

Theory/ Practice News & Letters

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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25¢

An Urgent Appeal: We Need Your Help!

At the same moment as our proud announcement of the publication of *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism—Two Historic-Philosophic Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya*, comes our urgent appeal to you to help us continue *News & Letters*, expand our activities, and deepen Marxist-Humanism's reach. We cannot do it without your help!

In what turned out to be the last "Theory/Practice" column from her pen, Raya Dunayevskaya, the founder of Marxist-Humanism, profoundly pinpointed the need of our age:

"The abysmal lower depths that the Reagan retrogression has sunk the world into throughout...this decade has polluted the ideological air, not only of the ruling class, but has penetrated the Left itself. Such a deep retrogression urgently demands that, along with the economic and political tasks facing us, we look for philosophic new beginnings."

Those philosophic new beginnings were never more needed than now, when the illusions of Reaganism and Gorbachevism are rampant—while the lie of the "safer" world they would have us believe they have given us for 1989 is spelled out in the continuing blood-letting everywhere; and the Administration of ex-CIA head George Bush promises not only to perpetuate but to expand Reaganism's retrogression both at home and abroad.

Never was a paper like *News & Letters* more needed—where the movements for freedom that stand in opposition to all these rulers are given voice, and where those voices and actions from below are not separated from the philosophy of revolution that our times demand.

(continued on page 6)

Black World

The Grenada Revolution: 10 years after



by Lou Turner

Because March 1989 will mark the tenth anniversary of the Grenada Revolution, my next two "Black World" columns will be devoted to a discussion of the fate of that revolution which came to so tragic an end in October, 1983. This issue I have turned over my column to present excerpts of an interview I had with David Abdullah, a Trinidadian revolutionary who is the treasurer of the Oilfield Workers Trade Union of Trinidad-Tobago, and the convenor of the recently formed political party, the Committee of Labour Solidarity. This will be followed next month by an examination of Raya Dunayevskaya's political-philosophic letter of Nov. 28, 1983, "Counter-Revolution and Revolution: Grenada, the Caribbean Today, and the Challenge from 30 Years of Movements from Practice That Were Themselves Forms of Theory," and its relationship to the present situation in the Caribbean.

Historically, there has been a very close connection between Grenada and Trinidad-Tobago. There are more Grenadians in Trinidad than in Grenada. In fact, we have a saying that the working class of Grenada is in Trinidad because the industrial working class is so minute in Grenada. So, culturally and in terms of families who have relatives in both Grenada and Trinidad, there is a very close relation between the two.

Therefore, what happened in Grenada in March of 1979 (the overthrow of the Eric Gairy regime) was very important to Trinidad-Tobago, and the whole Eastern Caribbean. There was a certain sense of pride that emerged. After March 13, 1979, all of a sudden people admitted being Grenadian who had never done so before. When you have someone like Maurice (Bishop) who epitomized what Grenada was all about, and who had such a deep concern for the people of Grenada and for the people of the whole Caribbean and expressed it in very concrete ways, the entire region began to say that something new is happening.

THE NEW SMASHED

When Oct. 19, 1983 came (the murder of Maurice Bishop and others by the military led by Hudson Austin and Bernard Coard), there was equal shock throughout the region. Everyone felt it very, very deeply when

(continued on page 9)

U.S. - Russia realignment only deepens global crises

by Kevin A. Barry

To greet the New Year, 1989, Reagan and Gorbachev exchanged videotaped messages to each others' populations on TV, messages which were gushing with rhetoric about "peace" and "goodwill." The *Chicago Tribune* wrote on Jan. 1 that "the two leaders spoke almost in one voice in optimistic statements that noted how tragedy and triumph had brought the U.S. and USSR closer," a reference to the Armenian earthquake disaster. But the true nature of the "peace" and "goodwill" these rulers have in mind was shown three days later, over the Mediterranean.

AIR ATTACK ON LIBYA

The sudden shooting down on Jan. 4 of two Libyan planes which had dared to challenge a U.S. fighter squadron armed with missiles "routinely" streaking toward Libyan shores, involved something more than a superpower flexing its muscles once again against a tiny African-Arab land.

The attack involved nothing less than the "final legacy" to the world, especially to the Third World, of the Reagan administration. The "make my day" type of arrogance of the attack stunned even U.S. allies, who had been urging restraint toward Libya, and who are were unconvinced (1) that Libya is actually producing chemical weapons, as Reagan charges, and (2) if it is, why is nothing being done against Iraq, which actually produced and then used them on a mass scale against Iran and in genocidal attacks on its Kurdish minority?

The macho, go-it-alone type of sudden air attack against Libya, while orchestrated by Reagan, was at the same time totally continuous with the Rambo-like rhetoric of the Bush campaign. That is why Bush and virtually all other U.S. politicians rushed to give their support to Reagan.

But the shoot-out over the Mediterranean is not the only event which gives the lie to Reagan/Bush and Gorbachev's claim that "peace is before us." Their continuous struggle for world domination and preparation for World War III is also seen in the escalating arms race and in the way the superpowers are trying to "resolve" so-called "regional conflicts" in the Third World.

Also on New Year's Day, almost buried amid the peace euphoria, came a dose of reality about the true underlying relations between the superpowers—a *New York Times* article reporting that "[A]fter heated internal debate, the Pentagon has decided to modify its most

powerful laser so it can be fired at old U.S. satellites to see how effective attacks against satellites can be."

PEACE GREETINGS AND KILLER LASERS

This is all part of the long covered-up offensive capacity of Reagan's Star Wars. It turns out that the same lasers which were supposedly to "defend" against incoming missiles can soon shoot down enemy satellites.

Not only Reagan, but also Gorbachev, is hurrying to develop these new lasers. Gen. John L. Piotrowski of the U.S. Space Command was quoted in the Jan. 1 arti-

Black Miami in revolt



Residents of the Black Overtown section of Miami poured into the streets on January 17 to protest police killing. For a report on this and other responses to the racist climate of America 1989, see page 9.

cle as claiming that the Russians are way ahead of the U.S. in developing this "satellite killer" laser. Gorbachev's and Reagan's dream is to eventually develop lasers to attack cities from satellites, but such new doomsday weapons are probably decades away.

Meanwhile, nuclear missiles are being modernized at a rapid pace, and the U.S. is developing both the B-1 bomber and the Stealth bomber, plus the Russians have their equivalents. With so many new weapons at hand and being planned for the 21st century, the rulers figure why not allow a few outdated missiles to be scrapped,

(continued on page 10)

Just off the Press!

This new book contains two critical writings of Raya Dunayevskaya: her *Presentation of June 1, 1987*, which examines the dialectics of organization and philosophy in Marx, in post-Marx Marxism, and in Marxist-Humanism; and her 1953 *Letters on Hegel's Absolutes*, which represent the philosophic moment from which the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism was born and developed.

"What compels this publication now is a two-fold challenge: the need for philosophic new beginnings in face of today's economic, political and ideological crises and the need to overcome the separation between an epochal philosophic breakthrough and its organizational expression."—from the Preface by the Resident Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees.

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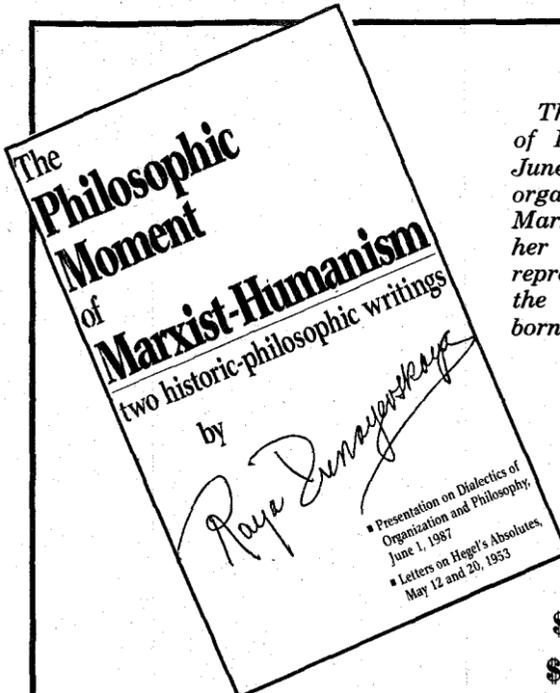
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Open Discussion, international refreshments. \$5.00 admission includes copy of book



The beginnings of a discussion:**How are we fighting for abortion rights?**

by Terry Moon

Now that the Supreme Court has agreed to decide the constitutionality of a Missouri law intended to prevent women from having abortions there can be no illusions that women aren't in danger of losing what's left of our right to control our own bodies. It only remains to be seen whether the Court intends to overturn Roe v. Wade (the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion) completely or to chip away at it piece by piece.

What they will find is a fight. They will find that the successful movement to stop the appointment of Robert Bork, Reagan's anti-abortion Supreme Court nominee, was just the beginning. They will find, as those who have tried to block clinic doors and harass women who choose to have abortions have found, that they are outnumbered by pro-choice demonstrators who are committed to walking with women through lines of screaming fanatics.

They will find that each of the over 170,000 women, children and men who demonstrated for the right to safe, legal, accessible abortion in the 1986 March in Washington, D.C. and Los Angeles don't only represent themselves but others, and that most in this country want women to have the right to control our bodies, are for women's right to abortion.

ILLEGAL ABORTION—NEVER AGAIN!

What needs discussion right now is how are we going to fight? It isn't as if we haven't gone through this before. Many of you who read this column remember when abortion was illegal, when we had to take our lives in our hands if we wanted to end a pregnancy, when women died trying or were maimed. We remember our demonstrations and our terrible anger at the non-choice between the back alley and a pregnancy we did not want or could not afford. We remember our determination—even with those non-choices—that we would control our bodies. That is why thousands of us chanted and shouted together at that 1986 march: "Never again!"

The National Organization for Women (NOW) has called for national action in Washington, D.C., for April 9 to defend abortion rights. We all must go. We are with NOW's president, Molly Yard, when she says she feels that the election of Bush is "as if war has been declared on the women of the United States." But NOW, as they did 15 years ago, wants to fight that war on legislative grounds and in the courts. Yet what we are witnessing—right at this very moment—is how a war fought on legislative/legal grounds leads, not to lasting victory, but to women's lives being in the hands of the legislature/courts, not in our own!

LEGAL VICTORY INCOMPLETE

What good is a legal "victory" if it can be taken away? Does anyone really think we can trust the U.S. legislature to advance women's freedom—or anyone's freedom? What got us the limited freedom we have—and make no mistake, it has always been limited, especially for Black and poor women—was not all that work fighting for "legal" abortion.

It was tens of thousands of women marching in the street—marching for revolution, for freedom, for a totally new society on new human foundations with new human relations. It had the rulers of this country shaking in their boots and they gave us Roe v. Wade because they didn't want to—couldn't—give us a new society and they hoped that limited abortion rights would slow us up.

This war against women is not just on our right to abortion. We see it in Reaganism ending the 45-year-old ban on work in the home which will mean women—and children—slaving away at sewing machines or home computers for 10 or more hours a day making less than minimum wages. It can be seen in Reaganism's gutting of social programs, throwing women and children deeper into poverty. And we can't forget that the right to birth control was "won" through the courts. That right too is now threatened.

Just as this war against women, in truth against all those fighting for freedom, is total—so must be our response. The fact that we want a totally new society

isn't unrealistic. What reality is showing us at this very moment is that nothing short of a total uprooting of this exploitative, alienated, sexist, racist society will create the beginnings for us to work out women's freedom. Let's therefore begin discussing now how we want to participate in that April 9 demonstration—how we can make it a demonstration not only for our right to control our own bodies, but for a new world where all can experience freedom.



News & Letters photo

In New York City pro-choice advocates counter anti-abortion fanatics at the Lincoln Clinic on Jan. 14.

A revolutionary struggle

In the article, "Abortion Rights Now!" (December 1988 N&L), Terry Moon cites a shocking statistic: "as many as 200,000 women a year in developing countries die from butcher abortions!" This, plus the current ideological direction of the pro-choice movement convinces me that Marxist-Humanists have an urgent responsibility to help re-think the whole struggle.

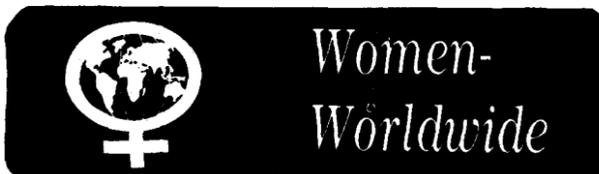
Now we face not only the aftermath of electoral defeats (despite a majority of people favoring choice) but sharp divisions within our movement. For example, after a Detroit area clinic defense demonstration, NOW (National Organization for Women) denounced and rebaited other protesters. The Detroit NOW Times, January, 1989, attacks the Committee to Defend Abortion Rights (CDAR) as "a ragtag bunch of far leftists... They are not interested in following legal channels. Their creeds are revolutionary which means tearing down this society using whatever issues.. (D)on't let the nuts be the only voice for choice..."

While we do not agree with the elitist vanguard party politics of the Workers World front group, CDAR, who just want to use the question of abortion to build their organization, we must oppose NOW's attack which only fuels the right wing. We have a responsibility to show why the fight for these rights is revolutionary. Struggling for legislative remedies alone, without creative, militant support from a massive, thinking movement, is meaningless because George Bush intends to restructure the U.S. Supreme Court and roll back Roe v. Wade.

We need to show how Raya Dunayevskaya's philosophic work and study of the Women's Liberation Movement led her to write: "We must be aware of the totality and depth of the necessary uprooting of this exploitative, racist, sexist society." And why she stresses that our movement "cannot be just the overthrow of the old but the creation of the new... the release of subjective, personal freedom, creativity, and talents."

When we go to Washington on April 9 or defend clinics we need to show why the abolition of capitalism is indeed necessary for full human freedom.

—Susan Van Gelder



Seven United Air Lines flight attendants at Newark Airport forced cancellation of a night flight to Los Angeles, Jan. 2, when they were not told of a day-long sabotage threat until minutes before boarding and they felt their safety was in jeopardy. The threat against planes flying from New York to Los Angeles had been communicated to the crews of other airlines throughout the day. Airline executives said the F.A.A. and the "intelligence community"—none of whom have to fly on threatened planes—should decide whether a plane should fly after a threat.

Feminists and youth in Nicaragua are speaking out against the "Miss Juventud" (Youth) pageant, the first beauty contest held since the fall of Somoza. Media coverage showed 27 young women in swimsuits answering questions about soap opera characters.

Sex discrimination is alive, well and ugly in China as women workers are being phased out of the workforce because they don't produce as much profit as men. Chinese officials claim that studies reveal the average working man earns 1,900 yuan (\$512) more in profit than a woman worker of the same age and job. A new system of "staged employment" forces women to take a seven-year unpaid leave and retire at 40.

A working mother's life

Detroit, Mich.—I have been so busy being a working mother. My child is walking and running and talking, and loves to say go-go. I have been working at U.S. Auto Radiator for many years and losing my job would hurt so bad. I would miss making \$7.50 an hour.

I read in the "Workshop Talks" by John Marcotte (see November 1988 N&L) about Juan working two jobs for starvation wages. I think I am lucky to make \$7.50 an hour. I could never work two jobs with my baby to take care of. I get up at 4:30 a.m. to make it to work. I need one hour to get my child ready to get the bus and be at the baby-sitters at 6:15. Then I go to work. After work I get my baby, ride the bus and the baby eats and plays and is in bed at 8:00 p.m.

In hard times, like now, is when friends are needed most. In February almost everyone will be laid off. I will miss having a job. —Working mother

New Indian "awareness"

Gomia, India—What has been exciting is a workshop here for village women on "Fertility Awareness." Till now most of the village women had children just "by chance," or rather because their husbands come home fully drunk and they have to bear the consequences. I feel that this Fertility Awareness is going to be a great help for women to come together and support one another.

There is also a plan on how to use this Fertility Awareness programme as a means of literacy for women who otherwise are not interested. This programme is quite new for them, affects their lives, and gives them power and self-confidence.

Survival drains all energy from these women and there is little time for anything else. They are also the victims of all the schemes for development run by the government. They perceive their bodies as a burden, something to protect against all odds and about which they have no control and no knowledge.

What we would like to achieve is to begin a process through which women will collectively start a journey of self-education so that they may move from passive acceptance to active self-determination. I think through collective reflection and decision making, women will get power over their own lives and situations.

All this sounds very beautiful but I know that it is a long process and at times very discouraging.

—Correspondent, India

Direct from South Africa
Freedom Journal

Fighting rape/abuse NOW

Editor's note: Recently we received a pamphlet from one of our correspondents in South Africa put out by People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA). When I saw it I got very excited because it showed a connection back to 1971 and the U.S. The fact that the graphic (see below) and some of the form of their pamphlet—excerpts of which are printed below—was created by a small group in Detroit, Mich. in 1971 who put out the first anti-rape pamphlet in the U.S., revealed clearly the international character of the Women's Liberation Movement. None of us who worked on that pamphlet in 1970-1971 imagined that it would reach South Africa 18 years later. That in 1989 Sheila Fuller must still write about the rising number of rapes on U.S. campuses (see p. 11) shows how long our struggle for freedom is and how we have to fight for it worldwide. —Terry Moon

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL

POWA is a women's organization which helps women who have been raped, battered or sexually harassed. Our aim is to make women stronger. We need to challenge any form of oppression and exploitation we face in our daily lives. POWA offers emotional support, legal and medical advice to women who have been physically and/or emotionally abused. We run a shelter for battered women who wish to leave a violent relationship...

POWA strongly believes that with the many changes taking place in South Africa at the moment, it is very important that we organize and create an awareness of women's issues now. We realize that the oppression and exploitation of women cannot be seen apart from the rest of society. Any real changes must take place together with changes in all other aspects of society. To carry our struggle forward, we must come together, centralize and strengthen our resources....

POWA is a feminist/political organization concerned with making people aware of the crime of rape. We challenge the myths about rape.... Most people look at how women can avoid being raped and not how men can be stopped from raping. Women are not responsible for rape. They are not to blame....

No one has the right to rape—not the police, soldiers, not a neighbour, relative, not a comrade, boyfriend nor husband. Our struggle will not be successful if women are not free of the violence in our lives.

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Workers' new fringe benefit—homelessness

by John Marcotte

A rented room in East New York, Brooklyn costs \$70 a week. That's East New York, which chalked up 105 murders this past year. Seventy dollars and no cooking. No friends. No nothing.

Roberto delivers circulars door to door for \$4 an hour, when there's work. Work is slow after Christmas. I found Roberto sleeping in an abandoned truck with just one thin blanket. He lost his room for having a woman friend up to see him. He's working on saving the \$140 to get another room (one week's rent, one week's security). On three days work a week, he might pay for the room if he doesn't make a habit of eating. He tries not to. When Roberto starts a day of work, he borrows a couple dollars from the supervisor and gets an Italian bread and a quarter pound of American cheese. That's breakfast and lunch. That holds him through a day of walking with a 30-pound bag of circulars, till dinner.

WORKING BUT HOMELESS

There are more and more people with jobs that are now homeless like Roberto. There's Aleriberto in San Diego County, who works five days a week at McDonald's for \$4.25 an hour and lives in a tent of plastic and scrap wood. There's the hotel maid in Miami who leaves her two sons at the Salvation Army shelter while she works, telling a reporter, "I'm telling you, you can't live and raise two kids on \$4.50 an hour. I never, ever, ever thought this would happen to me."

There's Sam, the 27-year-old in Miami who works in a shop assembling casters for office furniture. Labor Force, the blood-sucker labor broker that employs Sam, pays him \$3.35 an hour of the \$5.35 they charge his boss. Of the \$26 he makes, he pays \$2 for transportation, \$5 for the Salvation Army shelter, \$3 for breakfast and dinner. "You can't make enough money to get a leg up," he says.

In some cities like San Antonio, more than half the homeless have jobs. The New York City suburbs have about as many homeless now as does the city: 80,000. About 35% of them have jobs as janitors, secretaries, landscapers, waitresses and so on. They live in wooded areas, abandoned cars, shopping center parking lots. In the city they live in the subways, terminals, or cardboard boxes.

The same city government that gave huge tax breaks to "developers"—speculators in human misery—to destroy over 100,000 rooms in SROs (cheap, single-room occupancy hotels) and turn them into luxury housing, turns around and pays out \$1200 of tax money a month to house a family in the hell-hole called a welfare hotel. You know who's laughing all the way to the bank. But the Federal government has done its part too: frozen the minimum wage and

chopped the federal housing budget from \$30 billion in 1981 to \$8 billion in 1986.

Now add in some facts from the Dec. 17, 1988 Economist: "American steelmakers now have one of the most productive labour forces in the world...USX has chopped its workforce by three-quarters since 1981...the works at Gary, Indiana use only 3.1 man-hours per ton of steel."

THE MOVEMENT OF HISTORY

So where are those "three-quarters" of the workers? Working as janitors, waitresses, delivering circulars? More and more are pauperized and homeless. Is class society reaching such a totality in our age of automation that you have the total separation of the worker from her/his means of work—joblessness? The total



Residents of Brooklyn Arms Hotel seize a city office in January to protest plans to close homeless shelters in New York.

separation of the worker from her/his necessities of life—homelessness? The total alienation of the individual from the society outside of and opposed to the individual—despair, crack, suicide? Has the movement of history come to an end? In the most technologically advanced country, is this—homelessness, despair, crack—the high point of human development?

Or doesn't the logic of homelessness, of all these crises, go back to the crisis in production? Marx called this the "fetish of the commodity," wherein human labor is reduced to a commodity, a thing among things, to be bought and sold. But human labor isn't a thing. Human beings cannot be discarded like useless objects, laid off, sacked, terminated, whatever they call it.

The logic of homelessness is the logic of capital, which in Marx's day as in ours is that the accumulation of wealth at one pole is the accumulation of misery and pauperization at the other. The blood-sucker labor brokers as well as USX might do well to remember that Marx called the "unemployed army" the "new passions and new forces" that would uproot that logic.

Toys-R-Us: 'selling your friends into slavery'

Newark, N.J.—There's been much talk in the capitalist press about retail companies being forced to increase wages to their workers. They say it's because unemployment is low. But those who did get jobs in the last so-called recovery are in the service sector and they are often under-employed. And there are those they refuse to count as unemployed, those who have long since given up any hope for a job.

The reason some companies have had to raise wages lies in the things I see at my job at Toys-R-Us. Over the last two years the company has had to increase wages and bonuses given through the Christmas season. The 50 cents-an-hour bonus used to start after Thanksgiving. Now they've had to start it a month earlier because they can't get anybody to work these jobs.

Another new tactic is a \$100 bonus if you can get someone to work there through the Christmas season including Christmas eve. We call it "selling your friends into slavery." Even with all this we are un-

derstaffed. When the boss was telling us about this new bonus, he said it was to our advantage to get some people to work here, because one way or the other, whether through more people or through speed-up, we will get our work done by a set time.

On the one hand they are increasing our wages and benefits, and on the other there is the growing resistance of the people at the job. The capitalists at best seem to think they will throw money at us and that should solve all our problems. But the growing resistance lies in the fact that whether they increase our wages or not, the conditions of labor worsen.

The way I see it, this trend is the future of capitalism, because of the so-called "uncoupling" of production from the economy that economists have been talking about, so that capitalists will still make their profits and all the new jobs will be service sector of one kind or another. But the contradiction of capitalism comes out in the growing resistance, even in the new service sector jobs.

—David L. Anderson

No limit to hours at Swift-Eckrich

Chicago, Ill.—Eckrich workers hired before Dec. 15, 1986 received a 20¢ raise this December, but those hired after that date did not. That is the way our contract was written. Newer workers also face a three-year progression to job rate. When that was brought up at the contract ratification meeting, the local union president said that we who were already working at Eckrich had better start worrying about ourselves, not about the newer people coming in.

The contract calls us "trainees" during those three years, which is ridiculous, because there is no training in this place. They put you on a job, and you either do it or you don't. There is nothing that takes three years to learn. What are we doing? Working in the radar at the airport? It's very unfair. And look at how much money the company saves!

Also in December people working first shift on the bulk lines in department 647 were forced to work more than 12 hours, because there weren't enough people on second shift to relieve them. Some of us

were under the impression that we had the right to go home after 12 hours. We called the Illinois Department of Labor to ask how many hours a day an employer could force people to work. Do you know what the answer is? Twenty-four!

There is no limit in the law. The limit has to be in the contract. All our contract says is: "Employees will be required to work the overtime scheduled in the job to which they are assigned." American workers, at their first national congress in 1866, declared their priority to be the struggle for an eight-hour working day. More than 120 years later, we here at Eckrich have no limit to our working day.

The union just raised our dues again, with no notice, no explanation, no meeting, no vote. The increase just showed up on our pay checks. What are we paying dues for? Our contract stinks, and the pay scale and the overtime provision aren't all that are wrong with it. We have almost a year to prepare to make some changes: The contract expires in December, 1989.

—Eckrich workers

Aerospace dangers

Los Angeles, Cal.—All this trouble started when Reagan came in and put PATCO controllers out. Since then, all the unions have been going down and our wages have been going down.

At the company where I used to work they have a union, the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers. Last time they voted to accept the two-tier system. The company can bring anybody in off the street at \$6.00 an hour. Unions are okay, but when they function like this it's no good for the working person.

I got laid off last February. I was making \$14.05 an hour as a structural mechanic. Three months later, they called me back at \$9.50 an hour. I had to accept it because I would have lost my unemployment. I was still doing the same work, but they classified me as a "plastics trainee," only because I was now working with plastics, where I used to work with metal.

I was working on the Stealth bomber, where a lot of people got sick from the chemicals, but to me it was really nothing new. I've had to work with hazardous materials, cleaning solvents, like MIBK, NICK, etc., as long as I've been in aircraft.

At some companies they do have safety equipment like masks and body suits, but a lot of people don't want to believe how dangerous these chemicals are, or that something can happen to them. If workers are at a plant that has safety regulations, they'd better pay attention, because some companies are negligent.

I was laid off again. Now I work at Northrop, where they don't give a damn about you. First, it's a non-union shop. If you do what they say, you've got a job, but if you don't, you're in the street. There's nobody to go to bat for you.

I was hired to work 40 hours a week, but the third day they asked me to work overtime. I said no, because the work was hurting my back. One month later a memo came down that overtime is mandatory. Ten hours a day, Monday through Thursday, nine hours on Friday, and eight hours on Saturday. If you don't show up on Saturday, you get an infraction. If you are absent for any reason, you get an infraction.

When I first got there, they would "move out an article" in four to five days. Now it's every three days. As soon as they see you catching up, they cut down the time.

I'm not far away from retirement age. I tell all the young guys it's crazy to stay there, because it's a dead-end job.

—Black aerospace worker

GM - Saginaw's robots

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

In Saginaw, Mich., General Motors has built what the capitalists are calling the world's most futuristic factory—a small factory operated almost entirely by robots, with just a few human beings. This \$52 million plant went into fully automated production of front-wheel-drive axles last fall.

Technology has become king here. It has replaced almost all workers. Only 42 hourly workers are spread over two shifts, and soon the night shift will operate with no human workers at all. Overhead, in a glass cage, a few engineers and technicians run the factory. General Motors has done away with both workers and management, and they have only a handful of engineers and technicians left to get rid of.

David M. Hitz, superintendent of operations, says: "We've forced as much technology in as we could." Michael F. Carter, who heads the whole program at GM called "factories-of-the-future," says of the Saginaw plant (which is called the "Saginaw Vanguard"): "My challenge is to grow the technologies here and move them to other places in General Motors."

In other words, the Saginaw Vanguard is to be used as a laboratory for "growing" tomorrow's technology to replace live labor—human beings—throughout the auto industry.

Robot innovations at the plant include component assembly, with pairs of robot arms assembling components while holding them in mid-air, the same way a human would. This method eliminates the fixtures and part feeders now needed, and allows for retooling for a new part simply by switching the software program that guides the robots. To help the robot arms work more like the arms of a human being, the Vanguard engineers devised an "artificial vision system" with multiple video-camera "eyes."

Half the plant's operating budget is devoted to research and development. General Motors has proved how concrete is the statement Marx made over 100 years ago: "To have one basis for life and another for science is a priori a lie." Science under capitalism is not for human development, but to develop machines that will get rid of human beings—and add to the poverty, unemployment, and homelessness that has grown so great in the Reagan years.

I was disgusted but not surprised when I learned of the official United Auto Workers (UAW) response to the Saginaw Vanguard. Terry M. Ross, a UAW bureaucrat appointed by GM to an advisory committee, was quoted in Business Week (Sept. 12, 1988) as saying that this "new and better" technology is necessary, or "the world's going to go on without you." There's "a real team feeling" that getting the technology to work is actually long-term job insurance, he remarked.

Job insurance for whom, I ask? More jobs for more robots to replace workers? How brainwashed have these labor bureaucrats become?

From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya Marxist-Humanist Archives

Editor's note: January 1989, as the 30th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution, is a propitious moment for reprinting the following excerpts from Raya Dunayevskaya's Political-Philosophic Letter of May 15, 1978, "The Latin American Unfinished Revolutions." Dunayevskaya appended to this Letter her correspondence with the Argentinian Marxist Silvio Frondizi; this crucial dialogue can be found in Dunayevskaya's Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution, pp. 167-72.

May 15, 1978

Of the more than two dozen talks I gave on this spring's lecture tour...the talk that produced the most probing discussion was the one given at California State University on "The Latin American Unfinished Revolutions: Where To Next?" This was due to the fact that the discussion on it transformed the question, "Where To Next?" from one of "programs and tactics," as was the case heretofore, to one of methodology and a philosophy of revolution.

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION BEFORE AND AFTER RUSSIA'S ENTRY

In the 1960s the discussions around the New Divide—the Cuban Revolution—were nearly totally uncritical both because of the great enthusiasm over its success against both Batista and that goliath 90 miles from its shore, U.S. imperialism, and because of the hope that it would initiate a new age of revolutions on no less than a tri-continental Third World range. But the new question posed in the 1970s was: How could it be that Cuba—which made its revolution by its own force and its own Reason which Fidel had declared to be "Humanist"¹—was now so blatantly tail-endist to Russia, globally, as to declare Ethiopia a "land going toward socialism" and oppose the Eritrean liberation struggle Fidel had so long championed?

This is not to say that those now asking that question had opposed the Cuban Revolution when it first took place. Quite the contrary. They had opposed any who dared question a single aspect of it, whether that was the transformation of guerrilla warfare into the universal for uprooting any and all class societies, or Cuba's relationship to Russian Communism. But now one African called the Cubans "mercenaries," and I strongly objected to the designation, explaining that, no doubt if I were Eritrean, I could easily sound as Maoist as those who declare Russia to be "Enemy No. 1," but that choosing the "lesser evil" has always brought to the fore the greater evil, be it U.S. imperialism or Russian.

The young man replied that, first, he was not Eritrean, but Ethiopian; and that a genuine social revolution is exactly what the liberation struggles within Ethiopia aimed at, as against Col. Mengistu. But, continued the young man, the truth is always concrete, and, concretely, the Cubans are not revolutionaries but counter-revolutionaries in Ethiopia.

THIRD WORLD-ISM AND "DEPENDENCY THEORIES"

Where, in the 1960s and early 1970s, discussions in the Left centered around "Dependency Theories," today discussion is around the unfinished nature of all Third World revolutions. That is to say, previously U.S. imperialism alone was held to be the enemy, its tentacles so massive that, it was concluded, there was no substantive native capitalist class, and therefore the class struggle road to revolution was inapplicable in the underdeveloped countries. Today, Third World-ism is declared to be sheer "euphoria."²

This particular aspect of the discussions was induced by Gérard Chaliand's *Revolution in the Third World*. It is by no means a work by some reactionary outsider, but a Left "participant-observer" as he rightly designates himself. It is true he is not a Marxist, and is so anti-Leninist as to often hyphenate Lenin's name with Stalin's. Moreover, he disregards totally the global extension of the theory of revolution to the Orient by "non-party masses," developed by Lenin in the Theses on the National Question at the 1920 Communist International Congress, and other writings that flowed from it.³ When Chaliand does speak of the relevance of Lenin's view to the underdeveloped countries of our era, he seems to skip a near half-century of fundamental changes in the world, especially Mao's transformation of Lenin's concept of proletarian and peasant revolution into guerrilla wars, that Mao designated as "people's wars" in which he accepted "patriotic" capitalist nationalists. To cap it all, Chaliand entitles the crucial section "The Leninist Bureaucracy and Foreign Policy: China Since the Cultural Revolution!"

1. See Fidel's speech, Summer 1959: "Standing between the two political and economic ideologies or positions being debated in the world, we are holding our own positions. We have named it humanism...The tremendous problem faced by the world is that it has been placed in a position where it must choose between capitalism, which starves people, and communism, which resolves economic problems but suppresses the liberties so greatly cherished by man. Both Cubans and Latin Americans cherish and foster a revolution that may meet their material needs without sacrificing those liberties...this is a humanistic revolution, because it does not deprive man of his essence, but holds him as its basic aim. Capitalism sacrifices man; the Communist state, by its totalitarian concept, sacrifices the rights of man...this revolution is not red, but olive-green, for olive-green is precisely our color, the color of the revolution brought by the rebel army from the heart of the Sierra Maestra." (reproduced in *The New Left Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1961)

2. See *Revolution in the Third World: Myths and Prospects* by Gérard Chaliand (New York: Viking Press, 1977).

3. See my analysis of those Theses in relationship to the African Revolutions of our day in *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions*.

Nevertheless, for today's Left, Chaliand speaks as an "insider," a Leftist who had been a prominent exponent of Third World-ism and who lived with revolutionaries in the field—in Latin America, in the Palestinian Resistance Movement, and in the jungles of Africa. It is this that makes Chaliand's book a serious contribution to the present discussion of what to do now that the revolutions in the Third World have remained unfinished.

He answers unequivocally with what he calls "Guerrilla Inflation: The Foco Theory as a Theory of Failure." He shows that, first, the only peasant and urban guerrillas that had any success were those that were social as well as national struggles, that is to say, class battles.⁴ Secondly, he now acknowledges that "the most important weakness is the conceptual." (p. 179) In a word, where in the 1960s and early 1970s, activism was about the only guideline—whether that concerned Cuba, Africa, and the Middle East, or whether that related to the industrialized countries, especially France, May 1968—Chaliand concludes that, both to understand what happened and to see the direction we are heading, objectively and subjectively, we can no longer evade the "conceptual."



Mass demonstration in Mexico City, Mexico, against electoral fraud

THE THEORETIC VOID AND TROTSKYISM IN LATIN AMERICA

Unfortunately, far from drawing the "conceptual" to a logical conclusion as a total philosophy of liberation, Chaliand himself reduces it to "social and political terrain," which is hardly more than Trotskyist paraphernalia, though he rejects Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution...And yet no topic demands a more critical balance sheet than the Trotskyists' responsibility for the unfinished nature of Latin American revolutions. After all, as far back as 1952, Bolivia had a national and social revolution, in which the Trotskyists played a leading role. They have learned little from their popular frontism, which only paved the way for retrogression. That the failure to face that question assures the repetition of laying the ground for even more tragic failures was seen as recently as 1971, when the new euphoria over Allende's victory led them to issue the call for a "Single Marxist Party of the Masses" through the merger of the Socialist, Communist, and Trotskyist Parties.

Even now, when they blame Fidel for not having been critical enough of Allende's reformism, not to mention totally tail-ending Russian Communism in Africa, the Trotskyists can find nothing sharper to accuse Fidel of than "empiricism on the question of Stalinism."

It is not empiricism that is the question. It is the critical determinant—the class nature, the capitalist class nature, of Stalinism, which is, after all, but the Russian name for the world phenomenon of our age: state-capitalism.

And it is the blindness to this reality which assures continued Trotskyist tail-ending of Communism. To repeat it more succinctly: the "orthodox" Trotskyist rhetoric about Cuba being "the rampart of world revolution" was uttered three years after the death of Che revealed that more serious than the failure of foco-ism or "the party to lead" was the total isolation from the masses. Che himself expressed it this way in his diary:

4. See my analysis of Debray, Che and Castro's foco theory in Part III of *Philosophy and Revolution*, "Economic Reality and the Dialectics of Liberation," especially pp. 276-278.

For the development of this analysis consult the following articles in *News & Letters*: "Cuba's Revolution Highlights Mass Unrest in Latin America," (Lead) Feb. 1959; "Cuba Jolts State Department Domination of Latin America," (Lead) Jan. 1960; "The Cuban Revolution: The Year After," (Two Worlds) Dec. 1960; "The Kennedy Administration and Castro's Cuba," (Editorial) May 1961; "Kennedy's Nuclear Spectacular: Testing, Blackmailing, and Brainwashing," (Two Worlds) March 1962; "Kennedy and Khrushchev Bring the World Close to the Point of No Return," (Editorial) and "Ideology and Revolution: A Study in What Happens After..." (Two Worlds) Nov. 1962; as well as the Nov. 1967 Editorial on the death of Che Guevara and the critique of Debray's *Revolution in the Revolution* (Two Worlds) March and April, 1968.

See also the following *Political Letters*: "Preliminary Statement on Crisis Over Cuba," written within hours of hearing news reports of the Bay of Pigs invasion, April 22, 1961; and "Marxist-Humanism vs. the U.S. Blockade of Cuba, the Russian Missile Bases There, Fidel Castro's 'Selective' Party, All Playing with the Nuclear Holocaust," Oct. 25, 1962. All of these articles are included in the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection on deposit with the Walter Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI 48202, and available on microfilm.

The Latin American unfinished revolutions

"not one peasant has yet joined the guerrilla group."

MARX'S THEORY OF REVOLUTION, AND SILVIO FRONDISI

It is this, just this, which makes imperative the return to Marx's theory of revolution as masses in motion demanding new human relationships, beginning with a new relationship of theory to practice rooted in the movement from practice. The terrain of Latin America brought to my mind the development of the Argentinian revolutionary, Silvio Frondizi. On the eve of the first revolts from under Russian totalitarianism—the June 1953 uprising in East Germany—Frondizi began a new type of digging into the origins of Marx's new continent of thought he called a "new Humanism." Frondizi wrote:

"The recent publication of the *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* and of *The German Ideology* serves to illuminate many important aspects of dialectical materialism, making urgent and indispensable a new study of theory that would take into account the humanism in them and in *The Holy Family*, 'On the Jewish Question,' the 'Introduction to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right,' as well as the

philosophical principles affirmed in the early works...illuminate and enrich them."

Silvio Frondizi was a serious Marxist, an activist. In a land where the Left confusedly hoped after World War II that Perón might be an effective force against U.S. imperialism, Frondizi had instead, by the 1950s, organized a group to seriously study dialectics and print Marxist studies in Argentina.

In the early 1960s, Frondizi moved toward accepting the theory of state-capitalism...It is true that the pull of the Cuban Revolution was too much for Frondizi to resist; he took an uncritical position towards it. By 1968, the most tragic aspect, globally, of Cuba's moving away from revolution, was Cuba's tail-ending Stalinism in the approval of Russia's counter-revolutionary crushing of Prague Spring, 1968. For that matter, independent tendencies, like Trotskyism, that did, "on their own," support Czech resistance, were keeping quiet at the Tricontinental Congress on that very question, as if East Europe was on a different planet.

Moreover, it wasn't only the Third World countries that remained cold to "socialism with a human face" in 1968. So sure was the revolutionary youth movement in France that they could "make it" (a social revolution) without any digging deep in order to work out a new relationship of theory to practice, maintaining that theory, as Cohn-Bendit had put it, could be picked up "en route," that Czechoslovakia was left bleeding alone. Not only that, Cuba remained very much unblemished to the "New Left"; indeed, the attitude to sharp revolutionary criticism of Cuba in those years was as if the critics were pariahs who are never there "when the revolution needs them."

What the 1970s brought forth that was new is by no means limited to the question raised by the Ethiopian student on Cuba's role in Ethiopia. Quite the contrary. What is new are the new groups that are appearing from the Left, who want to see with eyes of today the past two decades that would not separate the Latin American struggles from those in East Europe, or the Black Revolution in the U.S. from the present struggle in South Africa, or new class struggles in West Europe from the so-called "ultra-Lefts" in China, much less allow Women's Liberation to be relegated to "the day after" the revolution. The new is that the struggles must be considered as a totality, and as a totality from which would emerge new beginnings.

It is on this question, precisely, that Frondizi still has a great deal to contribute. The Argentinian fascists who murdered Silvio Frondizi on Sept. 27, 1974 could not kill those new beginnings. New dialogues have been opened which must be continued, whether it be on the question of a total philosophy of liberation that would not allow philosophy and revolution to be separated, much less be taken out of global context, or whether it be on the strategy of foco-ism, or genuine proletarian revolution. I trust that this is but the beginning of a dialogue with the new Latin American revolutionaries.

Editorial

Bush's 'moderate' image sows illusions

Ever since Election Night in November, the media has been expounding on how different President-elect Bush is from Ronald Reagan. We are told that Bush is "pragmatic," a "centrist," "not an ideologue." Gone is the Bush of the campaign trail, with his racist commercials and McCarthyite attacks. Instead this new Bush is about to "leave the era of Reaganism." For evidence of this transformation we are instructed to look at Bush's Cabinet appointments, his cooperation with Congress, his "tone."

What is at issue here is not Bush's seemingly split personality, but the illusions, indeed, what could be called self-delusions, that the media, the labor bureaucracy, and much of the Left have adopted. The truth is that the Bush presidency is a continuity with the Reaganism which plagued the 1980s. Reaganism—which from the start was not a phenomenon limited to Reagan himself—has by now extended its reach globally as a new retrogressionist expression of capitalism, as seen both in its rollback of the conditions of life and labor and in the active role it accords to its right-wing ideology.

CONTINUITY BETWEEN REAGAN-BUSH

This continuity between the Reagan and Bush administrations thus encompasses both objective conditions and ideological ground. Take the judiciary. After Reagan's eight years in office no less than 50% of all Federal judges are his appointees, able to sit as judges for life. Reagan's three Supreme Court appointments, when added to Nixon's and Ford's, and now Bush's appointments to come, allow Bush to project a Court more monolithically right-wing than the "nine old men" Roosevelt railed against in the 1930s.

While few are deluding themselves about the nature of the Supreme Court, Bush's Cabinet appointments

have evidently thrown up quite a smokescreen. Just consider the selection of Jack Kemp, an original Reaganite ideologue, as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Kemp's selection was immediately praised by NAACP president Ben Hooks, who called Kemp "an L-word liberal on civil rights," and hailed his schemes for "urban enterprise zones, housing vouchers and public-private partnerships," schemes floated for years by Black conservatives at the right-wing Heritage Foundation. That Kemp supported Reagan's massive cuts in Federal support for low-income housing—from \$29 billion in 1980 to \$9 billion in 1988—was nowhere mentioned. Forgotten also was the fact that it was under the Reagan-Bush administration that the number of homeless in the U.S. leaped to some two million, many of them families with one or more wage-earners, yet with too little income to afford permanent shelter.



A review of 'The Tragedy of Afghanistan'

The Tragedy of Afghanistan: A first-hand account
by Raha Anwar. London: Verso, 1988, 288 pp.

This book provides an account of the seizure of power by the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) in April, 1978 and its rule through the year 1987. Anwar's style of writing conveys a deep sense of tragedy that, in my experience, is characteristic of a disillusioned "Third World" radical intellectual who has just survived an eventful period of struggle.

At the outset, Anwar rejects the idea of Afghanistan as a "feudal society in the classical sense—an error which most western intellectuals and the Marxist leaders of the present order have made with such tragic consequences." He describes Afghanistan instead as a "tribal confederation comprising multi-racial groups and nationalities," which he maintains plays a major role in the socio-political life of the society and which was totally left out of the political analysis by the intellectuals of the present ruling order.

AFGHAN HISTORY

The book starts with a richly detailed history of tribal relations, their bloody conflicts and eventual domination of a leader of one tribe over the rest. Anwar shows that this part of Afghan history played a significant role in some of the vicious infighting within the PDPA and in the failure of the socio-political reforms implemented by "the present ruling order."

Anwar then embarks on telling the tragic chronicle of the PDPA—its formation, splits, vicious infighting, struggle for control over the Party apparatus, as well as its relation with the USSR, its feeble-minded analyses of reality, and finally its confused sense of history and its own destiny.

It is here where the author grapples with the essence of the "tragedy of Afghanistan." The tragedy lies not in the events per se, nor in imperial domination or even in the contradictions ingrained within the social order. Rather, the essence of the tragedy lies in the live men and women who set out to change their world, but are hopelessly unable to know how and for what purpose. Instead, they engage in repression, demagoguery and violence against themselves.

Anwar writes, "It has been said by Voltaire that every revolution eats up its children, but the April Revolution [of 1978] ate not just its children, but its parents too. Within two years it was unique in the sense that all its major and minor figures had either been murdered, jailed or exiled....Not one of them was killed, jailed or exiled by counter-revolutionary forces. The PDPA alone takes the credit for these bloody events."

Contrary to a tendency within certain Third World "Left" intellectuals, Anwar does not conclude by totally dismissing Marxism as a result of the failure of Afghan "Marxists." He rather blames these "Marxists" for not having the proletariat and peasantry participate in the PDPA, for failing to correctly analyze the objective socio-political reality, and for their "inability to practice democracy within their ranks." This is a similar conclusion drawn by a significant part of the Iranian Left following the Iranian Revolution of 1979.

FAILURE TO COMPREHEND MARX

In this, Anwar and those Iranian intellectuals perpetrate the tragedy of both the Afghan and Iran Revolutions by not reaching out to the philosophical roots of the tragedy. It is the "self-determination" of the forces of revolution that is at stake, not simply their induction into the Party, and the enlistment of their support. It is their particular philosophy of revolution that drives

members of the vanguard party-to-lead toward such attitudes and actions. It is Marx's philosophy of revolution that these Marxists fail to comprehend and not simply the objective realities of their societies. The next generation of "revolutionaries" are bound to commit another tragedy unless they work out the details of Marx's revolutionary philosophy.

A chapter of the book is devoted to the Mujahedin (the guerrilla forces fighting the PDPA and Russian forces) and an exposition of its reactionary leaders and their fundamentalist and reactionary politics and practices. But Anwar clearly maintains that the culprit for the failing of the "revolution" is the PDPA.

Anwar maintains that the present deadlock has driven the Russians and PDPA toward the alternative of a "government of national reconciliation" comprising all forces, including the deposed King, Zattir Shah. This alternative, however, requires the virtual consent of the U.S. and resolution of the differences between the conflicting forces within the Mujahedin. Anwar concludes that "Moscow would, in all likelihood, be glad to fling the PDPA into the Amu River and pull out," provided Moscow is convinced that this "national reconciliation" government is not hostile.

—Ali Atesh

Direct from Russia: continuing lies about Afghan War

Editor's note: With February scheduled as the date for Russian soldiers to pull out of Afghanistan, we print the following article which was recently published in Russia in the unofficial journal Referendum, one of many underground journals now springing up in Russia that do not have official sanction under Gorbachev's "glasnost." The article was translated by Ukrainian Peace News Vol. 2, No. 2-4.

For our society participation in the Afghan war will soon come to an end—but what then?

For many years it was as if there were no questions about Afghanistan. Certainly, there were no answers. Only one thing was certain—everything was a lie. Now, lies about Afghanistan are not so big. Questions have appeared even in the official press but it is difficult to believe that answers will be provided quickly. Instead of answers, we hear about the heroic exploits of our soldiers, their military preparedness and readiness to fulfill their military and international obligations.

WHY ARE they concealing the truth from us? Are they afraid of society's reactions? All these lies are meant for our long-term education, even though we have already been educated and taught that our system is the leading system in the world. Afghanistan, then, should also be a leading country and if they are opposed to this then they don't understand what's good for them. And why then, not force them to understand?

A. Prokhanov now writes in the newspaper *Literaturna Gazeta*: "The forecast was incorrect, the experts were wrong..." But for almost eight years he kept us happy with his reports from Afghanistan that the "forecast" was correct and that the red flag would fly over Afghanistan. The war wasn't a mistake. The experts knew what to expect.

The war was a military and moral defeat. But one still reads about "those cursed mountains" and phrases like: "If only it hadn't been for those local people, who helped the dushman," "if only they hadn't been so fanatical," "if only they hadn't acquired foreign weapons we would have defeated them." "We" would have defeated "them." This is the extent of our patriotism: us and them. Ours against the whites; ours against the fascists; ours against the dushmans. That is the way we

Elizabeth Dole's nomination as Secretary of Labor was praised—by Sen. Kennedy and AFL-CIO Pres. Lane Kirkland—even after Dole informed reporters at her press conference that "we have a lot of homeless people because of changes in lifestyle." Forgotten, evidently, was Dole's tenure as Transportation Secretary under Reagan, where she helped break the flight attendants' strike against TWA.

GRIM REALITY FACING WORKERS

Lost also, amidst the hoopla over the Reagan "recovery" and the supposed 5.3% jobless rate, was the grim reality facing workers in the spheres Kemp and Dole are assigned to oversee. That reality includes a frightening rise in on-the-job injuries and deaths, the deterioration of health and pension benefits, and the imposition of two- and three-tier wage agreements. As Harvard economist Benjamin Friedman put it recently: "The economic expansion that began in 1983...is the first in 50 years in which the average working American's wage has gone not up but down compared to inflation."

Indeed, the specific character of the U.S. economy in the 1980s underlines the intensity with which Reaganism united ideology and economics. As Raya Dunayevskaya pointed out in 1985: "Reagan has deliberately created deficits in order to get the Democrats, too, to agree to dismantle what has been achieved since the New Deal, over a whole half-century—whether that be welfare programs, or labor rights legislation..."

As George Bush takes office, he inherits Reaganism's ideology, its economic and social reality, and its immanent crises—from the deficit to the nuclear waste nightmare, from the deteriorated education system to the lack of U.S. "competitiveness" in hi-tech.

WHAT WE INHERIT FROM REAGANISM

What do we inherit from this decade of Reaganism? The continuity we inherit includes one of revolt against Reagan's retrogressionism, a revolt seen in the women's march for abortion rights scheduled for April 9; in the latest Black civil rights marches in Toledo, Ohio, against racism there; in the student demonstrations and workers' strikes which never get reported in the daily press.

But there is another continuity we inherit from the decade of Reaganism, one which can place great obstacles in the path of this revolt's development into a mass freedom movement. The illusions on Bush's "moderate-ness," on his "distance from Reaganism," reveal a deep impatience—on the part of liberals and Left activists alike—to get out from under this oppressive retrogressionism without having to face the fact that the decade-long ideological assault has polluted the thinking of the Left itself. It is this which demands a profound discontinuity in 1989.

What is needed now is a re-organization in thought and activity, not only to fight the Reaganism now headed by George Bush, but to help re-create Marx's Marxism as a philosophy of liberation for our age. That is why we invite all our readers to study and discuss with us *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two Historic-Philosophic Writings* by Raya Dunayevskaya.

have been brought up.

EVERYTHING is permitted just as it was permitted in the village of Padkhvab Shana: "Soviet troops were in pursuit of the Mujahedin and surrounded the village at 8 o'clock of the morning of 13th September 1982. Some of the fighters and villagers, including children, ran into a concealed pipe. Soviet soldiers asked two old men to go inside and convince the fighters to come out. Having received a negative reply, the old men returned saying that no one was inside. According to an eyewitness report, the soldiers poured petrol and a white powder into all three exits of the pipe. They then set everything alight, causing enormous explosions. This lasted until 3 o'clock. When they were convinced that their operation had been successful they left laughing and joking. The following day the villagers pulled out four bodies; later they found 30 more bodies followed by 68 on the third day and three more on the seventh."

There are many more similar stories; how Soviet soldiers shot women and children, forced inhabitants of a village into a house and threw grenades into it. But we are not educated enough to learn about this. We are not even educated enough to believe this could happen.

During the days of repressions there were not only the repressed but also the executioners. Which system would we have imposed on Afghanistan? What would we have taught them? Our lies? Silence? Our rationing system? Alcoholism? Economic inequality, socialism? Just what did "we" want to give "them"?

THE ROLE of writers and journalists in the war has been shameful; where were they when the war was in full swing? They waited until the troops started withdrawing. But they must realize that it is not only a question of pulling out the troops, it is also about educating our society about the policy of violence.

Enough of this silence, let's have the truth, but not from those who during the war wrote one thing and now write something quite different. V. Glotov, writing in *Ogonyok* hopes for the enlightenment of politicians' minds. This can only happen, he adds, when society is enlightened. It's true that the war was a tragedy, but we must learn to identify the reasons and to be able to express them; otherwise other tragedies await us.

STATE OF THE UNION, STATE OF THE WORLD, 1989

Peter Mallory's "Two Worlds in U.S. Economy" revealed the true economic "State of the Union." The 16-year structural crisis of capitalism has so deeply affected society that a whole generation has no experience of even a relatively stable period. I'm 26, and have no memory of factories hiring large numbers of people. Getting a decent-paying union job today—say at G.M.—is about as likely as going to heaven. (And since I don't believe in heaven and hell, you know what I mean!)

There's only one thing I'd like to add to Mallory's article. While 35 million people officially live below the poverty line, when one analyst adjusted the 1960 poverty line to 1988 dollars he found that fully one-third of the U.S. population—more than 80 million people—live in poverty!

Young worker
Los Angeles

Despite all the talk of a "kinder and gentler" nation by George Bush and "glasnost" by Gorbachev, two headlines can demonstrate how little things are changing in either country. Bush's selection of Jack Kemp—who helped Reagan ruthlessly dismantle so many of the federal programs that helped the needy—as new chief to deal with low-income housing and the poor, is like appointing the fox to guard the chicken coop! As for all of Gorbachev's talk about "deStalinization," when a small group of Russian dissidents wanted to build a memorial to those who perished during Stalin's years, they were immediately stopped. The government declared it had its own ideas for such a memorial. It seems the more there is talk of change, the more things remain the same.

Feminist
Chicago

I'm not sure what Marxist-Humanism means but I do know what "we stand for the abolition of capital, private and state" means as it is put in N&L's "Who We Are and What We Stand For" box, because the paper gives concrete examples along with a philosophic dimension. The "economic restructuring, U.S. style" that Felix Martin discussed in the December issue in his Workshop

Talks—with robots replacing workers, a two-tier wage system (we have one at Wayne State University now, too), millions of homeless, and miserable working conditions for so many workers—that's a pretty tangible example of why capitalism should be abolished here! And the letters from the Polish miners about their working and living conditions certainly show it's an international need.

WSU student
Detroit

How true has News & Letters' analysis of the two worlds in each country and Reagan-Gorbachev as ideological twins become, especially after Gorbachev's trip to the U.S. in December where he gave his well-embraced speech to the UN just before the Armenian earthquake. Yes, Mr. Gorbachev, here is your great "restructuring"! Your buildings collapsed on thousands upon thousands of human beings because you put bombs before bricks to support the houses they lived in. What new meaning for me that phrase of Rosa Luxemburg now takes on: "Your order is built on sand."

Erica Rae
Chicago

I used to hear people talk about the Depression as a terrible time in our history, an extraordinarily difficult period in our past. Ronald Reagan has made that Depression the norm.

Graduate student
Illinois

The current regimes in Washington and Moscow have attempted to portray Reagan and Gorbachev as "peacemakers." The continued carnage in Afghanistan and the Soviet suppression of rights in the Balkan nations, as well as the American shooting down of two Libyan jets and its continued imperialistic actions towards Latin America, all expose the peacemaker label as a monstrous lie.

The events leading up to and subsequent to the bombing of Flight 103 fit into the same pattern of international disregard for human life. Several countries, including Russia, Britain, Ger-

Readers' Views

many and the U.S., were aware that a bomb threat was received. Yet, no serious effort to prevent the disaster or warn the passengers was undertaken. Perhaps the government officials involved sought to maintain the illusion that peace is at hand.

Philosophy professor
Chicago

WORKERS ACROSS BORDERS

Your readers who have been following the developments and may have contributed to it will want to know that the Lefty Morgan Memorial Fund made its goal to purchase the engine for the fishing boat which the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union here undertook to construct for the villagers of San Juan del Sur, in Nicaragua, as a symbol of workers' solidarity. The port town had been destroyed in 1979 by Somoza. The project began in 1986 and is now almost done. The motor has been delivered but is not yet installed. There has been good TV coverage of all the efforts, and an incredible outpouring of support. During 1989 the boat will be catching fish off the coast of Nicaragua, providing jobs, food and much-needed support for the whole village of San Juan del Sur.

Margaret Morgan
Vancouver, BC

I just came from a union meeting where we were asked to take a one-year contract plus a 35-cents-an-hour raise. They said the company told them sales are low. The company just bought two plants in Mexico. They opened those plants for cheaper labor. Those people work hard and make only about \$2 an hour. I had read about plants just like that in N&L, where the workers were paid cheap money and had bad working conditions. The company cries poor but sends their business to Mexico in order to pay us less too.

U.S. Auto Radiator worker
Detroit

RAYA'S LETTERS ON HEGEL'S ABSOLUTES

The NIU (Northern Illinois University) freshman who signed himself "Joe" in his article on the Youth Page of the December 1988 N&L is grappling with the important critique of vanguardist leadership. But his assertion that spontaneous leadership continues (indefinitely?) in its own path of self-development is disproved by history—whether Poland's Solidarnosc, the 1979 Iranian Revolution, or the mass movement in the 1960s in the U.S. Those are all taken up in Raya Dunayevskaya's column in that same issue. She also takes up her 1953 Letters as the recognition of a movement from practice to theory and therefore "the challenge for a new relationship of theory to practice." It is hearing all the new voices in the context of the recreation of Marx's Marxism for our age that opens doors for ongoing self-development. That is why Iranian revolutionaries in 1979 found most relevant what Dunayevskaya wrote in her 1957 *Marxism and Freedom* on "Worker and Intellectual at a Turning Point in History: 1848-1861."

Organizer
Los Angeles

An "old politico" recently spoke to me about a bulletin he wanted to put together on the Longshoremen. He said it had to have a "philosophic base." But philosophy can't be simply pulled in by the heel. I suggested he look at his proposal in the context of Raya's Letters on the Absolute Idea so it could be more than a recording of the grievances of a strata of militants within the union. What is implicit in those grievances can be made explicit as serious workers' critique of automation and the role that unions play in disciplining workers in production. The key to this is the joining of a movement from theory with that movement from practice.

Another "old politico"
San Francisco

I like what I once heard Raya Du-

nayevskaya say in a lecture about France 1968 failing because philosophy was missing. I think this is the problem with the Green Party in Germany right now. After reading Raya's 1953 Letters I think what she is saying is not just theoretical but practical too. This is an idea connected to reality.

Swiss student
New York

Thanks for sending me the information by and about Raya Dunayevskaya. I read the Letters on Hegel with a great deal of interest. It is always a delight to find a thinker who can enjoy and see in Hegel a position that can still speak to us. She has set me thinking about the distinctions in the Logic between uebergehen, uebersetzen, and befreien—perhaps even looking for some implications for feminist work. The remarks I enclose are rather informal...

Feminist philosopher
Ohio

Editor's note: We will print in a special discussion section of the March issue some of the responses received on Raya Dunayevskaya's "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes."



WOMEN'S LIBERATION

I have been told many times that few use the term "Women's Liberation" anymore—a term I always loved because it says what women want—Liberation! Freedom! Whether or not that is true here, whenever women in developing countries today write about their movement, that is what they name it. "Women's Liberation" is their freedom movement throughout Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

Women's Liberationist
Chicago

I'm sending you a symbol you might want to use in connection with international Women's Liberation articles and letters. What I love about it is that this picture of the globe does not have the U.S. as the center of the world.

Supporter
Pennsylvania

Editor's note: We're using it at once. See above and page 2.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Norway is one of the lesser known parts of the world, and things going on here seldom reach international attention.

Even among comrades who are in a favorable position to follow developments we find a great lack of knowledge. There is no wonder that those who don't even understand the language are unfamiliar with our part of the world.

Until now, little has happened that should change this, but some important developments seem to be taking place. We wanted to furnish you with some information about them. It is important to us to keep up international political contacts.

Motiva Forlag
Oslo, Norway

Editor's note: See p. 10 for the article we received.

Please send me News & Letters for further study. I gave the issue I had to another activist involved in the trade union. I found it comprehensive in approach and adoptable to an industrialized country. Would it fit the Philippine conditions?

I wonder whether we should still be launching a Protracted People's War. Guerrilla warfare is widespread throughout the islands. The masses are highly politicized, we have had leaps. Are we still going to wait for the U.S.-Aquino regime to stink? It may take us another two to three decades just like with Marcos. These are not the only unresolved questions.

Revolutionary activist
Philippines

We Need Your Help!

(continued from page 1)

Never was it more urgent to expand the activities and deepen the reach of Marxist-Humanism. That is why the new work we have just got off the press—**The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism**—is central to all our work this year:

- We celebrate Black History Month by joining in new activities against the racism spewing out everywhere, with a new edition in hand of Charles Denby's **Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal**, just off the press from Wayne State University. On page 8 you will find a young Black worker's review.

- As part of our struggle against U.S. imperialism's wars on Latin America, we will have a new Spanish-language pamphlet off the press by the end of February. It will carry the full translation of Raya Dunayevskaya's essay, "A Post-WWII View of Marx's Humanism, 1843-83; Marxist Humanism, in the 1950s and 1980s." Two other pamphlets of works by Raya—one in Farsi and one in Polish—are also in process.

- New editions of both **Marxism and Freedom** and **Philosophy and Revolution**, off the press in 1989 from Columbia University Press, will be in our hands at the same time that the pages of N&L will continue to demonstrate how this paper has become a weapon in all the freedom struggles: for meat-packing workers fighting lethal conditions in their plants; for youth activists fighting racism and sexism on their campuses; for Women's Liberationists around the world waging a struggle for totally new human relations; for Black freedom fighters determined to end an apartheid world in South Africa and racism everywhere on this globe.

News & Letters has turned to you, our readers, at every decisive point in our history—from our founding in 1955 in the midst of McCarthyism to today when Reaganism continues to run rampant under a new name. Although we continue to have no paid staff, the ever-escalating costs of rent, postage and printing threaten us daily. The printing bill for **The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism** alone is over \$5,000. We pay all these bills out of sales and contributions. **WE CANNOT CONTINUE WITHOUT YOUR HELP.**

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SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY UNDER STATE-CAPITALISM

The essay on "Science and philosophy in the age of state-capitalism" in the December issue of N&L was not an easy article to read. But I was not totally lost because it made clear what the rehabilitation of Bukharin in Russia is all about. And it showed that theory is not separated from life, that a Stalin can use a faulty theory like Bukharin's to justify the horrors of Stalinism. What I question is whether it is necessary for those of us who don't understand math at all to dig into Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts? Is that really what Franklin Dmitryev meant?

Librarian
Ohio

* * *

The quote from Marxism and Freedom that begins Part III of the essay on Science and Philosophy was one I had a lot of trouble with when I first read it years ago. That workers are fighting "against the capitalistic limitations of science and technology"—implying that they would do better—sounded fantastic to me. It was only when I began working with meatpackers that I found workers were talking all the time about how narrow capitalist science is. Workers want to take pride in the work they do. They resent the way capitalism forces them to do the job. That's what I believe Franklin Dmitryev was talking about when he wrote that "the workers themselves must become scientists."

Marxist-Humanist
Chicago

* * *

Capitalism uses science and technology to its own benefit only. It's like the atomic bomb. It was a challenge to the scientists, not because they wanted to destroy the earth, but just so they could use their intelligence. But capitalism used it for its benefit and now everybody's threatened by it.

The same thing with all this machinery. It's not really doing the whole world good. It's just doing it for a certain number of people. The same scientists could be helping the whole world.

Factory worker
Chicago

* * *

Franklin Dmitryev's discussion of "Science and philosophy in the age of state-capitalism" revealed that the most basic statements of the scientific method—theorem and proof—are based on presuppositions and completely external to the relationships they attempt to explain. In a world in which technological

advances both drive us closer to war and deepen the exploitation of labor this "scientific" method (what Hegel called synthetic cognition) is wholly inadequate for understanding today's world. The dialectic method of Marx's Humanism and Marxist-Humanism counterposes the full development of human potentialities against the state-capitalist fetishization of technology and its natural partner, the Plan.

Former engineering student
California

* * *

If anybody thinks the Plan that Franklin Dmitryev critiques so beautifully in his Essay only refers to Russia, they missed the boat. This country has perfected the Plan to justify cuts in every social program that we had won and pretend it is all "scientifically based." You see it in everything from opinion polls to social theories spun to drive human behavior in the direction they want it driven.

Jan
Illinois

* * *

What is magnificent in his Essay is how Dmitryev concretized the abstract-sounding formulation that revolutionaries must follow the dialectic all the way to the Absolute Idea. Bukharin's so-called "dialectical materialism" imposed the Plan as the mediation assumed to prove the capitalist axiom of suppressing workers' self-activity for the sake of production. Marx's relationship to Absolute Idea let him see the resolution within the problem: "labor's self-activity" as "the evolution of all human powers."

Karl Armstrong
Los Angeles

* * *

The most exciting part of the essay on "science and philosophy" was seeing how a discussion of mathematics deepened an understanding of Lenin. It helps us see why Hegel took up a discussion of mathematics in the section on the Idea, in the Science of Logic. In his "Philosophic Notebooks," Lenin criticizes analytic cognition at length for splitting things up into compartments—just the sort of thing that academia does. But when he comments on Hegel's first page on synthetic cognition—where Hegel says synthetic cognition claims to do something different by posing a unity—Lenin is satisfied and skips over the next 21 pages, the very part where Hegel criticizes that claim. The

point is that this is not about math, but about revolutionaries who will fall into a trap if they skip over all the internal barriers to uniting theory and practice.

Revolutionary
Illinois



BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

I appreciated Lou Turner's unique interpretation of the South African student revolts as a "unified struggle," especially as against the two poles of real sectarianism on the one hand, and on the other eclectic activism which leaves the sectarianism unresolved. At the same time, the cliché, "When the Boers shoot our children, they don't ask if we're ANC or PAC," leaves itself open to being interpreted as a call for unity among tendencies with vastly different agendas. An alternative is the way the pamphlet Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought presented how the Black Consciousness Movement sought new human relationships for the Black world, rather than focusing only on being against apartheid. To me, a dialectical unity involves no compromises, but a battle through which the Idea of Freedom is victorious. What kind of unity was achieved in Frelimo?

Black activist
California

VIEW FROM EUROPE

Taking advantage of the U.S. election campaign and the momentary liberty from the U.S. it gave them, the Italian and German governments proposed that West Europe develop a Marshall Plan for Russia, while the European press insisted that due to Gorbachev's new economic policy, revolts will inevitably break out throughout East Europe and lead to war between the two blocks. The idea of investing in Russia and East Europe naturally pleased European industrialists. Russia offers an enormous market to be developed and exploited. Russia, as far as trade goes, is in the same position as a Third World country—but, in contrast, has a well-disciplined working class along with scientists and technicians. However, West Europe cannot even slightly compete with Russia's military might.

After his discussions with West European leaders, Gorbachev rushed off to the U.S. to offer his deal. He would cut

down on armaments in East Europe but in exchange wants U.S. financial and industrial capital invested in Russia. He is saying: Keep your little European partners in line and we will not attack them; we will give you the right to exploit our resources and new free labor market, but let us handle our revolts without interference. It was a golden offer to U.S. financial capital which is losing in its competition with Germany and Japan.

Margaret Ellingham
Italy

YOUTH TODAY



I am tired of right-wing and lately liberal propaganda against youth. It is true that in this alienating society youth who see no place for themselves in the future do turn to drugs and gangs. But they are not all the suicidal addicts and teenage terrorists the media makes them out to be. I worked as a teacher on short assignment in an inner-city high school, and I saw many youth who really wanted to learn in spite of their problems and really tried hard. The idealism of youth is real.

Young student teacher
Los Angeles

* * *

The Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors (CCCO) received a letter from a high school student who reported: "Military recruiters come to our school every few weeks and have a permanent rack of glossy, full-color brochures showing strong, honorable men playing with fancy equipment and telling teenagers how they can go to college for free." The students wanted to have some material to show what things are really like in the armed forces. CCCO does have such material and works to reach people before they enlist. They also give help to those who enlist and then find they made a mistake.

CCCO
2208 South St.
Philadelphia, PA 19146

* * *

Yours is a great paper! I really appreciate hearing the voice of the common people for once!

College student
Illinois

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Essay Article

A Black worker's view: the philosophic dimension in 1989 edition of Charles Denby's *Indignant Heart*

by Gene Ford

The autobiography of Charles Denby, *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, is the biography of an idea of freedom. His is a militant human consciousness that gives voice to the reason which comes from below, from the belly of the machines of capitalist production, speed-up and racism, against which Denby struggled. This book is a historic "shock of recognition" that Black and working people the world over can relate to and see a bit of themselves in.

I am a Black worker myself. I was born in 1955 and raised up in Alabama under the segregated South. I grew up during the Civil Rights Movement and experienced how that movement affected people's thinking. In *Indignant Heart* Denby saw a new way of recording this Black history as revolutionary.

Now, a full decade after its last publication, Wayne State University Press in Detroit is issuing a new edition of Charles Denby's *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* for Black History Month this February. Although he passed away in 1983, there are new dimensions of this 1989 edition of *Indignant Heart* which gave me a 1980s view of Denby and his meaning for today's Black and labor struggles.

First, there is the new introduction written by the Black labor historian William H. Harris, who has also written one of the most important books on the history of Black labor called *The Harder We Run*. And then there is a special afterword which ends this new edition: Raya Dunayevskaya's "In Memoriam to Charles Denby, Worker-Editor," written at the time of his death in October 1983.

I. BLACK LABOR'S QUEST FOR UNIVERSALITY

In the decade since *Indignant Heart's* last publication by South End Press (1978) the decay of capitalist society has come fully forward for Black and working people under the Reagan administration. I know this from my own experience as a worker at a roofing tile production plant for the past three years. Fumes, dust and hazardous working conditions have shown me the deadly uncaring nature of this administration.

Even though I worked in a closed union shop, it reminded me of the non-union working conditions that I experienced while working in Alabama in a textile mill in the 1970s as a youth fresh out of high school. Talk of a union there would get you fired. The air within the plant was full of cotton fibers that left you gasping for air. The machines still kept on spinning regardless of how the worker at the point of production felt.

The managers of giant corporations, from the U.S. to Russia, think technology will save them while they bypass the human being, the laborer, who created it all. They attempt to brainwash us by saying that affirmative action is "reverse discrimination," meanwhile "the residue of past unemployment has accumulated over time, and as a result, Black employment continues to lag behind that of others."

All the bourgeoisie can say is "get a job," while doors are being slammed in our face. At the same time, Black youth are being put under a social microscope and their brains examined for any anti-social or "Black behavior" which rejects this racist white society that means to exclude, alienate and underpay them.

In his book, *The Harder We Run*, Prof. William H. Harris criticized Walter Reuther and the UAW's (United Auto Workers) use of the term "racism in reverse" when in 1939 Black delegates to a UAW convention called for the election of Blacks to leadership positions. It took until 1962 to get the first Black UAW vice-president elected on a national level.

Here Harris footnotes Denby and *Indignant Heart* for his portrait of Reuther, in striking contrast to the Black press and other efforts at that time, to show the UAW president as an "untiring supporter of efforts to end racial discrimination in the union movement." Denby's exposure of the UAW's racist practices against Blacks from within its ranks helped lay the ground for the Black Caucuses in the union which developed in the late 1960s.

In *Indignant Heart* Denby characterized those 1960s Black Caucuses—DRUM, ELRUM, FRUM, and the Stinger—as a more basic opposition to Reuther than he had ever faced before.* The bureaucrats hadn't really given a damn about rank-and-file problems in the shop for years; now they were facing some real opposition from below. Denby saw these militant Black worker organizations, which he was a part of, as not just being for a change in leadership. The new thinking of the young workers was for a complete change of the union, "for revolution."

"What the young Black workers did not fully realize," Denby wrote, however, "was that every time a Black independent movement has appeared, the 'politicos' who have rushed in to take it over have helped the reactionaries like Reuther to kill it before it can get off the ground." (p. 268) In the 1940s it happened when the Communists and Trotskyists moved in and waged a naked "fight for control of our organization." Denby now saw, "The same thing was happening again, with the Maoists doing it differently only in that they sent in Blacks instead of whites to take control." (p. 268)

This action of forcing a "movement" down a worker's

* The names Black workers gave their caucuses were DRUM (Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement), ELRUM (Eldon Axle Revolutionary Movement), and FRUM (Ford Revolutionary Union Movement). The Stinger was the name of a Black rank-and-file newspaper.

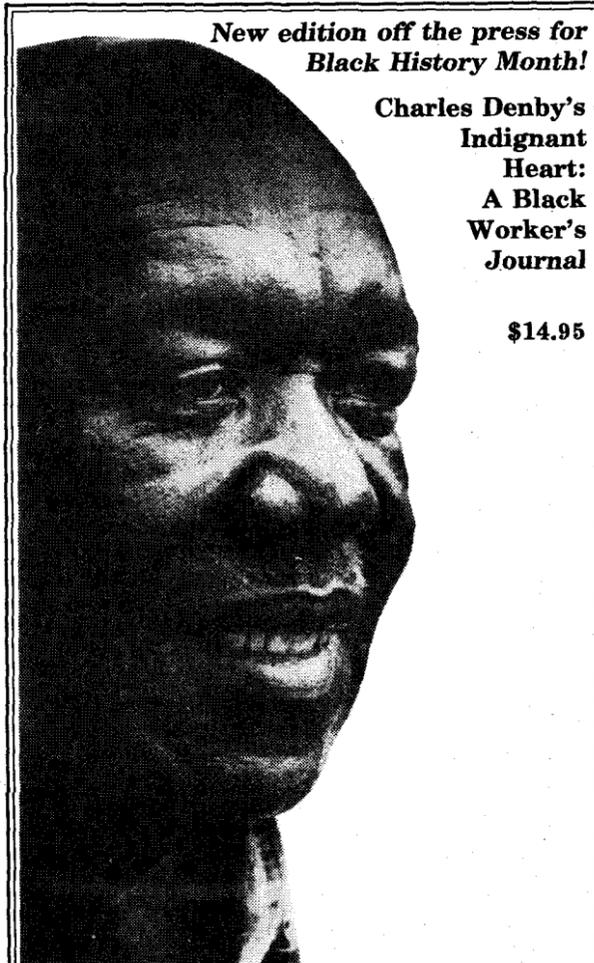
throat is no better than the foreman sweating more production out of the worker at the point of production.

This attitude turns people into objective things to be used, which is what capitalism attempts to do. The masses demand recognition, and we revolt against this corrupt capitalist relationship in order to gain control over our own lives and needs, not as ego but as social individuals.

II. THE WORKING CLASS REASON AND REALITY OF CHARLES DENBY

Denby said that nobody could see how people are forced to work in production and say that was "progress." Listen to how he described some of the conditions he experienced daily in production:

A line I was working on moved so fast that they had a buzzer sound every time the line moved. When the buzzer sounded you'd better move and move fast, or



New edition off the press for
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else you could get hurt bad. Behind me, just a few feet away, there was a water fountain. I wanted a swallow of water so bad, and I thought maybe, if I worked as fast as I could in between the buzzer sounding, that I'd be able to jump back and get a drink of water. But no matter how much I tried, I never could get it. That swallow of water was so close, but it was like being on a desert. (p. 248)

The feeling I get when reading those words by Denby of his own experiences in auto and how the union leadership helped management to wring concessions from the workers makes me think of the capitalist relationship of dead labor over living labor, the human being. This is a Marxist concept that the union bureaucrats have no relationship to and can't understand, though it laid the ground for the union to roll-over on its members, turning the union into its opposite.

The union bureaucracy seems to see its real pay in having many dues-paying members working at profitable companies regardless of the conditions of labor. On the other hand, the companies see a need to get rid of the union. These company unions give up more and more to compromise workers' livelihood to please the company and protect their own shaky position as "the voice of labor." Meanwhile, the real consciousness of labor from the rank and file is never heard.

Not only are the voices of rank-and-file labor heard in *Indignant Heart* on the daily struggles on the shop floor, but Denby wrote about the political challenges to Black labor. That too is what gives all the chapters in *Indignant Heart* a certain todayness. Take Chapter 20, "Stokely Carmichael in Lowndes County," which caught the rising racism of the late 1960s in George Wallace's presidential campaign. Denby said that he felt a need to get a close-up view of Wallace when he spoke at Cobo Hall in Detroit in 1968, to see the reaction to him.

"You felt like you were sitting among a jungle of wild beasts," Denby wrote, "and that if you did not quickly transform yourself into a ferocious beast or escape...you would be caught and destroyed as soon as this man got in the position to do it." Denby added that George Wallace "yelled about law and order, his kind of law and order, but never once used the words freedom or justice." (pp. 222-23)

How much does this sound like Reagan, Bush and Quayle? At that time Wallace's line of thinking was rejected by the majority, but today Reaganism has been embraced enough to give him and his ilk the highest office in the land for four more years.

I think Denby's thought cuts to the bone and exposes the lie of Bush's form of Reaganism, as well. Bush invites Jesse Jackson to meet with him, but tells him to use the "back door." Because there is nothing in Reaganism for the masses of Black people, little does Bush know that there are no trump cards to play with important Black faces in high places. Of the Black leaders of the 1960s and '70s like Jesse Jackson who have sought high places, Denby wrote:

Some said it was only opportunist politics that caused the revolutionary leaders of that period to turn into their opposite. I believe it was more than that. It was a question of losing faith in the masses in action as force and reason. Once you have lost your philosophy of liberation, which is based on that, you almost automatically end up wheeling and dealing. (p. 224)

Then Denby gives us the bottom line on Black leadership, concrete working-class principles, reason and reality: "(If you don't stand up for the principles of freedom, for uprooting this capitalist society with its unemployment and racism, we will remove you from office just as easily as if your face was white." (p. 224)

III. DENBY'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE IDEA

I think *Indignant Heart* could not have been written in the form that it is without Denby being a Marxist-Humanist and an organizational man. Of course, Denby had his own originality. As Raya Dunayevskaya described first hearing him speak in 1948: "He had already become a leader of wildcats, a 'politico,' but the talk I heard him give of tenant farming in the South and factory work in the North was far from being a 'political speech.' Listening to him, you felt you were witnessing an individual's life that was somehow universal, and that touched you personally."

Denby gives voice to the concept of workers as reason and as subjects of revolution. It's an organizational idea which gives workers confidence in their own ideas. That doesn't come automatically but takes a certain break from the bourgeois thought which is all around us, and which tells us that we have no thoughts or ideas of substance to contribute to the world. With that needed break we recognize that our lives can determine the world. Sometimes it may mean writing out what we feel, or, if not by pen and paper, telling an oral history. The spoken word also has the power to determine the thought and ideas of freedom.

The concept of worker-editor developed by Raya Dunayevskaya in 1955 with the founding of *News and Letters Committees* and the newspaper *News & Letters*, which had Charles Denby as its editor, cannot be separated from her own philosophic digging into Hegel, Marx and Lenin. This too cannot be separated from the historic time in 1953, when, with the death of Stalin, Denby said the workers in his plant were saying, "I have just the man to fill Stalin's shoes—my foreman."

Raya felt Stalin's death would lift an incubus from the heads of the East European workers and that workers' revolt would follow. She wrote an article emphasizing the many unrecorded forms of the Russian workers' hidden revolt at the point of production. And then on April 18, 1953, one month after Stalin's death, Raya wrote "Then and Now: 1920 and 1953" on the Trade Union Debate that took place in Russia in 1920. "By then," she wrote, "I was not fully satisfied with the economic and political analysis, but wanted to work out the philosophic ground. All these happenings couldn't be accidental; nothing that historic can be without reason." This led to her 1953 *Letters on Hegel's Absolutes* which also gave voice to her category of worker as reason.

I think it is impossible to separate Charles Denby's *Indignant Heart* from Raya Dunayevskaya's breakthrough on Hegel's Absolute Idea, that is to say, a new unity of theory and practice which Raya discussed with Denby as the relationship of workers to philosophy.

In Raya's "In Memoriam" to Charles Denby, she quoted Denby from his pamphlet, *Workers Battle Automation*, to show the reality of production and the production worker:

The intellectual—be he scientist, engineer or writer—may think automation means the elimination of heavy labor. The production worker sees it as the elimination of the laborer. (p. 7)

Then, in *Indignant Heart*, Denby showed how Marx caught the reality of capitalism in his day in a way that illuminates the 1980s:

...We have the new robot of unimation. It is the last step of the capitalist's dream of replacing what Marx said was, in the capitalist's view, the "refractory hand of labor." What they don't understand is that they cannot eliminate that "refractory hand," which is still the gravedigger of capitalism. (p. 288)

In the same section of Raya's "In Memoriam" to Denby titled "The Relationship of Reality to Philosophy," she singled out the meaning of Denby being the editor of *News & Letters*. In her view, *News & Letters* manifested so unique a combination of worker and idea

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Black/Red View

China's racism exposed

by John Alan

Over the Christmas holidays and the beginning week of this year the world witnessed a phenomenal outbreak of extensive, American-style anti-Black racism against Africans studying in China. According to Xinhua, the official Chinese news agency, on Dec. 27 2,000 to 3,000 Chinese students at the Hehai University in Nanjing shouting "Down with Black devils!" threw stones and bottles smashing windows at the dormitory housing African students.

This demonstration was followed by a march of thousands of Chinese workers and students through the city of Nanjing shouting an extraordinary combination of racist and democratic slogans, and a sit-in in front of the provincial headquarters building.

The racial demonstrations at Nanjing were touched off by a clash between African students and gate keepers at Hehai University over the refusal of the Africans to show their identity cards and register the names of the Chinese women who came with them to a Christmas Eve dance.

By Jan. 5 the Nanjing racial confrontations had spread to other campuses as well as to the capital. At Beijing University student protestors demanded "protection of women's rights," African "hooligans go home," and "a safe campus."

ON CONTRADICTIONS OF RACE

It is quite obvious that this wave of anti-African protest is permeated with many contradictions. It is at once retrogressive in its racist and sexist ideology, and yet it expresses a sharp dissatisfaction with the Zhao Ziyang/Deng Xiaoping regime by demanding more democracy in China.

There is no doubt that the Chinese authorities are aware of this duality. They have reinforced it by directing the repressive force of the police against the defensive action of the Africans and other Third World students, who were mainly fleeing the racist wrath of the Chinese students, and by announcing that no Chinese student will be punished for the attacks on the African dormitory or for the destruction of the African students' belongings.

This open partiality toward the Chinese students was further demonstrated by the refusal of the Chinese foreign ministry to meet with African envoys to discuss this racial tension.

Although the racial unrest in China has some of the same features of racism faced by Blacks in this country, its cause has to be found within the current objective realities of China. Neither can this racist turmoil be explained by a remote, medieval concept of "Black" lingering in Chinese culture, as some Western commentators hold.

WHITHER CHINA?

Two years ago Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in *News & Letters* ("Theory/Practice" column "Whither China?" Feb. 27, 1987) an analysis of the 1986-87 Chinese student protest movement against the Deng regime. That movement, she emphasized, was not the cause or the consequence of bringing the internal crisis in China to a climax, it only brought the turmoil out into the open. What essentially is at stake is the kind of society that will replace Deng.

Ten years of Deng's "reforms" has not proven to be a revolutionary alternative to Mao's state-capitalism and permanent disorder. Instead they have meant a new realignment with world capitalism, i.e., the creation within China of large economic zones of entrepreneurial capitalism specifically to receive foreign capital from Japan and the U.S. And, significantly, the creation of a new

CHA lockdown

Chicago, Ill.—"Lockdown," prison lockdown, is how West Side tenants in Chicago Housing Authority projects described the surprise holiday raids at several CHA developments. While tenants complained of the prison-like conditions recently instituted in the projects, where they are forced to carry identification "passes" and must go through a security check, a law suit filed against the Chicago Fire Department alleged that white paramedics allowed a young Black boy to die from an asthma attack when they left the scene.

Residents of the Dearborn Homes projects said that paramedics refused to enter the building when they were called to aid the son of Sharon Jarnagin. Said one angry tenant, "They could have saved that boy. It's just another example of Blacks, particularly poor Blacks, being slighted in services."

By contrast, the Chicago Police Department has had no problem in sweeping through CHA buildings heavily armed, and violating the civil rights of CHA residents. As one housing activist who lives in the Henry Horner projects on the West Side said, "They (CHA) want safety, but they've locked the problems on the inside with everyone else. The guards go there with the mentality to punish someone. It's nothing more than a lockdown."

Although many of Chicago's Black leaders have defended this violation of the civil rights of CHA residents in the name of "fighting crime, gangs and drugs," and the *Chicago Defender* has editorialized in support of the raids and security checks, the tenants have begun to organize protests and have gotten the ACLU to file a lawsuit against the CHA in their behalf. It is yet to be seen whether the tenants through their opposition will succeed in bringing their fight to the current mayoral campaign. After all, the late Mayor Harold Washington won much of his Black grass-roots support in the projects of the CHA.

type of state-capitalist factory manager who has no ideological connection with the working class other than demanding that workers produce more and more, or be fired.

In the conclusion of her analysis of the 1986-87 demonstrations Raya Dunayevskaya wrote that they only brought to the front the myriad crises boiling in China and she asked what is still a crucial question related to the current racial situation in China. She wanted to know whether Deng, caught between the two nuclear powers, U.S. and Russia, has "given up hope that there is an independent Third World that would lead to independence from both Russia and the U.S." The failure to seek a revolutionary new path leads inevitably to retrogression and a pollution of ideology of which racism is a characteristic.



African students in Beijing protest racist attacks.

But here it must be noted that Mao is not an alternative to the Deng/Zhao regime. It is true that Mao's China had a gravitational pull on many of the leaders of the Afro-Asian revolutions, because it was poor and non-white. Yet he never brought to those revolutions a philosophic vision of new human society. As far as race was concerned, Mao never understood the revolutionary dimension of color. At the very moment of his "cultural revolution," African students were not permitted to come into contact with Chinese students; they were, as one Chinese student put it: "separated into a ghetto."

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Black World

(continued from page 1)

they saw that the possibility of something new was now smashed. Many then had to retreat and assess the whole situation.

We in the Oilfield Workers Trade Union (OWTU) have had a very close relationship with the progressive movement throughout the Eastern Caribbean, Maurice, of course, being one of those people. Maurice often visited our union to give lectures before he became prime minister. And the last time he visited Trinidad, in July 1983, for the Caribbean heads of government summit (CARICOM), he specially requested a reception at the OWTU.

We also knew Bernard Coard because he was a lecturer at the University (of the West Indies) campus in Trinidad for many years, at the Institute of International Relations. Bernard was known as a progressive lecturer, but he was not known as a "Marxist." In the period when Maurice and others were being beaten, brutalized and killed in Grenada under Gairy, Bernard was out of Grenada for that entire period.

After 1979, we were always concerned about Bernard's position because of his relation to a number of groups in the region whom we identified as trying to impose a type of political culture that was quite alien to the experience of the Caribbean people, and in our view tended to be very elitist. So, we were rather estranged from Bernard and others in Grenada for a number of years, and had to rectify that with Maurice in 1982. We only began to resume a close relationship in 1983, and were about to cement that just around the time he was killed.

CRISIS OF THE PARTY

When we first heard that Maurice was under house arrest we had absolutely no hesitation in supporting him. We tried to intervene in that crisis by sending messages to the government that they should free Maurice from house arrest. Of course, they didn't listen to what we had to say. And immediately at the time of Maurice's murder, that night we held a massive vigil in Port-of-Spain with thousands and thousands of people

Miami burning—again

Only days after outgoing President Ronald Reagan attacked Black leaders for "creating" America's race problem, Black Miami unleashed a spontaneous revolt in protest of the police killing of two Black motorcyclists. Not only is this the fourth outburst of Black revolt in Miami in this decade, but the circumstances surrounding this Martin Luther King Day (Jan. 16) eruption were similar to the events which brought forth the first Miami rebellion in 1980. Then as now, Miami police chased and shot a Black motorcyclist in cold-blood.

The hundreds of Black residents of the Overtown area who took to the streets to confront the Dade County police and the Metro SWAT team, once again responded to the indiscriminate police brutality which has become a way of life for Blacks in Miami. As the city spruces itself up for a Super Bowl that is to be played in a stadium that was built upon the displacement of hundreds of Black families, the Black residents of Overtown have again subpoenaed the conscience of America, and put it on trial.

Furthermore, a second day of revolt has spread from Overtown to the larger Black ghetto of Liberty City. Florida's Gov. Martinez has threatened to bring in the National Guard to quell the rebellions, while schools have been summarily closed in the Overtown area. This is but part of the cost of showcasing Miami for the Super Bowl. It is no wonder that as one Black resident said, Black people are "getting madder and madder. There's a lot of hatred from us. This has been brewing for a long time."

Like past disturbances, the Overtown/Liberty City rebellions on Martin Luther King Day, 1989, not only saw Black mass outrage, but saw Blacks organized and armed. Thus, it was no mere language of despair in which Black Miami spoke. Rather, as one Black woman declared: "They got to listen to us sometime."

What the rich and powerful have heard is unmistakable. And its meaning wasn't lost, even on the Super Bowl football players. As one player for the Cincinnati Bengals said, "We went to a movie and saw 'Mississippi Burning,' then we came back and turned on our TV sets and saw Miami burning."

To be sure, the racism that Ronald Reagan believes to be the product of the imagination of Black minds was not limited to attacks on Black America, but was also directed at Black South Africa, on this Martin Luther King Day.

At De Paul University in Chicago, the editor of the school's student newspaper wrote a vicious, racist article denouncing the visit Maki Mandela (who was invited to speak at the school on Martin Luther King Day) on the grounds that her father, the jailed South African freedom fighter Nelson Mandela, is a "terrorist and a thug." Outraged, dozens of students marched from the hall where Maki Mandela spoke on Jan. 16 to the office of the school's newspaper, demanding the editor's dismissal and the publication of a retraction of his article.

Meanwhile, in Los Angeles over 1,500 rallied in support of the South African freedom struggle on Martin Luther King Day, in one of the largest anti-apartheid rallies held in the city in some time. The rally followed a three-day sit-in at the South African consulate by 30 anti-apartheid activists.

On Grenada's Revolution

in solidarity with the people of Grenada.

The lessons, therefore, that arise out of the whole Grenadian experience is that as part of the struggle for change in the Caribbean we must build a new kind of democracy which has two interrelated aspects: one is that there must be democratic institutions of workers' and people's power, institutions that have real power in society; and the other aspect is that there should be a new kind of political party.

One of the traditions that came out of Grenada which we need to deal with is that the party must control the trade unions, the party must control the government totally, etc. In Grenada, this boiled down to 14 or so people in the Central Committee of the Political Bureau controlling everything.

Our view is that the trade unions must be independent of any political party. The power of the OWTU is predicated on a) its internal democracy (one man, one vote), and b) its independence from all the political parties. And we say that that must continue even after a fundamental change has taken place in the country, so that the party wouldn't control the trade unions and we end up with the kind of revolt that happened in Poland.

When the Grenada events took place in October, 1983, there was a constitutional committee beginning its work. It is our view that the new constitution would have given power, for the first time, to the parish councils and the zonal councils that had been established by the PRG (People's Revolutionary Government). Yes, state officials had to come before the people's councils and explain why this or that was done, etc., but the councils didn't have enough power. Clearly, had those institutions been vested with real power, it would have reduced the power of the party, and therefore, would have reduced the power of Coard. Coard had to move before that process had gone too far.

The Grenadian revolution, in our view, was destroyed with the murder of Maurice. The destruction of the Grenadian revolution took place from within. Its fate, of course, was sealed by the American invasion. But the American invasion isn't what destroyed the revolution itself. It is what took place inside.

Eyewitness report: Peru's crisis engenders new revolts

I returned home for a visit to Lima, Peru for a month recently. I was shocked to see people lined up and struggling to buy construction materials where there had never been a shortage of iron and cement before. Men and women spoke loudly and angrily against President Alan Garcia. "This president is a disgrace," they said. "He is a mockery."

I met people all over protesting about the lack of milk, rice, sugar, oil, beans and bread. Mothers said, "We are desperate," and "We don't know what to do to feed our children." People told me these foods were smuggled to Ecuador and Chile for high prices.

In July, a loaf of bread cost one inti; in December it cost 22 intis. A can of milk which cost 48 intis in 1978, cost 250 intis 10 years later. Bus fare is 80 intis, a kilo of sugar is 400 intis, a kilo of meat costs 3,000 intis. Minimum wage is 24,000 intis, about \$12 a month; a bank employee makes 100,000 intis, about \$50.

Prices are rising so high and so rapidly that there is now a special word for it you hear all over: *paquetazo*. When Garcia gave his presidential speech for Independence Day, July 28, everyone expected him to talk about the *paquetazo*, but he talked about terrorism for two hours and didn't mention the economy.

Ever since Peru became independent, over 150 years ago, it has remained dependent on imports for food, medicine and many other commodities. Today the government can import almost nothing because the Central Bank doesn't have a penny in foreign exchange reserves.

Garcia belongs to the long-time opposition Aprista Party. He was elected in 1985, with 53% of the vote, on his promise to improve the economy and put an end to poverty and hunger. Today, nobody believes in him. People call him a "crazy horse" and a liar.

Marx said "capitalism engenders its own gravediggers," and that is what is happening in Peru now. On July 19 and 20, there was a nationwide strike against hunger and for higher wages. It was organized by the General Confederation of Peruvian Workers and two million workers stopped work for 24 hours. On Dec. 29, 600,000 workers went on strike demanding the return of the union leader Oscar Del-

gado, who had been captured by the secret police. Nobody knows if he is alive or dead.

Peru's economic disaster continues to degenerate under capitalist domination, and the country is now sinking more deeply than ever. Unemployment is rising, most people are underemployed, there is super-inflation and inti devaluation. Annual per capita income is at a 20-year low of less than \$1000. The economic disarray has plunged Peru into the worst economic crisis of the century. Garcia's nationalism and chauvinism are a defi-

cient strategy to attack capitalism's problems.

Meanwhile, the Peruvian people's mass strikes have shown that their continuous unrest contains the seeds of a future revolution and the birth of a new society. Both the economic crisis and the unrest are reflected in Raya Dunayevskaya's description of the emergence of state-capitalism as a world-wide "new stage of economic development, and inseparable from this objective foundation, was the subjective—the new forms of revolt by the proletariat, Black, youth, women." —Runa

Labor struggle in Norway

Editor's note: The following article consists of excerpts of a report sent to us by Motiva Forlag, Postboks 9340, Valerenga 0610, Oslo, Norway.

Oslo, Norway—The last couple of years have seen several struggles by workers in Norway against the closing of factories or reductions in the number employed. Because these factories are very often the only important one in the town, the closure is fought not only by the workers, but by the whole population of the town. In this way the workers' resistance has been immediately transformed into a popular resistance, supported by almost everyone in the area.

To give you one example: a major food production company was going to close down one plant. This led to a big resistance by the workers, unions and politicians of that district. The company yielded, but just as the company decided not to close this plant it immediately announced the closure of another plant in a different part of the country. This in turn produced heavy resistance by the workers of this plant and the district, leading the local trade unions to call a half-day "general strike" by 2,200 workers.

Many of the local struggles taking place are not over the question of wages or layoffs. Thus for about half a week in the middle of October the workers and staff of the company that flies workers to the oil platforms staged a sit-down strike. They struck against harassment of union officials and the proposed merger of this company with another. Four hundred and fifty workers in five different towns took part in this strike.

Wages have been declining for several years. This year wage raises were restricted to 1 krone per hour (15¢), and a law was passed banning all further raises. This law was protested by more than 300,000 who went on a two-hour demonstration strike in March, 1988.

Recently the proposed budgets for next year in the different communities were published. They have one thing in common: cuts, reductions of services, and higher fees. Throughout the country as many as 140,000 jobs in the state and local administration will disappear next year. Also the government of Oslo has proposed to sell municipal enterprises to private companies. This budget has provoked the unions, and they organized a three-hour demonstration with 10,000 participants.

In Halden, a town with approximately 26,000 inhabitants, there was a "general strike" last Nov. 3 with 10,000 on strike who took part in a demonstration. The unions organized this action to protest against the proposed closing of the local hospital. Even though Halden is only 120 kilometers (75 miles) from Oslo, the newspapers here wrote nothing about this strike. The only exception was the social-democratic daily which carried a small notice. In Sauda, a small town on the west coast of Norway, 3,000 of the 5,500 inhabitants took part in a demonstration to protest against the closing of the local hospital on November the 14th.

Within the unions and the Left there are some initiatives to try and radicalize the unions. An opposition is growing that has organized two national opposition conferences.

U.S. — Russia realignment only deepens global crises

(continued from page 1)

as does the treaty on Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF)? Why not also, as Gorbachev proposed during his December visit to the United Nations, cut sharply the number of tanks in Europe?

As Left military analyst Gordon Adams wrote last year: "The superpowers are fashioning a treaty...that would permit a full modernization of each country's nuclear arsenal. In the end, each side may well end up with 6,000 strategic warheads based entirely on modern strategic weapons (some still on the drawing boards)." That's still enough to kill us all many times over.

PLATITUDES IN PARIS ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS

The January 1989 international chemical weapons conference in Paris was conducted in the same sanctimonious spirit, while nothing was actually done about chemical weapons. Before the conference the Russians, probably the world's largest producer and storer of chemical weapons, announced suddenly that they would begin to destroy some of their stockpile estimated at up to 300,000 tons.

As to the U.S. role in chemical weapons, greatly expanded under Reagan, the New York Times (1/9/89) reported from Paris (without any apparent irony) that a "senior American official" (i.e. Secretary of State George Shultz, speaking anonymously) "said the United States has been routinely destroying obsolete chemical weapons in a pilot destruction plant in Toole, Utah, as it was producing new, safer chemical weapons!" (emphasis added) As with missiles, so too with chemical weapons: scrap the old, develop newer and more dangerous ones, and call the whole thing disarmament.

But the true nature of the "peace" of Reagan-Bush-Gorbachev is best seen in the so-called "regional conflicts" of the Third World, where live human beings are being massacred, tortured and brutalized by the thousands. The "peace" planned for them from above by the superpowers is a deceptive one indeed.

"REGIONAL CONFLICTS" AND THE SUPER-POWERS

The new U.S.-Russia "detente" has so far attempted to broker solutions to so-called "regional conflicts" in Namibia-Angola, in Afghanistan, in Cambodia, and in the Iran-Iraq War. But as the Kurds of Iraq know, "peace" meant that the Saddam Hussein government was able to turn its full armed might—including poison gas—against them. As the Iranians know, "peace" has meant thousands of executions of political prisoners by Khomeini. As the Afghans know, especially the women activists, the expected exit of Russia could usher in an extremely reactionary type of Islamic fundamentalism, including pogroms against unveiled women, plus the probability of murderous civil war between the various Islamic factions, the most reactionary of which have been favored with lavish aid by their outside supporters—an unholy alliance of the U.S., Pakistan and Iran.

Or take Cambodia: today the Vietnamese, pressured by Russia, China and the U.S., are pulling out of Cambodia. Poised to move in once again are the genocidal Khmer Rouge, killers of 1.5 million people, who have survived as a major military force since 1979, largely due to Chinese, Thai, and U.S. support.

Most revealing of all is the situation in Namibia. The December 1988 signing of the U.S.-Russia-brokered Namibian independence agreement between South Africa, Cuba and Angola, with the support of the Namibian revolutionary group SWAPO (South-West Africa Peoples Organization), is hardly the great victory for the movement some are claiming it to be. Angola has just closed down the bases for the South African guerrillas of the African National Congress (ANC), bases the ANC has maintained ever since Angola was liberated from Portugal in 1975-1976. Moreover, on Jan. 13, in one of his first foreign policy pronouncements, Bush wrote a letter to the South African-backed Angolan contras of UNITA, promising that in his administration these reactionaries will continue to receive "all appropriate and effective assistance." The next day Bush released a report calling the ANC a "terrorist" organization!

Though Namibia may get some form of independence and majority rule by its Black population, SWAPO leader Andimba Toivo Ya Toivo charged on Jan. 7 that UNITA and South Africa are training members of the Herero ethnic group as part of a contra-type force to undermine Namibia's independence, charges echoed by Rev. Jesse Jackson.

"TWO WORLDS" IN EACH COUNTRY

The Czechoslovak opposition group Charter 77 spoke to the fact that "detente" between the superpowers will not exactly usher in the millennium, when it declared, "Real peace does not mean only the removal of despotism from relations among states, but also from relations between state power and a human being." While the quest for new human relations remains the preoccupation of the peoples, East and West, the establishment ideologues—on both sides—look instead for openings for global power moves.

As Dmitri K. Simes, who is certainly no Leftist, wrote in the New York Times (12/27/88), "Paradoxically, the Soviet-American rapprochement makes military power more useful as a United States foreign policy instrument...Removing the constant concern about Soviet counteraction permits Washington greater reliance on military forces in a crisis." Simes' point is that those who contemplate challenging important American interests, such as the Sandinistas and Cuba, might think twice if America's hands were relatively untied.

From the development of new missiles, lasers, and chemical weapons, to the greater "freedom" the superpowers now feel to attack smaller countries, to the very contradictory and sometimes actually retrogressive nature of the settlements of the so-called "regional" conflicts, the actions and policies bequeathed to us in 1989 by Reagan-Bush-Gorbachev are no path toward peace.

The truth is that the actuality of continued war and oppression throughout this nuclearly-armed, state-capitalist world will not be changed by the actions of the rulers. It will be changed only by the world-wide struggle for freedom by the forces of revolution within each country. It is the struggles of these forces of revolution—of labor, of women, of youth, of the Black dimension—armed with the philosophy of freedom, that alone can create a very different future from the one the rulers have in store for us.

Essay Article

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Intellectual that Denby's interest in philosophy was never separated from action. Raya showed that in Denby the concept of the thought and activity of the common man is the jumping off point for masses in motion, i.e., revolution. As Raya wrote: "...the truth is that the genius of Charles Denby lies in the fact that the story of his life—*Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*—is the history of workers' struggles for freedom, his and all others the world over."

We can also look forward to reading Prof. Harris's introduction to the new edition. I liked Prof. Harris's introduction overall. The one point of major disagreement with Prof. Harris's introduction I do have, however, is that he seems to add a twist to Denby's view that Black labor rejected the Communist, Trotskyist and Maoist style of communism. This does not spell out a rejection of Marx's Marxism, nor a commitment of Blacks to the American system "even at a time of severe racial discrimination," which is the mistaken view that Prof. Harris seems to draw from *Indignant Heart*. Denby himself was a Marxist.

What has made a 1980s view of a new edition of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* so important is that we have lived through eight years of Reagan and now face four more years of Reaganism under Bush/Quayle. We must face up to this sobering reality even when there is no mass movement. There is still the need to clear our heads to re-think and deepen our philosophical concepts.

It was not just the whole experience of the revolutionary 1950s and '60s which Denby credits for his development, but the organizational and philosophic deepening of Raya Dunayevskaya's May 12 and 20, 1953 *Letters on Hegel's Absolutes*. That philosophic ground-breaking gave birth to a new beginning in revolutionary thought. It gave voice to the movement from practice as a form of theory, and brought workers and intellectuals together on equal ground.

Raya's vision of a workers' paper, with a worker as editor of a Marxist paper—and Denby was that worker—demonstrated that workers could become genuine contributors to the theoretical working out of the Idea of freedom for our age. In her In "Memoriam" to Denby, Raya concluded:

The inseparability of philosophy and revolution motivated Denby from the moment he became editor in 1955 to the very last days of his life, and he always had some sentence he would single out from various theoretical works that became his favorites. Thus from *Marxism and Freedom* he was always quoting: "There is nothing in thought—not even in the thought of a genius—that has not been in the activity of the common man."

Denby was a man who had a lot to contribute to the concept of philosophy as action, from actively participating in Black and working-class struggles to actively working out the self-determination of the Idea of freedom.

A continuing discussion:

On youth, philosophy and organization

Editor's note: The December 1988 issue of News & Letters carried an article by Joe, a student from DeKalb, Illinois, on youth's search for non-elitist forms of organization in relation to Raya Dunayevskaya's 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes. The following are responses to Joe's article.

Los Angeles, Cal.—The great thing about Joe's article on the Youth page of the December issue of *News & Letters* is the fact that he refuses to tail-end the reformist Progressive Student Network, as well as other vanguard-type organizations. He gave me a certain sense that the common conception of leadership must be destroyed if we are to achieve anything of the needed deep uprooting of this class society.

Nevertheless I question his view that the opposite of vanguard-type leadership can be the spontaneous opinions and reactions that come from people in a mass movement. He almost makes it seem as if all direction can be worked out simply through open discussion, as if that alone would naturally bring on the unity of the Theoretical and Practical Idea.

The need to work out new forms of organization, to be able to see and help realize a new type of revolution, cannot be left at opposition to rigid Left politicking. In her June 1, 1987, writing (in the January-February, 1988 *N&L*) Raya Dunayevskaya wrote: "Why did we think once we took the big step of separating, indeed breaking, with the elitist party, that it is sufficient to do so politically without doing so philosophically?"

In reading the May 12, 1953, "Letter on Hegel's Absolutes" I didn't see any indication of spontaneity being "continuation"; at best it is evidence of the new that is struggling to be born within the old. But even here she shows that socialism, the Idea, is more in evidence in the Paris Commune, as Marx showed, or in the Soviet, or with the CIO. But even in these various phases it is not the Absolute, for "it is the Absolute only in its completion."

In other words the progress towards the Absolute, containing the Absolute within it, signifies the negation, the transition from the old (capitalism). But this transition (whether the old philosophies, Soviets, or CIO) cannot itself be the needed totality. The opposition between theory and practice still exists, the transcendence of it (negation of the negation) only coming about through each individual's (the proletariat's) grasp of the abstract concept of total freedom.

—Joe Weerth

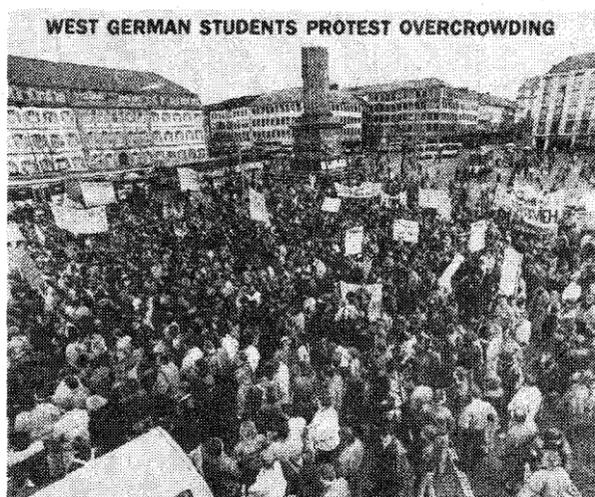
New York, N.Y.—I found a passion similar to Joe's in his "Critique of leadership" when I met high school students involved in SOS Racism in New York City last year. They were especially incensed when members of the Revolutionary Communist Party tried to take over their group. However, many of these students discovered the limitations of spontaneity and collective leadership after a year of participating in demonstrations on many issues and giving educational programs about racism. Despite their decentralization they still faced difficulties in working out relations with students at a 99% Black and Hispanic high school nearby, and found vicious racial attacks still on the rise in New York.

When they invited Lou Turner, Black World columnist for *N&L*, to talk to them during Black history month, out poured myriad questions about history and theory. The first question asked was by a young woman: "I feel like it's not enough to just be an activist. How do we clear our heads?" Some students in SOS Racism sharply opposed any discussion of Marx's philosophy of revolution or of history in their meetings, but others actively sought such discussions.

To me "clearing our heads" certainly begins with recognizing, as Joe puts it, that "self-development occurs...through open discussion." But spontaneity, even when it's as great as what the SOS Racism students did, is still only a beginning point. Once you reject the vanguard party, aren't you still faced with transcending the historical opposites of a philosophy of revolution and organization?

—Laurie Cashdan

Youth in Revolt



by Franklin Dmitryev
For two weeks in December, tens of thousands of students and many faculty members demonstrated in several West German cities to protest overcrowding, a student housing shortage and the shifting of funding and hiring away from the humanities and towards science and technology.

At the opening of Turkey's state-controlled "Youth Council" Oct. 25, activist youth shouted slogans and read a statement of their grievances, then walked out when they were not listened to. Riot police waiting outside attacked the students, beat them with batons, dragged women by the hair and detained 19 students at a torture center. Also in October, Turkish students held a cafeteria boycott to protest high prices and called for the removal of political police from campuses.

—Information from Turkey Newsletter

A New Hampshire judge ordered Dartmouth College to re-admit two students who were suspended after their racist harassment of a Black professor. Judge Bruce Mohl's excuse was that a member of the disciplinary committee might have been biased, since he had signed a letter protesting a misogynist article in the right-wing *Dartmouth Review*, of which the two students are staff members.

Hamadi Abu Sultan of Shati refugee camp in the Gaza Strip died Jan. 14. The 12-year-old girl was killed by one of the Israeli Army's new, supposedly non-lethal bullets, whose introduction coincided with more liberal army guidelines for opening fire. In the five days prior to press time, ten Palestinians died from army gunfire, at least seven of them aged 11 to 17 years, sparking strikes and angry protests in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

With some support from faculty and rectors, college students throughout Hungary held strikes and demonstrations demanding greater autonomy for colleges, improved courses, better pay for faculty and more aid for students.

Twenty Black medical students at the University of Witwatersrand in South Africa boycotted the official commencement and held an alternative ceremony in a nearby township. Later in December the Black Students Society, which helped organize the boycott, was banned by the government along with three other organizations of Black high school and college students.

Stop rape now!

This month I have been receiving many reports about the increasing number of rapes on U.S. campuses. The descriptions of these rapes and the enormous danger which women face are chilling. The only bright spot is that women students have been fighting back.

- At the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, 500 students held a rally after a series of rapes for which no one has been convicted.

- At Brown University of Providence, R.I., 300 students gathered on the campus green in November to demonstrate against rape. A march and candlelight vigil were organized by the Women's Political Coalition.

- At the University of Southern California in Los Angeles, protests against rapes compelled the university to begin an escort service.

What is finally coming out in the open is that more and more women have been victims of acquaintance and date rapes. Indeed, the disturbing statistic is that date rapes account for about 95% of campus rapes. Furthermore, while the university estimates that only one out of ten rapes is reported, women working against rape say a more realistic estimate is one out of every 100!

Student protests have forced some universities to set up sexual assault task forces, increase lighting on campuses and begin escort services. But these measures are aimed only at rapes by strangers, not date or acquaintance rapes. In cases when date rapes have been reported, most universities have not even scheduled hearings!

I was incensed by one story I read in *The New York Times* (1/1/89). At Western College, when a hearing was scheduled for a 17-year-old woman who had been raped, she learned that the rapist could have his teammates there as character witnesses, but she was not even allowed to bring her mother or a friend.

In other cases the rapists have only been suspended from school. But rape is a felony. These rapists should be in jail. Most universities do not even have policies for hearings on rape and no educational programs addressing it.

One woman activist who has organized protests against rapes at Northern Illinois University (NIU) at DeKalb, told me: "I have heard some men say that forcing a woman to have sex is not the same as rape. At a showing of the movie, 'Deep Throat' at NIU, some men passing by our picket line were saying: 'Rape is cool.' These words are like racist slurs. The atmosphere of our country has become such that they can say this."

She is raising a crucial issue. I don't think it's accidental that the increase of rapes on campuses has taken place during the past eight years of the Reagan administration which has turned the clock back on all rights and has been breeding a racist and woman-hating atmosphere. These rapes cannot be stopped only with "crime prevention strategies." They have much deeper roots in a society which breeds contempt for women as thinkers and independent human beings.

It is this view which Reaganism has intensified and Bush aims to continue in his administration. If those of us who are protesting these rapes combine our actions with discussions on how to battle the ideological pollution of our time and its retrogression in thought, we will have a much stronger movement.

—Sheila Fuller

Fight for Black justice

Santa Monica, Cal.—At Santa Monica College (SMC), students succeeded after a long struggle and a lot of hassle in officially registering a group called Students United for Justice (SUJ). The administration had tried to prevent this anti-racist and Black consciousness group from forming on campus. Administration officials had claimed that the constitution of the group has a racist element.

The SUJ constitution states: "All students may join or be involved whether or not they are young or elderly, male or female, Black or non-Black." The administration was against the use of the term "Black or non-Black," stating that the SUJ was focused on Black consciousness and Black awareness.

The administration called the SUJ constitution "segregative racism" and suggested that SUJ people should simply join the Black Student Union, which operates much more like a social group rather than the political group SUJ aims to be, striving to be more active in the Black community confronting racism. The administration didn't want a political organization which is radical or takes a different attitude toward the problems which confront the Black community every day.

The administration action against the SUJ was illegal according to the law of the Associated Students manual which is a statewide manual that allows any student(s) to organize freely on a college campus. Finally after pressure from students, with the help of some school employees, SUJ was officially registered as a campus group.

Meanwhile, racial incidents continue to increase on college campuses. At the University of California-Santa Barbara (UCSB), the administration forced the closing of a fraternity that takes racist stands on campus, as well as in the surrounding community. An article in the UCSB campus newspaper that discussed this administration action was titled: "The Time for Action Against Racism Is Yesterday."

—Young activist

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—"Dear Youth" Letter from Raya Dunayevskaya, June 5, 1984

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Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

The final death toll from the earthquake in Armenia will never be known for certain. Well over 55,000 men, women and children perished in the collapsed buildings. Over 12,000 were injured, and a half-million people are homeless.

Mikhail Gorbachev cut short his U.S. visit, after his showcase UN "peace" talk, in order to get back to keep "peace" at home. In a two-day trip to Armenia, he was confronted by furious charges that authorities had allowed shoddy construction of death-trap buildings in the known quake zone. Nearly all the newly-constructed, multi-story buildings fell during the earthquake. Gorbachev deflected the questions about corrupt building practices—cement mixed with too much sand and unreinforced prefabricated structures—by attributing them to the era of "stagnation," meaning Brezhnev's rule.

The sharpest confrontation took place over Armenians' charges, not reported by the official Russian media that was so "open" to the earthquake tragedy, that Gorbachev was taking advantage of the situation to further suppress the nationalists. Armenia was put under de facto martial law. Over 20,000 Russian troops were sent

into the region, not to aid in rescue and relief work, but to maintain "law and order."

Members of the Karabakh Committee, coordinators of demonstrations last year that called for annexation of Nagorno-Karabakh away from Azerbaijan, were arrested in the days following the quake. Russian soldiers and tanks were stationed in Yerevan, as well as in Baku and other parts of Azerbaijan where bitter fighting had broken out only days before the earthquake.

Gorbachev lashed out at those Armenians who raised the question of Nagorno-Karabakh during his trip, saying "They should be stopped by using all the power at our command...It's not for them to decide the destiny of this land."

Days later, when the awful truth was clear that survivors buried under the rubble must finally have died from exposure and bulldozers moved in to level the debris, a hard look began at Gorbachev's announced plans to "rebuild" Armenia. First estimates of the costs are pegged at \$8.4 billion. They do not take into consideration whether such a task can be accomplished in the forecasted two years, by fiat, much less whether such funds will actually be "diverted" to that end in Russia's crisis-ridden economy.

The earthquake in Armenia underlines the unnaturalness of "natural" disasters. The foundations of state-capitalism, designed to advance technology in military and industrial production, don't allow for the construction of relatively safe human habitations. Engineering studies have established that it is cheaper, capitalistically-speaking, to reinforce structures by design in an earthquake zone, rather than attempt to shore them up after they are built. Neither was done in Armenia, where earthquake building codes existed but were flouted.

The minimal value placed on human life in this circumstance is not a monopoly of Russia. The high rise subsidized apartments which the Mexican government built "for" its workers collapsed during the 1985 earthquake. In the U.S., government officials approved construction of the Diablo Canyon nuclear reactor in California's earthquake zone.

When Russian rulers decided this time to let the world know about its own disaster, the outpouring from throughout the world, especially at the "grass roots" level, was staggering. That included actions from citizens across Russia, who donated hard-to-come-by items of food, clothing and money, as well as their own blood.

Assassination in Brazil

Francisco "Chico" Mendes, a leader of the rubber tappers union in Brazil and a foe of capitalist devastation of the Amazon forests, was assassinated the night of Dec. 22. He was shot outside his home in Xapuri, in the western state of Acre.

Only recently, the union had succeeded in having the government set aside four forest reserves for the rubber tappers. A landowner who claimed one of the reserved areas was later arrested for engineering Mendes' death.

Mendes helped organize the rubber tappers in Xapuri to fight against exploitation by rubber barons who controlled the distribution system. The union grew in the 1970s into a movement of the 30,000 men and women who live by collecting natural rubber and other primary products in a way non-destructive to the rain forest. In confrontations with ranchers, loggers, and land speculators, the union staged *empates*, using their own bodies to halt the bulldozers.

Mendes travelled outside Brazil to call world attention to the Amazon forest destruction. He gained some concessions from the World Bank and other international capitalist finance agencies, which put conservation stipulations on a loan to Brazil to build a road opening up Acre and neighboring Rondonia state. Such stipulations have largely been dead letter.

Recent "natural" events, such as last year's severe drought in North America, have focused attention again on the environmental dangers of deforestation of the Amazon. But the assault on the rain forests is a social struggle as well.

Mendes had helped to found the Union of Forest Peoples, an alliance of rubber tappers and the native people fighting for existence against the guns, bulldozers and diseases of land developers. The movement also sought to establish a different basis for development in the Amazon region, which the government has used as a "safety valve" for Brazil's landless peasants. Once there, they barely survive on cleared land whose fragile soil can't sustain crops.

In the wake of Mendes' murder, union representatives, ecologists and human rights activists set up "Chico Mendes Committees" in Brazil's main cities. Their aim is to bring national and international pressure to bear on ending the war and destruction in the Amazon.

'Intifada will go on'



Tel Aviv protest against brutal army policies.

U.S. plans to open a "substantive dialogue" with the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) were announced after Chairman Yasir Arafat successfully formulated a renunciation of terrorism and a recognition of Israel's right to exist. The U.S. decision shook up Israeli rulers who, unable to form a majority government since last fall's elections, quickly put together yet one more repressive Likud-Labor coalition.

The persistence of the Palestinian *intifada* after one year has been the driving force of present events. The uprising's immediate goal of ending the over-two-decade long occupation of the West Bank and Gaza appears no

closer to realization. Yet neither the U.S. overture to the PLO, nor Israel's intensified crackdown, have lessened the daily challenge it poses.

December proved to be one of the bloodiest months yet, as Israeli troops killed 31 Palestinians and wounded more than 400. Authorities were unsuccessful in breaking a strike and shut-down during the traditional Christmas events in Bethlehem, which cut the yearly influx of tourists and revenues to a trickle.

With obvious political overtones, Israeli forces chose "Fatah Day" (Jan. 1) to round up 13 Palestinians they charged as leaders in the *intifada* network and deported them to southern Lebanon. An irony is that most of the Palestinians who have been deported were barely children when Fatah began, and have grown up under the 1967 occupation.

From the past year's revolt has emerged a new consciousness, especially among the youth, which so far has not been eradicated by repression, succumbed to international political maneuvering, nor been captured by any single ideological tendency. Of the actual struggle one Palestinian observed, "They can deport the whole country. But as long as there's one child left, the *intifada* will go on."

Spain's general strike

Workers across Spain mounted a one-day general strike on Dec. 14. It was to date the sharpest rejection of the Socialist Party (SP) government's policies, and the largest nationwide demonstration of labor unrest since the eve of the Spanish Civil War, over 50 years ago. Nearly eight million workers took part and brought industry, communications and transportation to a halt.

The Spanish economy has experienced one of the highest growth rates, 5%, in West Europe. In 1987 alone, capitalist profits reportedly exceeded 200%! Yet none of this fabulous growth has meant improved conditions for Spanish workers. They are supporting the capitalists' boom through low wages and a 19% unemployment rate. A central criticism leveled at Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez is that the Socialists have become indifferent to workers' concerns.

The last straw came in October when the government proposed a subsidized youth employment plan in which businesses would hire 16 to 25-year-olds in temporary jobs at below-minimum wages. The unemployment rate for youth is 40%.

Shortly thereafter, the two main union federations—the SP-affiliated General Workers Union (UGT), and the Workers Commissions (CC OO), linked politically with the Spanish Communist Party—united to call for the general strike. It was the first time the UGT has called for a strike against an SP government.

The participation by Spanish workers in demonstrations and the general strike was greater than union leaders predicted. Thousands of youth held the first demonstration in early December. Gonzalez, shaken by the strike, agreed to talk two weeks later with union leaders. He also met with businessmen who have threatened lockouts if workers gain higher wages. However, it seems doubtful that the government, SP or otherwise, can "mediate" the growing class divisions as workers are finding their own independent political voice.

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.

Coming next issue

Special section containing discussion by

Hegel scholars, workers, and
movement activists on

Raya Dunayevskaya's 1953

"Letters on Hegel's Absolutes"