. I want to wait and see what Nicaragua's next move will be if the contras don't comply with the peace plan.

Revolution is inevitable in Central America. Even with Reagan's power, they can't crush the mass aspirations for freedom. It's true the situation is harder than 1979, but Nicaragua is giving its neighbors hope, and El Salvador will be next. When you talk about the relationship of forms of organization to philosophy, I think philosophy is important for organization. But I don't think

The question is education, but not in the sense they mean. They're saying we need to be educated in science for the supposedly dominant role we could play in the world. To me science, as it is under this society, is either in the factory with automation, forcing us to work far beyond the speed of human beings and separating mental and manual labor, or going to the war machine and new ways of death.

They think we workers are really stupid, that we can't get a mind of our own. I'm thinking of this one woman at work who quit. She was offered more money to stay, but to her, it really wasn't the money, it was the way she was being treated. Her husband was working a totally opposite shift from her. She had no time with her family. Workers do a lot more thinking than the DSA does.

Young worker
New Jersey

The article that I really liked in the March N&L was the letter from the Russian soldiers, those who are protesting their government's war in Afghanistan. The Russian soldiers' statement that "it's a crime to force other nations to submit to our will" shows how similar the U.S. government is to Russia's. Each is trying to force the world to be under their control.

Retired worker
Downey, Cal.

It was unusual to have an article by a farmer on the farm crisis (April N&L). I like the fact that it was on the labor page, because farmers and workers really do have a lot in common. We are both being screwed by those who run this country—the corporations and the government. The farm crisis seems to be out of the news now, but the article showed that things aren't getting any better. Thanks for keeping us informed.

Appreciative
Illinois

you should talk about philosophy with a worker, but rather about his daily needs.

Chilean youth
Chicago

I strongly agree with the Editorial's opinion regarding the Central America issue. Reagan's plan is to invade Nicaragua, and this is not a secret to many. Nicaragua will be another Vietnam. I sympathize with Daniel Ortega. The USA should keep away from Central America and let Nicaraguans solve their own political problems. Nicaraguans are entitled to choose their own form of government. If we go back to history we can better understand Nicaragua's present situation. Undersecretary of State, Robert Olds, stated the U.S. foreign policy clearly enough in 1927: "We do control the destinies of Central America...Governments which we recognize and support stay in power, while those we do not recognize and support fail."

Mexican youth
Los Angeles

ISRAEL/PALESTINE CONTRADICTIONS

Dunayevskaya's 1982 Political-Philosophic Letter on Israel, reprinted in the April N&L, shows the point of departure and return for Dunayevskaya—the dialectics of revolution and the dialectics of thought. She asks: what new freedom dimension is upsurging? What new pathways in thought are being opened?

This is how she returns to look at 1948, and the significance then of the struggles of the Jewish masses against British imperialism, at a time when the ruling Arab regimes were feudalistic and enmeshed in politics of oil and counter-revolution. This is how she looks at the Iranian Revolution, when it first unfolded in 1979. But 1988 is not 1948, nor, as the Editorial on Central America points out in a related context, is it 1979. The contradictions within the revolutionary movements confronts us more starkly than ever in the 1980s.

Revolutionary
California

When an Israeli girl died in the West Bank, the news first reported that she

Readers' Views

had died from a stone thrown by a Palestinian, then by a gun shot from an Israeli (a member of a fundamentalist Jewish sect) as Palestinian youth tried to protect her. Israeli leaders called for revenge. This wasn't just the old biblical revenge of an eye for an eye, but one hundred eyes for an eye.

Israel, as Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in 1982, had a contradictory birth as a country created by those who escaped Nazi death camps and wanted to create something new. Today the transformation has taken place to such an extent that the Israeli state now uses the same policies as any fascist government.

But the most astounding and beautiful story of these latest events on the West Bank was that once the Palestinian youth got hold of the guns from the Israeli guards, they broke them into pieces. They did not want the guns. They understand that it is not guns that will win them their freedom.

Fred Shelley
New York City

We are very concerned that the world mass media, in covering the Palestinian uprising, portrays Israel as it is reflected on the government level. Only the divisions between Shamir and Peres are mentioned, while the deeper divisions in Israeli society are ignored. I am enclosing a short article to help correct that view.

Adam Keller, editor
The Other Israel
POB 956 Tel-Aviv
Israel 61008

Editor's note: See article, page 12.

THE 'IDEA OF FREEDOM' IN SOUTH AFRICA



It gives more pleasure than words can explain to have a chance to write to you when we are silenced or threatened here with all forms of harassment for taking workers' grievances up with the employers and their government. We are sending you material about the cases we are handling and the agreements we are reaching. You can see what we are confronting when I tell you that at the sermon called by the South African Council of Churches after the banning of 18 liberation movements, no publication was distributed because it would draw police attention to the purpose of the sermon. Through your paper and the information we can send, we can produce something worth generations.

Trade unionist
South Africa

The "Freedom Idea" you wrote about in your Lead on South Africa, April N&L, is not identical to any one organization or one union federation. Every tendency from the Communist Party to the National Forum speaks about Socialism. The problem is what they mean by such an idea. The problem with the "vigorous debates in CCAWUSA" is that the vigor was for the most part vitriol. The minority, the charterists, tried to maneuver the majority anti-charterists to support the Freedom Charter. In South Africa much of the battle of ideas concerns fighting against Stalinism (and Maoism), as that is what goes by the name of Marxism—and I don't only mean in the CP but in all of the tendencies...

What needs to be spelled out clearly is what you mean by the "highest theoretical and practical stage" of the Idea of Freedom. To me this means not only the responsibility as American revolutionaries to demand that South Africa be maintained on the agenda, but our responsibility as Internationalist Marxist-Humanists to be doing what the 1986 Introduction/Overview to *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought* declared to be our task—spelling out anew what Marx called "revolution in permanence."

Solidarity activist
Manhattan, NY

I was profoundly relieved to at long last read in your article on South Africa the new I have been expecting—the intense opposition to Buthelezi among the

people of Zulu origin. For years the bourgeois liberal press has played right into Botha's hands by keeping this open secret as closed as possible, pandering to the notion that Black South Africans are really very "tribal" after all.

If N&L's long history of excellence weren't enough to convince me it must continue, the April issue would certainly have done so. I enclose a substantial contribution to help sustain the desperately needed voice of freedom.

Supporter
Chicago

Two very different talks I heard recently by two South African activists speak to the conclusion that Peter Wermuth drew in his Lead on South Africa (April N&L). Wermuth's view that what is actually challenging the Left is its responsibility for the theoretical as well as practical development of the Idea of freedom was brought out in a negative manner by a white left academic from South Africa, who, when asked what relationship there was between Black South Africa and Black America, could only answer that there was none. And since white liberals and the Left do not recognize what only Marxist-Humanism has called the dialectical "two-way road" to revolution between the U.S. and South Africa, ipso facto it doesn't exist.

The second talk which confirms Wermuth's view was given by one of Biko's closest comrades, Saths Cooper. Cooper pointed to the current Russian position which would guarantee the same white minority rights in a free South Africa that exist in apartheid South Africa. He concluded that "Solidarity becomes paternalism if the Left doesn't involve itself in grassroots struggles in the U.S., or if it doesn't take responsibility for working out the interpenetration for the ideas of both struggles."

Lou Turner
Chicago

INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE

We thank you for all the materials you sent us. We consider your newspaper, N&L, as most informative...We also thank you for bringing to our attention the article about Malta, published in the November, 1987 issue of N&L. The Maltese correspondent only wrote the history beginning with the year 1960; he has omitted the period when the Labour Party was seeking refuge in the policy of "Integration with Britain," on the pattern of Northern Ireland in the years when imperialism was at its peak...

Anti-Imperialist Front
Floriana, Malta

I was not completely satisfied with the analysis of the Armenian protests by Patrick Kane (April N&L). Even if the current protest in favor of the inclusion of the Karabakh region is not answered favorably by Moscow, it is unlikely that a serious anti-Prussian attitude will take hold, since it would be completely inconsistent with the historical Armenian attitude towards Russia. By the way, there is a similar dispute between Armenia and Georgia, which has taken the form of a literary debate between their respective Academies of Science...The frustration of the Armenians seems unlikely to be alleviated in the immediate future, and may simply be diverted towards the economic and environmental problems mentioned in your article.

Subscriber
Bronx, N.Y.

WALTER PAINE

We mourn the death of Walter Paine last week, at age 80, in Berkeley. A long time supporter of News and Letters Committees, he was, from the time of his youth, a trade union organizer, a dedicated anti-war activist, and a member of the Socialist Party.

Walter's participation in all freedom movements, his generosity and his sense of humor will long be remembered, as his long years of struggle for a truly human society will continue to be an inspiration to his many friends and comrades.

L.B. Willis
Berkeley, Cal.

JESSE JACKSON AND THE CRISIS IN BLACK AMERICA

I attended a meeting where different Left groups were debating whether or not the Left should support the Democratic Party and the Jackson campaign. In the discussion, I asked why Jackson was not addressing the deep racist mood in this country as part of his campaign, including confronting the segregation right in the city of Chicago where he lives. Someone said, "This is not the '50s." But the whole point is that in 1988 the U.S. is still this segregated reality, including the racist free-for-all on some college campuses.

I think that the Left needs to be thinking and discussing not Jackson, but the Reason of the masses. History shows that when that movement takes off, the Left gets left behind.

Gene Ford
Los Angeles

To tell the truth, I'm not a big fan of Jesse Jackson, but the attacks on him by Mayor Koch were truly disgusting. They brought out all the tensions in the city and in New York State, and turned the whole election debate away from the real problems of the cities—unemployment, housing, drugs, poor funding for education. But then, I suppose that the racism which came out is one of New York's problems too.

Retired teacher
New York

All I hear from Mr. Dukakis and Mr. Gore and other Democratic Party bigwigs is their attacks of Jesse Jackson on the basis of lack of experience for the presidency. Experience has shown us that Blacks until very recently have not held high political office in this country. To attack Jackson on this basis is ludicrous. I'm upset that Jackson hasn't responded to these unfounded remarks...

The first priority is the condition of the human being. Jesse Jackson is the only candidate who is prepared to confront crises to the human condition such as AIDS, drugs, teenage pregnancy, education, discrimination, and child abuse. These issues far outweigh any issue that the other candidates see as their first concern.

White youth
Queens, N.Y.

A march and rally sponsored by "Coalition '88," an amalgam of Democratic Party committees, activist groups and Left parties who support the Jesse Jackson campaign, attracted the participation of over 100 organizations—from labor unions to anti-intervention, from

anti-apartheid to immigrants' rights. Large numbers of teenagers, Blacks and Latinos, joined in what was certainly the largest turnout for a rally in Los Angeles in recent months.

But the organizers only wanted to turn this great outpouring of freedom passion into an army of foot-soldiers for a Democratic victory in 1988. And part of the Left, rather than grasping the potential ramifications of Jackson's mass support, have substituted that campaign itself for a mass movement for real social change. A Democratic presidency was hardly the legacy of Martin Luther King, whose death the rally commemorated. King fought the retrogression of the Kennedys as well as of southern racists. One Black woman said, as she bought a copy of N&L at the rally, "Fanon was right; this whole system has to be changed!"

Black artist
Los Angeles



WOMAN AS REASON AND AS FORCE

The Women's Liberation page in the April N&L, with the reports on International Women's Day, was very good. The report from Northern Illinois University at DeKalb made me think about what's been happening at my campus, where little attention has been paid to recent attempted rapes. It's not safe for a woman to walk around that campus at night. Terry Moon's article showed how deep the uprooting of this whole society has to be. She discusses what has happened to the Women's Liberation Movement. As far as I can see, there's no women's movement that is active now, that affects me as a student.

Student
Los Angeles City College

The title of Terry Moon's article on "ideological pollution" in the American Women's Liberation Movement was impressive, but the title exceeded the content. Reagan retrogression has certainly polluted the ideological air of the Left and among feminists, but it did not begin with Reagan, and is not external. For example, Susan Griffin's *Pornography and Silence*, was hailed by many feminists as "the" word, when nothing could be further from the truth.

Women's Liberationist
Chicago

I like the idea of "Woman as Reason and as Force of Revolution." Marx said

in his 1844 Essays, "the direct, natural, necessary relationship of man to man is the relationship of man to woman,"—and it's true. What's being ignored in society is the feminine. "Revolution in permanence," I think is a feminist idea, even if some man, Marx, figured it out.

Feminist
DeKalb, Ill.

You have raised important questions: What happens after revolution? How do we get to full freedom? For us Chinese, the tragedies that happened after the revolution are totally out of expectation. Today a lot of people are thinking about these questions and trying to find the answers. In speaking of women and revolution we are looking into the disparity between women's written rights and their actual position in society. If women continue to be in an inferior position, how can we say that the revolution is successful?

Feminist
Mainland China

Editor's Note: For the article our correspondent enclosed to continue our dialogue, see page 2, this issue.

●

REMEMBERING RAYA

After I was arrested downtown at the recruiting office, I passed out a leaflet in the dorms and they threatened to arrest me there too. I went home but sure didn't feel like homework, so I read Raya Dunayevskaya's "Letter to the Youth" and some of her other writings. During the week of the Nicaragua protests, there were more people at our Marxist-Humanist study group than ever before. I'd rather spend time getting ideas out than fighting over which highway to block. The ideas here in DeKalb could be important to the movement as a whole.

Activist
Northern Illinois Univ.

I was deeply saddened to learn of Raya's death. Even though I long ago came to disagree with N&L organizationally (and, to an extent, politically—which is perhaps the same thing), my appreciation of Raya has not diminished. If anything it has, over the years, increased. Her tenacity, her persistence in the face of McCarthyism and the "friendly fascism" of the Reagan epoch remain inspiring. So too the dogged originality of her thinking from which I benefited perhaps more than I realized at the time of my association with N&L.

Raya stood for the break in theory and practice with Stalinism and the Stalinist-clones that dominated the American Marxist Left during the 1960s. Moreover, she possessed a profound comprehension of the longing for freedom that again and again activates revolutionary struggle. It is perhaps this Luxemburgian side of Raya that I have come to appreciate most—the understanding of the necessity of revolution without which life is intolerable.

Teacher
Hoboken, N.J.

MARCUSE-DUNAYEVSKAYA CORRESPONDENCE

Congratulations to Kevin A. Barry on his essay on the correspondence between Marcuse and Dunayevskaya (April N&L). Having read N&L for some 15 years, I had heard a great deal in bits and pieces about the relationship between these two thinkers, but frankly never felt that I understood the nature of their intellectual relationship. The essay went a long way toward demonstrating why Dunayevskaya was so committed to working out Hegel's Absolute Idea for social analysis. I am no philosopher, but I am puzzled by the idea that Marcuse would give up "the idea of Reason itself," as indicated in the article.

Historian
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Kevin A. Barry's essay on the Dunayevskaya-Marcuse dialogue (April N&L) has challenged me to try to better understand the nature of their differences. He writes that, by 1960, Marcuse not only rejected the proletariat as a revolutionary Subject "but also and even more fundamentally" moved away from Hegel's concept of Reason. Clearly, the abandonment of the proletariat by a revolutionary philosopher of Marcuse's stature has its source in his thinking, not in bad intent or a psychological "lack of faith."

But I'm not sure that the two elements of his dual rejection aren't more closely related. Once a revolutionary philosopher can no longer find the "free rationality" of a revolutionary Subject in the world, where can he turn but to such compromises as the "Great Refusal"?

Graduate student
Salt Lake City

Editor's Note: For another response to Kevin A. Barry's essay on the Marcuse-Dunayevskaya dialogue, see the letter from Doug Kellner, p. 9.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard.
Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucuses in the Unions" by Charles Denby \$2 per copy
- The Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World Since World War II
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
- Grenada: Revolution, Counter-Revolution, Imperialist Invasion
by Raya Dunayevskaya 75¢ per copy
- Working Women for Freedom
by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes \$1 per copy
- Latin America's Revolutions
Bilingual pamphlet on Marxism & Latin America \$1 per copy
- Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.25 per copy
- Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought, by Lou Turner and John Alan
New Expanded edition contains Introduction/Overview by Raya Dunayevskaya, Lou Turner and John Alan
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by Ron Brokmeyer, Franklin Dmitryev, Raya Dunayevskaya \$1 per copy

- Constitution of News & Letters Committees 25¢ postage
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BOOKS

- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future 294 pgs.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$15.95
- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution 234 pgs.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
- Marxism and Freedom ...from 1776 to today
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Black/Red View

by John Alan

Life magazine commemorated the twentieth anniversary of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King in Memphis, Tenn. by devoting an entire Spring issue to "The Dream Then and Now."

Life, in its introductory editorial, "Putting Past and Present in Perspective," pondered briefly the existing glaring contradiction of "How far have Black Americans come in the struggle for equality? If the growing political power and economic gains of a new Black middle-class are the measure, the progress is real. If the spreading blight of the urban poor and the new smolderings of white prejudice and discrimination are the measure, then the goal is far off." (My emphasis.)

CRUX OF THE CRISIS

This duality within Black social reality and the rebirth of the external forces of racism, is the crux of the crisis within the American Black community, i.e., the unfinished nature of the ongoing Black revolution as the present century draws to a close.

Life's editors didn't venture to tackle this problem. As a voice of corporate America, they probably didn't want to. It was far better to leave it to an invited panel of intellectuals to give the "Black Perspective." At least this gives a sense of social reality to all the disconnected articles on the successes of the Black middle-class.

The most prominent among the members of this panel, moderated by Charlayne Hunter-Gault, were the sociologist William Julius Wilson, and the former president of the Urban League, Vernon Jordan.

All the members of the panel agreed that the objective social reality in this country is the existence of "two separate societies, one Black and one white," and economically the Black poor and working class are living in conditions of poverty far worse than they were 20 years ago. Wilson, the theorist of the Black "underclass," stressed that "the underclass was falling further behind," and that "a third group," the Black working class family, was "gradually slipping into poverty."

The recognition of this objective truth caused no one to question whether the increasing and endemic Black poverty was related to the total process of capitalist production, which creates both poverty and wealth at the same time, not even John Edgar Wideman, professor of English at the University of Massachusetts, a man who expressed grave doubts about the future of King's dream in today's America.

BLACK REALITY DERACIALIZED

Instead, the panel saw the problem of Black poverty wholly in terms of how to politically "deracialize" it, revealing it to be, in the words of panel member June Jordan, "an American problem," since whites and other groups are experiencing poverty. This they believe would pave the political way in getting the federal government to play a role in developing a transitional man-

'School Daze' wakes up

Black audiences are experiencing a welcome "shock of recognition" with Spike Lee's latest film "School Daze." It is a satire of such high insight that as audiences hawl with laughter they are affirming a very serious critique of the contradictory lifestyle on Black college campuses.

The critique is established as the film opens with a solemn procession of still photos of the Black movement, followed by a shot of the school, "Morris College," and beneath that Mary McLeod Bethune's slogan, "Uplift the Race." It is precisely this contradiction which the film explores: the historic purpose of Black colleges to be a place where Blacks can be educated without being "white-washed," and the reality that white chauvinist attitudes persist even within "all-Black" institutions.

The need to overcome "color-consciousness" among Blacks got a fresh exposure in the dramatized competition between dark-skinned women called "Jigaboos" for their natural hairdos, and the light-skinned, hair-straightening snobs, called "Wanna-be's," but what struck me as new was exposing the differing responses among Black students to the anti-apartheid movement.

The plot is a battle between an anti-apartheid activist, Dap, and the two reactionary forces he must face, the college administration with its "old money" philanthropists who won't put up with "this divestment mess," and the escapist homecoming carnival of fraternities and sororities that swallows up the majority of students.

The film also attacks male chauvinist concepts of manhood, as the character "Half-Pint" is humiliated and required to lose his virginity on the night before acceptance into the fraternity. Women's feelings about man/woman relationships are also present, from one who refuses to clean up after the men at a planned party, to the outburst by Rachel, Dap's girlfriend for his being "so judgmental."

Another scene of two-layered contradiction is when three "street brothers" attack Dap and the "Morris men" for "talking down" to them. When the street brothers accuse the students of "trying to be white," the students counter-attack the streetbrothers for having "chemical doo-doo" in their hair. In the next scene, the students are compelled to discuss their own stereotyping of "the lazy poor."

All these sharp messages make "School Daze" a clear expression of consciousness of self, and part of a new genre of objective Black films on Black life.

—Karl Armstrong

Life Magazine's look at Black Reality

power training and educational program "to move people into the private sector." Wilson asserted that such a plan would be supported by American whites, if it was not specifically earmarked for a certain section of the population, that is Blacks.

This idea of deracializing Black reality is the current theoretical ambition of the Black middle-class, especially Black politicians, who have confused their own class interest with those of the Black masses. Jesse Jackson has practiced it in his "populistic" presidential campaign. Jackson seems to want to believe that the viability of his political success rests upon the percentage of white votes he gets, and not upon the overwhelming support from the Black masses. There is a strong Black pride in this support; but there is also an aspiration to transform class and racial relations in this country, that is, to finish the unfinished Black revolution. On this point Jackson has remained mute.

However, the ambition of Black political leaders

Direct from South Africa Freedom Journal

Editor's note: The following story comes from the Friends of Moses Mayekiso Newsletter (April/May 1988). The article, entitled "What workers say," states at the beginning: "Haggie Rand is one of the many metalworking plants in South Africa which Moses Mayekiso helped to organize. In common with other NUMSA (National Union of Mineworkers of South Africa) organized factories, the workers at Haggie Rand tend to be vocal in their support for their jailed general secretary (Moses Mayekiso). A leading shop steward at the factory answers the question: 'What have you done around the Moses Mayekiso case?'" For copies of the newsletter write to: Friends of Moses Mayekiso, Acorn House, 314-320 Grays Inn Road, London, WC1X 8DP, Britain.

Well, you should know that the Johannesburg local has called on the factories to organize a collection of R1 (Rand) from every member as a way of meeting the legal costs. But I believe, and the workers in the plant agree, that we need to do more.

It won't be enough simply to collect defense costs; we want to show that workers are serious about fighting for the release of Moss.

There was a general meeting of all the workers in my plant (last week) and we are pressing for a minimum of R2 to be collected from each worker to show the seriousness of the situation and to make sure that stewards explain the case.

But more importantly than that, we want NUMSA to say now that if Moss and his comrades are jailed, there will be a week's strike action throughout the industry. That would shake the bosses a bit.

And now we want the union to choose a day when we know the court will be open and in session and call on everybody to attend—not just the stewards—but everybody to strike and turn up at the court to show the depth of support that Moss has got.

Haggie Rand was organized by Moss in 1982 and we've got a good history of struggle. We've had several one-hour stoppages when Moses Mayekiso was first detained, but now workers are a little bit afraid to take action in case they're fired.

We need to build in the stronger sections and show what can be done, even in these difficult conditions and then confidence will grow. In March '86 we had a three-week sleep-in strike at HR—illegally. We won what we fought for and the state didn't dare intervene.

It's still possible to struggle. We are a so-called key industry—we make wire products that are manufactured nowhere else in South Africa—and that means there are always armed guards around the plant. But it's always possible to fight.

Every Tuesday we're having demonstrations in the lunchtime over the Labour Relations Bill (this is the government's latest legalistic attempt to muzzle and cripple the independent trade union movement), crossing the road to the (company's) head office and demanding that the company take a stand against the amendments (to the Labour Relations Act). It is always possible to use the strength that does exist in several crucial plants that are well organized.



is to demonstrate that they have the ability to run the country and corporations, by going beyond the issues of race and class. Thus they strive for a false universal in politics, while the reality of the Black masses is rife with class/race conflict.

The consequences of this type of thinking would sink the Black struggle for freedom into a sea of white racism, cutting off its continuity with its historic past and freezing the present in its post-Civil Rights form.

Life's panel on the "Black Perspective" had nothing to say about the philosophy of humanism that motivated the activity of Martin Luther King. Not ironically, it would have been incongruous had they done so in a magazine that ran ads for commodities which were supposed to be the expressions of Black freedom!

Black World

(continued from page 1)

some time now," as Frantz Fanon noted in the period of the Algerian Revolution, "fascist habits have manifested themselves in France." Thus, it is no longer possible in France, any more than in Britain and the U.S., to support the struggle in South Africa without at the same time confronting racism in the West.

Whether or not the French Interior Ministry abetted Pretoria's state assassination of Dulcie September, as some analysts have speculated, what is not a matter of speculation is that only last year a court case in London involving the attempted kidnapping of ANC leaders was hastily dropped by the Thatcher government when news leaked out exposing the British connection to South Africa's intelligence agency. And the long-standing American connection to South African intelligence doesn't stop with the CIA and FBI, but trails right to the White House, as we saw when Reagan entertained the South African chief of security in his first term.

Although it was not reported widely in the Western press, injured along with Albie Sachs was a Mozambican man, Ishmael Mussagy, and his three-year-old son. Unable to treat the extensive head injuries of Mussagy in Maputo, he had to be sent to Johannesburg for specialized medical care. Following his arrival, South African police raided Mussagy's hospital room claiming that they had gotten information that a "terrorist" was on the premises.

Following the Botswana raid and the Paris execution of Dulcie September, South African Defense Minister Magnus Malan was quoted as saying, "It is our right to hunt for and destroy the gangsters of the ANC wherever they are." This pathological fascist Boer is the one responsible for dispatching the death squads who not only murder their victims in cold-blood, but in Botswana doused their bodies with gasoline and set them afire.

BOTHA'S GENOCIDAL WARS

No doubt the inroads made by the neo-fascist Conservative Party in recent elections against Botha's Nationalist Party may account for some of the motivation behind Pretoria's latest degeneration. However, the full meaning behind Botha's intensification of his state terrorist attacks on civilians goes beyond the electoral competition between two neo-fascist parties who are hardly distinguishable in their barbaric view of Blacks.

Pretoria's murderous assaults on high visibility civilian targets have a pathological logic of their own, one which isn't purely for purposes of appeasing its far right electoral flank. In part, it is to divert attention from the full-scale genocidal war it is sponsoring in Angola and Mozambique. With 10,000 South African troops in southeast Angola together with 4,000 UNITA troops of Reagan-supported Jonas Savimbi, engaged in open warfare with Angolan and Cuban military units around Cuito Cuanavale, the South African Weekly Mail (March 3, 1987) reported, nevertheless, that Pretoria had suffered a "major military defeat."

Mozambique, on the other hand, has become Southern Africa's latest "killing field." With an estimated 100,000 Mozambicans killed over the last two years by the Pretoria-backed counter-revolutionary MNR (National Resistance Movement), with 872,000 Mozambican refugees dispersed to surrounding countries, and with the most barbaric slaughter of defenseless civilians escalating to proportions that rival Pol Pot's Cambodia, the hands of the Reagan administration and the West are as bloodied as those of P.W. Botha for their insidious support.

The Black masses of South Africa know that every state terrorist act of the Pretoria regime is an attempt to shatter the revolutionary will of the freedom struggle. Black South Africa—revolutionary South Africa—recognizes also that while every advance in the struggle is made under the whip of counter-revolution, it is imperative to insure that the idea of freedom itself is not put at risk in such a changed world.

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Rigoberta Menchu speaks on Guatemala; arrested on return home

Editor's note: Two Guatemalan exiles—Rigoberta Menchu, a Quiche Indian who is a representative of the Guatemalan opposition at the United Nations, and Rolando Castillo, were arrested, and interrogated for several hours upon their arrival for a one-week trip to Guatemala in April. They, along with two other exiles who accompanied them, have been active in conducting an international campaign against human rights abuses in Guatemala and were returning to meet with labor, political and religious groups there. Below we print excerpts from a talk delivered in Los Angeles by Rigoberta Menchu at the end of 1987.

Seven years ago when I came through here, it was a very sad and difficult time for the people of Guatemala. Since then, I've been all over the world and tried to do my part to make people conscious of what the Guatemalan people have passed through, the river of blood that flowed through my country and the struggle of the indigenous people especially.

In more recent years, the form and technique of repression in Guatemala began to change, and those who were accustomed to judge things by statistics would say: "Before, there were 15,000 people disap-

peared or killed in your country each year, and now only 8,000—things are improving!"

But in the last three years the amount of poverty has doubled. There are one million people who have been displaced by the army and have no access to work or income.

The army is now concentrating on getting the indigenous people to function in a wholly militarized structure of control. For 500 years the indigenous communities of Guatemala have had their own structures, their own leaders. When the people began to protest the low wages on the coastal plantations, to claim and demand their rights, these indigenous structures entered into conflict with the desire of the government and the landowners to dominate the Indian villages and peoples.

The army also imposes forced labor, which they call "voluntary labor," your "patriotic duty." This forced labor is dedicated to opening up landing strips in remote areas of the country, for the army to have ways to move in military equipment in order to engage in combat in these remote areas.

They try to take from us the culture that has sustained us. For example, the kinds of indigenous weavings of brilliant colors that we have done for years have

become difficult to sustain because the army consciously has reduced the amount of thread available, has increased the prices of all the things needed for the weaving, and has introduced more machine-produced weavings.

President Cerezo eliminated the feared DIT (Department of Technical Investigation), the body that carried out the disappearances and tortures. One day in a dramatic move he occupied the installation of the DIT and captured all the DIT professionals. Everyone was happy, including the international press.

But who asked a week later where those men went, the 600 DIT detectives specialized in torture? They have all been incorporated into the anti-riot squads of the police force, in the first line of attack in a strike or a demonstration!

And this is just one way in which the image Cerezo has been able to create in the international arena is contradictory to the internal reality in Guatemala.

It's a very explosive situation in Guatemala today. Out of necessity, people are organizing themselves. It's important not to focus only on the suffering, the malnutrition, the hunger, but on people's capacity to respond to the situation, and the fact that neither torture nor hunger has meant that our people have given in or postponed the struggle.

From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya

(continued from page 4)

Trial, does not present itself as a "finished work," but as a living document that cannot be finished until the very foundations of the society it criticizes are uprooted and, in its place, there emerges a classless society on human foundations.

1943 to 1963 indeed comprise the most crucial decades of the 20th century. A new world has arisen in the economically underdeveloped countries, especially on the African continent. A great revolution on the European continent—in Hungary, 1956—so undermined Russian totalitarianism that even its successful bloody counter-revolution has not returned the Russian orbit to its status quo ante. Quite the contrary, the Sino-Soviet conflict first began in earnest. China too has been forced, by the blooming of the "100 Flowers," to see the first beginnings of the end of its monolithism.

In the United States, in this centenary of the Eman-

Kellner on Marcuse-Dunayevskaya letters

Editor's note: The following response to Kevin Barry's Essay article on the Dunayevskaya-Marcuse correspondence (News & Letters April, 1988) was written by Douglas Kellner, author of Herbert Marcuse and the Crisis of Marxism. We will respond in a later issue.

Your RD/HM dialogue article was fascinating, and I enclose some comments and questions which you can publish and respond to:

1) You claim that Marcuse abandons Hegel's notion of dialectical reason but you don't really describe what he abandons and what he replaces it with. If you are correct, you have spotted a fundamental shift in Marcuse's thought of which previous critics were unaware. Yet you do not really document this alleged "shift" or really flesh out its implications.

My own view is that Marcuse presented different views of Hegelian dialectics at different stages yet always considered himself a dialectician and always saw Hegel as an important source of revolutionary dialectics. Basically, he stressed different categories at different stages; certainly, in the 1960 Preface to *Reason and Revolution* he presents dialectics in terms of Hegel's categories though there may be different emphasis from early presentations. I think that it is an exaggeration to say that HM abandons, or moves away from, "Hegel's concept of dialectical Reason."

It is true, however, that Marcuse explicitly rejects Hegel's notion of determinate negation in a 1966 lecture presented at the International Hegel conference in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and claims that revolutionary forces are now only to be found outside the system. He was sharply criticized for his notion of external mediation, and returned in some 1970s works to a notion of internal mediation, seeing revolutionary forces emerge from within the system of contemporary capitalism (see the discussion in my book *Herbert Marcuse and the Crisis of Marxism*, pp. 291ff).

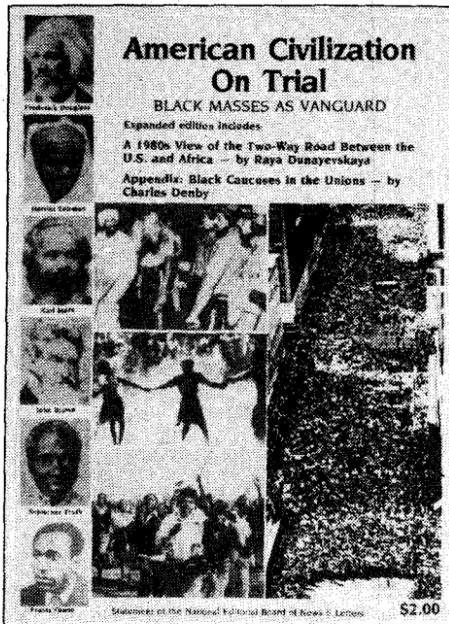
2) Marcuse's major difference from RD concerning Hegelian dialectics concerned the concept of the Absolute in Hegel. HM, like Karl Korsch and others, generally thought that this concept was a form of idealist mystification and tended to reject the term. RD, of course, thought otherwise. To flesh out her difference from HM and others on this issue, you might say more about why she thought that the notion of Hegel's "absolutes" (why the plural?) were productive for revolutionary thought.

3) Finally, I think that your notion of RD's "break with HM" is somewhat exaggerated. Obviously, they had their differences and their sharp polemics in both letters and published texts no doubt caused some distance and tension which produced occasional breaks in their correspondence. But as their later exchanges and RD's positive tribute to HM after his death indicate, they always had the utmost respect for each other and were aware of their profound bonds in the undialectical and counter-revolutionary atmosphere of the USA.

cipation Proclamation, we witness a new stage of Negro struggles within the South itself which will not stop short of Freedom NOW.

All these objective events are reasons enough why, when we do talk of our own activities, whether as part of the rank and file workers' movement, or as participants in the Negro struggles, we present our analysis of *American Civilization on Trial*, not as a "finished work," but as a contribution to a dialogue with other Freedom Fighters. We ask all to participate with us in developing this dialogue on WHAT TO DO NOW as a dialogue which would refuse to separate theory from practice, and practice from theory, for only in their unity "can all man's innate talents first develop and gain a new dimension that puts an end once and for all to his pre-history in class societies."

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Dunayevskaya's new perceptions of Lenin

(continued from page 5)

did not leap further than the Idea of Cognition. He had become so enamored with the practical idea standing higher than the theoretical idea as he discerned it in the Idea of Cognition, that he was not fully open to the richness of thought that awaited him within the Absolute Idea: First, that the highest opposition between theory and practice still awaited one within the Absolute Idea. It had not been yet resolved. And second, that even the journey through the Absolute Idea did not end the adventures of the Idea in its Self-Determination. It had further manifestations that would become evident, not in Nature alone, which Lenin felt was the solution once Nature was translated as Practice, but in Absolute Mind, which Lenin did not enter, and which Dunayevskaya felt was the realm of the "new society".

Lenin, rather than entering deeply into Absolute Idea, evidently felt he had reached the highest point needed by practicing revolutionaries in the Idea of Cognition. Thus his journey through the Absolute ended not in new illuminations, but in a return to the abbreviated version of the Absolute in the *Encyclopedia Logic* with its conclusion "this Idea which has Being is Nature." That is all that Lenin felt was necessary, and thus he chose not to follow Hegel whose *Science of Logic* ended with an appeal to follow the Notion "to perfect its self-liberation in the philosophy of mind."

It has been Dunayevskaya's determination not to halt her philosophic journey, but to follow out Hegel's Absolutes in their fullness, which brought her deeply within Hegel's Absolute and into Hegel's "Absolute Mind," in *Philosophy of Mind*. Ever since her 1953 *Letters on Hegel's Absolutes* she had traced and retraced the "Self-Thinking Idea" as "that power of abstraction" not as an escape from the real world, but as the pathway to confront reality in its totality.

In 1986-87 Dunayevskaya, in returning to Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks* and to her own 1953 *Letters on Hegel's Absolutes*, began to fully work out the limits of Lenin's philosophic mediation. Thus the philosophic ambivalence of Lenin she now saw as within his *Philosophic Notebooks*. Only through seeing where Lenin failed to go philosophically could you find the ground as to why Lenin's great reorganization as a Marxist revolutionary post-1914 did not encompass the question of organization—his conception of the vanguard-party-to-lead—which he never threw out, though he did modify.

In her last writing prepared for the June 1, 1987 meeting of the Resident Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees, Dunayevskaya presented where the critique of Lenin needed to focus in terms of her work in progress: "To fully work out the dialectics of philosophy and organization for our age, it is now clear that that critique must dig deep philosophically."

Dunayevskaya's new perceptions of Lenin's philosophic ambivalence were not a question of setting the historic record straight. Rather, she was tracing all the obstacles that impinged upon fully working out a philosophy of liberation for one's era, including its concretization in the realm of revolutionary organization. It is in this sense that Raya's new work on Lenin speaks to the problematic facing the revolutionary movement today.

What compelled her studies on "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy" was not the wish to add to the already voluminous literature on "The Party" the post-Marx Marxists had produced in the century since Marx's death. Rather, she was intent on hewing out a revolutionary new beginning, one that would encompass philosophy's relationship to organization. Her last work on Lenin's philosophic ambivalence was one strand within the task she had set for herself.

5. The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, Microfilm 1797. Of special importance here is to note how developed her critique of Lenin was as early as 1953. See especially her May 12, 1953 letter.

New youth movement challenges Reaganism

(continued from page 1)

dents and other solidarity activists had felt the brutal edge of the Chicago police, as dozens were arrested in several days of protests against Reagan's incursion into Honduras.

One particular campus, Northern Illinois University (NIU) in DeKalb, needs a closer look, not only because its large and ceaseless protests on a range of issues have been "whited" out by the media, but also because it directly reveals what youth activists everywhere are trying to work out.

On April 13, 79 NIU students were arrested on "Day of Action II" after they sat down on a state highway to protest massive tuition hikes and budget cuts by the Illinois state government. These cutbacks will deny a college education to thousands of low-income youth. Earlier in the day, over 1,000 students rallied on the campus and cheered speeches discussing not only the budget cuts, but also women's liberation, the need to uproot racism on and off campus, U.S. military interventions, the South African freedom struggle. (See stories, p. 11)

The Day of Action II, the most dramatic and massive one at any Illinois campus in years, was preceded by over a year of actions and forums on all of the issues affecting youth today. In 1987 and 1988, students have repeatedly demonstrated against racism on campus, have been arrested while protesting Reagan's sending troops to Honduras, have rallied for South African union leader Moses Mayekiso, and have founded an autonomous women's liberation group.

1968-88, AND THE FUTURE

Indeed, at NIU and elsewhere, many youth are looking beyond Reaganism toward the future, but not separated from a confrontation with the legacy of the revolutionary youth movements of 1968. In that tumultuous year, at the height of the Vietnam War, Black youth set the ghettos aflame in the wake of the assassination of Martin Luther King, including the famous "six blocks from the White House." Students massively occupied universities, in anti-racist and anti-war actions, from Howard University to South Carolina State College in Orangeburg where three were killed by police, to Columbia University, and then braved police violence on the streets of Chicago.

In France the 1968 student-worker revolt, nearly toppled the state, but ultimately stopped short of its goal of a full social revolution in an industrially developed land. In Communist Czechoslovakia, intellectuals, youth and workers created Prague Spring, a deep undermining of that totalitarian system. They openly proclaimed their philosophy to be "socialist humanism," only to fall victim to a brutal invasion by Russian troops. In Mexico, hundreds of youth were massacred by the government during a major student revolt. Virtually every country had its 1968 in some form, and yet none unfolded into a total uprooting of the system. None developed a total philosophy of revolution.

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA'S LAST DIALOGUE WITH YOUTH

It was precisely the development of a total philosophy of revolution that Raya Dunayevskaya, the founder of Marxist-Humanism, spoke about at NIU in April 1987. Attended by some 400 students, that talk was to be her last public lecture. Under the title "Youth of the 1980s, Youth of the 1960s, the Other America and the Idea of Freedom," she raised the question of a philosophy of revolution as follows:

"Marx's humanism is the unity of idealism and materialism—that which will start totally new human relations. Hegel's Absolute actually shows the movement of history, of men and women struggling with various stages of freedom. What happened in 1968 was to make very real that if this revolution—even as high as it was, whether Columbia University or whether it was Paris...if it could go down so easily, then we have to turn to more philosophy..."

"So today, with the Reagan retrogression, he tries to roll history back, to roll life back, whether it's racism or the ending of the so-called victories of the 1960s, whether it was on women's rights or human rights or welfare rights, and calling counter-revolutionaries the founding fathers of this country! Then you have to know that there is no way you can do it without going very deep, to totally uprooting this society. What you have learned, and the sixties didn't learn, is that you have to have a philosophy of revolution along with the revolution itself."

Jim, a member of the John Lennon Society (JLS), the leading radical activist group at NIU, described her impact: "Last year we first brought CIA critic John Stockwell to speak before 600 students, but Raya had a bigger effect. Stockwell exposed the CIA but didn't really influence our thinking, because people in the movement already assumed the CIA and U.S. government were criminals."

"Raya was more valuable because we were grasping for answers to bigger questions. We wanted some type of philosophic grounding for our radical ideas. Even before we knew Hegel or Raya, we had an organization, the JLS, whose stated purpose was 'a movement for freedom.' But as a concept it was still abstract."

At NIU, the year since Dunayevskaya's presentation has brought forth an intense discussion of ideas, including on women's liberation which arose from within the New Left itself. Julia, a participant in a Marxist-Humanist study group, spoke of women's liberation as challenging the campus movement:

"Part of the struggle of women's liberation is to change the definitions and assumptions of the movement. For example, we voted to allot a specific period of time at the weekly JLS meeting to discuss women's liberation."

Marna, another participant, said: "In fact it was the

women that insisted that we place some emphasis on women in the study group, thus combining the two books by Raya, *Marxism and Freedom* and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. Within the JLS, the study group has shown us the importance of dealing with philosophy, not just action."

Activists are increasingly frustrated with the resistance to discussion of fundamental issues at national and regional student conferences, where elitist leaders too often keep the agenda strictly on pragmatic, "organizational" questions.

Julia continued: "In the Progressive Student Network they try to cut people off and thwart debate at their conferences, specifically on philosophic matters."

Many activists contend that the February Rutgers conference to form a national student organization, even though it adjourned in confusion, was at least a place where some ideas got debated, and where rank-and-file participants shook up the pre-arranged agenda.

The new type of youth movement, at NIU and elsewhere, reveals not only a deep opposition to Reaganism, but also the possibility of catching what was missing in 1968, what Marxist-Humanists have termed "the practicality of philosophy." That is certainly the challenge facing American youth in 1988.

Poland and Chicago commemorations Warsaw Ghetto uprising



Marek Edelman, former commander of Jewish resistance fighters, addressing commemoration of Warsaw Ghetto in Poland.

Whether it was a small meeting of 500 like that we attended, held in Chicago, or the massive outpouring of thousands marching in Poland, the commemoration of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising—45 years after the Jewish people there rose up against the Nazi troops on April 19, 1943 and fought for three weeks to their death—proved to be a retrospective impossible to separate from the freedom struggles ongoing today.

IN WARSAW, DEFIANCE

In Warsaw, an unsanctioned rally, organized by the Polish opposition movement, drew thousands to defy the government ban and retrace the route that had been taken by more than 300,000 condemned Jews to the deportation site for the Nazi death camps. At that rally, Marek Edelman, the only known survivor of the uprising still living in Poland, joined with leaders of the banned trade union, Solidarnosc, in defiantly addressing the marchers.

Earlier in the day, Dr. Edelman, a leader of the Jewish resistance fighters in the Ghetto Uprising, and a strong supporter of Solidarnosc since its founding, dedicated a simple red granite monument to two Jewish Labor Bund leaders, Henryk Erlich and Viktor Alter, who were ordered put to death by Stalin in 1941 on trumped-up charges of espionage for Nazi Germany after they had protested the Russian invasion of eastern Poland. The dedication had been strongly opposed by both the Polish government and the representatives from Israel who had come to attend the official government ceremonies.

The inseparability of today's struggles from those being commemorated was still further underscored by Lech Walesa's statement, read to the rally by Solidarnosc spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz, in which Walesa not only asked that the poison of Poland's anti-semitism be forgiven, but declared: "We commemorate this struggle today in a special way, because in this land, the land of so many uprisings, the uprising of the Jewish fighters was perhaps the most Polish of all uprisings."

IN CHICAGO, A CONFRONTATION

On the same day, at the commemoration sponsored by the Midwest Jewish Council in Chicago, the short speech delivered in Yiddish by Gerry Revzin, Executive Director of the Congress of Secular Jewish Organizations, triggered infuriated shouting and fist-waving by some in the audience when she dared to confront the situation in Israel today.

"When the State of Israel was established in 1948," she said, "it had all of our hopes for the establishment of a democratic Jewish state in the troubled Middle East. To our utter dismay, we are witnessing immoral and undemocratic actions which can only lead to disaster in the Jewish State." It was when she then went on to read a letter from the Holocaust Survivors Association calling "the brutal treatment of Palestinians by some Israeli soldiers" action that "brutalizes both Palestinians and Israelis," that organizers of the meeting had to send men down the aisles and into the audience to stop the shouting and let her continue.

When she finished, the majority of the audience gave her strong and prolonged applause. —Olga Domanski

Belfast murders: how long till Ireland is free?

What happened in Northern Ireland in March, the bombing of a republican funeral which resulted in the death of three, and the shooting of two British soldiers who "got lost" in the side streets of Belfast, cannot be taken out from both the historical context and the badly needed theoretical preparation for revolution.

I recommend that all readers take another look at a very important pamphlet written by Michael Connolly in 1981, *Ireland: Revolution and Theory*. (Available from News & Letters for 75¢, postage free.) In it he looks at the events of 1981 in the context of what Marx and Lenin wrote about Ireland, as well as James Connolly and the actual movements for freedom.

SEVEN YEARS OF STATE REPRESSION

Seven years later we are in need of a second edition. The state repression and control can only be seen as worse after seven years of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's rule. The "Prevention of Terrorism Act" has become a law on the statute books rather than an emergency piece of legislation voted on each year. Extradition arrangements with the South (The Irish Republic) have resulted in more repression on both sides of the border and shows how deeply the Republic is economically/politically and ideologically dominated by Thatcher's Britain. The army has remained in occupation for a second decade and their "shoot-to-kill" policy, that was hushed up until last year, is finally common knowledge.

The violent state activities that British mining communities experienced during the miners strike (1984-85) continue to be the daily reality of life in the republican areas of the North. After the miscarried IRA bombing raid in Enniskillen some 50,000 homes were raided, affecting about 8% of the population. Since then, the British Special Air Services (SAS) shot three unarmed IRA operatives in Gibraltar. These murders were praised by Thatcher and grieved by the republican community. At the funeral for the three a fascist loyalist attacked the mourners throwing splinter grenades and firing pistol shots, killing three more.

The terror and anger created by this attack is not hard to understand. What is hard to understand is what two British soliders were doing driving at high speed, lights blazing, horn blowing, into the middle of the emotional funeral for the three new deaths. The crowd must have been terror struck thinking it was a repeat of a few days before. Yet what came across the TV screens of the world was not only the horror of the crowd who beat the soldiers, but also pictures of an IRA man pumping a final bullet into the head of one of the soldiers, pushing aside a priest who attempted to give mouth-to-mouth resuscitation.

Perhaps the question of what happened can never be answered, but it will not be answered unless one asks the question, how long till Ireland is free?

Yet to ask the question of a free Ireland also begs the question of the centrality of a philosophy of revolution to make that freedom possible and lasting. We must face the reality that without the connection of revolutionary activity with a discussion of revolutionary ideas there can be no free Ireland. Marx, Lenin and Connolly all recognized this.

IRISH CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT AND THE NEED FOR PHILOSOPHY

To understand the centrality of a philosophy of revolution let us roll the historical clock back to the period of the Irish civil rights movement. This movement immediately changed everything in the North. The IRA was completely eclipsed, the old Stalinist parties were swept aside and new political possibilities immediately opened up. Leaders of that movement, like Bernadette Devlin, who recognized its creativity as "coming from below," declared its relation to the American Civil Rights Movement. Yet this tying together of American Black and Irish, as Lenin and Marx had done before her, did not in any way motivate Devlin towards any theoretical endeavors. On the contrary, she decidedly made none, but left the question open to more activity. When that spontaneous and creative activity was eventually crushed by the British army, a void opened up. A void quickly filled by the provisional IRA. They proved immediately that they were prepared to defend the community and even die in doing so. Devlin and other Marxist leaders had essentially capitulated their theoretical positions.

As Michael Connolly wrote in *Ireland: Revolution and Theory*: "The new generation of activists was not able to seriously oppose the usurpation by the IRA of the movement's direction. The failure to ground the creativity in practice with a new relationship to revolutionary theory" resulted in the splintering of the movement when the IRA bombing campaign began.

It is in this light that both the recent history, and the last 20 years of the struggle for freedom in Northern Ireland, must be judged. The substitution of the gun, not only for people, but for any discussion of revolutionary ideas, creates such horrific consequences as can be seen in Belfast this past March. There is no time like the present, on the 20th anniversary of the Irish Civil Rights Movement, to advance the need for dialogue of Marxist-Humanist ideas among those interested in a free Ireland.

—Fred T. Shelley

Youth

Students speak out: mass protests, arrests at NIU

Editor's note—on April 13 over 1000 students rallied at Northern Illinois University (NIU) to protest a tuition increase and a statewide cutback in funding of higher education. Following the rally, 79 students were arrested in a sit-in, the largest number of arrests at NIU since 1970. Below are excerpts from the speeches of three students at the rally.

'Who is the real enemy?'

DeKalb, Ill.—There has been a lot of talk about how the people who will be hurt the most by budget cuts are the poor. But do we know who the majority of people living under the poverty level in this country are? Women of color with children. The budget cuts in higher education will stop these women from returning to school if they so choose, and it will also stop their children from receiving the education they need.

Women at this university can already expect to earn an average of \$10,000 annually less than a man. But many people are working to get equal salaries for women here. The budget cuts will be, and are already being used as an excuse to keep women's salaries down. Because of the budget cuts, the university will be cutting the few women faculty we have, as a large percentage of our women faculty hold lower ranking positions.

Many studies show that in times of financial crisis, sexism and racism increase. We have seen this happening here at NIU. People who control the economy, the means of production, successfully alienate the people who are being oppressed from each other, turning our eyes away from the real enemy.

But who is the real enemy? The real enemy is not ourselves, we are the people being oppressed by the enemy. The real enemy is in Washington where officials are upholding the rules and systems invented by slaveholders, men who didn't believe that women and Blacks were total human beings.

Socialism is the word we should be saying, but this is still a word which scares us. Capitalism is a word we bless despite its ramifications. We must wake up and confront the true enemy. —Julia

'Don't want to be managed'

A lot of people are talking about sending a message to Springfield for a tax increase. People I've been talking to say, "take one issue at a time." But I don't think that ideas need to be managed for people and I don't think that just a tax increase is going to fix things.

We have to start with the cuts as a point of departure and ask the question of who is being hurt? Who is making the decisions, and in whose interest?

It occurs to me that all these decisions about what to cut and even what we get to study are being made by wealthy elites, captains of industry, mostly men, spitting out well-trained technicians to meet their labor needs.

The question is—what do we want? Do we want to be trained as good technicians to fit into the corporate system for their profits, or do we have a place where we are free to explore, to question, and to act?

Today, we want to make clear that we don't want to be managed; we are not pieces of furniture to be moved around; we are people, and we can take collective action to define our lives, university, and society. No one represents us but ourselves. —Tom

'Hegel not taught at NIU'

Last time, when we all met on the first Day of Action, I spoke about education and freedom, because we cannot have education without freedom or freedom without education. From the debates that have gone on throughout the process of putting Day of Action II to-

Raya Dunayevskaya at NIU

"...What the 1980s youth have learned and the 1960s youth hadn't learned even though they were more massive, was that you do have to fight for both a philosophy of revolution and a revolution... Today's topic defines the dual nature of what we are talking about: thought divers as well as activists who are trying to change the world they were born into but didn't make, and they want to change it to truly new human relations."

Raya Dunayevskaya at Northern Illinois University, April, 1987.

On Videotape: Raya Dunayevskaya's last public lecture on "Youth of the '80s, Youth of the '60s."

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gether, I think it is necessary for me to explain what it is I mean by "freedom."

A 14-year-old Black girl involved in the Civil Rights Movement in Mississippi back in 1964 said, "To me freedom means to be human. It means that I have not only the right to be treated human, but also the right to work for the right of others to be treated human. This is primary. If this right is threatened, then I must muster all of the resources possible to end this threat, at the cost of time, energy, physical well-being and even life itself."

That quote reminds me of the ideas of two German philosophers, G.W.F. Hegel and Karl Marx. It reminds me of Marx because he believed that "Human Power is its Own End." Hegel believed an idea was worthwhile if it helped people in this struggle to be free. That is a concept I've been thinking about for over a year now, and I just

Los Angeles:**"Not children of the '60s, we are here and now"**

Los Angeles, Cal.—On March 29 over 350 junior and senior high school students marched and chanted along a two-mile route through Beverly Hills to the South African consulate. They demonstrated for several hours in solidarity with Black South African teenagers. The protest was organized by the Los Angeles Student Coalition, a group formed after a Martin Luther King Day high school protest which also took place at the South African consulate. Below we print excerpts from an interview with coalition members.

In the coalition, we are many different people, of different ages, backgrounds, viewpoints; but we come together for a common cause. We reinforce each other.

Some people are skeptical of us. They say we're just trying to be like our parents, trying to bring back the '60s and all the 'Peace, Love, and Happiness' kind of stuff. But that's not our goal at all. We're not 'children of the '60s. We're here and now. There's so much to do.

We wanted to demonstrate against apartheid because

New York:**"Youth Condemn Apartheid and Racism"**

New York, N.Y.—On April 15 the youth of New York had their first march and rally organized and acted out completely by high school students. It's the first demonstration in many years organized by what has been considered the new "beat generation." The name of the group which organized it is called Youth Condemn Apartheid and Racism. We thought it would be important to unite certain youth groups on this subject. We decided the South African consulate and their unwillingness to change is something that should be focused on. Apartheid and racism is going to be our theme and it's important to go to the consulate because it symbolizes that system.

At 3:30 pm the march began at the consulate and ended at a place one block away. That's where we held the rally. Youth were represented from almost every minority group in New York. Just a few of the high schools represented were La Guardia, King, Midwood, Bronx Science, Stuyvesant, Riverdale, St. Anne's, Hunter, Park West, Dalton and Brandeis.

There were South African speakers, kids were rapping, and there was a South African choir. A lot of speeches focused on the unity needed in the youth movement. One of the more memorable speeches was made by a Black teen from Martin Luther King High School. She called for youth to "kill the disease called racism." She was mesmerizing and incredible.

Some kids thought there was too much of a show and not enough of a rally. Some resented that we had to walk by the South African consulate and couldn't rally in front of it. A lot of students just joined—they had just come into high school and were willing to take part in the group and were very energetic.

The rally stressed that schools must have some connection. In New York, there are a lot of politics between schools. We have to learn to communicate between schools. Then schools would not be left out when something like the Supreme Court decision against high school free speech happened.

Or take Tawana Brawley—a student group could have communicated and made a decision on the

can't get it out of my head. Just think about all the "ideas" we're spoon-fed in general education classes; what percent of those textbooks or lectures and tests would be considered absolutely worthless by Hegel?

Hegel is not taught much at NIU except to upper-level philosophy students, and we can see why if we check out who he has influenced. The list includes Marx, Lenin, Martin Luther King, the great African revolutionary Frantz Fanon, and the founder of the South African Black Consciousness Movement, Steven Biko. Biko understood that freedom is the very essence of the human mind.

Here we are engaged in our own student movement which has more in common with the student movement in South Africa than the administration, or some members of the student association care to admit, because we are also struggling against alienation. —Jim

that's such a big issue, and we didn't want people to forget. South Africa is moved to the back pages. But the situation for the people in South Africa is no better.

At the same time, the coalition is not just an anti-apartheid group. We're a coalition not just of students, but of protestations. We can't remain a coalition as powerful as we are, if we're only going to fight for one thing.

The issues that were being dealt with in the '60s are still here, and more. What we're doing is minute compared to what needs to be done—nuclear disarmament, South African liberation, U.S. out of Central America.

In the coalition, we come together, with all these different people from different places, with different ideas. We're not just out to incite, to get people to demonstrations because that looks good. We want to educate each other and discuss what's really going on, and what we can do about it.

Brawley case which is a prime case of anti-youth, racist violence. Youth could hold rallies and have many students decide the issues. I think something is going to happen with the city high schools, as students from New York City will be politically active and have a powerful student body.

The 1990s began that Friday and I believe we've got to look forward to the months ahead where the new youth movement is concerned. The youth movement has to rediscover its own power and in the process of doing just that, we have a basis of thought.

—LaGuardia High School student

Youth in Revolt

by Franklin Dmitryev

During a protest in La Paz, Bolivia, in March against government plans to slash the education budget by nearly 25%, police shot at demonstrators, killing Marco Antonio Uria, a student at the University of San Andres. Numerous others were injured or arrested. Police later raided and ransacked the campus. Student demonstrations against both the killing and the budget cuts continue, though the police barricade the campus and tear-gas the protesters.

Hundreds of students at the Univ. of Nigeria clashed with police in February over the arrest of nine student activists for their involvement in demonstrations in 1986. The military government ordered several campuses closed indefinitely, but was forced by the protests to drop the charges against the nine.

Students at the Univ. of Zimbabwe held the first student strike in that country since its independence from white rule in 1980. They were demanding improvements in student financial allowances, book supplies, transportation and housing. Two students were injured when police moved in to dismantle barricades.

Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Revolt broke out in Honduras in April as several thousand demonstrators converged on the U.S. Embassy annex in Tegucigalpa and burned it down. After two days of street protests, at least five people lay dead.

While the immediate outrage began after the U.S. government extradited Juan Ramon Matta Ballesteros on drug charges, in violation of the Honduran constitution, many Honduran leaders agreed with one Latin American ambassador who said: "The reason this is taking place is not because of a drug trafficker but as a popular response to six years of American impositions."

The transformation of Honduras into a U.S.-run support base for the Nicaraguan contras has been even more galling, and the March deployment of 3,200 U.S. combat troops to Honduras was loudly condemned during the demonstrations. The intensity of the protests have openly shaken the illusion that Honduras, the poorest land in Central America, can be "taken for granted" by either its own military or by the Reagan administration.

All tensions in Central America are increasing. The 60-day cease fire in Nicaragua, begun March 23, seems to be going nowhere, while the Reagan administration is taking every counter-revolutionary option. Only one day after the last U.S. combat soldiers from the March deployment were returned to the U.S. from Honduras,

Korean strike wave

South Korean workers have begun a new strike wave that is sweeping the land. In April, at Daewoo Motor Company in Puyong, near Seoul, 4,000 workers in. They were joined by 9,000 workers from four other Daewoo plants who began support strikes.

Hundreds of workers from Daewoo Precision Industries supported by students tried to march on Daewoo's conglomerate headquarters and were met by riot police. At the second largest shipbuilding plant in South Korea, Daewoo workers shut the yards down after refusing to accept the company's wage offer.

In February, workers at the Hyundai Engine plant in Ulsan struck demanding the reinstatement of Kwon Young Mok, a union leader who was fired for his activity during the strikes of 1987. In March, some 400 workers occupied the plant after a police raid against the strikers. Family members, mostly women, barricaded the gates. The workers called for support from other Hyundai workers.

Students have increasingly joined with workers in support of their demands: higher wages, release of jailed workers, an independent union movement, and improved working conditions.

Protests in Paraguay

The fraudulent re-election of Gen. Alfredo Stroessner as president of Paraguay in February was marked by protests from within his "loyal" party, as well as from independent youth and many Paraguayans who boycotted the election altogether or left their ballots blank.

Opposition is also appearing in the countryside where land has been used by Stroessner as an unequal lever of political influence among speculators, the military and peasants.

The government has run out of land and increasingly peasants have started to build large squatter camps on idle lands. The confrontations have turned violent when landowners and the military attacked squatters.

Many peasants who have farmed their land for generations are being told their titles are worthless. In some cases, land has been "distributed" or sold three times over by the government Rural Welfare Institute. The peasants are ignoring the title disputes and insisting the land belongs to those who have worked it—themselves.

Debates on Israel

Timed cynically to coincide with the worldwide commemorations of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, the brutal, terrorist assassination by the Israeli state of Palestine Liberation Organization leader Abu Jihad (Khalil al-Wizar) was deliberately aimed at killing the man the Israeli Army evidently regarded as the "commander" of the Palestinian Arab uprising. This deluded conspiracy theory is conceivable only to those who have so forgotten that the Jews' own struggle for liberation has historically been part of the universal movement for human emancipation, which is in any case never dependent upon a single leader.

Recently, as the whole world solidarized with the Palestinian uprising, a variety of forms have emerged, and a variety of analyses have been given.

Unfortunately, some of the discussions of solidarity with the Palestinians have taken the form of abstractions such as "a democratic secular Palestine" and have labeled any concept of a Jewish state "racist" and an "apartheid state." Such was the language of an ad published in the *New York Times* on March 13. It was written by the Trotskyist Ralph Schoenman and signed by a number of other independent, revolutionary Marxists. Since its publication, several signers have indicated their dissatisfaction with its language, while others such as the Trotskyist paper *Socialist Action* (April, 1988) have touted and celebrated it in a special section.

It needs to be recalled that Lenin had to oppose such abstractions by Bukharin and others, who were "for"

Tensions increase in Central America

Ronald Reagan announced April 1 that: (1) he was deploying 1,200 additional U.S. military security forces to U.S. bases in the Panama Canal Zone, and (2) he was signing the \$48 million so-called "humanitarian" aid bill Congress overwhelmingly approved to sustain the contras during the Nicaragua negotiations.

Panama has become the direct arena of U.S. intervention. By executive order, Reagan has invoked the International Economic Powers Act in his aim to oust former friend Gen. Manuel Noriega. The Act was previously used by the U.S. government in economic warfare against Libya and Iran. There was even an openly-discussed "option" of kidnapping Noriega, a plan authored in the U.S. State Department by Shultz-Abrams.

The Panama bank-supported economy, one of the most capitalistically wealthy in Central America, is totally dependent on the U.S., and the latest sanctions have left it in shambles. While the U.S. economic clubbing of Panama has yet to dislodge Noriega, it has caused deep hardship among Panamanian workers and the poor, who have neither food nor money. Many are calling for "neither Noriega nor the gringos." At the Caribbean and Central American Solidarity Conference held in Panama in March, the member nations condemned Reagan's attacks on Panama.

national self-determination of nations but only for "the working people." Schoenman and his colleagues have also conveniently forgotten Trotsky's own writings on the Jews, something raised to the world movement in Raya Dunayevskaya's 1976 Political-Philosophic Letter, "The UN Resolution on Zionism."

There, Raya quoted Trotsky that with the rise of Nazism, he no longer believed "that the Jewish Question would disappear in a quasi-automatic fashion."

Therefore, Trotsky wrote, "One must reckon with the fact that the Jewish nation will maintain itself for an entire epoch." Raya added that: "World War II had totally changed the objective situation. The creation of the state of Israel changed it still further for the Middle East. Two realities, thereupon, were new: the existence of Israel, and with that success, the creation of another national consciousness—the Palestinian people."

For our analysis of today's events see especially "Can Palestinian Struggle Become a New Revolutionary Beginning?" by Olga Domanski, N&L, January-February, 1988, and our reprint of "Israel Moves Further Back to Begin's Reactionary Beginnings," by Raya Dunayevskaya, N&L April, 1988.

Today, when the world movement solidarizes with the Palestinian people, we need to make this type of sober, dialectical analysis rather than mouthing hollow abstractions about "secular democracy," which skip over the bi-national character of the land of Israel-Palestine.

'The Other Israel'

Editor's note: The Other Israel is an Israeli journal in opposition to the policies of the ruling parties. Below we print excerpts from an article sent to us which will appear in their next issue detailing some of the opposition activity to Israel's occupation policies in the West Bank and Gaza which have arisen within Israel. The Other Israel can be reached at P.O.B. 956, Tel-Aviv, Israel.

In the first three months of 1988 dozens of new peace groups came into existence nearly simultaneously. At the same time old, nearly defunct groups suddenly burst into vigorous activity...there is an enormous influx of people who have suddenly become politicized. Fairly typical of them is Dr. Bernard Hurvitz, a veterinary doctor of Ramat Hasharon and an immigrant from South Africa. Impelled by hearing a young soldier say, "Police duty in the West Bank made me sympathize with the white South Africans," Hurvitz conducted a hunger strike for a whole month!

Other groups organize on a local or regional basis; this is particularly true in the Galilee, where Jews and Arabs often live in close proximity—a situation sometimes giving rise to tensions, but also conducive to dialogue.

The intense struggle in the schools has pushed existing youth movements to take a clear stand, and new groups were formed. Part of these youths were already involved, since 1985, in the struggle against the openly racist movement of Meir Kahane.

Similarly, several new women's groups have emerged while old and established women's organizations have taken unprecedented political positions.

At the end of February, a peace march—in which thousands of Jews and Arabs travelled over four days, from Israel's northern border to Jerusalem—was organized by one of the new peace groups, "The Red Line."

Another new group—"The Twenty First Year"—promotes actions such as boycott of products from Israeli settlements in the occupied territories; organizes parents and pupils to boycott school trips to the West Bank and Gaza Strip; supports Palestinian workers who are mistreated by the police in Israeli cities; in short resisting the occupation wherever it touches Israeli daily life.

The new groups and initiatives are politically heterogeneous. They could be divided into two broad categories: those who oppose the occupation without presenting a clearly defined political program; and those who state explicitly that Israel should speak not only with "the Palestinians" in the abstract but with the PLO, the Palestinians' chosen representative...

Editorial

U.S. in Persian Gulf

Danger of Reaganism's international reach

In the biggest U.S. naval battle since World War II, U.S. forces on April 18 destroyed two Iranian oil platforms and sank or severely damaged six Iranian ships in the Persian Gulf. In the ten-hour battle, laser-guided bombs, Harpoon missiles and naval cannons killed dozens, perhaps hundreds. The true casualty toll is still unknown.

By the next morning the White House was described as "exultant," not only at military victory, but at the "broad support" Reagan's actions received from Congress and the press. Indeed, so confident was Reagan that he now had a free hand in the Gulf, that he immediately ordered a National Security Council re-assessment of U.S. operations in the region to consider an expansion of military forces and a widening of their role.

CONGRESS PRAISES ATTACKS

Congressional leaders from both parties praised Reagan administration officials for their "consultations" the night before the attacks, and openly offered to ignore the never-enforced War Powers Act as long as such meetings continued. The media, meanwhile, confined themselves to analyzing Iran's motives in counter-attacking and risking its entire Navy, while never questioning either Reagan's motives in launching the attack, or his account of the timing of the events.

Still less have they paid attention to the context of Reagan's attacks. But the fact is that the assault in the Persian Gulf followed by only some 48 hours the assassination by Israeli commandos of Abu Jihad (Khalil al-Wazir), second-in-command of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), in Tunisia. And it followed by less than 24 hours the Iraqi surprise attack against Iranian forces on the Fao peninsula. There can be no doubt that Pentagon planners were, at the very least, fully aware of this conjunction of events before they unfolded.

From Khomeini's point of view, the battle in the Gulf was not separated either from the hijacked Kuwaiti jet then on the ground in Algiers, or from the current negotiations on the war in neighboring Afghanistan. Internationally, his murderous, counter-revolutionary regime is facing increasing anti-war resistance as the Iranian masses have suffered under Iraqi missile attacks against Tehran and poison gas massacres in Kurdistan.

But the context of what happened in the Persian Gulf April 18 is not solely one of U.S. vs. Iran. On the contrary, Reagan has shown that even Khomeini's characterization of the U.S. as the "Great Satan" did not stop Reagan from shipping arms to Iran, precisely because his preoccupation is the division of the whole world into two superpowers—the U.S. and the "evil empire," Russia. Thus, not only is nothing ruled out when it comes to future relations between such retrogressionist rulers as Reagan and Khomeini, but much more than the Middle East is at risk.

The struggle for single world domination of their bipolar world is what drives the rulers of both the U.S. and Russia. That is true whether one looks at the Persian Gulf—which the U.S. armada entered last year in full force as part of Reagan's determination to push Russia out of a region in which it was rapidly gaining influence—or at Central America, where Reagan's obsession with overturning Nicaragua's revolution is rooted in his desire to erase the memory of U.S. defeat in Vietnam.

REAGAN AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

The world in 1988, in this last year of Reagan's rule—but not necessarily the last year of Reaganism's international reach—is a very dangerous place. It calls to mind what Raya Dunayevskaya wrote on March 27, 1986, after U.S. planes attacked Libyan forces in the Gulf of Sidra:

"Clearly, the extraordinary counter-revolutionary Ronald Reagan, proudly designating himself as such, and obsessed with the idea of practicing being Commander-in-Chief of an actual war, doesn't care to which country the imperialist troops are sent. He is playing with, or actually preparing for, a full-scale war. As obvious as has been his ambition to invade Nicaragua—whether he was in Grenada or Libya—is this really his ultimate?"

As Reagan and Gorbachev both prepare for their summit meeting in Moscow in late May, the number of world "hot spots" continues to grow, whether Panama or South Africa, Afghanistan or the Persian Gulf, Israel/Palestine or Nicaragua/Honduras. From the vantage point of the U.S. and Russia, the Third World is everywhere a "zone of conflict" in a world divided into two. But the masses who live there refuse to allow it to be only a geographic designation for superpower rivalry. For them it is the home of freedom ideas and of liberation struggles against both imperial powers and their own rulers.

It is not a matter of predicting where the next "hot spot" will erupt into actual war. It is a matter of challenging Reaganism and its global reach with a banner of human liberation, "human power that is its own end." It is with that banner that we join the masses throughout the Gulf region in demanding: "End the war now!"; "All U.S. forces out!"