

Economic restructuring U.S. style



by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

Gorbachev's much-touted "perestroika," or economic "restructuring," has made the headlines in the American newspapers, as much or more so than when Reagan took office and began his "perestroika" of the American economy known as Reaganomics.

Today, the results of Reaganomics are robots instead of workers; two-tier wage systems; millions of Americans homeless; millions in part-time low-wage jobs; and now with both husband and wife working, still a couple cannot qualify to buy a home to raise their family in. This is the type of economy that George Bush has called "economic recovery" and promised to continue.

A recent article in the Los Angeles Times (LAT) shows some of what "perestroika," American style, has meant and will mean for American workers. The article quotes Anthony Carnevale, an economist with the American Society for Training and Development in Alexandria, Va.: "People with less schooling and lower levels of skills, if they haven't got enough seniority to be protected, are going to be losers. Many of them are likely to be minorities...many of those people are going to be a lost generation."

MORE OUTPUT, FEWER WORKERS

The LAT writer, Oswald Johnston, continues: "Nor is there room for all, even if all could adapt. Higher productivity is the goal of modernization, and that means more output from fewer workers."

He gives several examples of this "perestroika" of the American economy (and I'm calling it "perestroika" because "more output from fewer workers" is exactly what Gorbachev is after too). For example, at GTE plants in the Chicago area, in 1982, 3,800 workers built 450,000 multipurpose communication lines. In 1987, it took less than half as many workers to manufacture three times

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Black World

'Education For Liberation'



by Lou Turner

It is said that when Steve Biko was stopped by the South African Security Police that fateful night in August, 1977, just outside of Grahamstown, in the Eastern Cape, he was on his way to a unity meeting of the various political tendencies of the liberation movement. It was thought that the organizational idea of a unified movement perished with the state murder of Biko in the following month.

That it didn't perish, that its conservation has been accomplished by a decade of ceaseless mass struggles in apartheid South Africa continues to manifest itself. The recent convening of the first national conference of the South African/Azanian Student Movement (SAASM), held at Boston University, November 11-12, was such a manifestation.

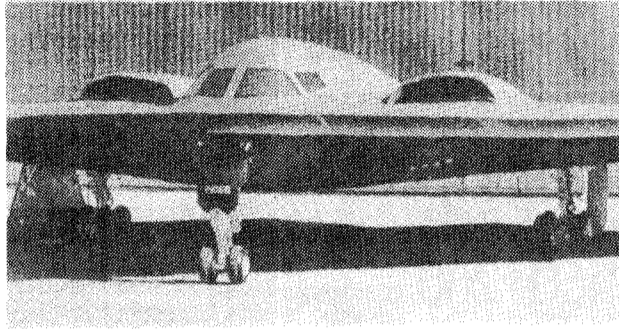
"This is the first time that a gathering of South Africans at this level has been organized," SAASM President Saths Cooper observed in his opening address. Organized around the concept "Education for Liberation," the spirited and polemical conference brought to mind what Steve Biko discovered after the founding of SASO (South African Student Organization); "there is a growing awareness of the role the Black students may be called upon to play in the emancipation of their community. The students realize that the isolation of the Black intelligentsia from the rest of the Black society is a disadvantage to Black people as a whole."

BATTLE OF IDEAS

The tone of the conference of some 200 South Africans was set by Saths Cooper's declaration, "We are not prepared to accept any of the paternalism that has subsisted in the anti-apartheid movement in the West. SAASM is a manifestation that South African students have come of age." It was highlighted further by John Samuels in his keynote speech at the end of the first day when he spoke of the role of the intellectual, and the "culture of liberation struggling to emerge." From the first day of the conference to the last, however, it

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Ideological pollution of Reaganism continues with Bush's victory



Stealth bombers, Star Wars and secret military space flights, such as the just completed Atlantis mission, are part of Bush's Reaganist agenda for the 1990s. Meanwhile the numbers of homeless are growing.

by John Alan

As soon as the presidential election ended in George Bush's victory, the Reagan administration suddenly began to make a series of policy changes in line with the conservative meaning of Bush's triumph.

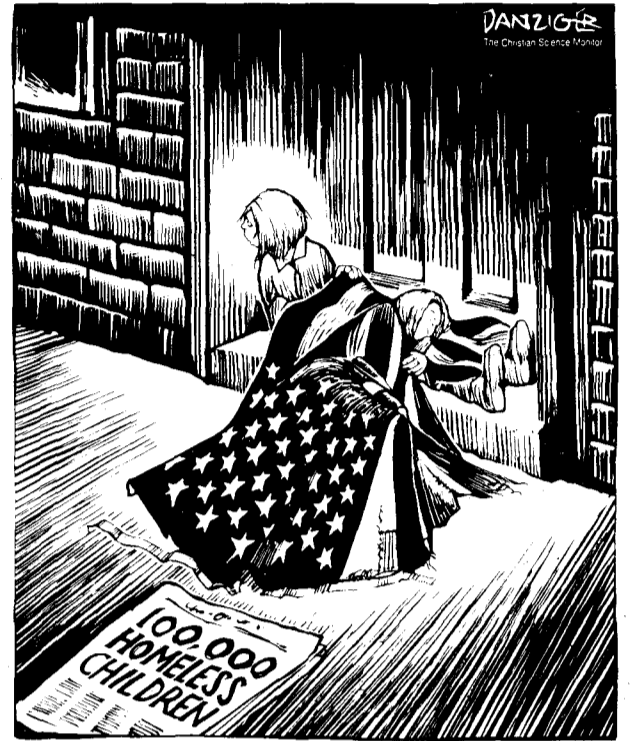
- Suddenly the Farm Mortgage Home Administration, (FMHA), notified 80,000 farmers that they might lose their property if their loans were delinquent. Between 14 and 40 thousand small farmers are expected to lose their farms.

- The Social Security Administration announced that it had drafted new rules to restrict the appeals for people denied retirement, disability, welfare or medicare benefits because it was losing 50% of the appeals.

- The Labor Department lifted a 45-year-old ban on home work, opening the door to garment industry exploitation of a segment of women workers and the massive violation of the minimum wage law and other laws protecting labor.

All of these policy decisions directed against the poor, and those that will follow, were deliberately withheld until the election was over, with the full knowledge and in agreement with Bush's campaign strategy. According to Marlin Fitzwater, Reagan's spokesman, the decisions were delayed because "no one in his right mind issues regulations during an election, they immediately become political issues."

This calculated suppression of the "real political issues"—Reagan's eight year war on labor, women and the poor—hid for a moment that this war is going to continue in the president-elect's administration. It was cynically used to give Bush the political advantage to



conduct his campaign on the level of reactionary shibboleths: the death penalty, the pledge of allegiance to the flag and the Willie Horton prison furlough.

BUSH'S 'SHARED VALUES': THE CIA

Within the reactionary scope of his polluted ideology, Bush turned "liberalism" into the evil enemy of American "shared values," and a "card-carrying" membership in the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) into a subversive movement interested only in the rights of prisoners. Bush, in his speech, published in the New York Times, included in his "shared American values" Reagan's bombing hit on Qaddafi to teach "him a lesson about international terrorism" and the "saving" of "American kids in a medical school when their lives were threatened in Grenada."

This, too, reveals the new imperialist dimension Bush brings to Reaganism. The way Bush plans to organize his staff in the White House gives priority to his daily, direct communication with the Central Intelligence Agency. This alone is a retrogressive shift to the right.

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Direct from East Europe

Polish workers speak for themselves

Editor's note: The following material comes directly from East Europe. The letters excerpted were written by Polish miners about working and living conditions.

Jastrzebie Zdroj—I would like to present some of the principal reasons for miners' strikes. We work for 28 to 30 days a month, but even for this many days of work our wages are hardly sufficient for keeping a family. A hard-working man has to eat well, but there are immense problems obtaining food in Jastrzebie. People are queueing in front of meat shops as early as 11 in the evening for the next day. This is because the better meat appears only in small quantities. This would seem to be an entirely improbable phenomenon when you consider that the mines of Jastrzebie export about 200 million dollars worth of coal. According to the daily newspaper, *Trybuna Robotnicza*, a quarter of the entire Polish export of pit-coal comes from Jastrzebie. Thus, this place, with a little more than 100,000 people, earns some \$2,000 per person in exports! If, for example, **Warsaw** produced the same amount per person, there would be three billion dollars worth of goods to sell.

It is a well-known fact that exporting 30 million tons of coal earned the country roughly \$800 million last year. Yet the government says the mines are not making money! This is caused by the absurdly low conversion of zlotys to dollars! The banks readily buy dollars at 1,950 zlotys to the dollar, but they do not sell them to the people at any price.

What should a miner feel when he sees the dollars he has earned for the state being evaluated at 400 or 500 zlotys, but when he enters a shop and sees a Japanese television being offered at 2 million zlotys? Even the goods offered in shops where miners can buy are priced

at the black-market conversion rate, not the low official rate.

The losses caused by strikes were calculated precisely (by the government). But no one is in a hurry to specify the cost of keeping the excessive administrative and political apparatus in the mines. Can't the mines become independent economic units subordinated directly to the Ministry of Industry?

Moszczenica—Miners are those on the top (the word "top" and the word "miner" are closely related in Polish) while we are common "underminers" (below the top) whom no one listens to or takes into consideration. Those working in the building industry can come in and out of the workplace. A journeyman can smoke a cigarette, bungle a job, drink a beer in a supermarket. But we "underminers" can only go to and from work. For one day's work, Monday through Friday, an "underminer" gets 2,500 zlotys. In contrast a mason gets 1,200 zlotys each hour.

When we really earn is on Saturdays, a free day (continued on page 4)

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Rigoberta Menchu: Guatemalan revolt

Editor's note—Rigoberta Menchu, a young Quiche woman leader of the Guatemalan freedom movement, spoke at New York University Nov. 17 to an overflow crowd of 300 students. Below are excerpts from her talk.

In Guatemala there have been many peasant struggles, especially this year. Every uprising has had its price and has been met with reprisals.

In the area of the most uprisings, four clandestine cemeteries have been discovered. A clandestine cemetery is where 20-30 decapitated or tortured bodies are discovered, near a community, so the population can see the consequences of protest. Every spectator is left with the impression that it could happen to them, especially the leaders. It's a terrible way to wage psychological war against a population. That is why it's very important to look at the organizations of the popular movement—because they continue.

INDIGENOUS WOMEN ORGANIZE

For example, between Sept. 10 and 12, the National Coordinadora of Widows was born in Guatemala. There are 36,000 widows in Guatemala. In the Coordinadora, not only is the leadership but most members are indigenous (Indian) women. It's the first time in the history of Guatemala that there is an organization of indigenous women. For 500 years the Indian woman has seen much humiliation and abuse. The great majority of indigenous women are illiterate. We have not seen the voice of the indigenous woman as a protagonist in politics. In any nation, there ought to be a representative voice, and especially in a nation that is 70% indigenous there ought to be 70% representation.

It's extremely important that this organization of indigenous women continue, and I'm very proud of them. This organization is evidence of the repression. Every one has shed tears for the disappeared, and they know what it means to support eight or nine children without an income. Days after the emergence of this organization, women were beginning to see signs of intimidation, with strange men near their houses as evidence of the army's disapproval.

This year we have also seen many demonstrations of peasants. We hadn't seen this in many years because of the repression. Why are we again marching to the capital? Because life in the countryside is unbearable, and every day the poverty grows. I am a member of the CUC, the Committee for Peasant Unity, which has been in existence for ten years. From 1980 to 1987 you didn't hear our voices in Guatemala. We would go to our friends and say, we are continuing to work, but we can't say everything just now. This year we have participated in every march of the peasants.

POPULAR MOVEMENT UNITY

Our groups of workers, students, peasants and widows are united, because only united can we challenge the government. For the first time the popular movement has a tremendous unity. We are now members of an umbrella organization, the Unity of Labor and Popular Action (UASP). Not only are unions and students members, but so are GAM (Mutual Support Group of the Families of the Disappeared) and the National Coordinadora of Widows.

It is of international opinion that the repression has increased since May 11 of this year. Since May 11,

Giving birth to a union

Editor's note: The Los Angeles County Homecare Workers Union (SEIU Local 434B) is continuing the battle with the state of California for employee rights and benefits for state-paid workers who care for indigent clients in their homes (see October N&L). Below are the remarks of Myrtis Knox, at an Oct. 28 "Celebration" of one year of homecare worker organizing.

The other day I was talking with someone who had just recently become a homecare worker. She asked me, why was I a member of the Homecare Workers Union? I gave a very simple answer. I said because I don't like being kicked around; I don't like being a minimum wage worker; I don't like myself or my clients getting our hours cut unfairly.

I am a member of the Los Angeles Homecare Workers Union because I like knowing other homecare workers. I like fighting together with you and other homecare workers to get better wages and benefits. I like it because the County and State have agreed to meet with us, when before they didn't know homecare workers existed.

I like being part of the effort to give birth to what will be the largest union in L.A. County—we are giving birth to a giant!

Giving birth is never easy. You mothers know that. There is pain; there's pushing; and there's work. What we've done with the County is the first part of the birth. Now we're going through the last pain of labor with the State. The State is trying to tell us to stop pushing and give up. [Shouts from the audience: "Hell no!"]

This union is our child, our hope, our dreams. A real mother never gives up! And hell will freeze over before we give up the union! So let us keep pushing, keep laboring. We will be looking back in 1989 and saying to ourselves: Doesn't that baby look pretty! Doesn't this child look healthy! Aren't we proud parents!

So, mothers—if you are with me, give me an "Amen." [Shouts of "Amen."] If you are fighting with the hours campaign... if you are fighting for this union... I want you to stand up with me...



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An indigenous woman, with a picture of her "disappeared" son, participates in a demonstration at the National Assembly in Guatemala City in June 1987. The demonstration commemorated the third anniversary of GAM (Mutual Support Group of the Families of the Disappeared).

when an attempted coup took place, there have been an average of 80 disappearances each month. Increasingly, those who are kidnapped are leaders of the popular movement. Many people in the international community wondered if President Vinicio Cerezo would be able to control the military. Cerezo can only say, I have 35% of the power, but if you criticize me it will weaken me. So many politicians accepted that, saying they want political flexibility. Lamentably we could not say there have been 15 disappeared and say that with political flexibility.

No one asked where are the death squads—are they in prison or in hiding? People also forget we had a bloody powerful government with a 35-year history of dominating by force. Nobody was asking what is the military doing—have they been peacefully in the barracks? But when the statistics on the disappeared begin to increase, people say the death squads are being born again. But the death squads never disappeared! On the contrary, they had time to plan and to organize.

In the end, I don't believe our lives are just statistics, or that human life can be disguised with diplomacy. You either criticize a government and denounce violations of human rights or you don't. There is no middle ground.

Filipinas demand answers

New York, N.Y.—I was a part of a group of Filipinos who confronted the Consul-General, Hermenegildo Garcia, at the Philippine Consulate Nov. 20, as individuals and as representatives of Filipino organizations in New York.

We demanded a clarification of the recent statement made by the Undersecretary of Defense, Fortunato Abat, on the step-up of President Cory Aquino's three-year counter-insurgency campaign, part of which was four recent disappearances and the outlawing and surveillance of seven left organizations.

These were the questions raised: "Are we under martial law? By whose power and by what process was this outlawing made? Do you know about these missing persons? Have you heard that the 1987 Oxford Dictionary defined Filipina as 'domestic help'? What has the government done about it?"

To all these questions, the Consul-General's repeated response was, "We don't know anything about that. Write us a letter and we will send it to Manila." When the Filipina women with the Filipino masses have revolted against Ferdinand Marcos, putting Aquino in power in the hope of gaining genuine freedom, how can the consulate pose as so ignorant?

For us Filipinos, the situation becomes clearer. We are facing a situation where, even without an outright declaration of Martial Law, cause-oriented groups can be outlawed. Individuals opposing Aquino can just disappear. With an atmosphere of uncertainty, the government continuously sows fear, intensifies repression and increasingly commits human rights violations without being singled out as responsible for their many attacks against the Filipino people.

But to me, a deeper question lies ahead. How can we truly be free? Which pathway do we take? Can we really be free when the individual development is considered secondary to collective development; when anybody involved in freedom struggle limits his own development by taking himself as a part of an abstract mass of fighting people? Where subjectivity does not have an expression, or is denied to be as important as objectivity? Are we really conscious as we suppose we are by engaging ourselves in what we consider as revolutionary activities? Where do our ideas of freedom come from? I call for a re-examination.

—A Filipina activist

Abortion rights now!

Two days after the election, the U.S. Solicitor General filed a brief with the Supreme Court urging the justices to hear an appeal that the Reagan Administration feels "presents an appropriate opportunity" for overturning Roe vs. Wade, the decision that legalized abortion in the U.S.

In the election itself, Michigan, Arkansas and Colorado all passed measures barring the use of state funds for abortion. Already 37 states refuse to pay for abortions for poor women and anti-abortion fanatics have escalated their disgusting tactics of attacking women patients and health care workers at clinics where abortions are performed.

They claim they are like the Black Civil Rights Movement. No! The anti-abortion groups are the opposite of such a genuine freedom movement. It is a deeply reactionary movement that wants to take away a freedom women have fought decades for, and died because they did not have.

After the election Molly Yard, President of NOW (National Organization for Women), said: "I feel as if war has been declared on the women of the United States." She is right. Only the war started eight years ago with the election of Ronald Reagan. To see what the casualties of this war will be, we need look no further than the countries of Latin America where abortion is illegal.

In 1980, public hospitals in Latin America treated more than 200,000 women for butcher abortions, abortions that perforated their uterus or colon or both, that caused massive infection, or hemorrhage, or any of a dozen other life-threatening situations. In this war on women which has raged for centuries, in developing countries as many as 200,000 women die each year because of butcher abortions—because abortion is illegal, because the Catholic Church has what it wants there, because women are not free.

NOW has called for a March on Washington on April 9 to defend our right to abortion. We need to project that our fight for abortion is not only a necessity in and of itself, but is symbolic of the total war against women that Reaganism is waging. It is the line we can't let them cross. It is not only that women in the U.S. don't want to go back to the days of butcher abortions, it is that we want the whole world to move forward to full freedom, a freedom we can't begin to experience until we own our own bodies.

—Terry Moon



Women-
Worldwide

More than 500 women came out in the pouring rain, Oct. 2, to protest the rape of a student at Massachusetts' Smith College. The quickly-organized "Take Back the Night" rally and march called for a strong community response to the attack and a forum for women to express their ideas.

—Information from Valley Women's Voice

As the election of Yitzhak Shamir gave the green light to the already growing Right in Israel, Orthodox rabbis furiously protested more than 50 Jewish feminists praying at the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem, Dec. 1, wearing prayer shawls and yarmulkes and carrying a Torah. Said Rabbi Meir Yehuda Getz, "A woman carrying a Torah is like a pig at the Wailing Wall."

The newly-formed Athletes for Equality, a group of women athletes from the University of Massachusetts, has taken on the infamous Sports Illustrated annual "swimsuit issue," saying it "encourages men to look at female athletes as sex objects." Asserting that the magazine devotes only 5% of its coverage to women athletes, the group is circulating petitions to change that issue to a "Women's Sports" issue. Petitions are available from Beverly Smith, 98 Spring St., Amherst, MA 01002.

Support Korean women!

Chicago, Ill.—News and Letters Committees led a small but highly spirited march on Nov. 11 to protest the torture of women workers at Tandy Corporation's electronics assembly plant in South Korea (See Oct. N&L). The march was joined by the 8th Day Center and the Church Committee on Human Rights in Asia.

Despite cold weather, the protesters marched for two hours along a route in downtown Chicago that included three Radio Shack stores (retail distributors of Tandy products), as well as the South Korean Consulate. Chanting "Women workers are under attack! Don't shop at Radio Shack!" and "Radio Shack products are not to be used! Korean workers are being abused!" the mostly women marchers handed out over 500 leaflets to surprised pedestrians.

At 54 hours a week, Korean workers have the longest working hours anywhere in the world—and that is only their average hours. Many work 76 hours every week, and in some factories there are no days off! Little wonder they would endure so much just to organize a union. They need our support. Don't shop at Radio Shack!

—Participant

Two worlds of the U.S. economy

by Peter Mallory

To believe the capitalist press and the pundits of capitalism, you get the impression that not only is all well with the world, but that American capitalism is on a roll from which there will be no return. Such is far from being true. Underneath it is more like the fall of the Roman Empire.

Real profit comes from the exploitation of labor, the extraction of surplus value, which takes place in the manufacturing sector of the economy. To see what is happening there take a ride on Amtrak from Chicago to Detroit through miles of abandoned factories and unemployed workers.

Karl Marx pointed out over 100 years ago that the tendency toward a declining rate of profit would be the downfall of capitalism. This becomes more apparent every day. From 18 to 20% profits in the last century we have seen it drop to today's high of 5% to figures even lower.

ILLUSION VS. REALITY

Are the capitalists making money? Yes, but it is an illusion. It is the mass of profit that permits an Iacocca to skim \$17 million off the top. It still requires billions in dead labor or accumulated capital to produce the 5% profit on industrial production.

Throughout the economy the daily reports of mergers, acquisitions, and reorganizations go along with bank failures and corporate name changes. It will cost taxpayers over \$25 billion to bail out failed U.S. banks. The merger craze is a colossal cover-up to juggle the corporate books and thus hide the lack of genuine capital investment. It becomes even more difficult to trace the corporate roots of today's giants of industry. Name changes and the merging of corporate books conceal the disposition of assets: plant closings get unprofitable assets off the books and paint a far rosier picture than reality.

Basically America is losing its capacity to produce consumer or capital goods profitably. Jobs and factories are going abroad, often under the same American ownership.

Some \$300 billion a year is being spent on war preparations, all of it non-productive, inflating the real employment rate, leaving nothing behind of any use to mankind, and wasting our natural resources. America has 23 million functionally illiterate people. While education suffers, 80% of research and development is devoted to the military. Thirty-five percent of our scientists are into nuclear development while the domestic economy suffers.

HUMAN NEEDS VS. MILITARY, DEBTS

The world's greatest debtor nation is now the U.S., and the debt is still growing. The solution given by the International Monetary Fund to so-called backward underdeveloped nations has been to tighten your belts, cut back on "unnecessary" spending and raise more revenue. Since the U.S. now heads the list of debtor nations, the advice would seem to be applicable, but not likely to be followed.

Interest rates paid on the increasing American debt are set in Japan, Switzerland and Frankfurt. So-called American prosperity rests on the rubber checks passed out by Reagan. The money flows back to the U.S., but

to buy up American real assets: real estate, banks and corporations at sale prices.

Our state-capitalist counterpart, Russia, is plagued with the same problems. The European countries under their domination are in a state of open revolt and they are faced, like their American twin, with having to resort to the moneylenders for new capital. Russia has just concluded loan agreements with European bankers



Symbolic of the attack on American labor in 1988 was the breaking of the 16-month strike of 1,200 workers at International Paper in Jay, Maine. The workers were forced to end their strike without having won an agreement.

for a \$5.5 billion line of credit and they are expected to seek further capital from the Japanese.

REAGANISM'S LEGACY VS. THE FUTURE

The horrible Reagan years have not only saddled us with the greatest debt in history, but they have permitted the deterioration of our infrastructure—bridges, dams, roads and public buildings that must be repaired by future generations before they completely collapse.

Real weekly earnings for most workers are now no higher than they were in the 1960s, family income no higher than 1973, despite two job incomes. Thirty-five million people in the U.S. live in an official state of poverty and a great many of them are children. Homeless people roam the streets seeking shelter that is unavailable, and are evicted and beaten up when they protest. During the harsh winters they die out there and are swept up with the garbage because no one cares a damn.

The visible deterioration of capitalism is all around us: rusting and abandoned factories, polluted streams and lakes, an environment poisoning the future, nuclear power plants and government nuclear facilities spewing out radioactive wastes for years without concern or any controls.

It is the invisible costs that continue to pile up for future generations to come that should become of major concern—the malnourished bodies of today that grow into the crippled and disabled of tomorrow.

Toys-R-Us survey reveals worker discontent

Newark, N.J.—About seven or eight months ago Toys-R-Us did a survey of the workers that was so "secretive" we had to seal the envelopes ourselves, even the boss couldn't see it. About a week ago we got the results back. The strange thing is they don't give statistics, just overall facts.

One of the facts is supposedly that we feel rewarded by the way we're being treated. But there are three points of major disagreement that came out very badly against the company. The first is the overall condition of the store. This is the only one they gave us numbers on. They said 87% of us thought the overall condition of the store was bad. Doesn't that relate to our working conditions? On the question of safety we've had some close misses: stacks of pallets nearly falling on someone's head, someone almost getting electrocuted by a

hi-lo plug.

Another thing we hit them over the head with in the survey was how we're being paid. Management says flat out we're only paying as much as we have to, i.e., the going rate in the area.

Pay for our store is less because we have inner-city young people who really need the job and there is such a steady pool to hire from, the company can get away with paying less. But their one store out in the suburbs has to pay much more—almost \$1.50 more—because these people come from very affluent neighborhoods and don't really "need" to work there.

Then the company turns around and talks about the projected doubling of stores in six or seven years from 400 to over 800 nationwide. And it's known that lots of the companies we do business with have been bought into and are part-owned by Toys-R-Us. The company says the reason they can double is a lot of competitors are about to go out of business. To them that may be great, but to me as a worker, that means a lot of fellow-workers are going to be thrown out of their jobs.

After all this, it comes back to why they really can't pay us more. If they paid us at our "real worth," they would never be able to expand and open all those new stores with the value, the wealth, created by me and the person next to me.

And the last point the survey gave a negative reading on was the survey itself. We did not add any comments where they left it blank for us to do so because overwhelmingly we thought this survey was meaningless. What was their answer to this critique? "We have to give you more surveys, ask you more questions."

But the thing is that, under no circumstances, will capitalism be able to answer our questions because we are questioning their very right to exist. This they cannot answer with a survey. But even this survey shows 1) the questioning of the conditions we work under, the conditions of labor, and 2) the question of the wealth that we create and where it's really coming from. These seem to be two questions of this society.

—David L. Anderson

Eckrich ignores seniority

Chicago, Ill.—The issue of seniority comes up again and again at Eckrich, especially in the winter. This is our slow season, when the company lays people off and changes people around. There is almost nothing in our union contract on seniority—nothing about shift preference, nothing about departmental seniority, nothing about job rights.

Whenever it's convenient, the company claims to be going by seniority, but, in fact, they do whatever they want. They don't have to abide by any rules at all. There is no way for anybody to get back to their old job, to their old shift, to their old department, except by begging and pleading and being in the foreman's good graces. If a foreman likes you and asks for you, then you can get back. If you're not liked, chances are you're not going back to where you were, even if you were doing a satisfactory job.

The other thing is this: When the company laid workers off in November, who did they lay off out of seniority? Women. The company thinks that there are certain jobs that they need men for, and that there are too many women in this plant. They don't ask the women about that. Did they ask those women whether they would be willing to try some other job instead of being laid off? Why does the company just assume that women can't do those jobs?

Seniority is hard on people who don't have any, but at least you know what to expect. I don't want to get bumped off my shift, but if they're going to change people around, which way are they going to do it? Their attitude is: "We pay you, so you do what we tell you." They put you on nights one week and then on days the next. It's really hard.

We have a life outside this plant. We have responsibilities; we have children; and we have to switch our lives around. It just isn't right at all. The company should have a basic rule and not switch us so often. And there should be some way that they could get together with us and see where we can fit in, where we want to be and what hours are best for us.

—Eckrich workers

Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

as many lines.

At the Caterpillar plants in Peoria, Ill., in the late 1970s there were more than 36,000 workers employed. The workforce shrank during the recession of 1981-82 to 17,000 workers, but today Caterpillar is profitable again and back to production levels of the 1970s—but only 20,300 workers are employed!

"For workers who have been able to adapt to the changes" of robotized production, Johnston writes, "the rewards are dramatic." But what rewards is he talking about, and for whom? He even calls this restructuring of American industry "the brave new world of manufacturing."

STOLEN PENSIONS

That brave new world of robots and computers is now extending into every part of workers' lives. Look at the example of Continental Can Company. Management there adopted a secret, illegal computerized plan to lay off workers just before they became eligible for vesting in their pension plan, i.e., became eligible for receiving the pension benefits they had been working and paying for, for many years.

In 1977, the union (United Steelworkers) had won the right for workers over a certain age and with a certain number of years of service (the "magic number" of age plus years worked ranged in individual contracts from 65 to 75) to become eligible for pensions, continued health benefits, and special supplements until retirement, if they were placed on long-term lay-offs. The company agreed to this in the contract and then programmed their computers to lay off workers just before they reached that "magic number!"

One woman had 17 years with Continental Can at the St. Louis plant. She was laid off just months before she was eligible for vesting in the pension plan. She was assured by management that the layoff was only short-term—but it kept being "short-term" for the next five years. She was repeatedly told she would be called back soon; she was never officially terminated. She lost her home, and could find only temporary minimum-wage jobs to support herself and her two children.

At the same time as Continental Can was laying off workers, it was stepping up forced overtime for its remaining employees. Workers at the Clearing, Ill. plant sometimes had to work seven days a week!

The union now has a suit against Continental Can in court, but what worries me is how this shows the new, computerized tricks management is using to deprive workers of even the few crumbs we have managed to win in hard struggle. You can bet that if Continental Can has used this idea to rob workers of their benefits and medical, all of the capitalist class is hard at work putting this and other computerized schemes into practice. And Bush, like Reagan, is for that type of "friendly business climate" to let them get away with it. This, too, is part of the economic restructuring American-style.

But when we workers fully use our minds as well as our hands, then we will be on the road to our own "restructuring" of the economy and society—workers control of production—both here and in state-capitalist Russia. That is a "restructuring"—I call it revolution—that will create a human life for all human beings.

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From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya Marxist-Humanist Archives

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

Editor's note: The current crisis in East Europe, as well as the publication of Raya Dunayevskaya's 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes in our last issue, make especially relevant reprinting excerpts of the lecture she gave on Feb. 14, 1982, two months after the counter-revolution had struck down Solidarnosc in Poland. The lecture took up all three of her major works—Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution and Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution—and was titled "From Revolution to Revolution to Revolution: in Actuality, in Thought, in Vision."

It may sound stratospheric to give a talk called "From Revolution to Revolution to Revolution," when we are witnessing a counter-revolution as brutal as that against the Polish people by their own state-capitalist rulers, propped up by Russia, and, on our own continent, the genocide against the Salvadoran people by a junta Reagan is not only propping up but training in that genocide. Nevertheless, it is not stratospheric. The truth is that we cannot forget that, for 18 long months, the Polish workers, women and youth have been creating a union that is not just a union, but combines economics, politics and ideology. Nor can we forget that, before Poland, there was the Iranian Revolution. Between them, they opened so many new doors to the transformation of reality that they have given us a different vision of the future.

Let us take one single district—Silesia—one of the most active not only in 1980, but in 1970. It was there that many lives were taken when the counter-revolution opened its attack on Dec. 13. But you cannot kill the idea of freedom; you can only drive it underground when a revolution is that deep. And it is precisely that depth, and that concreteness, that both allows us to see a bit of the future, and makes it necessary to turn back 137 years, to that same district of Silesia when it was not the miners but the weavers who were in revolt. Because Marx had discovered a whole new continent of thought and of revolution, and named his philosophy a "new Humanism," he was able to see in that weavers' revolt a new stage of revolution that challenged private capitalism.

PHILOSOPHY BECOMES CONCRETE for each age in a new way. I had begun to study the nature of the Russian economy as state-capitalism when the world was suddenly confronted with the Hitler-Stalin Pact. By the time of Stalin's death in 1953, the study became not just an analysis of the monstrosity Russia had become but a search for a philosophy of liberation as well as for the struggles that would be fighting against totalitarian state-capitalism. When the 1953 East German revolt brought Marx's 1844 Humanist Essays onto the historic stage with its slogan "Bread and Freedom," it illuminated the struggle against Communist totalitarianism as a struggle against both economic exploitation and political tyranny. Theoretically, too, Marx's new Humanism had to be made concrete for our age. That search, for me, began several weeks before the East German uprising, with two letters on Hegel's Absolute Idea I wrote in 1953.

Their pivotal point was the concept that the Absolute Idea meant not only a new unity of theory and practice, but a movement from practice to theory. It was this breakthrough on the Absolute Idea that presented the challenge for a new relationship of theory to practice and provided the vantage point for the emergence of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. in two ways:

1) By no means had it first appeared in our age. It had always characterized that relationship of objective to subjective. Specifically, our analysis of the immediate situation became the form for viewing all historic struggles from 1776 to our day and determined the structure of **Marxism and Freedom**.

2) My translation of Marx's Humanist Essays became the first to be published in English when they were in-

cluded as an Appendix to **Marxism and Freedom**.

WHAT BECAME MOST exciting in 1979, when the Iranian revolution erupted, was that some of the young revolutionaries not only began to translate into Farsi Marx's Humanist Essays as they found them presented in **Marxism and Freedom**, but decided to translate also the chapter on "Worker and Intellectual at a Turning Point in History: 1848-1861." They didn't need help in being opposed to Khomeini, but they felt they would not be able to win if their opposition was only activity and not philosophy.

1848 had become a crucial point of reference also for those who participated in the 1905-07 Russian-Polish Revolution. It is this which I deal with in my latest book on **Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution**. Luxemburg saw, through her experiences in that revolution, that it wasn't the leadership of the German Social-Democracy but the masses in motion who transformed her little



Shipyard workers march through Gdansk during their 1988 strike.

Polish party of "seven and a half" people into a mass organization of 30,000 overnight. She also saw new forms of revolt: the General Mass Strike of trade unions whose demands were not only economic, but completely political.

In 1907, when the Russian revolutionaries held a Congress in London, it was not only the events of 1905 but their relationship to 1848 that was up for discussion. It was Luxemburg who said: Yes, 1848 was very great, but something was new in 1905. It was not only that politics and economics had been united in the General Mass Strike. It was that 1905 was not the last of the 19th century, but the first of the 20th century revolutions with many more to follow.

THE 1960s PRESENTED US with a similar problem: How are the new rebellions of our day—of the youth, Blacks, women, the Third World—related to the Marxism of Marx? As we listened to the new voices from below, we felt a compulsion to "translate" Marx's Marxism for our age. It was the period, also, of the sudden appearance of the Sino-Soviet conflict and of our raising the question: Could there be war between two state-capitalist societies calling themselves Communist?

Just as a new chapter on that Sino-Soviet conflict was added to a new edition of **Marxism and Freedom**—and was preceded by the pamphlet, **Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions**—so **News & Letters** published **American Civilization on Trial**, an analysis of American history from its earliest days. There we contrasted the triangular trade of slaves, between Africa, the West Indies and the U.S., to the triangular exchange of the ideas of freedom. At the same time, **News & Letters** published a whole host of new pamphlets—from **Workers Battle Automation to Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves** and **The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution**—where the new voices of the youth, workers, Black revolutionaries in the U.S. as well as in Africa, could be heard.

In a way, all these pamphlets could be considered a "second book" on Marxist-Humanism in the context of an actually developing new revolution from below.

ONE HISTORIC FACET keeps us returning to the question of Poland. In Marx's day it was the 1863 rebellion which became ground for establishing the First Workingmen's International Association in 1864. When that period came to a climax with the 1871 Paris Commune, Marx did more than just refer to the Poles as the greatest fighters of the Commune. He found further illumination for his **Capital** in the chapter on the fetishism of commodities, even as the Civil War and the struggle for the 8-hour day had led him to restructure his greatest work.

In our day, it is again the Polish struggle for freedom that so integrates the objective and subjective needs that it eliminates the division between theory and practice. I am especially proud of the chapter on East Europe in **Philosophy and Revolution**, which begins with a description of Poland 1970 that reads as if it were describing 1980, including even the city, Gdansk. The reason it can sound so current is because so many East European dissidents helped me to write that chapter.

East European revolt and the re-creation of Marx's Marxism

But that is not the point now. The point today is what to do now that the counter-revolution has moved to crush that revolution.

It is easy to express our solidarity with Solidarity in the form of demonstrations or sending food. What is not as easy is to grapple with the also-needed critique. What did it mean for Jacek Kuron to think that, if they had a "self-limiting revolution" then maybe they could win? The counter-revolution will not stay its hand just because you say you don't really mean an all-out revolution. They know that, once unleashed, the masses in motion will move to full freedom. What must be ended is the separation of theory from practice.

It is such concrete life-and-death struggles as these that make it necessary for us to dig into what Hegel meant by "second negativity" and what Marx meant by "revolution in permanence." It is precisely that which is the thesis of **Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution**... Permit me, therefore, to quote my conclusion:

"It isn't because we are any 'smarter' that we can see so much more than other post-Marx Marxists. Rather, it is because of the maturity of our age... Only live human beings can re-create the revolutionary dialectic forever anew. And these live human beings must do so in theory as well as in practice. It is not a question only of meeting the challenge from practice, but of being able to meet the challenge from the self-development of the Idea, and of deepening theory to the point where it reaches Marx's concept of the philosophy of 'revolution in permanence.'

"What is needed is a new unifying principle, on Marx's ground of humanism, that truly alters both human thought and human experience. Marx's **Ethnological Notebooks** are an historic happening that proves, 100 years after he wrote them, that Marx's legacy is no mere heirloom, but a live body of ideas and perspectives that is in need of concretization. Every moment of Marx's development, as well as the totality of his works, spells out the need for 'revolution in permanence.' This is the absolute challenge to our age."

Polish workers speak

(continued from page 1)

for those who earn more, but we work every Saturday, and Sundays too. It's called voluntary, but try not to come in when you have been told about it on Monday. You would have terrible difficulties. And besides there is nowhere to go with your family or to rest. It is a voluntary coercion. It is this lack of being able to control our time that hurts us.

Yes, there was "Solidarity" once. There are trade unions now as well. But they are directed by the party and are of no help to us. Thus, why doesn't the union official come to the crew, or tell us what he is doing on our behalf, or ask what we want him to do for us? Nothing is done, they only broadcast some rubbish on the mine's radio from time to time. What the devil is such a union for? All they do is organize a party and supply some fruit. The union officials are selected by the director, and the rest select themselves, they are a clique that does not care for the workers. They sit in an office drinking coffee, and if a worker comes in it annoys them because he's in the way.

What is important is a union that would indeed honestly care for the worker and fight for him. It should be interested in his working conditions, in what he earns, in how he and his family live after work. It must be a union truly independent from management, a trade union that would be accountable only to us.

What kind of Poland do we have? A devil's hole. Socialism of this kind will never triumph over the bureaucracy.

At the time Solidarity was active many of the workers now asking for it were only 10-12 years old. Their present determination results from the current lack of perspectives (of the government) and a feeling of despair. These young ones connect Solidarity with hopes and visions that the union had aroused during the first months of its existence. It is not the need of such a union that set free their determination, but the need of housing, of adequate wages, of promotion, of a hope and vision of a better future.

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Editorial

U.S. wars in Central America

Nature's violence—Hurricane Joan's destructive path through the Nicaraguan Atlantic Coast town of Bluefields—has been the latest blow to Central America, what Chilean poet Pablo Neruda called "the delicate waist of America." Almost the entire town was leveled, including a deep water port under construction. Tens of thousands became homeless, all the crops in the area were lost, 70% of the fishing boats were sunk or seriously damaged, hundreds of thousands of surrounding acres of forest land were devastated.

Such a natural catastrophe has had anything but natural consequences. The United States, which has often demonstrated its capacity to aid countries torn by earthquakes and storms, has appropriated absolutely no aid for Nicaragua. Rather, the U.S. government sees the hurricane as one more way to help bring down the Sandinista regime, something which the Reagan retrogression has worked at for eight long years.

REAGAN'S POLICIES NOT DEAD

We cannot be under any illusion that Reagan's contra policy is over, or that his war on Central America has not had a great deal of success. It is true the contras are not now getting military aid, but this is only one of Reagan's pathways for overthrowing revolutions in Central America. The revolutionary movements in Guatemala and El Salvador have suffered greatly from Reagan policies since the early 1980s. Bush, far from representing a discontinuity with Reaganism, has, from his CIA days forward, participated directly in these war policies.

The United States has directly or indirectly sponsored political-military violence in Central America throughout the 1980s, years when three wars—in Nicaragua, in El Salvador, in Guatemala—have raged. The one we know the most about is the U.S.-sponsored contra war against the Nicaraguan revolution. So abhorrent has been that war to all of Central America, so much has been the fear of a full scale U.S. intervention, that the rulers of El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala and Costa Rica felt compelled to come to an agreement with Nicaragua to

El Salvadorans and North Americans

Support for El Salvador

Los Angeles, Cal.—Activities here around the current crisis in El Salvador have been practically continuous throughout October and November. In October, large audiences turned out to hear actual participants in the Salvadoran struggle. Ruben Zamora, a leader of the FDR (Revolutionary Democratic Front), spoke one night, America Sosa, a founder of Mothers of the Disappeared, spoke two days later, and the following weekend were talks by Salvadoran refugees in the process of returning to their homes, defying the government's excuse that it was only "keeping them away from the guerrillas" when it forced them to relocate two years ago. There were "Walk-a-Thons" and other outreach to send food, clothing and medical supplies to victims of the crisis.

On Thanksgiving Day, a group of about 25 Salvadoran refugees, with some North American supporters from CARECEN (Central American Refugee Center) sat down at an empty table in front of the Los Angeles Federal Building. Their bare cups and plates were supplemented with harsh photo displays of military torture in El Salvador. The U.S. government continues to deny legal refugee status to the vast majority of Salvadorans who have fled here, many bearing the physical scars of military and death squad torture on their bodies.

The Salvadoran death squads are not silent in Los Angeles, either. A group calling itself after Maximiliano Martinez Hernandez, the bloody general who directed the massacre of 30,000 Salvadoran peasants in their uprising of 1932, sent death threats in November to three Salvadoran refugees active with CARECEN. Refugee activists have had their cars vandalized, and documents stolen.

The constant theme of these activities was to end the genocidal war between the U.S.-backed Duarte government and the FMLN (the anti-government guerrillas). This was echoed by the 25,000 who marched to the Nov. 15 meeting of the Organization of American States in San Salvador. Their petition, like the voices of Salvadorans here in Los Angeles, shows that the mass popular movement is neither a "front" to aid the guerrillas, nor will it tolerate a continuation of the Duarte government or anything like it.

One participant at the Thanksgiving Day fast said "We want a truly democratic country, with participation by everybody in the political process. And we want more than what you have in the U.S.; we want political pluralism."

A Salvadoran said, "The main thing we want is to stop all this outside intervention in our country. I don't know what relationship our movement has to Marx's ideas, but if socialism can help us become independent, then we are for it."

As this crisis burns on, we solidarity activists must work harder to end U.S. aid to that murderous government. At the same time we must address the deeper question of uprooting American imperialism so that "U.S. aid" is not reborn in clandestine forms after we work so hard to cut it off.

—Karl Armstrong

try and end the war despite U.S. opposition to ending military support of the contras.

Will the Bush administration begin where the Reagan administration is leaving off, and try by any means necessary to continue to war against Nicaragua's revolution?

The U.S. has had its hands deep within the civil war in El Salvador for close to a decade. It has financed, armed and trained the military as it carried on its genocidal war against the El Salvadoran people and the guerrilla forces. The civilian government, which serves as a cover for the murderous policies of the military, has been shown to be bankrupt. The guerrilla forces and mass popular organizations have shown a new strength to continue their struggle. Protests, marches and rallies have demonstrated that the movement is not alone a guerrilla war of a few thousand, but the mass opposition of hundreds of thousands.

Will the Bush administration and the Democrat-controlled Congress, which has for years financed the El Salvador military, continue their support for the destruction of the El Salvadoran people?

In Guatemala, two-and-a-half years of rule under President Vinicio Cerezo has not brought any fundamental change as against the direct military rule which preceded him. That military rule attempted the destruction of the Guatemalan Indian nations within the country as well as attacking labor and mass organizing in urban areas. (See story page 2.) In recent months there has been an intensification of human rights violations—murders, kidnappings and disappearances of labor leaders, union organizers and Leftists—particularly in the countryside.

The United States has not until recently openly, directly, armed the Guatemalan military in the years of its genocidal war against the Guatemalan peoples, though it now wants to send 20,000 M-16 rifles to the Guatemalan army. But it has both turned a closed eye to the military violence and has made sure that the Guatemalan military was armed by others.

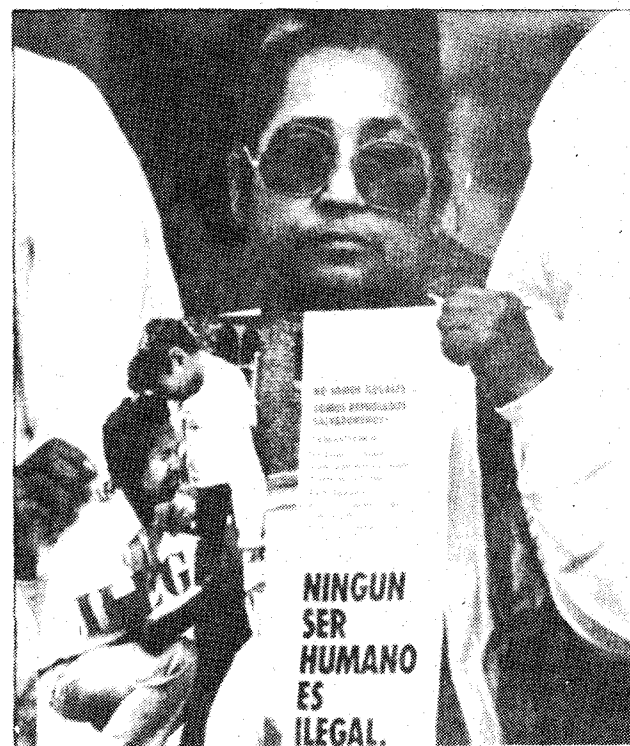
THE UNFINISHED CENTRAL AMERICAN REVOLUTIONS

The revolutions in Central America not only face the U.S.'s determination to strangle their new-born lives. Revolutionaries need to grapple with the fact that not only in Central America, but worldwide, the incompleteness of revolutions stem also from the failure to work out the fullness of a revolutionary vision of a new society-to-be. Such a philosophy—one that unites with Marx's vision of a "new Humanism" as he posed social change unseparated from new human beginnings—is crucial to any revolution's full fruition.

"What happens after" a revolution takes power is a question each revolution must answer in the very process of being made if we are to halt the transformation of revolutions from within, and not only their defeat by imperialism and armed might from without.

We in the United States bear a special responsibility. We need to contribute toward the working out of such a philosophy of revolution, and at the same time, we need to stay our government's hand in Central America. We must work to make sure that Bush's presidency is not merely a continuation, if not an intensification, of the Reagan retrogression. We need to end this despicable decade of violence against the peoples of Central America on the part of the United States government. Only then can the peoples of Central America begin to fully breathe and to overcome nature's violence with their human creativity.

Immigration protests



A Nicaraguan participant in a demonstration of Central Americans against the so-called "amnesty law" in Los Angeles. Her poster says: "No human being is illegal."

Los Angeles, Cal.—A protest fast, held in early November by members of refugee, religious, and community organizations, marked the second anniversary of Reagan's signing of the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA). That so-called "amnesty" law granted legal status to a limited number of undocumented residents, but implemented sanctions against employers who hire "illegals," thus driving the millions who remain undocumented even deeper into the underground. The week-long fast, in which 2,000 people participated for at least one day, culminated in a series of marches and rallies.

Three local priests, Father Gregory Boyle, Father Luis Olivares, and Father Mike Kennedy have taken public stands against employer compliance with the law. They declared their churches sanctuaries for "illegals"—both those fleeing war and persecution in Central America, and those fleeing hunger and poverty in Mexico—and have urged area employers to hire the jobless who congregate at the churches and sleep nightly in the pews. The official Catholic Church position is to work for changes in the law, but not to break it.

Western Region Commissioner for the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) Harold Ezell, has condemned "the three renegade priests." Well-hated by immigration rights activists, Ezell is the one who, before IRCA passed, referred to the undocumented as the "invading hordes" who needed to be "grabbed, cleaned up, and fried."

The federal government's own General Accounting Office has now released a report showing that one-sixth of all employers are using IRCA as a cover for discrimination against any "foreign" appearing or speaking workers, no matter what their legal status.

For those with no legal status at all, work is exploitative and uncertain; life itself is always insecure. But the "illegals" are human beings who will not disappear; the protests will continue.

—Protest supporter

A 1986-87 View of Raya Dunayevskaya's '1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes'

as seen in

Volume XIII of The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection

Last month we published in News & Letters Raya Dunayevskaya's "1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes," which she considered the "Philosophic Moment" of Marxist-Humanism. Next month News and Letters Committees will issue a pamphlet containing these letters as well as her final writing, her June 1, 1987 presentation on "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy." The following documents from her last year help to show the pathway of Dunayevskaya's development of the concept of Philosophic Moment in Hegel, in Marx and in Marxist-Humanism that led to her June 1 presentation.

- On Hegel's *Phenomenology of Mind* (1807) as ground for the Absolutes, including Hegel's three final syllogisms (1830) added to his *Philosophy of Mind*. Written June 26, 1986 (Microfilm #10769)
- A 1987 View of Dunayevskaya's 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes. Written Jan. 21, 1987. (Microfilm #10848)
- "What Is Marxist-Humanism? How to Project It at Momentous Historic Moments?" Written March 16, 1987 (Microfilm #10869)
- 1953 as Concept vs. Experience. Written May 13 and May 18, 1987 (Microfilm #10923)

The Guide and Supplement to the Guide to The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—*Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development* are available for \$3 from News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren, Chicago, IL 60605.

The 12,000 page microfilm collection is available from Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Detroit, Michigan 48202. The Collection is also available in many libraries and can as well be read by contacting News and Letters local committees. See directory, page 3, for addresses.

ON THE PUBLICATION OF RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA'S '1953 LETTERS ON HEGEL'S ABSOLUTES'

The 1953 Letters were certainly the special part of the November issue, but the rest of the paper and those Letters did "speak to each other" in a powerful way. The leaflet that two Marxist-Humanist meatpacking workers drafted to distribute with the issue to other workers, was a real education to me.

They called it: "Are YOU a philosopher without knowing it?" and took quotes from the roofing worker's article to show how it "speaks" to Raya's May 12 statement that "our age proves it has abolished the distinction between theory and practice." Then they took two quotes from the May 20 Letter on the universality of freedom as the essence of human beings, to show how they speak to the Russian transport workers who had written that "The strength of the workers is that this is a trade union and the more friendly-it is, especially at the lower levels, the stronger its might which therefore can achieve anything."

Their conclusion was that the Letters on Hegel's Absolutes are about a vision of a new society and what it means to be a human being. "They are not for intellectuals only," they said, "but for workers."

Plantgate distributor
Chicago

The 1953 Letters are "the philosophic moment" of Raya's own self-development from the 1950 coal miners' strike against Automation to the 1980s and her death. What Marx was talking about was the birth of a new human being in thinking and doing. That is what Raya was working for all her life, not just in philosophy, but also in organization inseparable from philosophy. This is why I am so excited about the publishing of the 1953 Letters in N&L. It was in this organization that I found my own process of self-development in knowing who I am as worker and who I am as thinker.

Felix Martin
California

I wanted to drop you a line, to let you know how exciting it was to open the November issue of N&L, and find the Letters on Hegel's Absolutes. The issue looks very good; it's good to see how you've developed over the past year.

Black writer
Chicago

Publishing the 1953 Letters has brought a new dimension to News and Letters Committees which has to be extended. In the section on Life in the Science of Logic, Hegel uses an expression, "creative presupposing" which means to me a kind of creative laying of ground. It is not simply that the Absolute as new beginning meant the new society. In life—whether that is the life of the organization or of the movement—one constantly "creatively presupposes" new beginnings. Our attempt to project these 1953 Letters within the movement is a totally new beginning that nobody else could have brought to it.

Lou Turner
Chicago

If Marx's heirs had published his 1844 *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts*—the way News and Letters Committees are now publishing Dunayevskaya's 1953 Letters—Marx's humanism might not have been so hard for post-Marx Marxists to grasp. What a difference that could have made for Poland.

Gene Ford
Los Angeles

Can you send me 60 copies of the November issue? I am taking a class here at the University of Connecticut, and I was told about your newspaper. We would like you to send us 60 copies of the November issue, so we can study it as part of the course we are taking.

Student
University of Connecticut

It is not only the question of the relation between Raya's 1953 Letters and the Body of Ideas. There is another question—the relation of the 1953 Letters to organization. They did not just anticipate the June 17 East German

Revolt. They also anticipated the break-up of the Johnson-Forest Tendency. Raya's first act was to found a concrete organization. That was part of the process of their development. "Self-development of the Idea" is not abstract. The way Raya put it was that "history-in-the-making, as well as in the past, is inseparable from the self in self-determination of the Idea of Freedom."

Angela Terrano
New York

How could it be that these Letters are so related to organization when they are on the most abstract part of Hegel? It is one of the many questions we have to work out.

Peter Wermuth
Chicago

After getting the November issue of N&L and some other material from you, I tried to look up Dunayevskaya's Archives at the university here; they don't have her most recent writings, but they do have the reels covering the 1940s and 1950s, and I read them with interest. I am especially interested in Dunayevskaya's philosophic critique of Lenin. Is it possible to get hold of her writings from 1986-87?

Student
University of Texas

In her June 1, 1987 "Final Dialogue," published in the January-February, 1988 N&L, Raya said: "I wish to go into great detail about those two letters in 1953, not as the small coin of concrete questions, but as the many Universals inherent in them, so we can see what is still new that we must develop for the book"—the book, that is, that she was writing on "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy." I was reminded of this by the very first footnote in the Introduction to the 1953 Letters as published in the November issue. That footnote is to Vol. XIII, the supplement to the Dunayevskaya Collection at Wayne State University, where we can see how Raya was returning to the 1953 Letters with the eyes of her 1986-87 "Talking to Myself" documents. That the Letters will soon be published together with Raya's June 1, 1987 statement is of tremendous importance.

Michelle Landau
Los Angeles

Editor's note: A booklet that includes both Raya Dunayevskaya's June 1, 1987 summation of her Body of Ideas and her 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes will be published by News and Letters Committees in January, 1989. Microfilm copies of the 12,000 page "Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: A Half-century of its World Development" are available from Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Detroit, Michigan. Guides to that Collection and to the Supplement donated after her death are available from News & Letters for \$3.

REALITY: THE U.S. ELECTION

The title of the November Editorial: "Reality: Bush can't wrap it in the flag," was particularly timely when you saw, in the breakdown of the votes, that so many farmers had voted for Bush—and one week later that 90,000 farmers got notices about repossession of their farms. The notices were ready on Labor Day, but not sent out until after the election.

Black worker
New York

What is beyond anything I can rationalize is the 56% of UAW members who voted for Bush although they know the continuing speed-up, ever-worsening working conditions, and certain drop in membership that will come from his policies. No doubt part of it may have been a question of racism. Blacks are scapegoats for the de-industrialization of Detroit. But it is still an unbelievable vote. It was significant to me that the Editorial ended with the same quote from Raya Dunayevskaya on the need for new philosophic beginnings that began the publication of the 1953 Letters in the same issue.

Ex-coalminer
Detroit

Readers' Views

The election showed more people not voting than voting. Those eligible who didn't register plus those who registered but still didn't vote is greater than 50%. The numbers are certainly there to change present-day capitalism and evolve a better future. There is nothing in the Constitution that says the means of production must be operated for private profit. The 13th Amendment says "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime...shall exist within the U.S." Capitalism is nothing but wage slavery and therefore is unconstitutional, so far as I am concerned.

Wage slave
Chicago

Did you choose the November issue for the publication of Raya Dunayevskaya's 1953 Letters because it would be such a great response to the elections? Deliberate or not, it was certainly a good decision.

Supporter
Detroit

REALITY: RUSSIAN STATE-CAPITALISM

The Lead on "Russia's Two Worlds" (November, 1988 N&L) dealt well with the disorientation of intellectuals who think that openness and restructuring are really happening with Gorbachev. (The picture that accompanied it, of Gromyko, party to a thousand horrors, shrinking before the camera's eye and a haughty Gorbachev barely able to contain his glee, tells more than 1,000 words.)

I looked at that article in the context of the 1953 Letters, where Raya was looking at the meaning of "small groups"—like News and Letters committees—asking what was their objective relation to mass movements. Part of the meaning of N&LC, to me, is to keep history from being lost, so things like "perestroika" aren't dubbed revolutionary, and "Solidarnosc" is not forgotten.

Robert Ellery
New York

Amidst Gorbachev's promises of democratization, a case in Armenia shows what a sham that will be. Only one candidate appeared on the ballot for a seat on the Supreme Soviet, yet he received only 14% of the vote. A write-in candidate, who had been denied valid status, received 78%. At first an official of the Armenian Communist Party (CP) ruled the election valid, but the CP leadership decided to re-hold the election and expel the official. Even with all his promises of openness and "new thinking" in politics and economics, all I can see in Gorbachev's program is the continuation of the Communist Party Soviet Union's one-party rule.

Young worker
Los Angeles

I'm surprised that News & Letters calls today's Russia state-capitalist. I never thought of it that way, but it did seem to me that they run that country like it's just one big corporation with executives up on top. I've heard that Marx talked about the "dictatorship of the proletariat," which I'm in favor of. But in the Soviet Union, they've never had that.

Salvadoran refugee
Los Angeles

Russia's new look under Gorbachev has put the European Left in an ever worse state of theoretical confusion, and this is because the European socialist and communist parties still consider Russia a socialist country rather than a country with a state-capitalist system. Gorbachev has simply accepted the existing economic reality. The government has to find an excuse for the closing down of entire plants and the firing of workers.

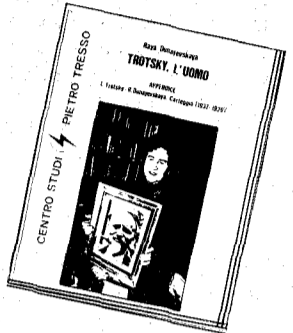
Margaret Ellingham
Italy

I saw an article in the LA Times on Gorbachev's budget deficit, and the

question of selling stocks to help it. Their finance minister claims that owning stocks will help overcome alienation! It illuminates the crucial starting point of Marx in 1844 on how the opposition between property and the lack of it was always being posed as something outside of the human being. It is still being posed that way by capitalism, including Russia's state-capitalism. The truth is that only in labor does the question become internal, driving toward a resolution.

Computer analyst
California

IN MEMORIAM TO RAYA FROM ITALY



Because so far as we know, no work on Raya Dunayevskaya's life and ideas has ever been published in Italy, we wished to honor her passing with such a booklet. Her work is known in Italy mainly through the Italian editions of *Marxism and Freedom* and *Philosophy and Revolution*. Other articles by her appeared in *Prometeo* in the late 1950s, and her essay entitled "Marx's Humanism Today" was included in the Italian edition of Erich Fromm's *Socialist Humanism*.

Our booklet publishes her 1938 article on "Trotsky, the Man," as well as her correspondence with Trotsky, 1937-1939, and includes the "In Memoriam" to Dunayevskaya from the July 25, 1987 special Memorial Issue of *News & Letters*.

Centro Studi Pietro Tresso
Foligno, Italy

Editor's note: Copies of this 64-page booklet, just off the press in Italy, can be ordered direct from: Paolo Casciola, Via Firenze, 18, 06034 Foligno PG, Italy

FREEDOM CHARTER OR WORKERS' CHARTER?

I was pleased to see your ad "Free Moses Mayekiso! Free All Political Prisoners in South Africa! Solidarity With The Idea of Freedom!" Yet I was a little concerned with your critique of the Freedom Charter. Whilst you are right that the Freedom Charter is more concerned with "property rights," I don't think you can say that the Charter is about "state control over the unions."

In contrast to what you call the "abstract" Freedom Charter, you pose the Workers' Charter, which you say is concerned with "human rights." But isn't human rights also abstract? Everyone, from Reagan to Gorbachev, talks about human rights. I would have thought that the importance of those trying to work out a Workers' Charter is that they want to address the question of who controls production after apartheid is abolished, what will be produced and why? The question of human rights can only be posed in relation to the question of what happens at the point of production itself.

Fred Shelley
New York

Far from being abstract, the Freedom Charter sets out very concretely that all people shall have the right to education, comfortable and secure housing, health care, rest and recreation, etc...Where the Charter is flawed is that it does not call for a classless society or the replacement of alienated labor by freely-associated, self-managed work. On the contrary, it assumes there will still be employers with whom the unions will negotiate. Thus the attempt to elevate it to a sacred text and block further discussion on what happens after apartheid is reactionary, while the call for a Workers' Charter, to set out the principles of a future socialist society, is a revolutionary step forward.

Dick Bunting
Oxford

CONDITIONS OF LIFE AND LABOR

Our immigration laws are helping to keep garment workers in the same horrible conditions of work they suffered 80 years ago. In an accident reminiscent of the Triangle Shirtwaist disaster, at least 15 workers were injured Nov. 15, when the fire escape outside their shop on West 32nd Street collapsed under their weight. The workers were fleeing a raid by immigration agents. Officials don't even know how many were injured because some fled before emergency workers arrived.

**Angry
New York**

We are not paying our union dues, they're taking the money. The whole system of dues check-off is the biggest rip-off there has ever been, because the union doesn't have to be accountable to us at all. They don't have to come around and ask for the money. The company takes it right out of our checks for them.

**Union members
Chicago**

People are lured to Gwinnett just north of Atlanta, by tales of the county's job gold mine. Many leave families and often come from other gold towns gone bust. But much of the employment opportunities are part-time and do not pay rent in this suburban county. So a person may need two jobs to barely support a family. And if the person loses the job, bills cannot be paid, and individuals and families become homeless.

As glamorous office parks, expensive county offices and mammoth highways are built, many people in Gwinnett and in metropolitan Atlanta are barely surviving. Why does economic development—the accumulation of things—enjoy greater priority and proceed so much more smoothly than human development? What about making caring for each other as human beings the goal of our society?

**Down and out
Gwinnett, Georgia**

As a former union employee I am especially interested in working conditions today. Your stories are most impressive. I find the ones by Felix Martin to be so positive because he suggests an alternative to the conditions of misery that exist. If some of the other stories could focus on a plant issue which affects all workers, their story could be-

come a rallying point for organized protests for health, safety and dignity on that job, and perhaps inspire others.

**Renewing subscriber
Berkeley, Cal.**

VIETNAM'S CRISES

I was glad to see Cambodia discussed in "Our Life and Times," but I did not feel it was objective to lump Vietnam together with the other powers as responsible for the situation in Cambodia. The Vietnamese invasion in 1979 undoubtedly saved thousands or perhaps millions of lives. You mention Vietnam's "deep economic and political crises." I hope you will develop that further in future issues. It is still struggling with the economic, ecological and human consequences of the war with U.S. imperialism. The country is still littered with unexploded bombs and land mines, which still kill and maim people. Do you have any information about social struggles against the state-capitalist regime there, or of any revival of revolutionary Marxist thought, four decades after the murder by Ho Chi Minh of Ta Thu Thau and the Vietnamese Trotskyists?

**Interested
England**

YOUR HELP IS NEEDED

The Federation of the Committees of Mothers and Relatives of the Disappeared in El Salvador is in urgent need of an office where the mothers can function. In 1980 the office was dynamited; 1985 the office was broken into and robbed; 1987 it was destroyed in a bomb blast. Landlords will no longer rent to them. They need to purchase something they can use. They are trying to raise \$80,000 by Mother's Day, 1989. If your readers would like to help, to receive educational materials for fundraising, to share ideas, or to make contributions, they can call (202) 393-0126 or write to:

**CoMadres
945 G. Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20001**

In the early 1960s our union began what many said was an impossible task. It took us five years, but we got DDT and other poisons out of the food production system. Now more deadly chemicals are being used. Cancer is a plague on farmworkers in the Central Valley of California. Childhood cancers are eight

times the normal level. It's more tragic because it's avoidable. Poisonous chemicals are used solely for economic reasons. We can influence grape growers to give us healthful working conditions and to stop poisoning those who consume their product as well. Tests by the federal government found 54% of the table grapes tested contained pesticide residues. We are asking for a boycott of grapes until growers remove those deadly poisons and deal fairly with our organizing efforts. For information on how to help, write:

**Cesar Chavez
United Farm Workers Union
Keene, California 93570**



**WOMEN'S
STRUGGLES**

Is the abortion issue ultimately about "choice" and a woman's control over her own body? What good are choices if the choices are so poor? A pregnant woman can choose the physical and emotional trauma of abortion; the heartbreak of putting her baby up for adoption; or the hardship of rearing a child alone on meager wages. Why doesn't anyone address the circumstances women endure as they make these miserable choices? Rape, incest, poverty, sole responsibility for child rearing, unaffordable medical and child care, unaffordable housing—why haven't these conditions improved or gone away in the past 15 years?

Is the struggle to keep abortion legal our ultimate concern? Or is the abortion right an expression of a broader struggle for a more human life?

**Struggling
Atlanta**

I am shocked and desperate over how the union women are treated in Korea that I read about in the October N&L. No human being should be treated like an animal. No animal should be treated like those women. To beat women on their private parts is worse than death. Are these people born of women and brought up by women? We can judge how brutal and oppressive the Korean government is from this one situation alone. What name could be given them? How would Marx's theory analyze them? We must eradicate such imperialist ideology.

**Freedom fighter
The Gambia**

The demonstration I went to in Chicago to counter the anti-abortionists' national day of action was really great. I went to protest and march for our right to control our own bodies and to hand out leaflets about the demonstration we were organizing at Radio Shack against the torture of Korean women workers at the Tandy Corporation factory in South Korea. A wonderful thing happened. A woman came up to me and wanted to help me pass out the leaflet on Korean women. My friend at the demonstration had the same experience when a different woman wanted to help her pass out these leaflets too. I think it showed that many people at that demonstration were not only there for women's right to control our bodies, but because they want to change this society on many levels.

**Women's liberationist,
Chicago**

**EXPANDING THE IDEAS
OF MARXIST-HUMANISM**

I came across N&L through the author of the article on "Global dialogue on Marxist-Humanism" in your August-September issue. I read about Raya Dunayevskaya and her thought through the books he had ordered from you, and felt I had to write to express my appreciation for N&L and for Raya's thought. I hope to learn more to be able to help expand and spread the ideas of Marxist-Humanism.

**New reader
West Africa**

Please find enclosed three money orders for the following: \$10 for the Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund; \$10 for the N&L Sustaining Fund; \$10 for the Subscription Fund or whatever you call the fund you have set up for helping those who cannot get N&L easily otherwise.

**Supporter
Florida**

Editor's note: The Memorial Fund is being used to help keep Raya Dunayevskaya's works in print and to continue contribution of her documents to her Archives Collection at Wayne State University. The Sustaining Fund is to help keep N&L coming out regularly. The Subscription Fund is to pay for those, especially those in other lands, who cannot pay for their subscriptions to continue receiving N&L. Our thanks to all friends and readers who can contribute.

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- 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
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- Working Women for Freedom
by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes \$1 per copy
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- Guide and Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development
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BOOKS

- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future 294 pgs.
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- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution 234 pgs.
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Student anti-racism protests escalate at Northern Illinois U.

DeKalb, Ill.—Prompted by numerous racist incidents on the NIU (Northern Illinois University) campus by both the administration and students, 200 Black, Latin, and white students gathered at an anti-racism rally at noon on Dec. 2. For two hours students addressed the crowd about their experiences with racism on campus and encouraged each other to rise up and take what they deserve, because the university is surely not giving it to them.

The rally ended after the group held hands and sang "We Shall Overcome" (during which students sang, "We shall overcome today," not "someday"). At that point a group of 30 students marched to the Administration building to confront President John LaTourette about recent racist activities on campus. LaTourette was not in the building, but the students found the Vice-President for Student Affairs, Jon Dalton, and confronted him about the university's lack of concern about minority issues.

The rally had been planned by the Black Student Union and the Minority Relations Committee of the Student Association at a mass meeting of the Black students the night before. At the meeting, many students discussed the racist skit performed by members of the Sigma Chi fraternity in which white males wearing blackface sang the song "My Girl." The fraternity members performed racist stereotypes of Black men and simulated the assault of a Black woman. The students also discussed the racist and sexist firing of Martha Palmer, a popular counselor for the CHANCE program. (See October N&L)

"REHIRE MARTHA PALMER!"

On Nov. 30, Students for the Freedom of Martha Palmer, a group of Black, Latin, and white students, protested for six hours. Their primary demands were that the NIU Administration and the Board of Regents

address the issues of institutionalized racism and sexism and that they rehire Martha Palmer.

Because the Regents had changed their meeting time the day before the protest, students decided to have a "people's meeting" in the student center cafeteria. Students stood up on chairs to talk to the crowd of students and media about their experiences at NIU battling racism, sexism and insensitivity on the part of the NIU rulers.

Many students talked about their experiences as students from Chicago's inner-city coming into a predominantly white university filled with students from the suburbs. They said that Martha Palmer, who is also from the inner-city, is the only NIU staff member who understands them. One Latina student spoke about how Martha is the only counselor left at CHANCE who has been able to help her to deal with language and cultural barriers. She concluded by saying, "If she goes, I don't know if I can stay here."

One Black student spoke about how Martha has been fighting against the use of ethnically-biased standard-



Members of the Black Student Union at Northern Illinois University demonstrate against campus racism.

ized tests and the increase of tuition at NIU. When confronted by a white student who did not agree that these problems were a result of racism, he said, "Come on, be real. Who do you think raising the SAT, GRE, and ACT scores and tuition is going to affect really? It's going to affect us. People like me aren't going to be able to go to this school anymore."

After meeting for two hours, the students marched up to the Personnel Committee meeting of the Board of Regents. They addressed the media and observers with a list of the false reasons the administration gave for firing Martha Palmer.

Martha's faculty representative spoke about how the Hearing Board is now deciding whether Martha's case warrants a hearing at all, and even in the unlikely event that the Board rules in her favor, the final decision is left to Provost Baker and President LaTourette, who have already made it clear they support the firing.

INSTITUTIONALIZED RACISM, SEXISM

Students then marched over to the Student Affairs Committee of the Regents, but were made to wait for almost two hours before being allowed to address the issue of Martha's firing. During those two hours, however, many students commented upon the Regents' own agenda which was replete with contradictions that the students exposed.

The most glaring contradiction was that President

Durward Long of Sangamon State University, who has nine sexual harassment cases pending against him, was speaking about the sexual harassment policies at his university! One student said, "I can't believe that this man is allowed to sit at this table. He should be behind bars."

When the students were finally given the floor, one Black student said, "Dr. LaTourette, don't you have a heart? Can't you see that Martha Palmer is loved by us, and that she helped us? Why don't you listen to us, and realize that we want her here?" —Julia

Canadian Indians win land

Edmonton, Alberta—The recently concluded agreement between the government of Alberta and the Lubicon Lake Indian Nation marks the end of an 80 year struggle for a land base by this group of around 500 Cree Indians. The deal consists of a transfer of about 70 square miles of land and mineral rights. The band still seeks a substantial cash settlement to compensate for the disruption caused by Alberta's unilateral sale of oil-exploration leases on Lubicon land.

The older community leaders were unable to deal with this intrusion, never having had to practice community action strategies which urban people have come to take for granted in the face of unwanted developments. Realizing the situation, community elders gave their blessing to a new generation of youth who had experience in white urban society. Represented particularly by Chief Bernard Ominayak, the band undertook a regional, national, and international campaign to draw attention to their fate. They took their case to the United Nations and the European Parliament where members of the German Greens became strong allies and they organized a boycott of the 1988 Calgary Winter Olympics.

On Oct. 15 the band took matters into their own hands, declaring a 3,000 square mile sovereign nation, encompassing all of their traditional hunting country. Youth placed barricades across all roads effectively halting all oil extraction activities. After a few days of "phony war" the state moved in, smashing the barricades and arresting 27 Lubicon and allies. By this time, though, the government was shamed into negotiating the band's claim in two days talks in a hotel room.

The aboriginal struggle for a place in Canadian society has assumed new and exciting dimensions. Across the country—from the Haida opposing clear-cut logging in their Queen Charlotte Island, British Columbia homeland in the West to the Innu's battle against military training over their lands in Labrador in the East—Indians are abandoning reliance upon high-priced lawyers and the benevolence of the old-line Liberal and Conservative Parties. Acts of non-violent resistance have become the norm and the old leaders, who often sought to enrich themselves through government patronage, have been replaced by a young and militant generation including for the first time a number of women. A new stage of self-confidence and self-activity has begun which will not stop at the question of land and money, but rather what kind of society will allow for the freedom and diversity of all people? —John Murphy

Miss. school protests

Editor's note: The following are excerpts from a story which appeared in the Nov./Dec. issue of the North Mississippi Rural Legal Services Notes, edited by Joseph Delaney.

Grenada, Miss.—Protest marches, resembling street demonstrations of the 1960s, were being conducted in this lakeside community at press time.

An economic boycott of white merchants was also in progress. In addition, some Black students were not participating in extracurricular activities at the seven schools in the school district.

The protest is the result of the reassignment of John Baker, a Black high school principal, and Emily Thompson, a Black counselor. Baker, principal of Grenada High school, was reassigned to an administrative assistant position. Thompson, a counselor at the same school, was reassigned to a position as counselor at Grenada High School and several other schools in Grenada County.

Buddy Pender, the white superintendent of schools who reassigned Baker and Thompson, said Baker's reassignment is a promotion. But Black leaders, including local NAACP president Jasper Neely, call the reassignment a demotion.

Neely, whose group is spearheading the demonstrations, and others say Baker's reassignment is an attempt by Pender to give all the principal jobs at the seven schools in the district to whites. Baker is the only Black principal in the district.

Meanwhile, in Greenville and Natchez, Black citizens are also conducting boycotts against white merchants over school problems. This Fall more than a third of the Black students enrolled in Greenville stayed away from class after the boycott of white shopkeepers expanded to include the school district.

Botha's 'treason trials'

On Nov. 23, the Botha regime commuted the death sentences of the Sharpeville Six, the five men and one woman who had been condemned to hang on government charges involving the death of a township official during mass protests three years ago. The next day, South Africa's rulers announced that Nelson Mandela will not be sent back to prison from the clinic where he is being treated for tuberculosis.

The movement to save the Sharpeville Six and to release Mandela have reached out to gain international support. Yet, on the same day as Botha's statement on Mandela, five convicted Black prisoners were executed by the apartheid system. One-third of the 274 people awaiting execution in South African jails are openly political prisoners. Twelve more were convicted that same week, among them prominent leaders and activists in the UDF (United Democratic Front) and AZAPO (African People's Organization).

Popo Molefe, Mosiuoa Patrick Lekota, Mabokela Moses Chikane, and Madikwe Manthata were charged with treason, and eight other defendants were found guilty of terrorism by a judge of the apartheid system. All charges against them carry a possible death penalty.

Their trial began in 1985, when 19 people were accused of inciting the deaths of township officials, widely regarded as collaborators with apartheid, during the mass boycott protests in the townships. Molefe is the UDF's general secretary, and Lekota is its publicity secretary.

Black World

(continued from page 1)

was clear that SAASM itself was struggling to emerge through its own intense battle of ideas.

At the panel discussion on "Scholarships and Student Support Services," not only was it reported that of the 20,000 who apply for study abroad only 250 students are chosen, but the restrictive and alienating policies of such agencies as the Institute of International Education (IIE) and the U.S. Agency of International Development (USAID) came under fire. Along with reports that there are some South African students starving in some cities in the U.S., students challenged the criteria by which students are chosen. "Taking only 'academically prepared' students rather than student activists doesn't understand that there is no academically prepared student under Bantu Education," one student argued. Another student went further: "To imagine that USAID is a passive agency is a very puerile view when you consider that it is the same agency that channels covert aid to Savimbi," the counter-revolutionary guerrilla leader in Angola.

However, the first day's deliberations were brought to a magnificent head by the panel discussion on "Women and Struggle," chaired by Danisa Baloyi, who was elected the new president of SAASM on the last day. The women challenged every area of man/woman relations. "We have believed for a long time," said Danisa Baloyi, "that our organizations have been too male top heavy. We come today as equal partners."

It may have seemed abstract when the first speaker said that she was interested in African-American literature, because "literature expresses the passage of ideas between peoples and between philosophers." However, it was immediately concretized by the next speaker who announced in no uncertain terms: "I have to say this before I begin. Last time we met in Houston we had male comrades who laughed at us, and we had to meet at 10 pm. This time we had to ask the men to come in to listen to women's issues. I'm not the kind of feminist who opposes men, but I do demand justice!"

Education for liberation

One of the profoundest articulations of "Education for Liberation" was expressed by the women when they declared: "Women are the educators of the nation in a real sense. When you educate a man you only educate an individual, but when you educate a woman you educate a nation."

THE STRUGGLE TO COME

In the 20 months of its existence, Saths Cooper maintained that "SAASM has given us time to debate, to challenge our analysis; it has given us time to engage in a critical discourse." That was further developed in the panel discussion on "Non-Sectarianism."

At the heart of the discussion of "non-sectarianism" was the question of "what kind of human society are we trying to create," according to one speaker. Another speaker reminded the conference that historically, "the formation of Mozambique's FRELIMO brought together three different political tendencies by a Mozambican student organization." For him, "political differences exist as an expression of the democratic revolutionary process and must be tolerated in SAASM."

In response, Aggrey Mbere, representing the ANC (African National Congress), stated that "the ANC believes in united struggle and that differences must be worked out in the process of the struggle. That is the official position of the ANC." That statement elicited from one speaker from the floor the observation that "When the Boers shoot our children, they don't ask if they are ANC or PAC (Pan-Africanist Congress). When Biko and our other leaders were killed it wasn't because they belong to the ANC, the BCM (Black Consciousness Movement) or the PAC, but because they were a revolutionary threat to the system."

In his address as outgoing president, Saths Cooper drew all the strands together of the conference proceedings when he singled out youth as a revolutionary category in South African history: "In 1953 when Bantu Education began, dissident teachers and intellectuals thought that it would only create a new slave. In fact, it began the resistance of the people. We here today are the confirmation of that."

Essay Article

What is the ideology behind Russia's perestroika?

Science and philosophy in age of state-capitalism

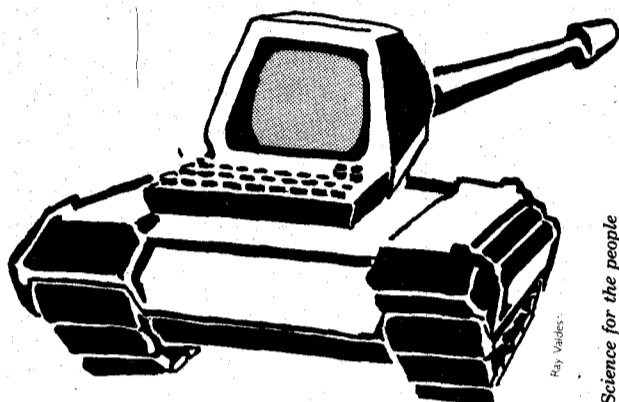
by Franklin Dmitryev

In the past two months, Mikhail Gorbachev has moved swiftly to consolidate his power and reshape Russia's policies under the banners of *perestroika* (economic restructuring) and *glasnost* (openness). The theme of all the Kremlin shake-ups and pronouncements of "radical" new policies is how to push *perestroika* forward.

That turns out to mean both driving the workers harder and racing to apply the most advanced computer technology, whether in space weaponry or in automated production. For that he is ready to take lessons from "the non-socialist world," while simultaneously looking to Russia's past, specifically the 1930s, for ways to reduce the lag between science and its application in production.

That is why he has chosen to rehabilitate Nikolai Bukharin, who in the 1930s was the foremost theoretician/ideologist of the Plan. (See "Who Was Bukharin and What Does Gorbachev Want with Him?" August-September N&L.)

However, this essay takes up Bukharin not only be-



cause of his counter-revolutionary role but because he had been one of the leading Bolshevik revolutionaries of 1917, to whom Lenin referred in his Will as "the most valuable and biggest theoretician of the party," and he had certainly never intended to betray the proletariat.

In looking at Russia today, this essay's concern is to explore the relationship between dialectics and math/science—not by going directly to Marx's mathematical writings, but by viewing, on the one hand, how they were distorted under Bukharin's concept of science and, on the other hand, how Marxist-Humanism relates them to dialectical methodology.

I. Science Under the Despotism of State-Capitalism

Bukharin's fundamental originality lay in the fact that he made a systematic theory out of what had been only a pull, a tendency that predominated among those post-Marx Marxists who, like Bukharin, neglected dialectical philosophy—the substitution of a planned, organized economy as the essence of socialism, rather than Marx's vision of totally new human relations based on freely associated labor.

In this theory, the Plan (personified by the ruling "intelligentsia") became the subject, and the masses were objects along with other "means of production," such as machines. The Plan as universal determined everything, joined everything together—science and technology, ideology and production, the economy and the state.

Little did Bukharin realize that the practice of that theory would result in forced labor camps, the 1932 famine in which millions died and the purges that killed the "general staff of the revolution," himself prominently included.

In 1931 Bukharin led the Russian delegation to the Second International Congress of the History of Science and Technology. The significance of the year was that the reality of the Depression had ushered in state-capitalism as a world stage, and at the same time the Russian rulers were facing the fact that the Plan had not prevented a crisis just as big in their country, and thus were searching for ways to make the Plan work.

The delegation must have sought, in Bukharin's words, to "inherit...the huge technique advanced by America and her 'scientific organization of labor.'"¹ Such an uncritical view of technology is the opposite of Marx's critique: "[Machinery] is the most powerful weapon for suppressing strikes....It would be possible to write a whole history of the inventions made since 1830 for the sole purpose of providing capital with weapons against working-class revolt."²

Bukharin's speech at the 1931 Congress, "Theory and Practice from the Standpoint of Dialectical Materialism," reveals his primary concern for science—its planning, on the basis of its application in production and in the planning process itself:

"[T]he plan [is] an expression of 'recognized necessity.' Consequently...cognition is directly bound up with practice...for the plan is active: it is at one and the same time a product of scientific thought, laying bare casual regularities, and a system of purposes, an instrument of action....The most striking expression of this is the question of the planning of science."³

Totally missing from the whole discussion of Plan-

in the 1930s was Marx's vision of a new society. As Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in *Marxism and Freedom* (p. 92), "For Marx, the theoretical axis of Capital...is the question of plan: the despotic plan of capital against the cooperative plan of freely associated labor."

In the effort to make the Plan work, the Russians turned to Karl Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts. At that 1931 Congress, the Russian delegation even announced their forthcoming publication. Bukharin may have seriously thought he could apply them to the planning process. (Since that could not be done, it would be 37 years before about one-tenth of Marx's mathematical writings were published—and that is all we have to this day.)

However, all Bukharin accomplished was to set the ground for all the later perversions of the Manuscripts.⁴ For our age to dig out what is truly new in those Manuscripts, it is necessary to uncover Marx's own philosophy of revolution from under all post-Marx Marxist debris.

In the Stalinists' hands, Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts were reduced to ideology; but when 140 pages of them were published in English in 1983, they became for Raya Dunayevskaya a way to take another look at Bukharin and to deepen the Marxist-Humanist concept of method.⁵ Let us examine her view in more detail.

II. Mathematics and the Dialectic Method

"The whole difficulty in understanding the differential operation (as in the negation of the negation generally) lies precisely in seeing how it differs from such a simple procedure and therefore leads to real results."

—The Mathematical Manuscripts of Karl Marx, 1881

What post-Marx Marxist commentators have ignored or distorted is Marx's concentration on method in the Manuscripts, his singling out transformation into opposite and negation of the negation.⁶

Negation of the negation was a crucial category for Marx, which he had singled out in 1844 as the revolutionary element in Hegel, "the movement of history." Yet Dunayevskaya criticized all post-Marx Marxists, even Lenin, for neglecting that category, not in math but in dialectics of revolution. She now insisted that what must be done, but had not been done, was to return to Hegel's discussion of method and mathematics before jumping to conclusions about Marx's Manuscripts.

Hegel's name for the mathematical method was "synthetic cognition." Dunayevskaya said that concretizing revolution in permanence for mathematics called for a digging into synthetic cognition, which is the highest development of the Theoretical Idea in the "Idea of Cognition" chapter of Hegel's *Science of Logic*.

Theorem, which is the pinnacle of synthetic cognition, is a form of theory; it would be wrong to equate Theorem with theory. Yet Hegel's discussion has much to say about the distinction between theory and philosophy, and therefore about the pull to stop short of the Absolute, even when one has risen as high as its threshold, as did Lenin in his 1914 "Abstract of Hegel's 'Science of Logic.'"

Let's take a closer look at what Hegel wrote on Theorem. Although there is nothing that concerns mathematicians more than proof, Dunayevskaya said that even though synthetic cognition "has related the particular to the universal it has ended, not with proof but remained non-dialectical and 'most inadequate of all in the domain of philosophy.'" (microfilm #11258)

Hegel showed this in two ways. One of his points was that the axioms with which mathematicians begin are presuppositions; neither they nor the definitions nor classifications are proved. Unseparated from that was that the proofs that are given (for theorems) are undialectical.

What he showed is that the mediation (which in the proof of the Theorem takes the form of a construction joining the premises with the conclusion) is external; it does not flow from immanent self-movement and self-development; it is not derived from the Notion:

"Just as the construction by itself lacks the subjectivity of the Notion, so the proof is a subjective act lacking objectivity....it is therefore an altogether external reflection that proceeds from without inwards, that is, infers from external circumstances the inner constitution of the relationship."⁷

4. See *The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts* (Chicago, 1985: News and Letters), which contains the original Marxist-Humanist analysis of Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts by Ron Brokmeyer, as well as my critique of their Russian editors, Kolman and Yanovskaya, and Dunayevskaya's responses to Brokmeyer and me. See also "A Second Look at Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts," May 1986 N&L.

5. The relationship of science to Marxist philosophy was not a sudden new interest for Dunayevskaya. See, for example, *Marxism and Freedom*, esp. chapters 6 and 16; *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions* (1959, republished in 1984 by News and Letters), esp. pp. 22-29; "Culture," *Science and State-Capitalism* (1971, News and Letters).

In a talk on "Marx's Humanism and Science" at the 1976 Boston University Colloquium for the Philosophy of Science, she discussed Marx's critique of scientists' "abstract materialism," saying, "the scientists were always excluding the subject. Therefore they were taking the given something in front of them for the concrete....[Marx] was stressing that you don't have so-called 'neutral' technology in the machines."

6. See Dunayevskaya's "Talking to Myself" of Nov. 5, 1986, included in the Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection (referred to in the text as "microfilm") #10790-10797, and her letters to me of Feb. 7 and March 11, 1986, #11257-11259, as well as my commentary in *The Fetish of High Tech*, pp. 20-21.

7. Hegel's *Science of Logic*, pp. 811-812, A.V. Miller translation (London: Allen & Unwin, 1969).

Certainly this external form of mediation is very far removed from the negation of the negation, the moving principle of the Hegelian dialectic. Dunayevskaya asked what synthetic cognition "has to do with seeing movement, development, in every single element as well as in the whole?" (microfilm #11259)

In her Nov. 5, 1986, "Talking to Myself" (microfilm #10790), she summed up why Hegel asserted that this method is not suitable for philosophy: "All the pile-up of facts can't answer the meaning, i.e., what flows from it and would signify next stage."

In short, synthetic cognition studies reality but only as something separate from the Notion. But the fundamental transformation of reality requires the recognition and development of the existing "moments" that are driving toward revolution: subjects of revolution and ideas of freedom. As Hegel put it,

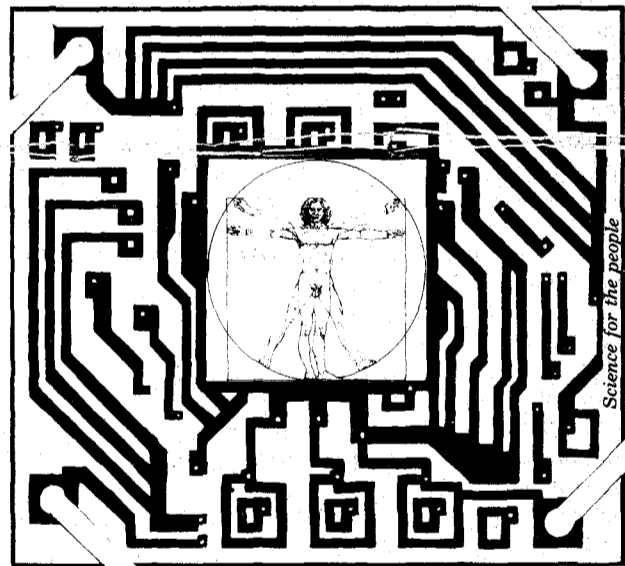
"[W]hereas in questing cognition this actuality appeared merely as an objective world without the subjectivity of the Notion, here it appears as an objective world whose inner ground and actual subsistence is the Notion. This is the Absolute Idea." (*Science of Logic*, p. 823)

Clearly it is not a question of science alone, but Absolute Method. This form of cognition acts as a formidable barrier for revolutionaries because it reduces the practice of philosophy to a non-dialectical process of theorizing.

Nor is it alone a question of a theoretician such as Bukharin, for it is quite possible to presuppose a much higher and seemingly less abstract conclusion than his vulgar materialism. Take Lenin, the only revolutionary of his day to turn to Hegel's dialectic to work out his political practice. He was not at all on the level of Bukharin, whom he repeatedly criticized for disregarding the dialectic. Furthermore, Lenin did not stop at synthetic cognition. Yet it was a barrier for him too, in a different way.

As Dunayevskaya wrote in her Feb. 7, 1986, letter: "Lenin...skipped over the detailing of that whole section [of Hegel's *Science of Logic* on synthetic cognition] which actually ended in not a total understanding of Absolute Idea [so that] he thought, and I objected, that all that was necessary to make it right was to skip the last half paragraph at the end of Absolute Idea."

Later, in correspondence with Hegel scholars (microfilm #11216-11250), she further developed her critique of Lenin's skipping synthetic cognition. With that omission, Lenin could not move from the Practical Idea to its integration in the Absolute Idea, and thus could not



penetrate the full meaning of negation of the negation, and, with it, the absolute opposite of synthetic cognition's external mediation: dialectical mediation. For Dunayevskaya that "last half paragraph" in the *Science of Logic* led to Hegel's *Philosophy of Mind* and a new concept of dialectical mediation.⁸

III. Technology in the Age of Absolutes

"The workers' revolt develops from their fight against the instruments of labor into their struggle against the capitalistic conditions of labor. The workers thus at one and the same time fight for their emancipation and against the capitalistic limitations of science and technology."

—Marxism and Freedom, by Raya Dunayevskaya

There is no greater danger for revolutionaries than stopping short of the Absolute. Digging into Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts is urgent today because the dialectics of negativity—which was his method in every sphere, even math—is of the essence for the dialectics of revolution. That is a task that remains to be done.

We stand on the threshold of the 1990s. The race to apply the latest technological advances (lumped together under the term "high tech") to both militarization and production at the same time is not solely a Russian phenomenon but a global fact. Bukharin's rehabilitation is part of the ideological front (in Russia) of that struggle, as are (in the U.S.) all the claims of the miracles to

(continued on page 10)

8. The "objection" on the half paragraph was in Dunayevskaya's May 12, 1953, letter; her May 20, 1953, letter developed the kernel of her new concept of dialectical mediation, particularly out of the three paragraphs Hegel added to *Philosophy of Mind* at the end of his life, which no one had previously worked out. The two letters were published in the November, 1988 N&L as "Raya Dunayevskaya's 1953 'Letters on Hegel's Absolutes.'"

1. *Culture in Two Worlds* (New York, 1934: International Pamphlets), p. 31.

2. *Capital*, vol. 1 (New York, 1977: Vintage), pp. 562-563.

3. *Science at the Crossroads* (London, 1972: Kniga), p. 30.

Ideology of Reaganism continues with Bush's victory

(continued from page 1)

This move of Bush to bring the CIA into direct participation in policy making is one of the ironies of his political career. Bush, the first president to have once been chief of the CIA, got that job because President Ford needed him to cool down the heat generated by the discoveries of the Senate's Church committee that the CIA was making policy by engaging in assassination and destabilization plots and spying on American citizens. As the Iran/Contra scandal showed, this is an inherent tendency of the CIA. The question is, what does Bush plan to do with it?

BUSH'S 'AMERICAN VALUES': RACISM, SEXISM

The ideological retrogressionism of Reagan/Bush's imperial "American values" surrounds the Reagan/Bush involvement in the Iran/Contra scandal. A pardon for Oliver L. North was another issue not to raise during the election.

Bush's near landslide victory shows that Reaganism remains a powerful ideology in the political thinking of white middle class America, and that it is an ideology that flows from the existing class and race antagonisms within the American society. The shibboleth of "shared values" as the alternative to "liberalism" is both an obfuscation of the antagonisms and an ideology that unifies retrogressive thought.

America's most widespread "shared value" is its racism. Thus it is not by accident that Bush seized upon the Willie Horton case, an incident where a convicted Black murderer, who is let out of a Massachusetts prison on a furlough, flees to Maryland and rapes a white woman. It became the centerpiece of Bush's ideological thrust to smear and discredit Michael Dukakis.

Lee Atwater, Bush's campaign manager (now Chairman of the Republican Party), told the *New York Times* that the Horton case "is one of those gut issues that are value issues, particularly in the South, and if we hammer at these over and over again, we're going to win."

The full retrogressive impact of Bush's use of the Horton case, which resurrects the old image of a Black man raping white women, reaches back to the politics of Reconstruction. In this single campaign Bush created a version of McCarthyism and the Klan.

Moreover, Bush is determined to demonstrate his "pro-life" position on abortion by retaining William Thornburgh as Attorney General. Thornburgh, the so-called "centrist" on civil rights, is committed to reversing the Roe vs. Wade decision of the Supreme Court that gave women the right to abortion. With the present line-up of conservative justices on the Court, Thornburgh could win.

THE RESISTANCE THAT THE ILLUSION OF RECOVERY CAN'T HIDE

There is a move in this post-election period to present Bush as having policies that are different from Reagan. That he really is a Rockefeller Republican, a pragmatist and not an ideologist. Even if the slight difference between him and Reagan meant anything at all, it still doesn't explain his fundamental attachment to Reaganism.

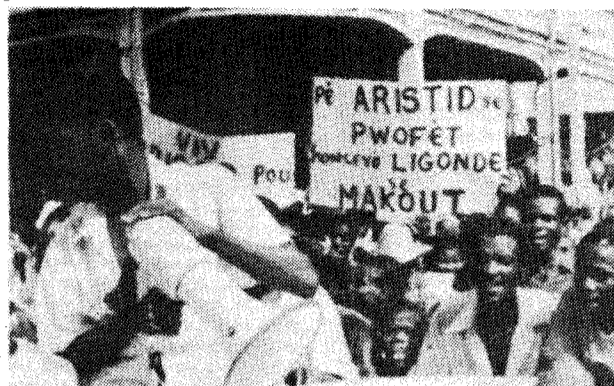
During the campaign, Bush called the Reagan/Bush era one of peace and prosperity in which Americans are better off today than they were eight years ago. This is a violent separation of reason from actuality. First, the "peace" to which he is referring can only be characterized as eight years of rapid, high-tech military build-up costing hundreds of billions of dollars mostly borrowed

from the international money market. The military build-up, for which Bush as vice president shares responsibility, played a major part in directly creating the present debt crisis in the national budget.

Second, Reaganomics thought that capital growth would be stimulated by cutting taxes, borrowing and lashing out against welfare and social programs. Instead, it created what one bourgeois economist called a "debt-driven Keynesian recovery."

Reagan's recovery policies have been very good to high-tech corporations like Lockheed, which is now in line to sell the Defense Department a \$68 billion B2 Stealth bomber program but in human terms this policy has created poverty, suffering and homeless-

Haiti: general strike



Haitians march in support of radical priest Fr. Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

Two types of signals were given in November about the future of Haiti's new military regime led by Prosper Avril. On Nov. 21, a totally successful general strike called by the grassroots opposition paralyzed not only the capital, Port-au-Prince, but the country as a whole. The strike was called by groups such as CATH (Autonomous Confederation of Haitian Workers), COH (Haitian Workers Committee) and APN (National Popular Assembly), as well as other student, labor and human rights groups. As reported in the Nov. 23 issue of *Haiti-Progress*, CATH leader Jean-Auguste Mesyeux said after the strike: "It is a great victory over the Macoutes and the big bosses in Haiti... Step by step, we must liberate Haiti from the Macoutes."

The general strike was called to protest (1) firings of 58 workers at a steel mill, (2) plans to exile radical priest and popular leader Fr. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, (3) assassinations of oppositionists by Macoutes, (4) repression of peasants and returning of land taken over by them in 1986 to Duvalierist landowners, and (5) imprisonment of rank-and-file soldiers who side with the people, including some members of the Presidential Guard.

In the capital, schools, public transport as well as most factories were shut by the strike. In Cap-Haitien the strike was 100% effective, with shops and public transport shut down. The same was true in a dozen other important cities and towns.

In the same period, the Avril government received another type of response: Also in November, according to the *Chicago Tribune's* Black correspondent Nathaniel Sheppard, Jr. (11/18/88): "The Reagan administration has worked around congressional restrictions on U.S. aid to Haiti and provided the country with nearly \$33 million." This will bail out Prosper Avril for several months. It was barely covered in the U.S. media, while the general strike was not even mentioned.

Benazir Bhutto's win in Pakistan election

After two weeks of stalling and political maneuvering, the acting president of Pakistan, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, was forced to recognize the victory of Benazir Bhutto, whose party of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) won 12 seats in the national elections of Nov. 16. Bhutto's election at the age of 35, marks the first time a woman has been elected leader of a modern Muslim nation. PPP's victory was a significant achievement despite all odds against it.

After her election, she announced a program to end all restrictions on women's rights, labor unions, students and the press. She has promised to release and compensate all political prisoners and establish a comprehensive medical and literacy program.

The PPP was refused all access to TV and radio during the campaign. The voting age was raised from 18 to 21 to stop many of the youth supporters of Benazir, and every legal and constitutional technicality was invoked to limit access of the poor in the provinces as well as women who have suffered much from Zia ul-Haq's 11-year rule when fundamentalist Muslim laws and jurisprudence reigned supreme in the nation.

Both Zia ul-Haq's death and Benazir Bhutto's election were unwelcome news to Washington which, ever since the loss of Iran's Shah and the Russian invasion of Kabul in 1979, turned to Pakistan as the closest American ally in the region. The United States contributes annually \$650 million in aid to Pakistan and is committed to another \$4 billion in the next six years, making Pakistan the third largest recipient of aid after Israel and Egypt.

Bhutto was elected on promise of a better life for

the poor, free education, and end of repression and poverty. That remains to be seen. Before she could be declared president, Benazir met with the U.S. ambassador, General Aslam Baighead of the military, and the acting president, promising much continuity of politics. She went to great lengths to promise the army that the left-wing populism of her father will not be repeated and in the end agreed to retain the nation's military-dominated emergency council which will control her powers. It also remains to be seen what she will do about Pakistan's nuclear capability which was instituted by her father.

What is clear, however, is that by electing this young woman and mother of a newborn child who has promised them a better life, the people of Pakistan have challenged both the powerful military-clerical elite, and centuries-old traditions.

—Neda Azad

Special Holiday offer

Women's Liberation and
the Dialectics of Revolution
and

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ness for millions. Bush in his campaign closed his eyes to this and talked about "read my lips: no new taxes" and a promise to cut the capital gains tax.

The legacies of the Reagan years are: 35 million people, 13.5% of the population, living below the poverty line; a permanent class of unemployed; a wider gap between the rich and the poor; a lack of homes for the young; homelessness even for those who are employed; the economic and physical decay of industrial cities like Detroit—in short, a two-tier society.

Come January 20 the biggest problem that Bush will have to address is not the accumulated debt left by his mentor Reagan, but the internal crisis within capitalist production. The Reagan years of "market economy" produced a false recovery based on the national debt, set against an absolute decline in capital growth. In the 1950s and 1960s, average growth was 4%, in Reagan's eight years it's only 2.5%. The economic essence of the Reagan years has been the continual decline of living labor in production, creating a phenomenal growth in minimum wage jobs and a permanent underclass of unemployed. Raya Dunayevskaya wrote at the beginning of the 1980s that the American economy was a "deeply decadent economy originating in the Vietnam War and the continuing and endless militarization, so that today we have reached a retrogressive economy."

The real opposition to the Bush/Reagan world was the massive anti-Bush vote given to Dukakis by Blacks and Hispanics. Nationally, Blacks voted 85% against Bush. In the industrial areas of Chicago, Detroit and Gary, Indiana, the Black anti-Bush vote was 91%. Bush had projected that he would get 35% of the Hispanic vote, but in the South, where there is a heavy concentration of Hispanic workers, three out of four Hispanics voted against Bush.

The heavy concentration of the minority vote behind the Democratic Party has caused liberals to bemoan the obvious polarization of America along racial lines that threatens the very existence of the Democratic Party if no consensus can be worked out among the whites and Blacks. The emergence of this "crisis" is a manifestation of the struggle against the retrogressive politics that have originated in a retrogressive economy. It is the birth of a sharp consciousness that is looking for an alternative.

Essay Article

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be accomplished by star wars or "personal" computers.

Contrary to the ideologues' myth, the U.S. does not have an insurmountable technological lead over Russia. They not only forget that key industries—such as computer memory chips—are dominated by Japan, not the U.S. They also forget that the Russians were the ones who sent up the first Sputnik and the first space station.

Moreover, Bukharin saw to it that Russia began planning science 15 years ahead of any other country. Now the U.S. is concerned with catching up to Japan in this field, with the proposal for the Pentagon to take a leading role in economic, scientific and technological planning (10/19/88 *New York Times*) and with Reagan signing a law to establish a five-year plan for research and development in superconductivity (11/20/88 *New York Times*).

It is true that this decade's advances in microprocessors and microcomputers, which tremendously extended the reach of computer technology, have not yet been matched by Russia. It is true that the development of the electronic computer itself was a transformation of the earlier calculator into opposite: the program allows a computer not only to process numbers but to make "decisions" about how to process data, to define what type of problem it is dealing with, and even to alter its instructions.

Whether in the labor process or in warfare, the machine has absorbed into itself much of the decision-making, so that the problem and its solution are not merely aided but determined by the computer and its programs.

But this transformation into opposite is not absolute opposite. It has resulted, not in any fundamental change, but only the heightening of all the contradictions of capitalist society, whether in its private or state form, since the domination of the human being by the machine remains. No technology can alter that fact. The need now is to transform science into a means of human self-development.

The first negation, overthrow of the capitalist regime, can begin to release science from its service to capital, which makes it a deadly, anti-human force. But for the negation of the negation—to create a new human society—the workers themselves must become scientists, not in the narrow bourgeois sense, but in becoming a new kind of individual incorporating the development of scientific knowledge in labor's self-activity, thereby realizing Marx's vision:

"...the full development of human control over the forces of nature—those of his own nature as well as so-called 'nature'...the evolution of all human powers as such, unmeasured by any previously established yardstick...where he does not seek to remain something formed by the past, but is in the absolute movement of becoming."

Youth

Progressive Student Network Conference

Debates on philosophy and organization

by Sheila Fuller

On Nov. 12 and 13, I attended the Progressive Student Network conference at the University of Illinois at Chicago campus. The 250 participants represented many campuses across the U.S.: from the University of California, San Diego, to the University of Pennsylvania, and from Memphis, Tenn., to Northern Illinois U. at DeKalb. They reported on their participation in a variety of activities from protests against CIA recruitment and George Bush, to sit-ins against racism, and in support of the South African Black struggles; from "Take Back The Night" demonstrations to protests against environmental pollution and activities to support the homeless.

One concern on everyone's mind was the outburst of racist acts on the campuses. A keynote speaker, Pam Nadaseen from the University of Michigan (UofM) Coalition Against Racism, spoke of their sit-in against the university president who had accused Black students of "bringing down the quality of education" at the U of M. Their continuing protests had forced the president to resign in November. At a workshop on "racism on the campus," students spoke about the increasing racist acts on their campuses. Many wanted to know how to form a multi-racial coalition against racism.

However, what I missed in the workshop and in Pam Nadaseen's keynote speech, was a discussion of Black history, Black struggles in the U.S. and South Africa today, and the Black dimension's contribution to ideas of freedom; a discussion that would enable white youth to gain an appreciation for how the Black dimension has put American civilization on trial.

ALTERNATIVE MEETING HELD

Absent on the original agenda of the conference, but present in the halls, were the voices of many participants who felt dissatisfied with the way in which the conference had been organized. Many felt that it did

A critique of leadership as we have known it

DeKalb, Ill.—Many of the ideas for this critique came from Raya Dunayevskaya's "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes" in the November 1988 issue of *News & Letters*. The reason I wrote this came out of the Progressive Student Network conference. I spent hours arguing this point about the PSN "leadership" and also about vanguard parties.

Today we are faced with the greatest corruption in the "movement"; it holds us back—stifles our self-development; it creates divisions and alienation within ourselves. It is a beast that has been carried over from capitalism—leadership.

When there are leaders, there must be followers—mental vs. manual labor. This division is called alienation by Marx, and it must be abolished in order to reach true freedom. Alienation is, according to Marx, the reason capitalism will be destroyed. It will also destroy us.

In order to get a better understanding of Marx, sometimes it helps to go back to Hegel, as I am going to do here. In her 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes," Raya Dunayevskaya shows that Hegel says in his *Science of Logic*, "The Absolute Idea has now turned out to be the identity of the Theoretical and the Practical Idea... (p.466)." Hegel is showing a unity between Theoretical (leadership) and Practical (followers). He goes on to say, "Each of these by itself is one-sided and contains the Idea itself only as a sought Beyond and an unattained goal; each consequently is a synthesis of the tendency, and both contains and does not contain the idea... (p.466)." To sum this up we can say that "the party is the identity or unity of the activity of the leadership and the activity of its ranks (Dunayevskaya in Letter of May 12, 1953)." Each by itself is only part of the Idea—both contain and do not contain the Idea—because neither can achieve the goal (Absolute Idea) without the other.

It appears that if the leadership and the ranks were one, there would be no leadership or followers because the ranks would be the leaders: i.e., only by the proletariat's leading of a revolution can the proletariat achieve freedom (in the Absolute sense of the word). This in itself would be a partial and needed attainment of the Absolute Idea by the abolishment of alienation (caused by the leadership) within the movement.

There are two types of leadership: vanguard, and spontaneous. Vanguardists tend to be almighty people who feel they must lead you because you are not intelligent enough to know all they know. Spontaneous leadership is what emerges from a mass movement; it is when somebody stands up at a meeting and makes a suggestion; it is when somebody shouts from a crowd. "Smash the state!" The first interferes while the second continues. That is the difference between vanguardism and spontaneous leadership: mediation vs. continuation.

Thus a party, or movement, is the summation of the ideas of the individuals that make up the party. But there must be something more. Hegel calls it the "universality." In the *Phenomenology*, Hegel says, "The object is the mediated result or the passing of universality into individuality through specification, as also the reverse process from individual to universal through cancelled individuality or specific determination (p. 790)." Here mediation takes on a slightly different meaning—sum—and object can be thought of as the party or movement. Thus the party is the summation of the individuals, and reflects the universal. Universal is the

not allow for an open exchange of ideas, philosophic and political views. On the second day, 80 participants held an open meeting in the hall to discuss these problems. They felt there had not been a democratic process of involvement in determining the content of the conference. One young woman said: "There is a division between mental and manual labor in the PSN." Later, another student told me: "Those of us in the alternative meeting were searching for a new form of organization. We felt we needed an open forum where people could express themselves." The meeting ended with a call for an alternative student conference to be held in the Fall of 1989 at Northern Illinois U.

WORKSHOP ON WOMEN'S LIBERATION

One workshop which did address the question of youth's search for alternative non-elitist forms of organization was Terry Moon's on the "History of the Women's Liberation Movement." She spoke of the way in which the Women's Liberation Movement, in the late 1960s, had challenged the hierarchical forms of organization within the Left, and attempted to create its own decentralized forms of organization. However, she argued that many women who broke with the Left organizations never broke with the "vanguardist concepts" of those organizations and "continued to treat masses of women as things to be led." Moon examined the way in which Raya Dunayevskaya had welcomed women's search for non-elitist organizations, without however limiting the question to form of organization alone. She asked us to return to Dunayevskaya's 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes" in which she had been working out a new humanist philosophy of organization.

I too felt that Dunayevskaya's 1953 Letters spoke directly to the questions that many participants at the conference were raising about the need for a non-hierarchical organization. Indeed, in the 1980s, Dunayevskaya herself was appealing to youth activists to return to

purpose or desired result of the party, i.e., freedom or socialism.

If the universal of the party is socialism, then the people will also have socialism as their individual universal of thought; but each person will have an individual interpretation of socialism—this is where the necessity for debate arises. Through discussion of ideas, certain individual ideas may become universal to all, and therefore become a party universality. This is how self-development occurs—through open discussion.

—Joe, a freshman at NIU

Youth in Revolt

by Franklin Dmitryev

Colombian students have joined workers, peasants and others in a series of national strikes and protests against heavy government repression and worsening economic conditions. Thousands of students, many of them new to protest groups, marched in October when 18 students were arrested under a new anti-terrorist law for "causing public disturbances." Later a student was killed by police during an assembly in Medellin preparing for a nationwide strike. Hundreds of Colombians have been killed by the police, military and right-wing death squads this year.

The Students of Color Coalition, a new group at Stanford University in California, held a rally of 400 protesting two recent racist incidents. They demanded addition of Asian-American and Native-American studies programs, an ethnic studies requirement for all students, and expansion of the staff of the ethnic cultural centers.

In ten Polish cities, youth were prominent in demonstrations marking the anniversary of the Nov. 11, 1918, declaration of Polish independence. University students showered soldiers in the official parade with pro-Solidarity pamphlets. Later the police tear-gassed 1,000 youth who gathered "unofficially" in Warsaw.

At Northwestern University in Illinois, 60 students and supporters protested CIA recruiting on the campus. Facing a group of counter-demonstrators who upheld the right to murder in the name of imperialism, 18 protesters were arrested for blocking a doorway.

About 300 students began a sit-in at the State University of New York in Binghamton, responding to a rape at a party. The 37-hour sit-in ended on Nov. 19 after the administration agreed to several points, including establishment of a committee of administrators and representatives of the Women's Center, the Gay People's Union and the Jewish Student Union. The previous week, hundreds of students and faculty had protested anti-Semitic vandalism that had marked the 50th anniversary of the Nazis' Kristallnacht pogrom.

A new study reveals that U.S. families headed by 20- to 24-year-olds had an income drop of 27.4% from 1973 to 1986—equal to that of the Depression—resulting in poverty for one out of three. Unemployment in that age group is nearly 9%—but over 20% for Blacks, and 33% for Black teenagers.

those letters. (See November 1988 N&L for the full text of those letters). There, her vantage point had been the relationship of organization to philosophy, specifically to Hegel's Absolutes.

1953 LETTERS & CONCEPT OF ORGANIZATION

In 1987, in her last writing, she had stressed that in those letters she was focusing neither on a vanguard party which she opposed, nor on a spontaneous mass party which the masses themselves will build, but on "what happens to a small group like us who know that nothing can be done without the masses and are with them but they (this group) are theoreticians and they always seem to be around too. So what is the objectivity which explains their presence..."

Dunayevskaya was posing the question of how all forces of revolution—Youth, the Black dimension, women, workers and intellectuals who have broken with capitalism—can take responsibility for the philosophy of revolution of their age.

This year's PSN conference did bring about a discussion on the relationship of youth's search for non-elitist organizations and Dunayevskaya's 1953 Letters (See the contribution by a young activist on this page). I would like to know how other young readers of *News & Letters* view this relationship, whether you were at the PSN conference or not. To me, when we are faced with the continuation of Reaganism in the person of George Bush, the act of clarifying our minds about what we stand for becomes most urgent.

Read about Youth
as Revolutionary ForceSUBSCRIBE TO NEWS & LETTERS

A damaged education

Chicago, Ill.—When we first went to high school we were eager to learn, to know the truths of history, science, and to express our own. Soon we found that high school was like a prison where the only thing we were given was rules, orders, forced recitations of what the teachers and textbooks said. They tried to make learning passive on the part of the students, but we did fight back—we cut classes, smoked in the johns, made fun of the teachers, didn't pay attention and told them they were wrong on the facts; that they lacked interest in thinking and realizing their own wealth by their attitudes.

We were forced to go to patriotic assemblies where the ROTC marched and we were supposed to sing and say nationalist garbage alongside "rah rah" for our sports teams and cheerleaders. Many students treated the occasion with the disrespect it deserved—breaking the discourses and gestures towards the divine with shouting, swearing, whistling and by not clapping and cheering at the moments we were supposed to. We were labelled gangsters, druggies, vandals, punks with attitude problems by the authorities. Yet I knew these people were the smartest and most sensitive kids; we couldn't stand the stupidity of the current order. Accordingly we revolted on the models available to us. I saw many of my friends' minds wasted by drugs in a desperate attempt for freedom in a situation of repression, where every hope and dream was condemned and crushed by police, bureaucrats and the ideological age of capitalism.

Many of us dropped out. I did too, but went back later because I didn't know what else to do. I had begun reading and looking harder to understand what was happening around me: Marx, Sartre, and Fanon inspired me to do philosophy and work for a society where people are more important than profit and life isn't reduced to commodity relations with the accompanying alienation and despair.

Most of my friends never did go back to school and those I've seen and talked to since are shells of their former selves, at the age of 19, defeated before they had a chance to live. I see younger kids doing the same things we did, again proving at a high cost how empty bourgeois culture is.

Capitalism offers youth only sell-out or despair, showing its banality and how disgusting it is. It sucks life and creativity out of the people it manipulates, entices us into poker games with marked cards over our own destinies. We hear the patriotic tunes about freedom and justice, but they are a dead abstraction. We have to take hold of it and make it real in our lives so that we have a future for ourselves and our children.

—Eric, first year college student

Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

In December, 1988 the problem of self-determination for the Palestinian nation has taken front center on the world stage as never before. Secretary of State George Shultz's last minute denial of a visa to PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat to come to the U.S. to address the UN—on supposedly international territory—has outraged world opinion, producing a near-unanimous and unprecedented 151 to 2 vote by the UN to censure the U.S. The next step was to move the UN session on Palestine to Switzerland, outside Reagan's grip, where all parties could be heard.

There was no doubt that Shultz's move was dictated by powerful interests, beginning with Ronald Reagan, the world outlaw, but also including many Democrats, in an attempt to escalate and deepen the U.S. stonewalling of all Palestinian demands. While some leading newspapers mildly editorialized against the Reagan-Shultz outrage at the UN, so one-sided and propagandistic has the *New York Times'* "coverage" of Palestinian issues been, that it actually kept the Nov. 30 UN vote to censure the U.S. off the front page of its Dec. 1 national edition! In so doing, it continued the process in

Northern Ireland muzzled

Ultra-reactionary British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has moved to muzzle free speech in Northern Ireland and, still more ominously, to deny defendants the right to silence in the courts. On Oct. 21, it was announced that courts in Northern Ireland would be permitted to draw "whatever references would be proper from the fact that an accused remained silent." As the British support publication for the Irish struggle, *Troops Out of Ireland* (Box 353, London NW5 4NH) wrote on the cover of its November issue, simulating what police might now say: "You're under arrest! You have NO right to remain silent and anything I say will be taken down and used in evidence against you." The right to silence may also be eliminated in Britain.

Two days earlier, Thatcher's government announced that "supporters of terrorists" are now banned from TV and radio. This applies to live audiences as well as invited guests or journalists. One station is already "re-considering" an interview with Irish activist and feminist Bernadette Devlin McAliskey. The next steps for Thatcher may be: (1) to require so-called oaths of "renunciation of violence" before legally elected Sinn Fein representatives can take office in Northern Ireland, and (2) to seize the funds of legal organizations it defines as "pro-terrorist."

Britain's centralized parliamentary system allows Thatcher to do all of this by simple decree, so long as she is not voted down in Parliament, which has a Thatcherite conservative majority.

Canadian election results

Editor's note: We received the following article from a correspondent in Canada.

Toronto, Ontario—The outcome of the Nov. 21 election has Canada following the U.S. down the path of four to five more years of domestic retrogression and boot-licking foreign policy. The Anglo-North American dinosaur triumvirate of Reagan/Bush-Thatcher-Mulroney stands intact.

The rehabilitation of Brian Mulroney, who a short 18 months ago had the lowest level of popular support of any Canadian Prime Minister in this century, can be attributed more to uncritical media and inept opposition than to any real changes in a government characterized by corruption and blindness to human need.

That the sole focus of the election campaign was the trade deal ("free trade") with the U.S. turns out to be a double dose of bitter irony. Not only did it help erase the memory of a scandal-ridden administration, it also eliminated from public debate issues of foreign and domestic policy about which many Canadians feel a great passion.

The folly of spending 12 billion dollars on nuclear-powered submarines was not addressed. The continuation of Cruise missile testing was not addressed. The deepening division between the wealthy and the poor was not addressed. Toronto, Canada's largest city, in the midst of an "economic boom" has 20,000 homeless and 78,000 lining up at food banks every month.

What is most ironic, however, is that both opposition parties—the Liberals and the New Democratic Party—wasted no time in conceding that the election results amounted to a mandate for the U.S. trade deal. This after receiving a combined 52% of the vote in an election that everyone defined as a "free trade" referendum!

With 43% of the popular vote (the remaining 5% went to fringe parties, mostly on the right), the Tories have 58% of the seats in Parliament, a more than comfortable majority, and, for them, license to complete the total integration of the Canadian economy with the U.S. and to enshrine Canada as Bush's 51st state.

The Liberals and New Democrats, with their slavish commitment to parliamentary forms over social reality, will likely provide only token opposition. The real opposition resides outside of Parliament, with the peace movement, anti-poverty activists, women's liberationists, solidarity workers, youth, labour militants, and all others who struggle for freedom now in the face of the rotting capitalistic system.

Intifada shakes up Arab-Israeli politics

virtually all U.S. newspapers of totally ignoring the ongoing, massive Palestinian *intifada* (uprising) in the Israeli-occupied territories, as well as the seriousness of the new Palestinian declaration of independence.

It is that *intifada*, now a year old, which has "changed utterly" the Arab-Israeli question. Since the *intifada* began last December, over 400 Palestinians have been killed in the occupied territories, while thousands more have been injured, many of them in pogrom-type beatings by troops, resulting in deliberately broken bones. Over 18,000 people have been imprisoned, mostly without trial or charge. The allegedly "violent" Palestinians have in the same period killed several Israeli Jews.

Despite the terrible repression, the *intifada* continues. The *intifada*, not Israel or the U.S., compelled the PLO's Palestine National Council to issue for the first time a declaration of Palestinian independence at its November meeting in Algiers. The *intifada* also compelled the PLO to take a major step toward recognizing Israel's right to exist, so that serious steps toward setting up an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and the Gaza strip might begin.

The *intifada* additionally forced the PLO leadership, a group much given to jet-setting and ties to wealthy Arab rulers, to spend considerably less than the unbe-

lievable \$28 million it reportedly spent on its 1987 meeting. Whether the equally elitist politics of terrorism will now also be abandoned in favor of the revolutionary forms of struggle exemplified by the *intifada*, remains to be seen. But today it is clearly the *intifada* which has the initiative, dragging the PLO exile leadership in its wake.

So far, the response of the Israeli electorate to the *intifada* has been to move further to the Right. The November elections in Israel solidified the move to the Right begun with the election of Menachem Begin in 1977. Today Yitzhak Shamir's conservative Likud bloc threatens to begin to redefine "who is a Jew" in such a way as to exclude non-Orthodox Jews, as it jockeys for the support of small religious parties which now hold the balance of power. This threat of religious fundamentalism has sparked massive protests from Jews around the world.

Yet there were not similarly massive Jewish protests when Israel banned all celebrations of the Palestinian declaration of independence, threatening arrests and imprisonment. Of course, this could not stop the celebrations, but it did show the world the futility of Israel's continued occupation. This recognition is what Reagan-Shultz tried to suppress by banning Arafat.

South Korean hearings



South Korean students demonstrate in Seoul demanding the arrest of former President Chun.

Former military dictator Chun Doo Hwan stood before Korean television cameras on Nov. 23 to "apologize" for the "shameful deeds" of his eight-year rule. He offered to give up a large portion of his wealth and property and has gone into "exile" at a Buddhist retreat.

President Roh Tae Woo, who helped Chun come to power in the 1979 coup, hoped the half-hour act of contrition would blunt the latest outbreak of student protests which have gained broad public support. Students have organized marches and rallies across Korea the past two months demanding that Chun be tried for treason for the crimes of his regime.

Koreans have been watching a series of unprecedented televised parliamentary hearings that are investigating Chun's years in power. The hearings have exposed the widespread corruption in government and enrichment by Chun's relatives, and begun to make public what Koreans already knew about Chun's harsh repression.

Government records detailing the Samchong forced labor and so-called "re-education" camps revealed that 10,000 people were imprisoned the first few weeks after the camps were set up by Chun in August, 1980. At least 50 people, and probably more, died in the camps.

Roh has promised amnesty and compensation to the

thousands of political detainees, government workers and journalists fired during Chun's "social purification" purge, and to the victims of the Army's brutal suppression of the 1980 Kwangju uprising. A vast number of Koreans want Chun held directly accountable for his role in the Army massacre of civilians there. A journalist summed up the past eight years of Korean history in one phrase: "All roads lead to Kwangju."

Roh has done everything short of granting Chun a legal pardon, but opposition demonstrations are continuing. Protestors have demanded Roh's resignation as well.

Left victories in Brazil

Candidates from the left Workers Party (PT) and the Democratic Workers Party (PDT) won a significant number of victories in Brazil's Nov. 15 municipal elections. The PT, formed out of the labor struggles in the late 1970s, won the mayoralty in Sao Paulo and in two other state capitals. The PDT won in Rio and a number of other cities. Above all, the vote was a resounding rejection of President Jose Sarney, whose policies have worsened the economic crisis. At the time of the election, inflation was running at 1,000% annually!

The election took place as a new wave of strikes erupted. In part, the election results reflected anger over a government-ordered attack on striking steel workers a week earlier, who had walked out for shorter hours and higher pay. At the state-owned complex near Rio, 3,000 workers occupied their mill and fought with police and soldiers sent in to break the strike. At least three workers were killed in the confrontation.

Thousands of civil service workers have also been out on strike, and oil workers shut down the refineries of the state-owned oil industry. Candidates of the left parties appealed to the growing militant mood of revolt in Brazil. Luiza Erundina, the PT's mayor-elect of Sao Paulo, said she would side with the city's homeless squatters in conflicts with real estate interests, and would have the city government take over private bus companies.

It remains to be seen whether the Left can carry out these local programs, whether they will win in the presidential election next November, and whether such political solutions can do anything to lessen the dire social and economic crisis. What does seem certain is the growing confidence of the "other Brazil"—of workers and the poor.

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.