

# Theory/ Practice News & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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## Mergers mean more money, more misery



by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

When the California Legislature passed a bill requiring union contracts to be honored when one company takes over another, our Reaganite Gov. Deukmejian vetoed the bill, saying it would force companies to keep workers on payroll who were no longer needed after a merger.

During the 1980s, 90,000 unionized workers have been laid off because of corporate mergers and takeovers, and more workers than that had their wages and their benefits cut. Does Deukmejian think that losing a job or a house—or maybe losing your family because you have lost your job—is less of a disaster than an earthquake? What happens to people in earthquakes, storms, and floods is awful. What capitalism does to the working class is an unnatural disaster, every day, every year.

### APPETITE OF CAPITALISM

One big capitalist likes to swallow up the smaller capitalists. That is what Marx wrote about over 100 years ago. He called it the concentration and centralization of capital. In the late 1980s, we have seen the capitalists go in for "merger mania"—and the roller-coaster ride of their stock market because of what Raya Dunayevskaya called in 1986 "their computerized stock market, false super-profiteering through mergers, playing the margins, and alternating ownerships..."

The human being is forgotten. The man or woman means nothing.

Harley Shaiken, a University of California-San Diego professor, was quoted in the L.A. Times as saying: "The merger is judged simply by the bottom line, not the social consequences. One of the widely touted benefits of mergers is that you can produce more with fewer people... There is no legal, moral, or economic pressure to consider what happens to those who are affected."

The same article quotes several warehouse workers who may lose their jobs if the proposed merger of the supermarket giants, Alpha Beta and Lucky Stores, goes

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### Black World

## South Africa: political crossroads



by Lou Turner

The release of Walter Sisulu, former secretary general of the African National Congress (ANC) and closest comrade-in-arms of Nelson Mandela, along with eight leading political prisoners, on Oct. 15 in Johannesburg, was meant to mark the beginning of a political process to bring about a "negotiated settlement" of the social upheaval in apartheid South Africa. It has also brought the liberation struggle to a crossroads.

The month-old regime of President F.W. de Klerk had timed the releases to coincide with the British Commonwealth summit in Malaysia with the aim of undermining the call for any further sanctions by the West. That British Prime Minister Thatcher announced the release of Sisulu at the Commonwealth summit, even before the political prisoners had been released in Johannesburg, is more a testament to the West's collusion with apartheid South Africa than any supposed pressuring by the West.

That collusion, or what Reagan had baptized "constructive engagement," was further evident in South Africa's rescheduling an \$8.1 billion loan with the West following the releases. More crucially, a confidential draft resolution is being circulated in Congress that proposes the lifting of U.S. sanctions if Pretoria agrees to "meaningful negotiations" by Feb. 1, 1990.

### POLITICAL SHADOW BOXING

The ANC has begun political shadow boxing with the de Klerk government demanding that Pretoria "make reasonable efforts to create a climate for negotiation," while calling for "discipline and order" in the ranks of the liberation movement. Departing sharply from the ANC position on negotiations was Jafta Masemola, the only political prisoner released who was not a member of the ANC but a member of the PAC (Pan-Africanist Congress). "Negotiations," Masemola declared, "will

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## In the historic mirror: East Germany, Poland, Hungary

# East European masses hurl new challenges to state-capitalism



East Berlin youth denounce Communist Party rule

by Olga Domanski

The over 120,000 East Germans who marched through the streets of Leipzig on Oct. 16, chanting "Freedom!" and "We are here to stay!" made it clear that what was there to stay was their rebellion against a stifling life under state-capitalism calling itself Communism. What was not there to stay was the 18-year-long authoritarian regime of Erich Honecker, who has started his climb to that rule when he had been chosen to supervise the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961. It took only three days after that Oct. 16 march—one the world press noted as the most massive demonstration East Germany had seen since the historic 1953 East German workers' revolt—for the Politburo to oust Honecker in an attempt to Gorbachev-ise their regime in hopes of staying in power. His replacement by a veritable clone, Egon Krenz, far from stopping the rebellion, was followed the next week by a still larger march—more than double the size of Oct. 16.

The weekly demonstrations leading to Honecker's ouster had been growing steadily larger throughout September as the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the German Democratic Republic, scheduled to take place the first week of October, grew closer. When

that anniversary was "celebrated" with protest demonstrations in city after city and with the arrest and beating of many of the demonstrators, the marchers—mindful that the East German government was one of the first to support the massacre of Chinese students last June, and against the cautionary advice of even their new opposition leaders—chanted "No repeat of China!" and continued to organize ever larger protests.

It was the mass exodus of over 50,000 East Germans fleeing to West Germany, when Hungary opened an escape route by tearing down the fence between that land and Austria, that had first attracted world attention to what the media called Honecker's "embarrassment." But the truth is that the protests within East Germany long preceded that mass exodus. What was new by October was that they were now massive and open for all to see. What was also new was that a significant number of the protesters were independent of the Protestant church, under whose aegis much of the earlier opposition had been organized.

Moreover, what many of the youth most wanted the world to know was that

they did not want a capitalist East Germany. They called West Germany "the elbow society." What they wanted, they said, was a country that was "really socialist."

### A NEW STAGE OF COGNITION

The revolt in all of East Europe has, indeed, been ceaseless ever since the East German workers celebrated the death of Stalin in 1953 with the first-ever uprising within a totalitarian Communist regime, when, on June 17 that year, they struck against a new speed-up imposed on them and then turned that into an attack on their whole oppressive State. But it was not only its

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## Philosophy and Revolution as Book and as Challenge to 1990s

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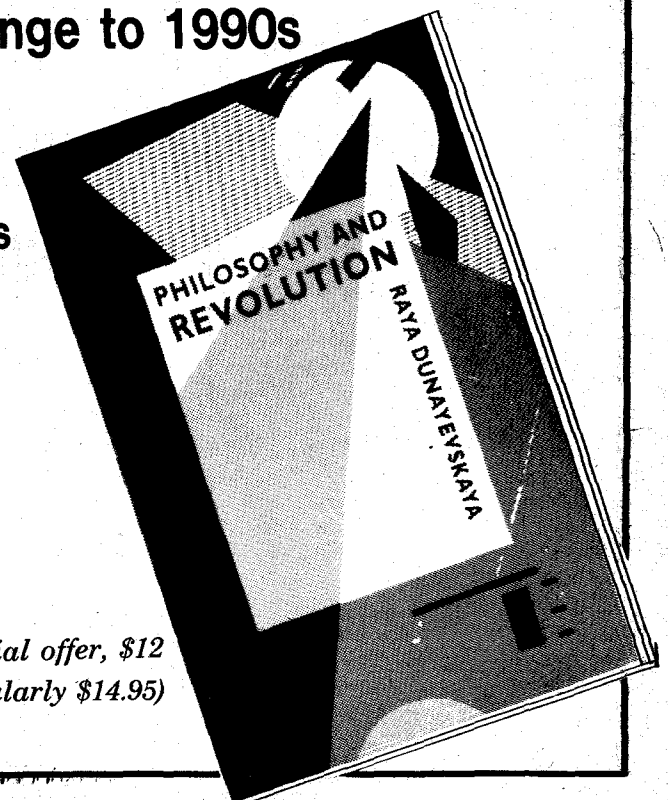
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# Bush's anti-women drive can be stopped!

by Terry Moon

Every since the July 3 Supreme Court decision gutting *Roe vs. Wade*—the decision legalizing abortion in 1973—we have seen women fighting back in ever greater numbers and drawing in new segments of the population—particularly younger and younger women as well as increasing numbers of young men.

All of a sudden we are seeing politicians, once secure in spouting anti-abortion/anti-women rhetoric, toning down or changing their public positions. They now have to take into account what has always been true—the majority of the U.S. population want women to be able to decide if, when, and how they have an abortion.

Women are taking heart at several recent legislative victories: Texas Gov. William P. Clements Jr. decided that abortion would not be an issue on the agenda of two scheduled special sessions of the State Legislature; Florida's Gov. Bob Martinez was unable to get a special session of that state's legislature to pass any laws restricting abortion; and it is the pro-abortion stance of Virginia's Lieut. Gov. L. Douglas Wilder that may make him the first Black elected Governor in the U.S.

## NO LEGISLATIVE VICTORY

But these legislative maneuverings are no real victory. To see that, one only has to look at President Bush's veto of the so-called "liberal" abortion bill that would have restored federal funding for women made pregnant by rape or incest. His frantic search for language that would somehow satisfy his right-wing backers was unbelievably disgusting: could they get away with only granting the money to women who were the victims of forcible rape rather than statutory rape or demand that a sexual assault be reported within 48 hours?

What brings this degrading "debate" into focus is the fact that, in the year before the Hyde amendment cut off all federal funding for abortions except to save the life of the mother, only 34 women obtained federally funded abortions for rape or incest!

Is all this about 34 abortions? No. What Bush proved was that if he could veto federal funding of abortions for poor women who are the most victimized—his hands are free to put his whole anti-women, anti-Black, anti-labor agenda into practice. Indeed, you could see that in his second veto, this time of the financing bill for all of Washington, D.C.—\$430 million—just to stop a minute portion being spent for abortions—again, only for rape or incest. The fact that this is in Washington, D.C., with a majority Black population, means that Bush is once more attacking poor Black women.

We can have no illusions about the fact that Bush's

## Victory for Indian women

**Bihar, India**—Last month we had the final judgment of the gang rape case of a young tribal girl. The accused were condemned to seven years imprisonment. It has taken us eight months of very hard work but at the end it has been a victory of women. The girl who was raped was excellent in her statement as well as all the witnesses in spite of the threats given by the families of the accused. We all went in big numbers to hear the sentence.

There are very few rape cases in India that reach the end and where the accused are imprisoned. The "charismatic" leader of the Jarkhand (Tribal) movement tried his best to get the accused out on bail, feeling very sorry for them but not sorry for the victim. All the political forces of the area became involved in the issue and there came a moment when we thought the situation was going out of our control. Nor is there any group in this area that will give us support on the issue.

In the past months we have taken four cases of wife killing, two due to dowry deaths by the husband and in-laws, another woman was a wife who was without children. Her husband began living with a second wife after killing her. He threw her body on the railway line so no post mortem was done. It is incredible to see how easily you can get rid of women in this area and go scot free.

This time the victory has been ours. But the fear is still hanging in the air—will they try to retaliate and how?

—Correspondent

votos cannot be overturned—these were important victories for Bush and his gang in the White House. It is precisely because the attack against us is so total that we can't limit our response to only fighting on the legislative level. What we want is total freedom.

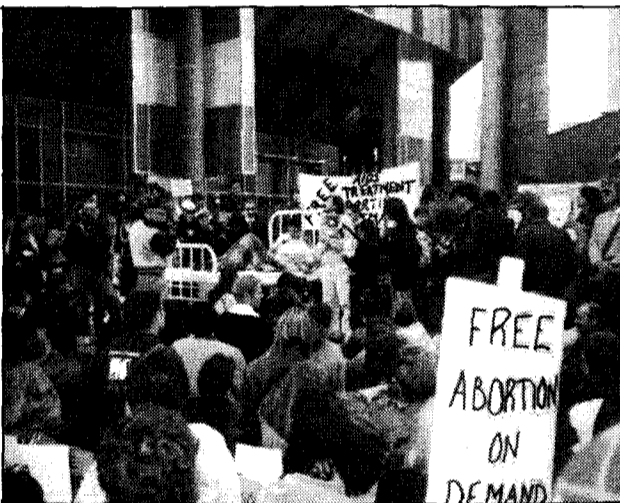
## WOMEN FIGHT RETROGRESSION

While Bush and his ilk would have us run around trying to influence legislators who see women as less than human, the reality that women face now—when abortion is supposedly legal—is deadly. Fully 82% of the counties in the U.S. have no doctors, clinics or hospitals that will provide women an abortion—and it is getting worse. Women are already dying of self-induced and back-alley abortions, or being thrown in jail for activity that a court decides is dangerous to a fetus—everything from taking drugs, to drinking alcohol, to having sex late in their pregnancy. Doctors in small towns are so fearful of anti-abortion fanatics that some will see women wanting an abortion only after hours.

It is because we do live in such a deeply retrogressive era that the truth of the outpouring of a half million on April 9 at the March for Women's Lives in Washington, D.C., was that it was not only about keeping abortion legal. It was about what it means to be a woman in this society.

That march, along with recent demonstrations in cities across the U.S. (see articles this page), reveal that women will not stand for the pusillanimous legislators of this country to decide this fight—a fight about what it means to be a whole human being. What we are looking for is what is the absolute opposite of this inhuman society. No halfway measures will do. We want a world where women, where all, are free to determine their lives—a new society, totally new human relations.

## Abortion rights rallies



—News & Letters photo

Women came from as far away as Knox College in Galesburg, Ill. to join with 500 other women and men in a spirited demonstration in Chicago, Ill. Oct. 6, demanding "Free Abortion on Demand!" and "Free AIDS Treatment on Demand!" The event, sponsored by ACT UP Chicago and the Emergency Clinic Defense Coalition, began with a rally where those in the "freedom bed" (see photo) challenged the likes of Henry Hyde and the U.S. Supreme Court and then everyone marched through downtown Chicago, stopping to rally in front of one of the many phoney abortion clinics in the city.

♀

While Henry Hyde, the Representative whose amendment outlawed federal funding for abortions, cancelled his talk at Loyola University in Chicago on Oct. 28, that didn't stop over 60 demonstrators from picketing the University in protest over his proposed lecture.

People are so opposed to Rep. Hyde, that Loyola students were joined by women from Chicago NOW, Abortion Rights Action League, the Emergency Clinic Defense Coalition, ACT UP Chicago, and individuals—all who came from a little half page leaflet that the Loyola students printed up.

One of the things that added to the excitement of this protest was that it was held by a stop light on a busy street. Constantly, people in cars stopped at the light would honk their horns in support, give us the thumbs up sign or raise their fist in the air. We would yell back. It was a very noisy, very lively and very angry group. That could be seen in the chants, one of which was: "Hyde, Hyde, you can't hide! We charge you with genocide!" There can be no doubt that women have died because of the Hyde amendment.

It was also significant that this demonstration was held on the Loyola campus. Loyola, a Catholic University, has harassed the campus women's group ever since it's founding this past year when it became clear that campus women were determined to raise the issue of women's right to control our own bodies. The demonstration ended by a march through the campus to bring that point home.

♀

More than 30,000 demonstrators marched and rallied in San Francisco, Oct. 15, demanding the right to choose abortion and denouncing President Bush for denying abortion rights. Wearing a "Retain Choice!" sign, a 70-year-old marcher said, "A lot of the younger generation felt the right was safe, but now it's threatened."

## 'A Black Woman's Civil War Memoirs'

*A Black Woman's Civil War Memoirs* by Susie King Taylor, edited by Patricia W. Romero and Willie Lee Rose (Markus Wiener Publishing, New York, 1988).

With Susie King Taylor's *Reminiscences of My Life: A Black Woman's Civil War Memoirs*, the diary's editors for this 1988 edition, both from John Hopkins University, present this work today based solely on its uniqueness, that is, it is the Civil War told from a Black woman's perspective.

Initially, Taylor's work appears to be a travelogue of day to day events in the life of a young nurse in the mid-1800s. Yet, Taylor was a former slave who joined the first northern Black regiment in South Carolina amidst the Civil War in the U.S.

Her *Memoirs* prove to be an historic road map of places, people and events. Born under slave law in Savannah, Georgia in 1848, Susie King Taylor began to learn to read and write under clandestine conditions at a very young age. Throughout the years, she discovered the early events of the Civil War, beginning with the first battle of Manassas, reading about the "yankee," witnessing the events in the capture of Fort Pulaski in 1862. These events led Taylor to meet, later that year, Charles T. Trowbridge, a sergeant of the First South Carolina Volunteers or "Hunter's regiment"—the first unit of Black troops. Taylor enlisted as a laundress.

Taylor tells of the brutal treatment Black soldiers received while in and out of the war. She also speaks of their discipline and their struggle for freedom. At the same time, Taylor tells of white friends of the Black soldiers—many who had long Abolitionist histories and were following that great tradition. Taylor called the members of the troop her "comrades" and writes movingly of their struggle:

"The first... troops did not receive any pay for eighteen months, and the men had to depend wholly on what they received from the commissary, established by General Saxton. A great many of these men had large families, their wives were obliged to support themselves and children by washing for the officers of the gunboat and the soldiers, and making cakes and pies which they sold... Finally in 1863, the government decided to give them half pay, but the men would not accept this. They wanted 'full pay' or nothing."

Taylor's *Memoirs* take us through various expeditions, toward the capture at Charleston and she reveals what happened after the war—from the quest for education, to Taylor herself organizing the women's Relief Corps in 1886.

One of the final chapters, called "Thoughts on Present Conditions," begins like this: "...I must say a word on the general treatment of my race, both in the North and South, in this century. I wonder if our white fellow men realize the true sense or meaning of brotherhood? ...Was the war in vain? Has it brought freedom, in the full sense of the word, or has it not made our condition more hopeless?"

Taylor spoke of the war as a Revolutionary war. And she wrote of the class differences within both white and Black races after the war. Although I did have some questions on her comments on the Spanish American war, this is a book to be recommended as more than an historic document.

Susie King Taylor's book reveals that when personal observations are written in diary form and are met by great historic events in the struggle for freedom, the form and content become a literature that is full of passion and revolutionary expression.

—Diane Lee



Women-  
Worldwide

The newly-formed Polish Feminist Association, working for an independent women's movement, is still awaiting official recognition from the new Solidarity government. The group was organized in opposition to proposed legislation banning all abortions and giving three-year prison terms to both the doctors and the women involved in abortions.

Information from *Spare Rib* and *Off Our Backs*

Women's groups and sexual assault counselors are protesting the acquittal, Oct. 5, of a knife-wielding rapist in Ft. Lauderdale, Fla., who kidnapped a 22-year-old woman and attacked her repeatedly over a five-hour period. The jury foreman explained their decision saying, "We felt she asked for it for the way she was dressed."

Union and working women are invited to participate in the First International Union Women's Exchange of Experiences, scheduled for Nov. 18-26 in Mexico City. Contact Maria Hernandez, September 19th Union, San Antonio Abad #151, Colonia Obrera, 06800, Mexico, D.F. Mexico.

Women's groups, joined by labor unions and civil liberties organizations, are fighting a U.S. Court of Appeals decision barring fertile women from jobs posing a potential risk to an unborn child. Far from showing concern for safety, such sweeping discrimination could be used to deny any jobs to women.

## News & Letters

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# Striking coal miners sit in at Pittston

*Editor's note: Some 100 coal miners occupied the Moss 3 preparation facility in southwest Virginia from Sunday, Sept. 17, until the following Wednesday evening. The United Mine Workers (UMWA) have been on strike since April 5 against Pittston, which wants to dismantle health and retiree benefits first negotiated in 1950. Hours after the occupation began, a labor union solidarity delegation arrived from New York at Camp Solidarity, the strike camp set up near Pittston's operations. Here one member of that delegation describes the four days of the occupation.*

The occupation started on Sunday morning when the union said they were going to pull pickets off the gates. Then they had a sit-in at the gate. All the police went there.

Through another access road, a U-Haul came from one direction, and another came from another direction, arriving at the bridge into the tipple. There were only two guards on duty from Vance Security. The doors flew open and they came out. They marched in with their hands up to show they were peaceful. Meanwhile, on one of the back roads the police could use to come in and break up the occupation, mysteriously ten trees fell across the road.

When we got to Camp Solidarity on Sunday night, the tipple was occupied already. They went in around 4 p.m. Scabs were out by 6:30.

## WAR ZONE

Right away, we tried to get to the tipple by walking up the road. But troopers stopped us. A guy we met helped us find a path to Moss 3. The miners had both ends of the trail secured. I called it the Ho Chi Minh Trail. All along the way we saw only faces and heard voices along the road. It feels like what a war zone is like. The camouflage make them blend in. There is no way these people can but think they own the land.

That first day, you got the idea of the effectiveness of the sit-in. Thousands of tons of coal weren't going anywhere. When another Pittston tipple broke down, all mining stopped. "This is the class struggle," you heard many miners say.

Pittston is the litmus test of the labor movement in America. If the company can go three years to the next Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) contract without the union, then everyone else will say they won't sign a contract either.

## MASS RALLY

The weekly rally every Wednesday night is outside

## Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

through. One such worker, Carlos, says that he knew that "There is always a certain amount of people who get left out in the cold," but he never thought he would be one of them. He thought, with 15 years working at Alpha Beta, that he had a secure job.

**But no one's job is secure any more. And you're not even secure after you retire, either. There are workers who contribute all their lives to a pension plan, but then never get a penny because suddenly their company has gone "bankrupt" or some other capitalist disaster or trick.**

As we move towards the 1990s, the American working class is beginning more and more to move. The Pittston coal strike is obviously making the capitalists worry, because the U.S. Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole recently met with the head of the Pittston mines and United Mine Workers president Trumka.

## WORKERS' FIGHT WORLDWIDE

I think the capitalists are so worried about this strike because it came at the same time as the miners' strike in Russia. The capitalist rulers in "private" capitalist U.S. and state-capitalist Russia don't want "their" workers to know that the workers' fight is the same worldwide. There are two worlds within each country.

We need to replace this inhuman system with a society where the labor power of the human being is not a commodity to be bought and sold, making the person become less than a thing. We need a society where the human being, as both thinker and doer, is in control, and the use of our human powers is not for the purpose of making money for the capitalist or for the state. Human power is an end in itself, the self-activity of self-development of human beings.

## Not fun but games at Ford

**Dearborn, Mich.**—Ford Motor Company may finally sell its subsidiary, Rouge Steel, retaining one-quarter ownership. This will most likely result in a shuffle back to Ford by most Rouge Steel workers, especially if the prospect of starting at day one seniority with a new company becomes one of the aspects of staying in steel.

If this occurs, much bumping will result in lower seniority workers (in some trades and classifications 15 or 20 years is low seniority) being laid-off. If all millwrights from Rouge Steel go to Ford units within Rouge, one would need to have worked as a millwright since 1965 to assure not being laid-off from the trade.

As long as the companies play their own rigged games, it's a pretty sure bet that job security will take a back seat to profits. Decades ago the number of workers employed at Rouge alone was nearly 100,000. Presently Ford employs nationally roughly that number of hourly wage workers. Ford is playing shuffleboard with its workers, the pieces that don't have enough points (seniority) will be knocked off the board.

—Rouge Steel skilled tradesman

the tipple. On this Wednesday, after a judge's deadline for ending the sit-in, they had 3,400 to 4,000 people at the rally. At around 8:15, everyone started to leave. The miners were breaking into groups. Someone said, "Everyone get to the bridge." Then they said, "Get back." It was then when 20 of the 96 guys who had been occupying the tipple disappeared into the crowd.

Cecil Roberts of the UMWA said that it wasn't Vance Security, the state police or Pittston who got



Visual Impacts

Pittston strikers sit in at the Moss 3 plant.

them out. It was the union that took them out. It also put the company on notice that it could do it again.

The miners' families created this part of the country. They get looks in their eyes when they say, "This is for my parents and their parents." All see it as a fight against the destruction of a way of life and the union which keeps everyone strong.

## Bolivian miners still key

In following the most recent events of the U.S. coal miners' strike against Pittston, I started to think about the spirit of struggle which characterizes labor forces not only in the U.S. but all over the world. It seems that miners have always had a unique way of struggling for their rights. This has certainly been true in my country, Bolivia.

Ever since the Bolivian Revolution of 1952, the tin miners have played a very crucial role in the development of social reforms. When the government of the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) took power in Bolivia in August, 1985, one of the main features of their "emergency plan" was to reduce government expenditures. Bolivia, like many Latin American countries, owes billions to foreign banks.

The main mining centers in Bolivia are state-owned, an achievement of the 1952 Revolution. The miners were fully aware of the nature of the new government economic program. It threatened the very existence of the miners. The miners responded with a "struggle strategy" that included a series of public demonstrations and strikes which virtually paralyzed the mining centers. They were trying to prevent the imposition of the government economic measures, and at the same time working to raise the class consciousness of the working forces in Bolivia.

In September 1986 the mining federation, *Federacion Sindical de Trabajadores Mineros de Bolivia*, began a "march of life." It was a very dramatic and courageous action. Thousands of miners accompanied by their families gathered in Oruro, one of the most important centers of mining production. From there they started a heroic march to Bolivia's capital, La Paz, over 200 kilometers away.

As the miners marched toward La Paz the entire Bolivian population felt itself a part of the movement. The march drew a wide spectrum of support both actual and symbolic. Peasants, university students, factory workers, teachers and many others identified with the movement and joined the march. The working class began to feel itself as part of a social movement, just as it had during the uprising of 1952.

Near La Paz the government blocked the march from continuing with a huge display of their military armaments. As soon as the march was stopped the government applied its economic program directly to the miners by closing an entire group of state-owned mines; 20,000 miners and their families were left without jobs.

The government claimed that this program was necessary so that a process of reactivation of the economy could begin—the second stage of their plan. But the so-called "recovery" of the economy has never been completed, so most of the miners and their families exist on a very low standard of living.

When in September, 1987 the government initiated a process of privatization of the means of production by closing the state-owned mines, it also was attempting to repress an entire social movement. However, the miners, despite the fact that many are dispersed and that the majority of them are unemployed, remain a very united and powerful class. It may take time before they, together with the rest of the Bolivian working class, can emerge again in the struggle for social and economic reform. But certainly their movement has not been defeated.

—Student from Bolivia

## H.L. Mitchell, founder of sharecroppers union

H.L. Mitchell, a lifelong socialist, labor and civil rights activist, died this past August at the age of 83. Mitchell's life was entwined with a strand of labor and civil rights history that must not be forgotten—the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU). He was a founder of the STFU in Arkansas in 1934 and remained active with the union for decades. The STFU was born as an interracial union of sharecroppers within the South, daring to call strikes of Black and white cotton-pickers in the midst of the Depression. When faced with widespread eviction of pickers who had joined the union, the STFU organized mass protests and tent cities against the evictions.

Raya Dunayevskaya wrote of the revolt of sharecroppers: "The Socialists had organized the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. The terror campaign, not excluding outright murder of organizers, with which the Bourbon South had met the organizing drive, led to the calling of a cotton choppers' strike in 1936. The landlords and their 'law and order' deputy sheriffs—one was actually convicted of practicing outright peonage—brought the destitute living conditions there to the breaking point, as the landlords also drove sharecroppers off the land." ("Two forgotten pages of Ralph Bunche's life story," *Two Worlds* column, March 1972 N&L.)

As participant and chronicler, Mitchell's name is indelibly stamped within this moment of labor and Black history in America. His autobiography, *Mean Things Happening in This Land*, and in particular the beautiful *Roll the Union On, A Pictorial History of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union* (Charles Kerr, Chicago, 1987), with text by Mitchell, bring to life this period of our radical history. H.L. Mitchell was a member of the Socialist Party from 1932 until his death. He was a fighter who will be missed.

## 'Your job or your life'

**Chicago, Ill.**—In September there was a problem with leaking ammonia and smoke in our plant around the K.S.I. oven, the brine chill (where meat cools after it comes out of the oven) and the crack units in Dept. 647. Many of the workers in sanitation and 647 packaging were affected by the fumes, with burning eyes, headaches, sore throats, chest pains, stomach problems.

Several workers had to miss work because they felt so bad, one having to miss two weeks! Even though it is no fault of the workers that they miss work it still goes against our attendance record. It still comes out of our pockets because we don't get paid for days off unless it is over three days, and then only a small amount. We still have to pay to see a doctor, and then nobody really knows the effects on everyone exposed to the fumes over the course of our lives.

When these problems were brought up to management, their response was, "We'll take care of it soon," or "What smoke?" What they are really saying is: Don't worry about it, just get the work out, we don't care about your health, production and profit are more important than workers.

When something had to be done, management had the leaking pipes in the brine chill "patched" instead of repaired. Their reason? To repair it properly they would have to shut down for a day or so to remove all the pipes in the area of the leak, and that would be too much time lost. That means too much money lost. But the patching didn't work, so they had to do it anyway.

It's been over a month now, and although the ammonia isn't so bad the smoke is still making workers who work around the oven very uncomfortable. Nothing is being done by the company to correct the problem. Why? Maybe because it will interfere with production, which is more important than the health of us workers. I hope someday soon things will be better and we will be treated like the human beings that we are. But right now the message the company is giving us is "Your Job Or Your Life." We must change this.

—Eckrich workers

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

by Raya Dunayevskaya  
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

*Editor's note: In the upheaval of the historic events taking place today in East Europe and Russia, it is necessary to remember the high point reached in the 1956 Hungarian Revolution with its unfurling the banner of Marxist Humanism. For that reason we publish Raya Dunayevskaya's Weekly Political Letter of Sept. 17, 1961 commemorating the fifth anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution. It is this letter which she also referred to in 1987 when working on her unfinished work on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy. See Vol. XIII of the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, #10727.*

**"Don't talk to me about space ships, a trip to the moon or Marx, about life in the atomic age...."**

**"We live like this. In darkness, in mud, far away...."**

**"Don't tell me it is worse in Africa. I live in Europe, my skin is white. Who will embrace me to make me feel that I am human?"**

—Karoly Jobbagy, Budapest, April 1956

On October 23, 1956 the Russian puppet regime in Hungary fired on a student youth demonstration in Budapest. Far from dispersing the young students, these were soon joined by the workers from the factories in the outlying suburbs. The Revolution had begun in earnest. During the following 13 days, ever broader layers of the population revolted. From the very young to the very old, workers and intellectuals, women and children, even the police and the armed forces—truly the population to a man—turned against the top Communist bureaucracy and the hated, sadistic AVO (secret police).

The Communist Party with more than 800,000 and the trade unions allegedly representing the working population just evaporated. In its place arose Workers' Councils, Revolutionary Committees of every sort—intellectuals, youth, the army—all moving away from the Single Party State. Overnight there sprung up 45 newspapers and 40 different parties, but the decisive force of the revolution remained the Workers' Councils.

When 13 days of armed resistance was bloodily crushed by the might of Russian totalitarianism, the new form of workers' organization—factory councils—called a general strike. It was the first time in history a general strike followed the collapse of the revolution. It held the foreign imperialist as well as the "new" government at bay for five long weeks. Even a Janos Kadar had to pretend he was listening to the demands of the Workers' Councils for control over production and even the possible abrogation of the single party rule.

As late as November 21, 1956, the Appeal of the Central Workers' Council of Great Budapest stated: "We protest against the attitude of the newly-formed 'Free Trade Unions' which are ready to accept the workers' councils merely as economic organs. We declare that in Hungary today the Workers' Councils represent the real interests of the working class, that there is no stronger political power in the country today than the power of the Workers' Councils."<sup>1</sup> And on November 30th the Bulletin of the Central Workers Council reported a meeting with Kadar at which they demanded a daily press organ: "Our position is that the Workers' Councils are in absolute need of a press organ so that the workers may receive uniform and true information...We also raised the question of the multi-party system."<sup>2</sup>

It was the attempt to publish the *Workers' Journal* without state permission that made Kadar realize that "the government was simply ignored. Everyone who had a problem to settle came to us (Central Workers' Council)."<sup>3</sup> That made the Kadar Government, with the help of the Russian Army, move in and dissolve the Councils, on December 9th, long after armed resistance had been crushed and the exodus of refugees had reached 200,000 or a full 2% of the total population.

Although the Revolution had been sparked by the intellectuals, not only had the workers borne the main brunt of the fighting, but it was they who had shown the greatest creativity and given the Revolution its historic direction. Even their support of Imre Nagy was dependent on his acceptance of the workers' control over production, a multi-party system of government, and a new type of socialism.

Central to it was an independent Hungary, but this demand for self-determination had nothing in common with narrow bourgeois nationalism. As Imre Nagy him-

self recognized—it was this fact that brought him to the leadership of a revolution he did not desire—"They want a People's Democracy where the working people are masters of the country and of their own fate, where human beings are respected, and where social and political life is conducted in the spirit of humanism...An atmosphere of suspicion and revenge is banishing the fundamental feature of socialist morality, humanism."<sup>4</sup>

This Marxist humanism was in the air since 1955. Because the Communist intellectual caught this in the air, he was assured of leadership of a revolution against Communism. When the fight against the Stalinist, Rakosi, had first begun and he called these intellectuals "outsiders," Tador had replied that the ruling circle "is not the party. The party is ourselves, those who belong to the other current, who fight for the ideas and principles of humanism, and whose aims reflect in ever-increasing measure those of the people and of the country."<sup>5</sup>

But though the intellectuals had caught the humanism in the air and set off the revolution, they did not reveal themselves as leaders and organizers at the moment of crisis. The best, the young however, did recognize that the spontaneity which produced the revolution will see that it does not die. "As a true Marxist I believe in the inevitability of the historic processes. We know perfectly well that a wave of terror and Stalinist repression will be let loose on us...You know how the revolution broke out—spontaneously, without any kind of preparation. When the police fired on our students, leadership and organization sprung up over night. Well, we'll scatter now just as spontaneously as we came together...The revolution can't die; it will play dead and await its moment to rise again."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Imre Nagy on Communism: In Defense of "The New Course," pp. 49, 56.

<sup>5</sup> Behind the Rape of Hungary by F. Fejto. See also my *Marxism and Freedom*, pp. 62, 255-6 on the Russian debates on Marx's Humanist Essays, and my *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions* on the Polish debates.

<sup>6</sup> From a report by Peter Schmid quoted in *The Hungarian Revolution*, edited by Melvin J. Lasky.



Workers building barricades in the 1956 Hungarian Revolution.

## — Letter from Beijing Workers' Union —

*Editor's note: In the midst of mass protests throughout China this spring, the movement to form autonomous workers' unions got much less press coverage in the West than voices of the students, but posed a challenge that the ruling regime tried to crush first by declaring martial law, and then with the iron repression of June 4. We reprint excerpts from "Letter to Compatriots of the National Beijing City Workers' Union," a call for a massive workers' demonstration which martial law prevented. It is taken from "Echoes of Tiananmen," published by Friends of Chinese Minzhu, c/o Hong Kong Trade Union Education Centre, 57 Peking Road, 3/F Kowloon, Hong Kong.*

In order to protect the interests of workers, the Beijing City Workers' Union was established in Beijing on 21 April, 1989.

We have carefully edited the accounts of exploiting the workers, which are by means of the analysis derived from *Das Kapital* by Karl Marx. After deducting from the total production value the wages of workers, their fringe benefits, medical allowance and other necessary social accumulation and expenses such as equipment depreciations and ploughback for reinvestment, to our surprise, we find that the so-called "servants of the people" have reaped all the remaining values created by people who sweated and toiled!

At the expense of the blood and sweat of the people, these "servants" have built luxurious villas all over the country (which are guarded with armies by calling them "military restricted areas")... Their scandals and crimes are too many to mention...

We are against the ferocious action of forceful purchase of the Chinese Treasury Bills (TB) which infringes human rights. We request the disclosure of the accounts of revenues and expenses (including how they are used) of the TB issued in recent years, and the re-

## In Memoriam of the Hungarian Revolution Spontaneity of Action and Organization of Thought

Today, when the world stands on the brink of nuclear holocaust, sparked by Russian state-capitalism calling itself "Communism" and American private capitalism calling itself "Democracy," the page of freedom opened by the Hungarian Revolution shows the only way out of the crisis-wracked capitalist order. When the 1917 Russian Revolution put an end to the first betrayal of established Marxism, Lenin never wearied of reminding us that without "the dress rehearsal" of 1905, there could have been no successful 1917.

Because of the maturity of our age, marked, on the one hand, by the African revolutions which broke from Western capitalism, and, on the other hand, by the East European Revolutions against Russian totalitarianism, the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 is more than a dress rehearsal for a new European Revolution. It is the dress rehearsal for a world revolution that is out to reconstruct society on new, truly human beginnings and in that way finally bring to an end that which Marx called the pre-history of mankind.

### New volume added to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection

*Detroit, Mich.*—Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs has just announced the addition of a new volume of the Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development. Volume XIV, titled, "The Writing of Raya Dunayevskaya's 'Trilogy of Revolution,' 1953-83—The 'Long, Hard Trek and Process of Development' of the Marxist-Humanist Idea," totals some 3,880 manuscript pages, and is now available for study on microfilm.

The volume is divided into four sections: Section I is a reproduction of the 1989 book, *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism*, two historic-philosophic writings by Raya Dunayevskaya. Sections II, III and IV consist of Draft Outlines, Draft Chapters, Correspondence, Presentations and Notes for the writing of each of Dunayevskaya's "trilogy of revolution"—*Marxism and Freedom*, *Philosophy and Revolution*, and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. They cover the years from 1953 to 1983.

The new volume added to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection represents the most extensive available source material related to the writing of Dunayevskaya's major books. Included in the documents is correspondence with a number of Marxist and non-Marxist intellectuals including Herbert Marcuse, Erich Fromm, Louis Dupre, Meyer Schapiro, Maria Barreno, George Armstrong Kelly, Jonathan Spence, A. James Gregor, Mihailo Markovic, Hayden White, Iring Fetscher, Lawrence Krader and Sheila Rowbotham.

The newest volume is available on two microfilm reels for \$40, from Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Detroit, MI 48202. The Guide to the Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, containing both volumes XIII and XIV, is available for \$2.50 from *The Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund*, 59 E. Van Buren, Chicago, IL 60605.

demption of the TBs with interests to its holders. Finally the TB market should be abolished as it is one of the greatest markets of official profiteers, their greatest source of income!

We reiterate that wages should be increased and prices should be stabilized. We must end the era in which the two (or even three) generations receive more or less the same salaries. We request to investigate the financial status of officials... People are already awakened! They realized that in any society and within any historical period, there are basically two classes: the ruling class and the ruled class. Any classes, political parties, societies and individuals following the historical development are progressive and revolutionary; otherwise, they are regressive and counter-revolutionary. This is the fundamental reason why from the Qin Dynasty to the "rule of the man society" nowadays, the Chinese people have been loving, desiring, praising and missing "the upright officials." The political movement of the past forty years is a political means for repressing people. History demonstrates that the rulers are good at re-vengeing against the people, but in the end history cannot be distorted.

We know some ambitious politicians who may take advantage of the political movement to seize political power. Deng Xiaoping is the man who made use of the April Fifth Movement in 1976 and rose to power two years later. The "reform record" they advertise is false and nominal. In fact the living standard of the majority of the people is falling sharply. The huge foreign debt will be repaid by the people in the future.

Dear, fellow workers, we must unite closely under the Workers' Union. Under its leadership, we shall push the democratic movement to a new climax.

—Beijing City Workers' Union, 17 May, 1989

<sup>1</sup> *The Review* (published by the Imre Nagy Institute, Brussels) #4, 1960.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* *East Europe* (New York) April 1959 also carries an "Eyewitness Report of How the Workers Councils Fought Kadar."

<sup>3</sup> "My Experiences in the Central Workers' Council of Greater Budapest" by Miklos Sebestyen, *The Review*, Vol. III, #2, 1961.

## Editorial

### Of hurricanes and earthquakes

# Natural disasters reveal capitalism's destructive power

Natural disasters have a way of revealing not only the destructive power of nature but also of the societies upon which they wreak havoc—a point driven home with startling clarity this Fall with Hurricane Hugo and the earthquake in Northern California. In both events, natural catastrophe exposed the destructive power of a society that values material goods and property over human lives.

#### HUGO IN THE CARIBBEAN AND THE U.S.

That was seen as soon as Hurricane Hugo hit the Caribbean on Sept. 17, with its 175-mile-an-hour winds and 17-foot tides. Nature's path of destruction was massive—virtually every home was destroyed on the islands of Montserrat, Guadeloupe and St. Croix, and over 80,000 were left homeless in Puerto Rico. The human suffering initiated by the forces of nature soon gave way, however, to a new layer of suffering, purely man-made.

Thus, on St. Croix in the U.S. Virgin Islands, hundreds of the island's impoverished Black residents took to the streets and emptied markets of desperately needed food and sanitary supplies, only to be confronted by the military presence of the U.S. Army, sent in to restore "order." This "order" was not meant to feed bellies or house hurricane victims, but to protect property. Though it took less than a day for the U.S. troops to arrive, St. Croix did not receive any aid in the form of food, clothing, or shelter from the U.S. government until five days following the storm. Far from being a question of "random looting," what was involved was the poor of St. Croix expressing rage against such conditions in an island where Blacks earn less than half the income of whites and can't even afford to rent (let alone own) a home.

By the time Hurricane Hugo reached South Carolina,

the relentless force of natural disaster left thousands homeless and two dozen dead in a storm that severely damaged 73,000 homes and felled 75% of the state's timber. Once again, the Bush administration failed to send significant assistance to the victims until almost a week after the storm, though the state government managed to get the national guard onto the streets of Charleston to protect business property within hours of the hurricane.

The natural disaster that struck Northern California a month later also brought to view deep social afflictions. Few could avoid noticing the stark contrast between the office buildings in San Francisco's financial district, which withstood the temblor intact, and the havoc wreaked on the Nimitz Freeway, whose collapse destroyed over 60 lives.

It is clear that it was not a question of whether or not the "technology" is possible to build a safe freeway. It is capitalism's perverse priorities that stand on trial.

#### EARTHQUAKE HURTS POOR MOST

What could be more damning than the descriptions of Watsonville, where the migrant workers who barely eked out a living before are now crowded into thin, unheated tents and face an even bleaker winter, or the poor of Oakland who found that they were getting food and clothing as quake victims that they could not get before. As one of the unemployed Hispanic workers, given refuge at a Red Cross shelter in Oakland put it bluntly: "Us here, we should have qualified for disaster relief before the quake!"

No better indictment of that society exists than that voiced by the second America who suffers its indignities daily. Gene Ford, a Black worker from Los Angeles, aptly expressed that when he wrote us the following:

*As a Black worker in America, I feel working people suffer the most in "normal times" under capitalism, and so*

*also during a natural disaster such as an earthquake. The poor still pay more.*

*One thing capitalism has not been able to buy off or control is nature. From Hurricane Hugo to the Northern California earthquake, they have come up short. Not forgetting the fact that thousands of people have died in Mexico City and Armenia, but this time these great disasters have happened against the "greatest capitalist country in the world," America, which is always creating new bombs and weapons of destruction but never prepared for disaster.*

*A friend of mine said, "The white man is to blame; he is being punished." What did he mean? Jah's attack upon Babylon? The wrath of Allah? No. But there is no doubt about it that the outdated, cheap, shoddy workmanship found in Mexico City and Armenia could also be found in the "richest land in the world," America, where capitalist interest concerns financial interest, not human interest.*

*That is why the Bay Bridge and the Nimitz Freeway collapsed, due to the fact these were not up to their own safety codes. Reagan cut 45% of federal funding for highway reinforcement construction. Working people had to pay with their lives, travelling in rush hour back and forth to work.*

*Thousands more are homeless, and hundreds more are out of work. Those workers that suffer the most are asked to pay again and again. Now the state wants us to pay 25¢ a gallon more at the pump for gas to get back and forth to work, because of capitalism's unpreparedness for human needs.*

*One natural disaster for capitalism I look forward to is when the masses of oppressed people rise up again and uproot this system and rock the White House to its foundation. From that revolutionary uprooting, the minds of the oppressed become fertile ground to create, to give voice and action, to that new human society whose interest is human needs, not financial wealth for the few rich ones who are like vultures picking the flesh from a corpse.*

## Philosophic Dialogue

*Editor's note: "Philosophic Dialogue" is a feature consisting of discussion and debate from our readers on the major philosophic writings of Marxist-Humanism. What follows are commentaries on our 1989 publication, The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: two historic-philosophic writings by Raya Dunayevskaya. Your participation is welcome.*

### From a liberation theologian

Raya's letters of May 1953 provide highly provocative meditations on Hegel's three absolutes, absolute knowledge in the *Phenomenology*, absolute idea in the larger *Logic*, absolute spirit in the *Encyclopedia*. In doing so she follows the example and the spirit of Marx, Lenin, and other Marxists who believe in the liberating potential of Hegel's dialectic and never cease to explore its lessons for contemporary history. Her meditations challenge two groups in particular, those Marxists who still treat Hegel as a "dead dog" and conveniently forget about the process and necessity of the negation of negation, and those Hegelians—perhaps the majority of Hegel scholars today—who engage in the valuable work of textual exegesis without, however, trying to delve into the significance of Hegel's dialectic for the present phase in the continuing and in fact intensifying global struggle for human liberation.

So much has happened since 1953, notably the globalization of the class struggle, the emergence of liberation movements in the third world, the deepening structural crises in private and state capitalist regimes alike. Raya's attempts to illuminate the role of the party, the proletariat, and the socialist movement as a whole within the dialectic of Hegel's absolute still remain seminal, but, as her own lifelong endeavor bears witness, much remains to be rethought in the changed and changing conditions of today. Where should we locate the party today? Who should be included among the proletariat, the agents of human liberation? What kind of politics should socialism aim at in this last decade of the twentieth century? "The crucial labor of working out new philosophic beginnings" (The Resident Editorial Board, October 27, 1988) indeed remains imperative. It goes without saying that the immanent dialectic of Hegel's absolute towards the "new society" (Raya), the liberating unification of theory and praxis, subjectivity and objectivity, still provides an inspiring horizon, both effective and ideal, for us all.

In this matter of theoretical reconstruction Raya's own works—*Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution*—provide an important and still valid clue, especially her plea for return to the praxis of the exploited majority as the matrix and ground of new theory. The days of elitist intellectuals and leaders are over. The liberation of humanity today ultimately has to be the self-liberation of the marginalized Others themselves. A philosophy of liberation is possible only as the self-articulation of the suffering masses around the globe.

For some 20 years already, theologies of liberation have sprung up all around the world as the voice of the oppressed peoples, in Latin America first, then in North America, Africa, and Asia. The radicality of these new movements has been sending shock waves throughout the corridors of power, secular and religious alike. As theologies arising from the concrete experiences of oppression they have proven most effective in mobilizing

## On the Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism

the base communities and otherwise challenging the oppressive status quo.

True, the appeal of theologies of liberation is generally limited to traditionally Christian peoples, but so is Marxist humanism in its own way. In three important respects, a dialogue with theologies of liberation could prove mutually fruitful. First, they have been struggling under basically the same historical situation, the ravages of global capitalism. Secondly, they are equally interested in the true human liberation of the oppressed peoples. Thirdly, and this is most relevant from a theoretical point of view, they have been incorporating Hegelian dialectic and Marxist social analysis into their theological reconstruction (cf. my recently published *Dialectic of Salvation*, State University of New York Press).

If the days of a monolithic conception of Marxism are long past, so are the days of a reified conception of Christianity. Just as there are many different movements and conceptions of Marxism, so there exist today many different movements and theologies of Christian faith. Confronted with the global imperative of human liberation, persisting in ancient suspicions and hostilities would be not only a waste of human energy but also an inexcusable failure to seize fruitful opportunities for mutual cooperation.

—Anselm Kyongsuk Min

### From a British Marxist

[Dunayevskaya] is absolutely correct against V.I. Lenin that at the end of the *Science of Logic* something interesting happens after "the outstretched hand to materialism." But she doesn't understand it.

First let us note that where Lenin sees an outstretched hand, Marx (1844 *Manuscripts*) makes fun of Hegel here for his longing for a content.

But the key thing here is that all along Hegel has been insisting that the Absolute Idea is its own content, its determinateness is gained purely through method. To admit the need for a content would mean precisely that it wasn't absolute but was one-sided, unstable, and required a transition. As an idealist Hegel cannot therefore admit such a transition is necessary, it has to be absolutely free.

But Hegel is not so tender with Nature. It has its truth outside itself! On this it is interesting that Raya talks of Hegel's "Absolutes." I have only just realized this is catachrestic; for the very definition of the term means there can only be one! Yet in Hegel's *Encyclopedia* not only does Part III, Spirit, finish with an absolute, but also Part I, Logic, does. Yet, Part II, Nature, does not finish with an absolute but with death! From a systematic point of view one might have thought that both Nature and Logic would be shown to be equally one-sided, lacking, and necessarily taken up into Spirit.

Raya Dunayevskaya then makes a purely verbal "transition" to capital accumulation. As it happens, I agree that this process has the logical form of the Absolute Idea. But this is precisely its weakness. As materialists we have to invert Hegel here. So far from this Absolute freely objectifying/alienating itself in Nature it is under the necessity of subsuming under it a content other than it. For this logic spins in a void if it were not for the material fact that people are capable of producing more than their bare necessities. Of course

the capital-subject strives to bring this condition under its own control (pumping out of surplus value) so that it can reproduce as a result this precondition. What Raya Dunayevskaya does not see is that the proletariat's revolt against capital is simultaneously a revolt against the sway of the Absolute Idea which is simply the metaphysical absolutisation of the capital relation.

—Chris Arthur

### From a Filipina revolutionary

In the Philippines we thought we already had the answer to everything. We went through all those years—we had a kind of people's war, we were successful somehow in all these things, but there were questions about it, questions like from then where are we leading to? As I reflected I realized it was not the total war which was the aim of life, but the totality which I saw in the writings of Dunayevskaya. Now I realize we needed her in our country, for this would be the green field for her to enter.

We have also reflected on the kinds of organizations we have gone through. We realize the dialectics of organization and dialectics of philosophy, which Dunayevskaya had always united, became separated from each other. We had a kind of philosophy, but the body of ideas we were moulded into was Mao's.

Dunayevskaya spoke to how there are moments when the objective and subjective so coincide with the self-determination of Ideas that the revolt of the masses can explode. It is for us now who found this kind of direction to read it, listen to it, write it ourselves and return it back to the masses and thereby enable them to grasp the meaning of their own revolts. I guess it is with this we have to go back, translate the anguish, the yearnings of our people now.

I read her book, *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism*. On page nine she said: "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?" She already had a critique of our country.

—Filipina revolutionary

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## THE NEW EDITION OF PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION AS A CHALLENGE TO THE 1990s

The first thing I noticed when I looked at the magnificent centerspread in the Oct. N&L on the new edition of **Philosophy and Revolution** by Raya Dunayevskaya was how the title for these pages (printed in red), "**Philosophy and Revolution as A Challenge to the 1990s**," spoke directly to the August-September issue's headline (printed in green), "How to prepare for the 1990s?" The challenge is to all revolutionaries to become part of the dialectic movement of history—both in terms of day-to-day activity to overthrow the wretched conditions of today's world and the day-to-day activity to develop a full philosophy of freedom.

This is what the book meant to me when I first picked it up in a Kentucky library. It changed the whole lay of the land for me as a young revolutionary—from looking for how to build a revolutionary party to "seize power at the head of the working class," to looking for how to "recreate the dialectic forever anew" and create a totally new human society.

Stu Quinn  
Los Angeles

When reading Raya Dunayevskaya's 1972 letter on **Philosophy and Revolution** in the last issue, I felt that I was reading a historic document. This is because she is saying that **Philosophy and Revolution** carries "an assignment" that Hegel, Marx and Lenin gave us but which they themselves did not carry out. Dunayevskaya's discussion of Hegel's three final syllogisms, clarified some of the questions that I had after reading the two essays by Dunayevskaya in **The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism**, but created many new questions too. You can see why she kept stressing the uniqueness of her view of Hegel's three final syllogisms. She shows that those syllogisms illuminate the pathway to complete self-determination and self-development of humanity in a new human world.

Young activist  
Chicago

In 1917, with the first Marxist workers' revolt, theory was something that prepared you to make the revolution. Now we see that theory must be practiced to make a new society. History helps us critique Bukharin's concept of a "planned economy." **Philosophy and Revolution** will help us meet today's challenge.

A. Phillips  
Detroit

For many years I have been reading books written by different "revolutionaries" and none have been able to fulfill the tasks accomplished by Raya Dunayevskaya in a work of approximately 350 pages. She has been able to answer the lack of Marx's philosophy in our freedom movement by developing the Hegelian dialectic, and to recognize the masses as the only vanguard that Marx saw and wrote for, during his 40 years of work as revolutionary and humanist.

The critique made by Raya against Lenin is not in order to diminish the works of Lenin; it is in order to break the gap left by him when he went back to Marx's philosophical roots in Hegel—but left a philosophical ambiguity.

Latino revolutionary  
Los Angeles

What makes **Philosophy and Revolution** a new book in 1989? Part of it, of course, is all the new additions to this new edition. But part of it is reading it after you have seen **The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism**. It is like re-reading **Capital** after you have seen Marx's 1844 **Humanist Essays**. You see things connect differently. It is not a chronological new, but a philosophic new.

Professor  
Illinois

The idea of "mediation" Raya discussed in her 1972 letter was hard for me to grasp. But it is clear to me that the "movement from practice" was just Dunayevskaya's beginning. That letter was on how to read **Philosophy and Revolution**.

Librarian  
Detroit

What is so important to me about the kind of writings N&L is publishing from the Marxist-Humanist Archives is that we are able to "think along with Raya" as she works out her philosophy of revolution for our age.

MJ  
Chicago

Although it may have been accidental that the October Lead article on "Black Opposition to Racism" coincided with the announcement of the publication of the new edition of **Philosophy and Revolution**, it made me think of the historic, philosophic relationship between the Black dimension and P&R. Wasn't Dunayevskaya's first public presentation of her work on P&R made to the 1969 Black/Red Conference?

What Alan discusses in the Lead concerning the failures of 1960s Black revolutionaries like the Black Panther Party—their attempt "to impose upon this new stage of Black cognition ready-made philosophies"—is what is addressed in Dunayevskaya's letter of Feb. 1, 1972.

Marxist-Humanist  
Los Angeles

### THE BLACK DIMENSION

John Alan's lead article on the "Black Opposition to Racism" was very timely. Recent racist incidents show what the 1990s will be like, but the Black "leaders" cannot meet the challenge. In **Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought**, John Alan and Lou Turner show that what made Martin Luther King, Jr. a historic leader was that he recognized that it was the masses in motion who made him a leader, not vice versa. You don't see that type of recognition amongst the Black politicians and "community leaders" today.

Black youth  
California

Charles Denby's **Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal** creates something different from both bourgeois and radical concepts of history. Bourgeois history tells history as great individuals, not masses. What passes for radical history sees only oppression of the masses, not their revolutionary creativity. Denby says he found, as N&L worker-editor, that "nothing was alien to workers, whether how to fight speed-up, racism, war and peace, economics, politics, parties or philosophy." Denby's book was part of what inspired me to go back to school to study history. It also made me frustrated with it.

White student  
New York

In the 1990s, youth, Black youth especially, need an alternative to the bourgeois concept of schools that shut them out. In the Chinese revolt what stood out was the students demanding not to be put into a slot, but to determine their own future. At home, there is a desire for love within the barrio. Drugs, money and an abundance of weapons is the reality of our racist society: it is the reality of death. The desire for love is the desire for life, for new human relationships.

Gene Ford  
Los Angeles

### THE CALIFORNIA QUAKE

The death and destruction that resulted from the earthquake here was far from being a consequence of nature. At first they were saying that the Cypress freeway that collapsed and killed so many, collapsed because it was built when they didn't know what they do now about earthquakes. But an engineer who worked on its construction said if only they had gone by accepted engineering safety standards all those people wouldn't be dead today. Clearly safety wasn't and still isn't a priority. In the 1980s the California Transportation Commission sent a memo urging an accelerated earthquake-proofing program

## Readers' Views

in their department. In this cost-cutting administration it didn't even reach the governor. Now the governor is going to raise taxes to repair the roads at a much higher cost—but nothing will bring back the dead.

The "new" homeless (10,000 in Santa Cruz county alone) are getting a piddling of help and there is talk about having trouble distinguishing them from the permanent homeless. It is as though permanent homelessness is a condition that is OK. All this in a society where the rulers themselves make a "principle" out of home and family living. I'm sure many who already have money will make a killing on this disaster in, for example, land speculation and building on land that ecologists know will be totally vulnerable in the next earthquake, like the San Francisco Marina district.

Survivor  
Oakland

### WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND PHILOSOPHY



The Left vanguard parties keep using the abortion movement to gain adherents. How many times will we hear an "economic analysis" of abortion—as if what is needed is to "educate" women about why the capitalists want women to remain a cheap labor force? Post-Marx Marxists who reduce Marxism to economics or politics alone have been telling women why they're oppressed ever since Engels' day. Our activity will take new directions when our discussion is rooted in a philosophy of liberation that begins with hearing women's voices.

Indignant student  
New York City

The born-again religious fanatics of Operation Rescue were disgusting with their pitying, holier-than-thou, smug God-will-prevail looks. How life-less they are, driven by someone they believe rules over them. It doesn't require thought to live like that. And, to me, that is not living. It made me see so clearly the truth behind one young women's sign: "I think, therefore I am pro-choice."

Cynthia  
Los Angeles

Sexism is part of the power of the rulers whether they are in China or Japan, Russia or Britain (where Thatcher is just another "good old boy"), or in the U.S., including in the labor bureaucracy. It is also the basis of much of religious fundamentalism and affects Third World movements as well as the Black movement at home. Far from subsuming Women's Liberation, we have to start from the idea that the only human relationship is one between free human beings.

Male supporter  
Oakland, Cal.

### ASSEMBLY LINE ATHLETES?

Baseball has been capitalism's national pastime for the past 100 years, played in the limelight where the masses can analyze and scrutinize the wheelings and dealings on and off the field of play. No subject, among baseball aficionados, has inspired more argument than the extinction of the .400 hitter. (A .400 hitter is a batter who averages 4 hits every 10 times at bat; the last being Ted Williams .406 in 1941.) Most of the explanations cite longer grueling schedules, better relief pitching and fielding, the addition of night baseball making the ball harder to see and many hours traveling, thus wearing down the strongest of people.

I view the disappearance of the .400 hitter a little differently. The disappearance of the .400 hitter is the result of creating assembly line athletes. For the last 100 years the variation of extreme (high and low) batting averages has been decreasing. Baseball, as a capitalist institution, has become a science.

Positioning of fielders changes by the inning and batter. Double plays are executed like awesome clockwork. Every pitch and swing is charted and elaborate books and computer discs are kept on the habits and personal weaknesses of each hitter. Capitalism does not allow variation and creativity at any level—be it baseball, the assembly line, coal mining, shipyard workers, writing or painting.

Cub fan  
Chicago

### INOUE IN ISRAEL

The TV interview with Senator Inouye of Hawaii, when he recently visited the Israeli settlement Alfe Menashe on the West Bank, angered many of us. We can believe him that when he visited the settlers in their own homes they were relaxed, did not carry weapons and looked very different from the way they look when they are in the midst of a punitive raid on a Palestinian village. This does not change the fact that the settlers maintain an extensive and well-armed vigilante force which regularly attacks Arab villages, destroying property, shooting, and sometimes killing, dedicated to preventing any peace agreement involving Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza.

Certainly the settlements have a neat and prosperous look! How else would they look when the government invests a large slice of tax payers' money to provide them with the most modern amenities? Nothing of the kind is done for the inhabitants of slum neighborhoods in Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem. He should visit one of them the next time he is in Israel.

Adam Keller  
Israeli

### NEW READERS AND WRITERS

Do you have large-print socialist books for visually handicapped people like myself? I believe producing that kind of literature is an important area of activity for socialists, and look forward to your reply (in large print, if possible.)

Interested sympathizer  
Wales

Editor's note: Subscriptions to N&L, selected Marxist-Humanist literature and other freedom movement material are available on cassette from: *Our Right to Know* Braille Press, 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217.

I was a subscriber in the 1970s because I could get news from you unavailable elsewhere. Then I lost track of you. I was delighted to learn, at the Homeless Action in Washington, D.C., that you yet live! Enclosed is my \$2.50 to subscribe again.

"Re-activated"  
New York

It has been a very educational experience for me reading **News & Letters**. Being a student of philosophy, now about to graduate, the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya which are a regular feature of your paper have helped me a lot, especially now that I've been contemplating writing a thesis on Raya's Marxist-Humanism in relation to its possible effects or application in the Philippines. I have been thoroughly influenced by Raya's thoughts and I hope you could also help me in acquiring some of her books.

New reader  
The Philippines

Today I laid eyes on your publication for the first time and want to subscribe. Your paper is full of information. More important is the analysis which goes into presenting this information. However, I am struck by the absence of Lesbian and Gay political activity reports. I am always amazed how people who claim to want a "new society" always make homosexuality invisible in the process. We are out there fighting for change and equality also.

New subscriber  
Toronto

**THE LABOR SCENE: HERE...**

I took a job in a factory over the summer and found out that long before I got there the workers had figured out they earn their day's pay the first hour on the job. They have no trouble understanding ideas like surplus value, dead labor, and the sham of "profit sharing." But a lot of workers would say "what we think doesn't matter." They are wrong. What they think does matter. The division of mental and manual labor is the root of our alienation.

**Student/worker  
DeKalb, Ill.**

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There was a discussion we were having about good foremen and bad foreman. The difference between them is that you tend to work harder for a good foreman, but for a bad foreman you'll stand there and fight with him. While you're fighting, you're not doing any work. So, from the worker's point of view which is the good one and which is the bad one? It's the good foreman you have to watch out for.

**Auto worker  
Oklahoma**

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The "Bughouse Square Debates" in the park opposite Newberry Library—a Chicago radical tradition—usually draws an assortment of curiosity-seekers and assorted hecklers to surround the different speakers who set up a variety of open-air debates once a year on a Fall Saturday here. This year was no exception for most of the soap-box speakers—except for the one on "What is the Future for Organized Labor?"—by A. Verrin, a man now in his 70s who had been an International rep for the UAW many years ago.

The "heckling" here was not the "smart-aleck" variety or "just for fun." Instead, people were asking dead-serious questions about where Labor is going, and what workers can do facing the kinds of conditions they confront today both from their bosses and from their unions. A lot of little side-debates spun off in the crowd. I found myself in one with a man who was in a musicians' union and a young man from Ohio whose buddy worked in the Norwood auto

plant and who wanted to know what the Smyrna vote meant for labor.

I had taken a bunch of back-issues of N&L with me and, no matter what questions came up, I could point to an article that spoke to it very directly. We got several new N&L readers that day.

**Side-Debater  
Chicago**

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**...AND IN BRITAIN**

Exactly 100 years ago, the Great London Dock Strike of 1889 was in full swing. A body of workers, whose life alternated between irregular bouts of hard physical labour for the low wage of fivepence an hour and periods of enforced idleness and hunger, organized into a union for the first time and won what they called the dockers' tanner—a standard rate of sixpence an hour. Eleanor Marx worked for the dockers' union as a volunteer.

The "new unionism" took root among unskilled and low paid workers in many kinds of employment. My great-grandfather joined the General and Municipal Workers' Union the year it was founded, 1889.

This summer labor showed a revived spirit of militancy with strikes in rail, oil, broadcasting, local government and the docks. Ironically, it was the dockers who suffered a painful and damaging defeat. Resisting the drive to restructure patterns of work is proving to be a hard struggle. In 1989 as in 1889 a new beginning is needed.

**Richard Bunting  
Oxford**

**THE PHILIPPINES AND  
THE U.S. BASES**

President Corazon Aquino of the Philippines is scheduled to visit the U.S. in November. It is against the backdrop of the military bases agreement due to expire in September 1991. Twelve of the 23 Philippines senators have signed a resolution declaring that they are "unalterably opposed" to any extension of the presence of U.S. bases in the Philippines. Several senators urged passage of a resolution calling on

Aquino to scrap her upcoming visit to the U.S. At the same time, the Aquino government announced they would sit down with American officials during her visit and start formal talks on the bases.

Meanwhile, the Aquino administration has loudly complained about Philippine activists and human rights groups in the U.S. and elsewhere who have attempted to expose the government's counter-insurgency campaign, which this summer resulted in the greatest population displacements since WWII, especially on Negros and in the Cordilleras in Northern Luzon. She is sure to be confronted with all these issues during her November trip.

**Victor Hart  
New York**



FREEDOM

**CHINA  
AND  
FREEDOM**

I was very excited to read what News & Letters said about what the students in Tiananmen Square were fighting for, and to find that Marxism and humanism are not opposites, as I always thought. I was at home in Hong Kong on June 4, and all we heard was they were for "freedom." We didn't know what freedom meant to them. The New York Times said they were for democracy like in capitalist countries. The first time I read that Tiananmen Square was for something more was in News & Letters.

**Chinese student  
New York City**

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Chinese retrogressionists may have cleared away Tiananmen Square, and international capitalists are still clearing their checks, but nothing can clear away the world's conscience.

**Hospital worker  
Oakland**

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Chapter 18 of Raya Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom*, "Cultural Revolution or Maoist Reaction," ends with a quote from a Chinese refugee who

says "Humanist tendencies are very strong among the Chinese...I believe the youth stand ready to make a new revolution." I am 22-years-old and it was amazing to me to see all that the Chinese youth were doing. I have never seen anything like that. Their movement was put down for now, but has helped me to see that mass movement is really possible. They were fighting for a new Humanism.

**Black youth  
Los Angeles**



**EAST EUROPEAN REVOLT**

There is skepticism in Poland that a coming explosion can be contained. The new government's program will take years and people have only enough food and supplies for a couple of months. What is being heard on the streets in Poland is: "We see times we were not supposed to live to see. But can we live through them?"

**Urszula Wislanka  
California**

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I am tired of hearing those who have suddenly discovered the supposed virtue of "free market capitalism" (like Jacek Kuron and many other former-Left intellectuals in East Europe) speak of Marx's thought as "an outdated 19th century ideology." What makes them so sure their embrace of an outmoded 18th century ideology serves us any better?

**Solidarity activist  
New York**

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Bruce Allen, who wrote a most informative, detailed and interesting study called *Germany East, Dissent and Opposition* that came out earlier this year, must feel very vindicated. His point had been that too little attention has been paid to East German dissent and that even the 1953 workers' insurrections quickly became a forgotten event (except in West Germany), though they were of great significance for the global freedom movement. The events which have now propelled East Germany's dissidents to world headlines have proved his point.

**Sociologist  
Illinois**

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## Black/Red View

by John Alan

As we go to press this month the eyes of the nation are focused on the results of two elections, the gubernatorial election in Virginia and the mayoral election in New York City. In both of these elections "middle of the road" Black candidates with strong multiracial support have "squared-off" against two white conservatives.

It has been the strong multiracial support behind the two Black candidates (Doug Wilder in Virginia and David Dinkins in New York City) which indicates the pivotal nature of the white vote in whether they are elected, and which is a magnet of national attention.

### POLITICAL OPINION VS. REALITY

Some major sources of political opinion in the country have hailed these two elections as a veritable litmus tests of changing American interracial relationships.

The New York Times has considered Dinkins a "healing" candidate in its racially divided city. David Shribman's article in the Oct. 11 edition of the Wall Street Journal reports that Virginia is not the "political museum" it was 40 years ago, and that there exists in the state a strong, prevailing political opinion that "Virginia has changed irretrievably regardless of whether Wilder wins or loses." And because of this change no one believes he can't win the election.

The New York Times and Wall Street Journal are not alone in championing the concept of "multiracial politics." Jesse Jackson did it on a national scale with his Rainbow Coalition. The late Mayor Washington built a multiracial political coalition as an alternative to "machine politics," yet in actual practice he could never seriously challenge Chicago's racism. To this day, according to a recent study by the University of Chicago, Chicago is the most segregated city in the country.

Marxist-Humanists are not opposed to Black and white unity that stands in opposition to the forces of retrogression. But the kind of "political unity" that is now emerging comes from, on the one hand, the necessity of bourgeois society to maintain existing social relationships and, on the other hand, the ambition of a Black political elite who want to assume greater "political empowerment" in their own self-interest. The consequence of this "political empowerment," which had its conceptual beginning in the Civil Rights Movement, is the present gap between the Black political elite and the Black masses. In other words, two different worlds now exist in the Black world.

### NEEDED 'UNIFYING PHILOSOPHY'

By 1964 it was the unquestionable aim of Black leaders, the Courts and the Administration to seek a "political solution" to Black mass action, by legalizing the political rights of Blacks. At the same time, the "political solution" was a substitute for a needed "unifying philosophy," as Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in *American Civilization on Trial* (ACOT), one that could "penetrate deeper into both the struggles and the aspirations of the Negro...a new humanism." Dunayevskaya went on to write in ACOT that the challenge of the 1960s was the "unity of the movements from practice with a movement from theory into a philosophy that can form the foundation of a totally new society."

No new unifying philosophy, no new concept of a

## S. Africa school boycott

*Maokeng, South Africa*—Bodibeng High School is in the township of Maokeng near Kroonstad. The area is in the province of the Orange Free State about 207 km from Johannesburg. Most of the white people are conservative and farmers.

For the past two months students at Bodibeng have been boycotting classes. The police have been on the school premises but this has never stopped the boycott.

The school has been affected by boycotts since 1985. During 1985 the students won their demands like democratically elected SRC's (student representative councils). But the State of Emergency made it possible for Minister de Klerk to declare COSAS (Congress of South African Students) illegal and the student leadership was harassed and detained. But this never stopped the determined students from organizing MASCO (Maokeng Student Congress). MASCO started to re-organize the students and made its presence felt.

By early 1986 the students returned to school more militant and started to organize and establish SRC's. They used boycotts as a tactic to force the authorities to meet their demands. In most cases student leaders were detained in the early hours of the morning for their activities in the student congress and the students used class boycotts to secure their release.

When the permanent state of emergency was declared in June 1986 most of the student leadership was detained for twelve months. Those who were not detained were forced to leave the school as they were sought by the police on the school premises.

By the middle of this year the whole school was affected as they used the boycott as a tactic to force the authorities to meet their demands and negotiate with them. It was agreed that they could draw up their own constitution, though it was never accepted by the authorities. The crisis has not been resolved.

Students made their delegation but the principal refused to talk to them. This resulted in stone throwing in the school yard and the pupils were charged with public violence. Those charged are the student activists: M. Masizane, Amos Mtimkulu, Frank Mohapi and two other pupils charged in September. The case is still on.

## The politics of race in America

totally new society appeared in 1964. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 represented great progress but, to paraphrase Marx in his 1843 "On the Jewish Question," it was wholly a political revolution that dissolved into the existing American society all of the elements of the Civil Rights Movement without revolutionizing them or subjecting them to criticism.

Today, the Black political elite and the Black middle class, the real beneficiaries of the Civil Rights Movement, have proven to be just as incapable as their white colleagues were in solving the implacable problems of poverty, unemployment and racism that beset the Black community. Nor has their growing presence in the political arena made any basic change in the conclusion of the 1968 Kerner Commission Report that "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one Black, one white—separate and unequal."

There is indeed a "Black political crisis." But contra-

### Homeless in mass march



—News & Letters photo

*Washington, D.C.*—When some 150,000 demonstrators came to the capital, Oct. 7, they attempted to put the country's crisis of homeless people on the national agenda. Homeless people and people who support housing for the poor came from the Midwest, the South and the Northeast, and from Washington, D.C. itself.

Yet while the liberal sponsoring organizations titled the event "Housing Now!" and pressed for allocating more federal money, the homeless participants and many students there often saw the problem as a deeper, structural one.

A couple hundred homeless men and women trekked along the Eastern seaboard from Boston to the Washington rally. A contingent from Chester, Pa., outside Philadelphia, led the march down Connecticut Avenue.

"Chester is in the top five of oppressed cities in the country," said a young Black man from there, homeless for ten years. "There was plenty of industry and it moved out—Scott Paper, Ford, some other big companies.

"The authorities don't really deal with our problem," the man continued. "If there are people who don't have a shelter, they sleep on a bench and then they get locked up."

He said when the city received a \$2.2 million federal grant for housing, "The mayor, Willie Mae Leak, pocketed part of it and gave the rest to the police. Out of \$2.2 million, they had a budget for the homeless of \$250,000. But we had to sleep in front of city hall to get \$50,000 for housing."

Under pressure from a major sponsor—the AFL-CIO—demonstration organizers dropped a demand to cut the mammoth defense budget and shift money to housing. A contingent of housing activists responded by holding a protest at the Pentagon and marching to the capital from there.

This coming together of unemployed and unhoused Americans and their allies showed the growing spirit of determination that must have given pause to America's capitalist rulers.

—Jim Mills

### Native American dialogue

It was exciting to read in the October News & Letters the article given by James Yellowbank about the protests by the Indians of northern Wisconsin on the theft of their treaty rights.

It's hard, once again, to hear the old story of the government trying in every way to break yet another one of their treaties with the Indians. It was good to hear the whole story behind the protests. We've seen, for example, the struggle that the Pine Ridge people are having to keep the Black Hills once the government learned that there could possibly be oil in "them thar hills." I wonder when the government will learn that we want and must have the right to determine for ourselves what happens to this land that we have been allowed to keep by their own treaties.

It's going to be a long hard struggle for the Chippewa Indians to maintain their treaty rights with the government working out of its bag of dirty tricks. It was so good to hear about the cohesive way that both tribal members and support groups worked together to get people involved in not only the rally on May 6, but also to tell people about the whole struggle.

I hope that we'll hear more from James Yellowbank about the continuing efforts to keep their fishing rights and, even more, I'd like to hear some of his thoughts about the Indian movement today.

—Shainape Shcapwe

*Editor's note: As we go to press the Lac du Flambeau tribal membership voted down Wisconsin's financial offer to give up their tribal rights to speatfishing.*

ry to Susan Anderson's otherwise perceptive article in the Oct. 16 issue of *The Nation*, "Black Leadership Gap: Eyes on the Prize Not the People," the source of that crisis lies not in the "conflict between continued inequality for Black poor and traditional Black political concerns." She defines them as a conflict between focusing on the South and civil rights as opposed to "economic empowerment." Here she presents a duality without explaining that the success of the Black political elite rests upon this duality.

The "political empowerment" of the Black middle class, i.e., its political emancipation, is not human emancipation. Political emancipation, as Marx has elucidated it, creates a false universal in constitutional rights while permitting in the reality of society the treatment of men and women as means. Thus it creates a double existence, one in thought and one in life. To overcome this contradiction between thought and actuality Marx declared the need for a revolution in permanence!

The present contradiction between Black leaders and the Black poor can only be resolved by completing the unfinished Black revolution, and that revolution cannot be completed without a unifying philosophy.

## Black World

(continued from page 1)

never result in anything for the oppressed people of the land."

Ironically, the current process toward a negotiated settlement in South Africa began with Black Africa's first military victory over white apartheid South Africa when Angola defeated South Africa at the battle of Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola in 1988. This brought the Afrikaners to the bargaining table, along with the U.S. and Russia who then decided the fate of Namibia and pressured Angola into not pressing its advantage over the counter-revolutionary guerrilla leader Jonas Savimbi.

The contradictory substance that belies the current shadow boxing with apartheid South Africa originates in the ideological retrogressionism of this decade, first of Reaganism and now Gorbachevism. A fundamental criterion of Gorbachev's "new thinking" on South Africa is the guarantee of white "group area rights," complete with exclusive white-veto power.

The present shift in politics in South Africa appears as the logical consequence of the South African Communist Party's theory that the revolution has to go through two stages, i.e., a national bourgeois revolution followed by a socialist revolution. This has now been supplanted by Gorbachev's notion of no revolution at all. The ideological terrain that the liberation movement must now negotiate discloses that Gorbachevism is less a projection of "new thinking" than a new disorientation of political movements.

### DIALECTICS OF LIBERATION

Lest a shroud get cast over the dialectics of liberation in South Africa, we must begin to philosophically comprehend that neither political shadow boxing, nor the retrogressive substance of Gorbachevism, but revolutionary subject is what has transformed apartheid South Africa over the past decade and a half.

The mass movement which actually emerged with the 1976 Soweto Uprising of Black youth reached a new stage in 1984 in response to the bogus tricameral parliamentary election which gave the Indian and "Coloured" population a truncated franchise while continuing to deny African political rights. The apartheid regime of P.W. Botha moved to brutally suppress the political and youth organizations in the Black townships.

It was these organizations of students and township residents—mostly women—who had successfully carried out school boycotts and rent strikes, creating at the same time alternative forms of education and self-governing structures. It was these dispossessed who moved to dispossess apartheid of its hold over Black life and labor. It was these "wretched of the earth" who made South Africa "ungovernable."

The brutal suppression and banning of youth and township organizations left a political vacuum by the end of 1987 into which stepped a newly politicized trade union movement led by the recently-formed federations, COSATU (Congress of South Africa Trade Unions) and NACTU (National Council of Trade Unions), as well as numerous independent trade unions.

In opposition to the truncated tricameral parliamentary the Black masses created their own revolutionary democratic structures. At this moment, it is the revolutionary democratic tendencies developed by the masses themselves which challenges not only the governance of the apartheid state, but the political organizations and parties of the movement itself. As one trade unionist summarized it: "The present situation among political organizations is that they differ on whether the society workers want should be free of capitalist exploitation and oppression" (*News & Letters*, May, 1989).

It has been this ceaseless movement which has given so earthy a quality to the Idea of freedom in South Africa that the successive political tendencies that arise or that have sought hegemony over the mass movement are forever finding themselves inadequate to the task of realizing the "full-blown concept of freedom."



## Essay Article

by Cyrus Noveen

I

The ten-year anniversary of the 1979 Iranian Revolution is drawing to a close. It has been a full ten years since that creative mass upsurge that, for a brief moment, pointed a new path to freedom. And it is ten years since Khomeini's counter-revolution so quickly emerged and won out, usurping the revolution's mantle.

The legacy of that revolution and counter-revolution looms ever larger at a time when the illusions about the end of the Iran-Iraq War as any kind of "peace" have been shattered. An "peace": Iraq's genocidal war against the Kurds with chemical weapons; the mass executions of political prisoners in Iran. In the midst of these horrors came Rafsanjani's overtures to Moscow and Gorbachev's sale of arms to Iran.

Yet, Rafsanjani's recent declaration that his priority for the year ahead is to "double industrial production," only underlines the continuing workers' resistance to the imposition of barracks discipline in the factories. So too does the dispatch of death squads around the globe to assassinate revolutionary opposition leaders. The Iranian rulers clearly fear a new mass uprising. At the same time, we in the Iranian revolutionary community, whether in Iran or in exile, have to ask: are we prepared, theoretically as well as practically, for a new uprising?

This question has recently appeared in the exile movement in the form of a search for answers to "What went wrong in the 1979 revolution?" Dozens of journals, gatherings, and discussion groups are asking: "What went wrong? Why did Marxists so quickly capitulate to Khomeini's leadership?"

Unfortunately, most of the assessments suffer from the authors' attachment to vanguard parties and their ways of thinking. One much cited essay is Val Moghaddam's "Socialism or Anti-Imperialism? The Left and Revolution in Iran," (*New Left Review* #166, 1987). So narrowly does Moghaddam focus on the role of the Left political parties, and whether they should have allied with Bazargan vs. Khomeini in 1979, that the actual revolution itself disappears from her discussion. It is no wonder, then, that Moghaddam bemoans the hesitancy of the new revolutionary youth to "discuss the past." She concludes: "This presents a problem for the older comrades who must try to harness [sic] the energies of the young." Moghaddam unwittingly points to one reason the Iranian Revolution so quickly "disappeared"—the Left was so dominated by debates over how to "harness" the creative new forms of struggle that they could not help release these creative energies of women, youth, workers, peasants, which were bursting forth.

Other Iranian writers are more appreciative of the many forms of organization born out of spontaneity which emerged in 1978-79, and in some respects come closer to answering the question of "what went wrong?" The best of these works is Assef Bayat's *Workers and the Revolution in Iran* (Zed Press, 1987). Bayat's is one of the few works that seriously documents the self-activity of the workers at the time of the Revolution—including the dramatic growth of the workers' councils, the shuras, which were not predicted by anyone. And yet Bayat ends by concluding that the division between mental and manual labor, which Marx had singled out as the hallmark of class society, cannot be overcome. Bayat instead presents a sort of "blueprint" for an allegedly less exploitative form of bourgeois democracy which would rest on workers' organizations, and yet leave workers still on capitalism's production line.

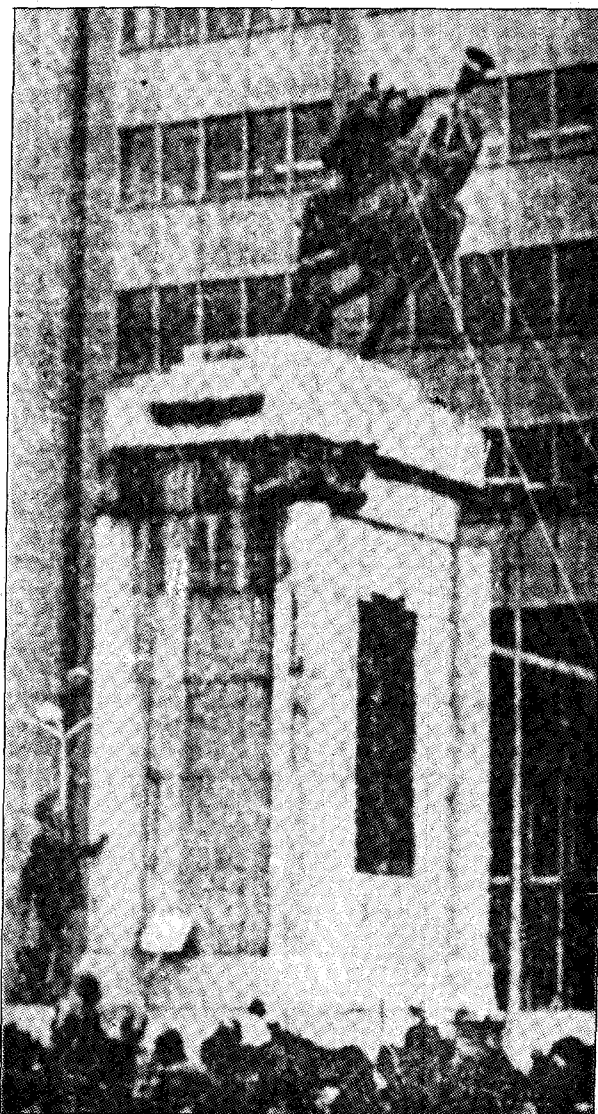
There is no way to begin to answer the question of "what went wrong" in the Iranian Revolution without first recollecting what made it great. What made it a genuine social revolution, which was a beacon to the whole Middle East, was the spontaneous upsurge of mass democratic organizations—the shuras, the anjuman—whose ceaseless activity drove the Shah from his throne. And it was the new layers of the population which emerged as thinkers and as fighters—the rank-and-file workers, peasants in Azerbaijan and the Caspian region, women marching in the streets of Tehran, youth, often under the age of 16. They created these organizations through mass struggles. The great mass actions were no mere "background" to the political struggles. They revealed the sense and reason of millions of downtrodden people awakening, as they showed the whole world how to fight one's rulers at home. What we have to ask, after we have recollected this, is why was Khomeini's counter-revolution allowed to pass itself off as "revolution"? Why did Iranian revolutionaries allow that to happen? We will have to turn to the problem of organization, the dialectics of organization and philosophy specifically, if we are to begin to find answers.

In the midst of the first year of the Revolution, when its direction still hung in the balance, Raya Dunayevskaya carried on a continuous correspondence with Iranian revolutionaries. By September, 1979, she wrote:

"There is surely no lack of organization in Iran. Indeed, what is tragic is that it's all the old organizations: the church, the army, the capitalist class, the single party 'blessed by God' [who] have all their organizations intact; whereas the revolutionaries that laid the ground for Khomeini to come to power and the masses of workers who made the actual revolution—from paralyzing the industry to challenging the army—with their spontaneous organizations (i.e. shuras, committees, their Soviets) are the very ones who have no organization now. It wasn't because they didn't know an organization is needed. But so separate was philosophy of revolution from the revolu-

## The struggle to end the long night of Khomeini's counter-revolution

# Iran's revolution: How to begin anew?



Toppling the Shah's statue in Iranian revolution.

tion itself that what followed was a still newer division between the organized form of expression and the spontaneous action, with Left elitists designating themselves as 'vanguard,' 'the Party to lead,' and considering the spontaneously-arisen form of organization as backward... [The question we are facing is] the form of a revolutionary Marxist organization as well as the relationship of it to the spontaneous new forms that arise from below, as well as the continuous working out of new relations of theory to practice."<sup>1</sup>

From the vantage point of 1989, it seems clear that Dunayevskaya was putting her finger on the central problem that has plagued all the revolutions which arose at the beginning of this decade, whether Iran or Poland, Grenada or South Africa. Everywhere the question of dialectics of organization and philosophy is not only one of what "form of organization" is needed to overthrow the old and create the new society, but the relationship of all the forms of organization thrown up by the masses in the moment of revolution to a total philosophy of revolution. Let us inquire further into this question by looking both at certain events and ideas in the Iranian Revolution and at Dunayevskaya's correspondence with Iranian revolutionaries in that period.

II

The first months of the Revolution saw both its unfoldment and the many contradictions within it. No sooner had the Shah fled than Khomeini was demanding that workers tend to production. The Deputy Prime Minister, Entezan, complained, as early as February, 1979, that "Despite the Ayatollah's commands, none of the major industries in the country are functioning because the workers spend all their time holding political meetings." By International Women's Day, March 8, 1979, a mass outpouring of women took to the streets, proclaiming: "We made the revolution for freedom, and got unfreedom," and continued the marches and sit-ins against Khomeini's repression, for five straight days. In April and May came mass actions by peasants, seizing land from the big landlords, and by Kurds, demanding national self-determination.

In these same months, however, the counter-revolution within the revolution, was strengthening and developing its own organization, in the mosques, in the government bureaucracies, in the army. Raya Dunayevskaya wasn't physically present in Iran then, but she "lived" in Iran, as she wrote a series of "Political Philosophic Letters on Iran, 1979-81."<sup>2</sup> We in the Iranian Marxist-Humanist organization, Anjoman Azadi, have often spoken of how these letters single out all the "new passions and new forces" that were driving the Iranian Revolution. We have studied how Dunayevskaya did not shy away from pinpointing the counter-revolution as early as March, 1979, in the substitution of religion for a philosophy of revolution, and in the tail-ending of

Khomeini by so many in the Left. And we have written about her critique of the way Khomeini's "anti-imperialism," endorsed by those who called themselves Marxists, actually covered over his bloody suppression of genuine revolutionaries inside Iran.

But what we have not really tried to work out is Dunayevskaya's dialogue with and critique of Iranian revolutionaries who did support the mass movement against Khomeini, those for whom the Iranian "new passions and new forces," and their "forms of organization born out of spontaneity" were the revolution. Let us turn to that dialogue.

In May, 1979, Iranians who were engaged in translating Marx's 1844 *Humanist Essays into Farsi* informed Dunayevskaya that they had published one of her writings in Iran on May Day. It was Chapter 4 of her *Marxism and Freedom*, entitled "Worker and Intellectual at a Turning Point in History, 1848-61." Dunayevskaya wrote to her Iranian friends:

"*Worker and Intellectual at a Turning Point in History*" is a magnificent event, and it is an event rather than just a chapter in a book, both because of its relevance and universality... I consider the whole idea of the relationship of worker to intellectual (and of how distant from each other intellectuals can be, depending on their attitude to the proletariat) to be so crucial for the revolutionary movement that I assigned a whole part to that single chapter... At this moment in Iran, I feel that nothing is more urgent than to articulate philosophy, practice, organization, in a way that it makes a unity."<sup>3</sup>

What Dunayevskaya did not know at the time was that the specific version of Chapter 4 to which she referred—on Marx and Lassalle, and their different attitudes to relations between workers and intellectuals—was omitted in the publication of the chapter in Farsi. In that section Dunayevskaya takes up Lassalle's concept of organization, in which the workers' party, and meanwhile be so good as to send socialist intellectuals to parliament to "represent" them, and do their thinking "for" them. Dunayevskaya's point is that this concept of the relationship of workers and intellectuals separates the philosophy (socialism), from the organization, by replicating the class division of capitalist society against which we fight. The division of mental and manual labor is repeated all over again within the socialist organization. We did not study that part of the chapter in 1978-81, but it certainly described much about what was happening in the Iranian Revolution and its organizations.

By the Fall of 1979, Khomeini's counter-revolution was attacking Kurdish villages and organizing vigilante mobs to break into bookstores and offices of Left organizations. Mass unrest against Khomeini was widespread. It was at this moment that the regime launched the "hostage crisis" and declared it an act of "anti-imperialism" against the "Great Satan," the U.S. What followed was the tragedy of the Left supporting "anti-imperialism," even while Khomeini destroyed them and usurped all the freedoms the masses had gained in their struggles. Could there have been a different pathway that would have enabled us to confront the horrible division between dialectics of organization and dialectics of philosophy?

From the vantage point of today, one possible beginning to that pathway is intriguing. An Iranian revolutionary activist and thinker, Raha, wrote to Dunayevskaya in October, 1979, that Marx, in his 1844 *Essays*, saw "the need to relate spontaneity and organization." He pointed to Marx "bringing forth the question of organization": "When Propaganda artisans form associations, teaching and propaganda are their first aim. But their association itself creates a new need—the need for society—and what appeared to be a means has become an end."

In her response, Dunayevskaya wrote: "You are the first who saw anything about form of organization in Marx's early writings... it is clear that you have sensed something that does indeed reconnect with Marx on the question of freely-associated men and women, and that you have every right to conclude that 'that theoretical result is that we should search for a kind of organization which is, at the same time, in unity with philosophy of the revolution, and with the aim of the proletariat as a class.'"

But Dunayevskaya goes further. She warns against "making too quick a leap to the present," which may "once again separate philosophy and organization. For example, we of course are not only emphasizing 'new forces,' but Reason, and that is absolutely indispensable... Unless [the workers' councils] too do not separate themselves from philosophy, unless they, too, feel as strongly the need for work on intellectual questions, as the intellectual feels the strong need for the workers, and unless that 'intellectual sediment' (to use a Luxemburgian phrase) has philosophy and organization and Reason as well as new force, we will once again lose."<sup>4</sup>

We did lose. Even the greatest spontaneous forms of revolt—the 1979 Iranian Revolution included a great diversity of them—could not alone provide the vision needed to overcome Khomeini's retrogressive ideol-

(continued on page 11)

1. From "The Shift in Global Politics and the Need for a Philosophy of Revolution," Draft Perspectives Thesis in *News & Letters*, July, 1979.

2. Dunayevskaya's "Political-Philosophic Letters on Iran, 1979-81" are available in English in *News and Letters*, and in Farsi from Anjoman Azadi. They are also included in the *Raya Dunayevskaya Collection* at Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, microfilm #5998-6200.

3. Dunayevskaya's letter to an Iranian comrade was written May 14, 1979.

4. This letter, written Nov. 3, 1979, is included in the new Volume XIV, Supplement to the *Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, #15209.

# East European masses hurl new challenge to state-capitalism

(continued from page 1)

massiveness that made it historic. It was their call for "Bread and Freedom" which marked what Raya Dunayevskaya called "a movement from practice that was itself a form of theory." While that revolt had been left to the workers alone and did not then seem even to have any great effect on the East European intellectuals, it marked the birth of a whole new stage of cognition for the world.

It was that East German Revolt and the fear of more to follow that "catalyzed" Khrushchev's famous de-Stalinization speech in 1956. As with Gorbachevism now, all of Khrushchev's "reforms" from above were intended to defuse the revolt. Instead, a still higher form of revolt broke out in Hungary in 1956, one that did not stop at opposition to Stalinism, but moved to the creation of actual workers' rule as Workers' Councils erupted and the whole population took destiny in their own hands. At the same time, Marx's Humanism began to be discussed and studied seriously both in Poland and in Hungary, as Marx's critique of "vulgar communism" and his identification of his own goal as "a new Humanism" in his 1844 *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts*, suddenly took on actual life.\*

It is against that great highpoint that it is necessary to look at the contradictions in the situation today when the ideologues for Gorbachev would have us believe that his "reforms" will change the lives of the East European masses. The truth is that only a total uprooting of the exploitative relations of the state-capitalist world we live in can change anything fundamental. There are no fundamental differences between "private" capitalism and state-capitalism. That is what the East European workers' revolts declared to the world in the 1950s. Today it is more clear than ever that unfreedom and economic crises are the facts of life within each pole of world capital as each continues its drive for world mastery. The revolt against that goes on in every land and within each pole.

## CONTRADICTIONS WITHOUT AND WITHIN

In East Europe, the revolts that began in the 1950s have taken different forms in each land, each of which

\* In this issue we publish, on p. 4, Raya Dunayevskaya's 1961 "In Memoriam of the Hungarian Revolution" which she had titled "Spontaneity of Action and Organization of Thought." See her *Marxism and Freedom*, especially Ch. XV on "The Beginning of the End of Russian Totalitarianism," and *Philosophy and Revolution*, especially Ch. 8, "State Capitalism and the East European Revolts," for a profound development of this relationship.

## Fight AIDS, homophobia

Los Angeles, Cal.—On Oct. 6, more than 400 angry protesters blockaded all entrances to the federal building in Westwood in an effort to shut the building down to protest government inaction on the AIDS epidemic.

This protest was the latest in the more than three-year campaign led by the intensely militant organization, ACT UP, or AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power. ACT UP has startled not only public officials with its sit-ins in their offices and week-long vigils in front of the County Hospital. It has also shaken the bureaucrats of the "AIDS establishment," who have clung to a steady, but deadly slow process of negotiation with government agencies for funding to deal with the crisis.

On the other hand, supporters of ACT UP, which in LA includes AIDS Hospice Foundation, focus on the real meaning of that deadly slow pace; 60,000 dead, another 30,000 confirmed cases. ACT UP members say only "a show of public anger" will bring results, and so far they have been right. Even some public officials have admitted that ACT UP's subjection of their agencies to naked public shame has been the only force that has brought: an AIDS ward to L.A. County-USC Hospital, the availability to poor patients of aerosolized Pentamidine (which prevents pneumocystis), and the FDA's promise to soon release DDI, an allegedly safer alternative to AZT.

The 2,000-plus membership nationwide of ACT UP is not alone in its stand. This was evidenced in this demonstration's turnout; 400, rather than the anticipated 100, took part at 6:30 a.m. and they demanded not only the early release of life-saving drugs based on doctor-patient experience rather than the FDA's nine-year testing process, they also demanded adequate health care for Black and Latino communities where AIDS is rampant and few have health insurance.

The new militancy of the anti-AIDS movement also carries a new militancy on gay and lesbian rights. As one ACT UP member put it, "there's no way around stating that government foot-dragging on AIDS is because of homophobia."

Homophobia at the highest levels of government went blatantly public in the Oct. 8 appearance of no less than the Chairman of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, William Allen, at an explicitly anti-gay conference, called by the "California Coalition for Traditional Values." And Allen's stand adds further fuel to a poisonous notion already afloat, that gay rights somehow threaten those of racial minorities, an argument used before against women's rights.

Still undaunted by these attacks, however, gays and lesbians not only picketed Allen's appearance, but turned out en masse at Gay Pride commemorations everywhere. October even saw the first such event in Orange County, California's center of Christian Fundamentalism and skinhead terror. The anti-AIDS and Gay Rights movements will surely fight ever harder for their goals.

—Wayne Carter

has its own culture, history, and development. What has been distinctive for East Germany is that it is a country artificially created at the end of World War II, when the markers were set up by Russia and the U.S. for where the next World War might begin—whether that might be North and South Korea or East and West Germany.

## CONTRADICTIONS WITHOUT AND WITHIN

Beginning with that first division of the spoils, the German masses have always been opposed to the partition—though not all for the same reasons—and they voted with their feet. Some three million out of a population of less than 18 million left East Germany for



UPI/Bettman newsphotos

East Germany, June 17, 1953

West Germany between 1949 and 1961. It was this mass exodus that led the Communist rulers to erect their infamous Berlin Wall to stop the hemorrhaging of their labor force. It also stopped all the talk about "reunification." Today, it is the exodus and the revolt at home that have revived the talk about "reunification."

But it is an enormously complex situation in which "sides" can change quickly. The "West" that was "for" reunification may now for their own reasons be opposed; the "East" that was opposed may now in some circumstances be "for," even though East Germany remains the strategic front line state for Gorbachev's empire.

However the sides change in the months ahead, what is clear is that the agenda of the rulers is not the same as the agenda of the ruled. What is unfortunately also clear is that the pull of Gorbachevism has been able to divert the forces opposing state-capitalism with disastrous consequences in this decade because of the contradictions within the movements for freedom that played right into Gorbachev's hands. Nothing shows that better than poor Poland.

There, where it was always the workers' stamp that gave the opposition movement its strength, a totally new form of trade union organization called Solidarnosc was created in 1980 out of the work of an exciting combination of workers and intellectuals, as 10 million men and women, workers and students tried to work out totally new human relations. Yet today, it is Solidarnosc's intellectual advisor, Jacek Kuron, who has succeeded in putting his stamp on the movement—as his thesis of a "self-limiting revolution" became an outright "instead of revolution." Solidarnosc has now shackled itself with such mind-forged manacles that it has assumed responsibility for the very State and system they have been in revolt against for over three decades.

What has Solidarnosc, as well as Jaruzelski, as well as Gorbachev, holding their breath is what the workers will do now that the introduction of "market mechanisms" has only exacerbated the crisis. Private soup kitchens are already springing up, and warnings from the "new government" are prevalent that unemployment, high inflation and food shortages will worsen—while the workers, who agreed to halt the strikes that had continued even after Solidarnosc took power, have made it clear they will not wait forever. The uprooting of the old and the creation of the new does not come by fiat.

Thus, in Hungary nothing is more ludicrous than the attempt of the old Communist leaders to usurp the memory of the great Hungarian Revolution and declare themselves a "democracy" on Oct. 23, the 33rd anniversary of that historic uprising that had cost the lives of 25,000, wounded 150,000, and forced 200,000 into exile. Today they ask the Hungarian people to believe their lives will be changed because they are taking down neon-lighted Red Stars from government buildings and have changed the name of the Communist Party (euphemistically called "Socialist Workers Party") by taking the "Workers" out of it. The workers took themselves out of that party all the way back in 1956.

Although few will be fooled just because Party bureaucrats will now exchange their state positions for what the Hungarian Academy of Sciences sociologist, Elmer Hankiss, calls a new "grande coalition with the managerial and emerging entrepreneurial class," the pull of Gorbachevism is everywhere in the opposition movements that appeared in the 1980s. The most independent—and the most inclusive of such questions as education, the environment, and women's liberation—is the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESX). Yet it puts its stress on "parliamentary democracy predicated on a market economy" even while, in the very same docu-

ment, it acknowledges both "societies where market economy and dictatorship existed side by side" and that "political institutions of democracy are not capable on their own to remedy these inequities."

Missing from all of the new organizations are the voices of the workers.

## WHERE NOW IN EAST GERMANY?

It was certainly no accident that the very first meeting Krenz held after taking over from Honecker in East Germany was with a group of angry workers. What had precipitated Honecker's ouster was not only the unprecedented march of 120,000 in Leipzig on Oct. 16 but the "fear that strikes and unrest will break out all across the nation" that a West German newspaper, *Bild*, had reported. And one week later when double that number marched in Leipzig, some 6,000 workers at the Wilhelm Pieck engineering and electronics plant in East Berlin announced the formation of the country's first independent trade union.

The 1980s have seen the rise in East Germany of peace groups who saw their "Swords to Ploughshares" symbol declared subversive; human rights activists who were arrested when they seized the official celebration of Rosa Luxemburg's death to unfurl a banner with her words: "Freedom is for those who think differently"; singers like Stephan Krawczyk who won a national award and then found himself expelled when his songs grew oppositional; women's liberationists like Ulrike Poppe and Barbel Bohley who have helped feminist activity assume a special prominence in the East German political opposition; and samizdat publications like *Grenzfall* and *Umweltblaetter* which have achieved significant reader circulation within the peace and ecology movements. Barbel Bohley, one of the creators of *Grenzfall*, is now also one of the founders of the "New Forum" that was born in mid-September and quickly became the rallying cry of the very demonstrations they had cautioned against.

But the challenge to the new East German intellectual and activists ferment is not only to see to it that their opposition is not separated from the workers' unrest which the government, "reformed" or otherwise, so fears. Nor can the workers, who have named their union "Reform," afford to ignore what has become of Solidarnosc.

In the over-three decades of development of what Raya Dunayevskaya had called "the movement from practice that is itself a form of theory"—in the years since Marx's Humanism was propelled onto the historic stage—that "movement from practice" has emerged in new spontaneous forms of organization all over the world, challenging the "movement from theory" to meet it—and together to reach to philosophy. It was out of that dual movement that Raya Dunayevskaya re-created Marx's Humanism as Marxist-Humanism—the philosophy of revolution for our age.

What is needed at this point is a return to look at the high level of the first revolts against state-capitalism calling itself Communist more than three decades ago, with the eyes of today. As we stand on the threshold of the 1990s, we are confronted with such a worldwide retrogression, have suffered so many aborted and transformed revolutions, and now face such ideological pollution from both the Right and the Left, that what is demanded, along with the economics and political tasks facing us, is what Dunayevskaya called "philosophic new beginnings."

In the last presentation from her pen\* Dunayevskaya wrote, in 1987, about what she called "untrodden paths in organization": "We must go into these untrodden paths. We must not look for a crutch just because a new epigone is using the word 'democracy' to mean more than one party, and a Mao is espousing at one and the same time, 'bombard the headquarters' and 'the Party remains the vanguard.'"

It is Marx's philosophy of "revolution in permanence" that remains the ground for organization today, she said, but after all the aborted revolutions of the post-World War II world, it is no simple "updating" of Marx that is needed. The elitist vanguard "party to lead" and the forms of organization born from spontaneity—even when they are as great as workers' councils, soviets and communes—are opposites, but not the absolute opposite we must find. It was, she insisted, the "dialectics of organization and philosophy" the world had to work out.

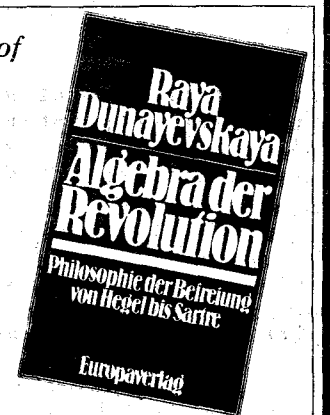
It is that which is the challenge for all of us.

\* The *Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism*, published in January this year, includes both the Letters on Hegel's Absolutes Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in 1953 and the June 1, 1987 presentation she had prepared on *Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy*.

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## Youth

## Latin America: revolution and humanism

by Sheila Fuller

Last month I participated in a rally in Chicago against the right-wing government of El Salvador. Over 150 gathered in front of the city's Federal Building early in the morning, and then marched through downtown Chicago to the Salvadoran consulate. The spirit of many of the young demonstrators could be seen in the words of one young woman who told me: "I'm tired of seeing the U.S. government give billions of dollars in aid to right-wing governments in Latin America. It is mind-boggling to think that 70,000 people have been killed by the Salvadoran military in the last decade."

But I also felt that there was a contradiction in the rally. On the one hand, we were passing out fliers about the ongoing death squad murders by the government and its latest legislation which imposes a virtual state of siege on Salvadorans through a ban on strikes and more restrictions on the media. On the other hand, so many of the slogans were calling for "a negotiated political settlement" with the government. It seemed that the concept of solidarity at this rally was to uncritically support the FMLN (Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation) without raising any questions. There was no discussion of our responsibility to elicit the humanist strivings of the mass movements in Latin America, and to have a dialogue on the problems that face our freedom movements.

## A TALK ON HUMANISM AND REVOLUTION

It is this concern which makes me want to report on another event in solidarity with Latin America, where a very different concept of solidarity was discussed: A talk on "Humanism and Revolution in Latin America" by Peter Hudis, which was organized by the Marxist-Humanist Forum at Loyola University in Chicago.

In his talk, Hudis began by showing the quest for humanism and a philosophy of humanism that had arisen time and again out of the Latin American revolutions in the post-World War II world, and the challenge that it posed to activists and theoreticians. He first took up the 1952 Bolivian Revolution, where a whole new relationship of workers and peasants sought to deepen the revolution, to end the division between town and country, and transform the conditions of life and labor. He showed that the Bolivian Left was not able to catch and develop that quest for a new humanism. He then looked at Cuba where Fidel Castro, in 1959, had declared himself a humanist in opposition to capitalism and vulgar Communism. But Castro too refused to develop that humanist vision theoretically.

In the 1980s we saw that the quest for humanism has constantly manifested itself in Nicaragua, Guatemala, El Salvador and the whole of Latin America, in the worker, peasant, Indian consciousness, youth and women's liberation movements. But it has faced enormous pressure from U.S.-backed militaries and outright genocide in a country such as Guatemala. Here Hudis posed the crucial question of how Latin American revolutions can develop the quest for humanism when faced with such enormous pressure. He stressed that working out an answer to that question "touches on the whole relationship of spontaneity to organization and of philosophy to

organization...What is humanism if not the effort to unite theory and practice?"

## A GENUINE SOLIDARITY OF IDEAS AND ACTIONS

What excited many of us at this meeting was that solidarity with Latin American revolutions was not seen as an uncritical support for any liberation movement, but the demand that we engage in a dialogue of ideas on the crucial questions that face us. Hudis showed that some of these burning questions today center on the role of organizations: Is a single party state the answer? Is a multi-party pluralism without a concept of a total uprooting the alternative? Or is there a very different pathway?

Here, he asked us to examine Raya Dunayevskaya's labor on the relationship of dialectics of organization to philosophy. As Dunayevskaya herself expressed that question in one of her last writings: "Put simply, it is a question of human development...The whole question of the indispensability of spontaneity not only as something that is in the revolution, but that must continue its development after; the question of the different cultures, as well as self-development, as well as having a non-state form of collectivity—makes the task much more difficult and impossible to anticipate in advance. The self-development of ideas cannot take second place to the self-bringing forth of liberty."

During the discussion, that was the point that most participants wanted to talk about. How can a genuine solidarity of ideas and actions help the quest for Humanism in Latin America to express and develop itself? We felt that as we intensify our activities against U.S. intervention in Latin America, it is urgent to clear our heads about how to develop that Humanism.

## South African youth



S. African youth demand release of political prisoners.

## Essay Article

## Iran's Revolution: ten years after

(continued from page 9)

ogy of religion. It isn't only that the Left missed what happened with Iranian women on International Women's Day, 1979. Or that they missed what the peasants were raising against Khomeini, or what the workers' shuras criticized in the midst of the struggle. It is also that all these spontaneous forms of the struggle for liberation also lacked something—the full, explicit development of the Idea of Freedom for which they themselves fought. The dialectics of organization and philosophy is still the problem that we, as Iranian Marxist-Humanists, have to work out. Let us therefore turn to it one more time, this time not at the height of the Iranian Revolution, but in the present period.

## III

This year, 1989, Anjoman Azadi has published a new pamphlet in Farsi which includes the Introduction and Chapter 12 of Dunayevskaya's book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.<sup>5</sup> Chapter 12 is about Marx's last writings, on what we call today the Third World. It is fitting that we do so, since Dunayevskaya was at work on her study of Marx's 1881-82 *Ethnological Notebooks* when news of the first months of the Iranian mass demonstrations against the Shah reached her.

Our publication of Chapter 12, however, differs from the way it was published originally in 1982. We are proud that we are the first ever, in any language, to include the paragraphs added to that last chapter by Dunayevskaya after the book was completed and off the press. One of these paragraphs, written in September, 1982, seems to speak directly to the Iranian experience, to those of us who correctly hailed the shuras and anjomans, and critiqued the vanguard parties. Here is the text of that paragraph:

"There is a further challenge to the form of organiza-

5. The new publication by Anjoman Azadi, *Excerpts from Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, is available from both Anjoman Azadi and News and Letters for \$3.

tion which we have worked out as the committee-form rather than the 'party-to-lead.' But, though committee-form and 'party-to-lead' and opposites, they are not absolute opposites. At the point when the theoretic-form reaches philosophy, the challenge demands that we synthesize not only the new relations of theory to practice, and all the forces of revolution, but philosophy's 'suffering, patience and labor of the negative,' i.e. experiencing absolute negativity. Then and only then will we succeed in a revolution that will achieve a class-less, non-racist, non-sexist, truly human, truly new society. That which Hegel judged to be the synthesis of the 'Self-Thinking Idea' and the 'Self-Bringing Forth of Liberty,' Marxist-Humanism holds, is what Marx had called the new society. The many paths to get there are not easy to work out."

It is true, Raya Dunayevskaya says, that the shuras and the vanguard parties are opposites. But they are "not absolute opposites." How can we get to the "absolute opposite," the revolutionary organization that helps usher in a new, human society? The challenge, she says, demands not only working with all the new forces that arise in the course of the revolution, but working with philosophy. We have to break through all the barriers created by post-Marx Marxism, all the distortions of Marx's philosophy of liberation, and re-capture the total vision of freedom that Hegel called the synthesis of the "Self-Thinking Idea" and the "Self-Bringing Forth of Liberty," and Marx called "revolution in permanence."

Today the Iranian revolutionary movement, inside Iran and in exile, faces our greatest challenge. The struggle to end the long night of fascist rule continues to be waged by workers in strikes, slowdowns and a hundred quiet forms of resistance, by women who refuse to assume the role of mindless subordinates, by youth and by peasants and by national minorities, Kurds especially. But what about the Idea of Freedom, the vision of a new society? Are those who consider themselves Marxists laboring as hard to throw off the chains of a stunted, distorted version of Marxism, as the Iranian masses are fighting to free themselves from this fascist regime? This is the problem we have to overcome today. We in Anjoman Azadi invite all our friends to join us in this task.

## Youth in Revolt

by Franklin Dmitryev

Students whose sit-in at Wayne State University in Detroit had won various promises from the administration (see May N&L) are protesting its lack of progress in establishing an African Studies department and its failure to consult with the students involved. Also, the professor appointed to head the department has resigned, accusing Wayne State of renegeing on the budget and staffing promised.

Draft resistance appears to be on the rise. In Spain, the deaths of hundreds of recruits and frequent reports of brutality against them have fueled so great a resistance to the draft that it has become an election campaign issue. In South Africa, 400 students and faculty have recently signed a national register of those who will go to jail before complying with the white-men-only draft, because the army is used to uphold apartheid. In several Polish cities, male university students are joining a growing boycott of mandatory military classes.

Hundreds of Black and Hispanic students walked out of classes in Eastern District High School in Brooklyn Oct. 3, forcing the school to close early. They were protesting a white teacher's comment that they called racist. A school official who was not present stated that the teacher had said American Blacks are concerned about racism in South Africa but not about the oppression of Blacks in Black-ruled West African nations.

Later in October, 500 people rallied in Brooklyn to protest an assault on three Jewish students by a mob of 10 to 20 white youths making anti-Semitic remarks. Two of the victims were hospitalized in serious condition.

## Racist attack at N.I.U.

DeKalb, Ill.—At midnight, Oct. 14, at Northern Illinois University in the Greek Row (Fraternity) area a young Black student was pulled from his car and beaten by three white men while two others watched. Earlier that evening, the same group of whites, identified by their red jeep, had followed and harassed a Black woman in her car and shouted at a Black man walking alone "don't you know there's safety in numbers?"

Since the formation of a coalition involving the Black Student Union (B.S.U.), B.R.O.T.H.O.R.S., Feminist Front and Freedom Now in response to these racist events, the statement of demands by the B.S.U. called for the expulsion of the three students involved. The mayor declared that there is no racism in DeKalb. Within 24 hours of his statement an outspoken Black woman, the former president of the B.S.U., received a death threat over the phone from a white man.

The crisis is changing the contradictions in the movement which are now being debated openly—for example, whether or not to address sexism as we fight racism. After a series of debates, the coalition has issued a statement that condemns both racist attacks and violence against women. A meeting will be held to address racism and sexism on campus soon.

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## Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Since the hour on Oct. 3 that the coup in Panama against military dictator General Manuel Noriega failed, the U.S. government has been planning a future one designed to succeed.

The coup was mounted by military officers, many of them Noriega's "most trusted" allies, including Major Moises Giraldo who helped suppress a coup attempt against Noriega in 1988. They called it "an internal coup," and gave no indication that the rigid military control or the extremely repressive laws inflicted by Noriega would be lifted. Despite the fact that Noriega is rightfully hated by the Panamanian masses, there was no popular support in the streets for the coup.

While the extent of U.S. military involvement on Oct. 3 was limited to soldiers from the Southern Command post blocking two roads near the site where the coup began (a "legal" maneuver under the Canal Treaty), the Reagan-Bush campaign to overthrow Noriega has included a string of CIA schemes. In July 1988 they proposed support for a revolt to be

## Zimbabwe student unrest

The government of Robert Mugabe has responded to recent demonstrations involving thousands of students at the University of Zimbabwe by arresting at least 50 student activists and by ordering all 8,000 students to leave the campus. Police herded 800 students into an assembly hall, where an official told them: "Pack your bags and go home—you're not students anymore."

When Morgan Tsvangirai, Secretary of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, condemned the government actions as an attempt to "suppress the growing disenchantment of the masses over the rising cost of living and many other negative socio-economic developments," he too was arrested. Eleven members of the Zimbabwe Unity Movement, an opposition party campaigning against corruption and plans by Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) to establish a single party state, have also been detained.

This fall, when Leftist student leaders Arthur Mubemba and Enoch Chikweche of the Student Representative Council tried to hold meetings to criticize government corruption, the government banned the meetings. When the two student leaders issued protest leaflets against the ban, they were arrested. Outraged, students rallied, clashed with police and burned the car of Vice-Chancellor Walter Kamba.

In addition to corruption, student activists have attacked moves by Mugabe, who calls himself a Marxist, to privatize the economy. For his part, Mugabe has demagogically blamed the student unrest on white professors within the University teachers union.

## French strike wave

The biggest wave of strikes since 1987 has disrupted two of France's Peugeot automobile plants, Peugeot-Mulhouse and Peugeot-Sochaux, with 35,000 production workers. Beginning in early September, small numbers of workers at the Mulhouse plant went out. With their wages a mere \$800 a month, the workers were demanding a 30% raise, as well as an end to forced Saturday work.

Peugeot's head, the notoriously anti-labor Jacques Calvet, adamantly refused for weeks even to negotiate. The unions, ranging from the liberal FO to the Socialist CFDT and the Communist CGT, took an ambiguous stand from the beginning. According to reports from rank-and-file workers, they seemed to expend more energy cautioning the workers about how tough an opponent Calvet was, than in coordinating the strike and

led by Panamanian exiles, but since it might very well have resulted in the "illegal" assassination of Noriega, it was not approved.

Ever since he became U.S. President, ex-CIA chief Bush has openly called for the Panamanian military to overthrow Noriega. Reports by soldiers involved in the Oct. 3 coup indicate they had no intention of either killing Noriega or handing him over to U.S. authorities, which may be why they did not receive all-out support from Bush, the CIA and the U.S. military stationed nearby "across the street" from the coup scene.

In the weeks since then, the White House, cabinet officials and the CIA have set forth a number of chilling proposed "policy changes" that have implications beyond Panama and Noriega:

- The White House has written new guidelines to "streamline" future communications between potential coup plotters and the U.S.

- The Justice Department informed the FBI that it has the authority to seize U.S. "fugitives" abroad, without the consent of the country in which they are captured. This directive overturns a 1980 ruling from the

they hampered rather than helped direct communication between the two plants.

Despite these severe obstacles the strike grew, shutting down production at both plants, as the workers engaged in partial occupations of the assembly lines. Demonstrations of thousands were also held on the streets of Mulhouse and Sochaux, as well as in Paris. (See October N&L). By mid-October, after eight weeks of strikes and occupations, Peugeot management finally agreed to negotiate if the workers ceased their occupations of the premises. At last report, this seems to have been accepted.

Although the strikes grew large, involving actively at least 5,000 workers, and were able to cost Peugeot a production loss of 50,000 cars, the strikes never involved the whole of the 35,000 workers. With unemployment at 10%, the economy very weak and the Socialist Party Mitterrand-Rocard government more interested in technology and profits than the daily lot of workers, the French working class remains on the defensive. At the same time, the Peugeot strikes have shown once again the anger and militancy which exists just below the surface among large parts of labor.

## Protest in East Timor

When Pope John Paul II recently visited Indonesian-occupied East Timor, 20 Timorese youth emerged out of a crowd of 100,000 unfurling a banner for independence. As they moved toward the stage, they were attacked and beaten savagely by Indonesian security police. Other youth joined in and there were at least 40 arrests. The Pope left, and said nothing at all.

Given the genocidal actions of the Indonesian occupiers since their 1975-76 invasion—it is estimated that 200,000 people out of a population of only 650,000 have been killed by famine or massacre since then—these youth activists are in extreme danger.

In 1974-75, when Portugal's Left revolutionary officers overthrew a fascist regime and soon moved to declare an end to colonialism, East Timor became free for the first time, after 400 years of Portuguese colonialism. Fretelin, the East Timor National Liberation Movement, came to power and proclaimed revolutionary aspirations, referring openly to the ideas of Marx, Rosa Luxemburg, and liberation theology.

With the full support of the U.S., Japan and other imperialist powers, Indonesia's military rulers invaded East Timor, claiming it as historically part of Indonesia. Since then, they have proceeded to install a repressive military regime in the face of massive popular resistance.

Carter Administration and is tantamount to legalizing international kidnaping.

- Most ominous, however, is the Bush-CIA proposal to "relax" restrictions that prohibit U.S. involvement in assassinations. The restrictions were first issued in 1976 when the stench from the CIA-directed murders of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo and Salvador Allende in Chile, and endless plots against Castro, forced the U.S. Congress to investigate and pass "guidelines" against future assassinations.

Current CIA head Webster, who proposed unleashing the CIA once more, bluntly predicted that "the likelihood of the next plotter planning that he may probably have to take Noriega out is real." What former U.S. President Johnson called "Murder Incorporated"—state-orchestrated CIA assassinations—is being refurbished for another campaign.

Far from supporting "democracy" anywhere in Central America, Bush and the CIA are indicating that since the contra counter-revolution did not succeed, they will now turn to other forms of subversion including assassination.

## Women rally in India



Women in New Delhi, India rallied Oct. 18, demanding that the government stop escalating food prices and provide food subsidies for the poor. The demonstrations came as Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi fights for his political life in elections coming up later this month.

## Antarctica exploitation

The 15th Antarctica Treaty conference adjourned on Oct. 21 with no new accords reached by its 39 member nations. The Treaty, which expires in 1991, has been the thin legal buffer protecting the continent from wholesale exploitation since 1959. Then, unlike today, it was not worthwhile capitalistically to extract Antarctica's vast oil and mineral resources.

Each nation has its own "plan" for Antarctica. The U.S., Russia, Japan, Britain and others want to implement a minerals accord to replace the current voluntary moratorium on oil exploration and mining.

France and Australia have called for a complete ban on mining and oil exploration. They propose turning the continent into an international nature reserve. France, while taking an opportunist "green" position in Antarctica, continues to destroy the people and their environment in its Pacific nuclear testing range.

Australia does have a legitimate concern over environmental decay that would result in the Southern Hemisphere from mining and oil drilling. Yet one hare-brained scheme, proposed by a group of Australian businessmen, calls for a jumbo-jet runway, five-story hotel, and hovercraft dock in the Antarctica sector it claims.

The fragile Antarctic environment is already showing the effects of disregard. Garbage, pristinely preserved, litters the landscape. Nearly 10,000 tourists who now come yearly further threaten the fragile environment. Earlier this year, an Argentine supply ship ran aground and baptized Antarctica with its first killer oil spill. At the end of the summer, a 44,000-gallon fuel pipe leak was discovered at a U.S. station.

Pesticides, dumped in distant waters, have contaminated the penguin colonies. Most serious is the alarming hole in the protective ozone layer over Antarctica which scientists suddenly discovered in 1987. This year's hole is growing at the same rate and is predicted to reach a size many times larger than the continent.

The treaty states who have the technology are jockeying for a capitalist stampede on Antarctica far greater than the one of the late 1950s which resulted in the establishment of 50 military and research stations in two short years. The 1959 treaty has only postponed the planned exploitation.

## Who We Are and What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees is an organization of Marxist-Humanists that stands for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private property form as in the U.S., or its state property form, as in Russia or China. We stand for the development of new human relations, what Marx first called a new Humanism.

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcat strikes against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation—activities which signaled a new movement from practice that was itself a form of theory. News & Letters was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard unseparated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation. We have organized ourselves into a committee form of organization rather than any elitist party "to lead."

Raya Dunayevskaya (1910-87), founder of the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism, became Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees from its founding to 1987. Charles Denby (1907-83), a Black production worker, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper from 1955 to 1983. Dunayevskaya's works *Marxism and Freedom...from 1776 until Today*; *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao and Rosa Luxemburg*; *Women's Liberation*, and *Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism inter-

nationally, as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa. These works challenge post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism.

The new visions of the future that Dunayevskaya left us in her work from the 1940s to the 1980s are rooted in her rediscovery of Marx's Marxism in its original form as a "new Humanism" and in her re-creation of that philosophy for our age as "Marxist-Humanism." The development of the Marxist-Humanism of Dunayevskaya is recorded in the documents on microfilm and open to all under the title *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half Century of its World Development*, on deposit at the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs in Detroit, Michigan.

News and Letters Committees aims at developing and concretizing this body of ideas for our time. In opposing this capitalistic, racist, sexist, exploitative society, we participate in all class and freedom struggles, nationally and internationally. As our Constitution states: "It is our aim...to promote the firmest unity among workers, Blacks and other minorities, women, youth and those intellectuals who have broken with the ruling bureaucracy of both capital and labor." We do not separate mass activities from the activity of thinking. Send for a copy of the Constitution of News and Letters Committees.