

# NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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MAY, 1991

25¢

## Capitalism denies labor pay, skills



by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

The other day I was talking with a group of workers planting trees in the park where I go to walk. One of them said, "I don't know how I am going to live when I get laid off from this job. My other job pays only enough to cover a month's rent." It turned out that they all work two jobs, and their wives also have to work.

I worked at and retired from General Motors. I asked these young workers what had happened to "a fair day's work for a fair day's pay," a slogan which once was the auto workers' holy bible. They said they had never heard of this before.

As one worker said, "Today one job will not pay rent and buy food, too." He went on to say, "I am not a skilled worker. I have to take any job I can find." It makes me so mad to see how we have been made to think that it is our fault because we don't have skills.

After the Civil War, capitalists in the U.S. saw that if they were going into mass production they would have to control these workers. The way to control workers was to replace skilled workers with unskilled labor and to develop management. After World War II, out of the assembly line came Automation. This time the capitalists were replacing workers by machines.

Today capitalism is in crisis and can't go any further with more and more machines and less and less living labor. So now they are turning it around and putting the blame back on the workers because they are not skilled. They are saying that this is why U.S. capitalism can't compete with the other powers.

President Bush won his high-tech war with Iraq by destroying that country. But what problem did he solve? He has now declared war on the economy. What does this mean? It means he wants more productivity. He wants those workers who are left on the job to

(continued on page 3)

### Black World

## CLR James: which 'legacy'?



by Lou Turner

"In the course of its process the Idea...and its action consists in getting rid of the illusion which it has created. Only out of this error does the truth arise...Error or other-being, when superseded, is still a necessary dynamic element of truth..." —Hegel

One of the "universals of 1948" that the Caribbean thinker and cultural critic CLR James insisted his 1948 *Notes on Dialectics* had worked out was Hegel's concluding aphorism to his discussion of Teleology, in the *Smaller Logic*, that error is a dynamic of truth. So convinced was James of the universality of this principle for his preoccupation with what he called the "dialectic of the party" that, where Hegel held error to be a dynamic of truth, James insisted on making it the dynamic of truth.

The conference held at Wellesley College, in Massachusetts, April 18-21, to discuss the "intellectual legacies" of CLR James was an exercise in this Hegelian aphorism James found so compelling. Organized principally by Wellesley Black studies chairman Selwyn Cudjoe, the four-day conference covered such subjects as James and Pan Africanism, the Caribbean, Culture, Politics, Literature, Philosophy, and History. Special tributes to James were given by the Caribbean poet Derek Walcott, British Labor Party leader Michael Foot, and

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### On the Inside

From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya—  
The origin and todayness of the theory of state-capitalism, on its 50th anniversary . . . . . p.4

## The murder of Kurds, Assyrians, Shiites, Turcomans

# Bush complicity in Hussein's genocide



Woman fighter in Kurdish rebellion against Hussein.

by Peter Wermuth

The utter degradation and misery that hundreds of thousands of Kurds as well as Shiites, Assyrians and Turcomans are being subjected to in the burgeoning refugee camps and barren hills of Iraq, Turkey and Iran, starkly reveal the human cost of George Bush's "new world order." On the one side stands the plight of over two million refugees who fled their homes in one of the most massive exoduses in human history; the depth of their suffering is seen in over 1,000 dying each day from exposure, starvation and disease. On the other side stand the world's rulers, from Bush to Gorbachev, from the West European rulers to the Middle East's regional powers, who stood by and watched as this human tragedy unfolded before their eyes. The fact that Bush has belatedly begun sending some supplies and is using U.S. troops to build refugee camps in northern Iraq will not stop humanity from recording his deeds for what they are: complicity in outright genocide.

The massive flight of Kurds, Assyrians and Turcomans in the north, as well as a smaller exodus of Shiites in the south, was a direct outcome of Saddam Hussein's brutal crushing of the nationwide revolt which



Mothers of critically ill babies weeping after child died at clinic in Kurdish refugee camp.

erupted early in March. Hussein attacked the uprising with virtually every weapon at his disposal—from helicopters and artillery to tanks and phosphorus bombs. His troops massacred thousands of Shiites from Basra to Nasiriyah and Kurds from Kirkuk to Zakho.

Hussein could never have perpetrated these atrocities had he not been given the green light by Bush, whose troops controlled 20% of Iraq and all the country's airspace during this bloodletting. It isn't that Bush "didn't have the nerve to go on to Bagh-

*A voice from Kurdistan, p.8*

dad," as our hawkish media and Congress now proclaim. It's that he didn't have to, precisely because in slaughtering the opposition, Hussein complemented the goal Bush had set for himself in launching his Gulf war: that of killing off the actuality and idea of revolution, beginning with the Middle East. Far from there being any cont:adiction between Bush's slaughter of 100,000 Iraqis and his complicity in Hus-

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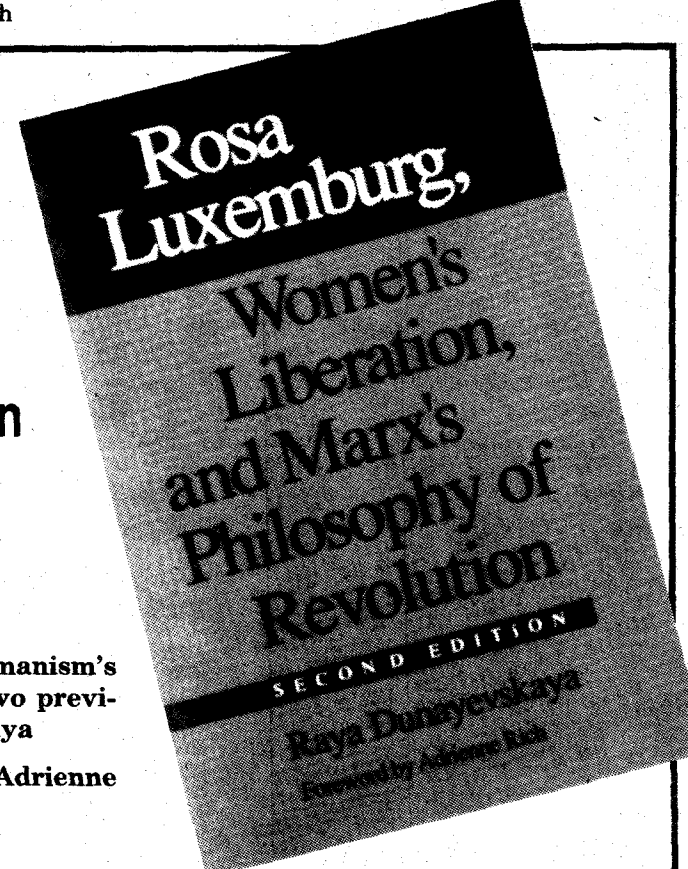
## Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution

by RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

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## Woman as Reason

by Terry Moon

*American Feminism: A Contemporary History*, by Ginette Castro (New York University Press, New York, 1990), 302 pages.

In seeking to present "a contemporary history" of U.S. feminism, the French sociologist Ginette Castro divides her book into three parts: I. Consciousness-Raising and the Return to the Past; II. Ideological Currents and Tensions; III. The New Feminist Movement in Action. I relived part of the history of the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) in Part I, meeting again many of the theorists and organizations of the 1960s-70s, including the 1968 National Convention of the Women's Liberation Movement in Chicago, when I heard Anne Koedt's paper on "The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm," and we all talked long into the night about was there an opposition between revolution and Women's Liberation.

In Part II, Castro divides the WLM into three categories: Egalitarian Feminism, Radicalism and Feminist Theory of Androgyny. It is surprising to see androgyny here because, historically, androgyny theory never made the same contributions as any of the other categories in Part II. Her Part III details alternative institutions and some WLM activities.

To Castro, androgyny is "based on the premise that both women and men are, above all, human beings, and which asserts the equality of the sexes in mutual reciprocity, seeing each sex at this stage in our evolution as the necessary complement of the other" (p.3).

### THEORY IMPOSED ON THE MOVEMENT

What this book reveals is no straightforward history of the WLM but what happens to women's revolutionary history when viewed through the lens of a theory that does not flow from that history but is imposed upon it: androgyny, which hopes that "we can be spared the trouble of a revolution" (p. 167). This can be seen throughout; here I can only touch on a few aspects.

Castro reduces the massive multidimensional socialist feminist movement to the anti-feminist Socialist Workers Party (SWP): "Spokeswomen for this tendency [feminist socialist radicalism] include minority women and members of the Young Socialist Alliance, a spinoff from the old Socialist Workers Party" (p. 67). Here she collapses the Black feminist movement into "socialist radicalism," and there is not one word about the watershed 1975 Socialist Feminist Conference held at Antioch College in Ohio, which drew 1,400 when the organizers—who were not the SWP—had planned for 300.

Further, Castro makes this incredible statement: "Across the divide separating the socialist and egalitarian camps, we find the Socialist Workers Party and Betty Friedan congratulating each other on the success achieved in the joint action of the women's national strike of 26 August 1970." To set the record straight, what united Friedan and the SWP was the disgusting opportunism they indulged in by trying to take credit for that massive demonstration that had nothing to do with them and everything to do with the power of an idea whose time has come.

Despite the fact that Castro takes up in great detail the theories of everyone from Ti-Grace Atkinson to Mary Daly, missing is the Reason, the thoughts and ideas of women who refused to separate their fight against sexism from their fight against capitalism and racism. The category that Raya Dunayevskaya, the founder of Marxist-Humanism, saw flowing from the thought and activity of the new WLM was "The Women's Liberation Movement as Reason and as Revolutionary Force." Castro, determined to channel our movement into narrow androgyny, barely mentions what has been the hallmark of Women's Liberation worldwide: our challenge to the Left from a revolutionary perspective. It was in that break with the Left that women deepened the very idea of what revolution and freedom have to mean. It is this concept that characterized the worldwide WLM—not androgyny.

### BLACK WOMEN AS REASON

Had Castro listened to the voices from below as Dunayevskaya did, she would have seen the centrality of Black women as key to the actual dialectic of liberation in the U.S. Yet in her book, Black feminism is almost

## The dialectic of women's history

non-existent. She mentions the National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO), but only to say it formed and was concerned with women's triple oppression.

What would it do to the idea that androgyny can be the unifying "philosophy" for the WLM if Castro were to quote the statement of a spokeswoman for the NBFO: "Well, it would be nice if we were oppressed as women Monday through Thursday, then oppressed as Blacks the rest of the week. We could



Over 20,000 women march in New York on Women's Strike Day, Aug. 26, 1970

combat one or the other on those days—but we have to fight both every day of the week." That is why the Black Movement is hardly taken up. It is living proof that we cannot just "blend" all strands of the WLM together into one big happy "panfeminist" party.

In Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution (see ad, page 1), Raya Dunayevskaya writes of how Black women's thought and activity demand that we learn "a new language—the language of thought—against those who would put any limitations to freedom." What is revealing is that androgyny theory, which Castro contends is a "humanist" philosophy, ends up being a limitation to freedom. In her conclusion—that the U.S. WLM should embrace the National Organization for Women's call for a third party, what she grandly calls, "an autonomous panfeminist federation"—is seen the whole direction of her book. It points to accommodation with this society—accepting this society as the ground as we build "alternative institutions," fight for the ERA, build a women's party and wait for other liberation movements to magically rally around a bourgeois, white, heterosexual, androgynous core.



Women-Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey

Feminists among the student youth in Albania have emerged from the shadows and have begun to make public attacks on the "patriarchal" aspects of Albanian culture. It is a culture where divorced women are shunned, and where village women do most of the manual labor while men spend their hours in the cafes.

In an International Women's Day event in Washington, D.C. sponsored by Women Strike for Peace, the National Organization for Women joined homeless advocates to protest: that the Gulf war ever happened; that Americans celebrate military glory while thousands of civilians are massacred; and that political leaders, able to find "\$500 million-plus a day to kill and maim," still claim to lack money for health, housing and education.

—Information from *The Woman Activist*

More than 8,000 women from numerous provinces in the Philippines commemorated International Women's Day in Manila by denouncing the Aquino government for its neglect and betrayal of women's interests. With a phalanx of police watching, a group presented the national situation and women's crises in a satirical play depicting the U.S. and Aquino governments as carnival clowns. It ended with actors and audience alike chanting with raised fists for the rejection of the present government.

—Information from *Gabriela News Digest*

A young Sri Lankan woman is challenging the burgeoning brides-for-sale business in Japan. After answering a fraudulent ad promising computer training and a guaranteed job in a Japanese-owned factory, she found herself forced to either marry a Japanese businessman or pay back travel and lodging expenses—money she did not have. When later forced out into the streets with divorce papers that forged her signature, she fought back on the principle of controlling her own life. She is now getting a divorce—on her own terms.

## Abortion rights defended

Los Angeles, Cal.—Operation Rescue (OR), the infamous anti-abortion, anti-women group, attempted to blockade women's health clinics here over Easter weekend. As usual, they were outnumbered and outsmarted by pro-choice forces who gathered at dawn in front of clinics throughout Los Angeles to assure that no woman was denied medical service.

Many clinic defenders, among them young women and men new to the struggle, were not satisfied with the organizers' monotonous chants of "Pro-choice, pro-choice!"—their attempt not to alienate the owners of now-privatized corporate clinics.

One focus became the hypocrisy of the anti-abortion forces' patriotic support of the Gulf war. When one clinic defender, a young woman, asked how they felt about bombed Iraqi babies, an OR bully told her to go back to the kitchen. We began to chant "Pro-war hypocrites!" which took up steam in the crowd.

OR responded to this by taunting the prominent and vocal gay and Lesbian protesters, and at that point the entire crowd joined together to taunt OR. When these hypocrites asked us who had AIDS, nearly all of us raised our hands in solidarity.

The event was spirited and energizing, but I know that we can't have illusions about the road ahead. The right-wing forces are still very much on the offensive against a woman's right to control her own body, even as they are working to extend even further their militarization of our minds. Our response needs to be very deep and very full.

—Ginny Adams

## Women organize against war

Chicago, Ill.—Women Against War (WAW) continues (see April 1991, N&L). The first sentence of our April 22 letter to "Sisters, Members, and Friends" read: "Although President Bush declared the war over, Women Against War continues to organize and grow." That was the sense one got at the meeting on April 13 with over 35 women present.

We proposed to continue fighting against Bush's war by direct actions on Mother's Day, by starting a newsletter, by creating strong links with the African American community, by supporting the Camp Lejeune Conscientious Objectors, by supporting the Kurdish struggle by demonstration and material aid (see story page 11), and by sponsoring the "Caravan of Solidarity: Women Resist and Respond."

Several of us in WAW also participated in planning for the "Caravan of Solidarity." The Caravan will be traveling across the U.S. beginning in San Francisco, April 30, stopping in Los Angeles, Reno, Denver, Kansas, St. Louis, Chicago and ending in New York on May 17. Its purpose is to collect money for women and children in Iraq, Jordan and the Occupied Territories, collect signatures on a "Statement of Conscience" and to create a forum for the voices of women in the U.S. who are seldom heard.

In Chicago that means that on May 9 the Caravan will be going to Cook County Hospital, the Arab Community Center, the Fermi Monument, Operation PUSH, a rally at the Federal Building in downtown Chicago and ending with a send-off dinner for the last leg of the Caravan held at Roda Hatch's Black West Side church. Hatch is a Black mother who protested Bush's Gulf war and created an anti-war organization, Citizens Against Desert Storm. For more information contact Women's Liberation—News & Letters Committees, 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605, phone: (312)663-0839.

—Participants

## Take back the night!

De Kalb, Ill.—On March 26, over 200 women and men from Northern Illinois University (NIU) and the De Kalb community gathered at the NIU fieldhouse to "Take Back the Night." The event, organized by The Women's Alliance, involved a rally and a march as a "chance to reclaim that part of the 24-hour day that women are supposed to fear." Their leaflet tied women's concerns at NIU with the massacre of 14 women murdered by Marc Lepine in Montreal in 1989, the killing by a Chicago man of his wife and daughter and alarming statistics of violence against women in the U.S.

The rally included music by women composers, speakers representing a variety of nationalities and races, as well as a self-defense demonstration which dissolved the myth that women who fight back will get hurt more than if they don't.

One woman tied the Gulf and Vietnam wars in with the violence of our society. Others spoke of the violence of omission, of the danger inherent in ignoring the concerns of minorities and other oppressed groups as we struggle for women's rights.

The march began in the center of campus, continued through the dorm areas and on to Greek Row. Local activists from the 1960s don't remember there ever being other women's marches of this magnitude.

Marchers chanted, "Hey ho, Greek Row, date rape has got to go!" as men gathered on their porches shouting profanities at us. Some men said, "Women should be beaten every day." Women onlookers shouted back at the men from their windows, "You're nuts!" and cheered us on. The march ended in a park on campus where participants built a fire and sang old movement songs. The march provided an outlet for students and community members to share in anger as well as struggle for women's lives.

—Julia Jones

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# Home care workers protest budget cuts

*Editor's note: Seven thousand home health care workers on April 17 participated in a one-day strike and a march on Governor Cuomo's World Trade Center office. The home care workers, most of them Black and Latina women, were protesting a proposed 7% budget cut for 60,000 home care workers employed by agencies serving Medicaid patients. About 50 striking City University of New York (CUNY) students joined their march. (See story on page 11.) Cuomo's budget would slash full-time workers to part-time hours and lay off 5,000 housekeepers, which would force their patients into institutions. Local 1199 and AFSCME Local 1707 are demanding pay raises of \$1 per hour. Below we print comments from three women strikers.*

**New York, N.Y.**—Home care workers take care of people with Alzheimer's disease, cancer and AIDS in their homes and in nursing homes. We're fighting for a raise. We make only \$5.25 or \$5.50 an hour, and that can't pay rent in New York. We can't pay medical fees with that money. They don't want to give us more medical coverage. We have no dental care.

We are mostly women from Haiti, Jamaica, Trinidad, the Dominican Republic and other islands. We're working for so little money. That's why other people will not do this work.

I work seven days a week trying to make it. I work five days in one place and two days somewhere else. My man left. I have to leave my 16-year-old daughter in the house. I have no time to go out with her, take her to the movies. If I only work five days a week I don't make enough money. All of us work seven days.

My daughter is in high school. Maybe I won't be able to send her to college. We have to fight for the students, too. The CUNY students are fighting because the state is trying to take something very important away from them. There's so much trouble for people trying to learn, to better themselves.

## Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

produce more to keep capitalism from declaring "Chapter 11."

At a time when 60,000 businesses have gone out of business in 1990 alone, when millions of people are being laid off, the capitalists need to worry. One economist for Dunn and Bradstreet, Joseph Duncan, wrote recently, "No region or industry has been spared." The only thing they offer as a solution is that "the workers need to be skilled."

What kind of jobs are these skilled workers going to have? A million jobs paying from \$14 to \$17 per hour were taken out of the U.S. economy in search of cheap sweated labor overseas. The increase in the number of jobs that Reagan and Bush bragged about was in retail and service jobs paying not even half of what the production jobs used to pay.

The capitalists talk about production quality and improving efficiency. They blame everything on the workers, who only work the way they are told. Management can do quality control as long as they want, but they are only studying how much cheaper they can produce.

Capitalism cannot solve the problem of production. It is the problem. The workers' problem is not their lack of "skills," but that they are forced to work under capitalism. The capitalist system of production is the cause of poverty and misery. It must be uprooted before it destroys us.

## What do those unemployment statistics mean?

Employment in the U.S. continues to fall, and unemployment—both "official" and unofficial—continues to rise, under the impact of the current recession. Between May, 1990, when civilian employment peaked, and March, 1991, more than 1.5 million jobs have vanished, according to official Department of Labor estimates obtained from its monthly household telephone survey.

Official unemployment has increased by 29% during the same nine-month period, from 6.7 million persons (5.3% of the labor force) to 8.6 million persons (6.8% of the labor force). Workers in the construction, transportation and public utilities, durable goods manufacturing, mining, and agriculture industries have been especially hard hit.

### PART-TIME, "DISCOURAGED" WORKERS

Even these figures fail to capture the full severity of increasing joblessness. First, the Department of Labor defines as "employed," without qualification, those who want to work full-time, but due to "slack work," inability to find a full-time job, etc., are involuntarily working part-time. Such workers numbered 6.2 million in March, compared to 4.6 million last May, an increase of 36%.

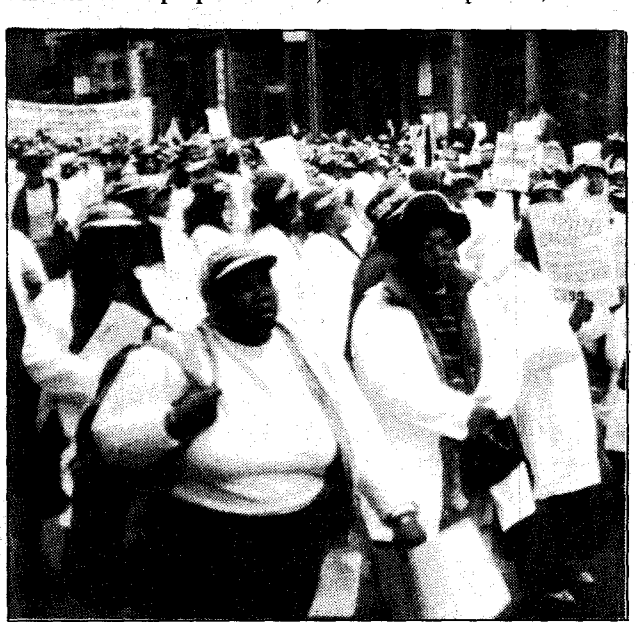
This stark fact belies the claim made by many ideologues that the explosion of part-time work shows employers' responsiveness to the workforce's changing desires. Even before the current recession, the increase in involuntary part-timers was responsible for all of the increase in the percentage of the labor force working part-time since 1979, as demonstrated by a study in the February Monthly Labor Review.

Second, the official unemployment and labor force definitions exclude the so-called "discouraged workers," who averaged 997,000 per month during the first quarter of 1991, 27% more than the 784,000 discouraged workers estimated a year earlier. Unless a jobless worker makes "specific efforts" to find a job (or has been given a definite date to start a new job or to return from layoff), she or he is counted as a

discouraged worker, not "unemployed."

While most of the newly "unemployed" workers are men, the majority of discouraged workers are women, as are the bulk of the newly discouraged. Blacks, moreover, are nearly three times as likely as whites to be discouraged.

A more complete measure of joblessness can be obtained by adding the discouraged to the unemployed and by counting each involuntary part-time worker as only half-employed. March, 1991 joblessness thus totals 12.7 million, 48% greater than the "unemployment" count of 8.6 million. Using this alternative definition, a full 10% of the work force is jobless, as compared to the 6.8% official "unemployment" rate.



News & Letters photo

out the place, I shop.

I support the student occupation at CUNY. I am a student at Queensboro College, so I am fighting for an education, too. We get money for rent in our financial aid, and they want to cut that. I have a room that costs \$250 a month. My mother owns a house, and I help her pay the mortgage so the bank doesn't take it.

I work seven days a week, 11 hours a day. I have no time to be with my family. You have to work 26 hours before you get one vacation hour. They go by hours per week. If you don't take your sick hours, you don't get paid for them. The agency threatened to fire us if we went on strike.

### Keebler unfair to elves

**Chicago, Ill.**—Keebler Cone Company hired 12 temporary workers in April. We temporary "elves" are not entitled to any benefits, including medical insurance. The company is not required to call us back after we are laid off. If we are recalled next fall or winter, we start once again as new-hires. The hours we work this summer do not count toward seniority, wage raises or vacation.

And yet we are required, after 45 days, to pay a \$100 initiation fee and \$18.50 monthly dues to join the union, General Service Workers Union Local 73, which negotiated this abuse into its contract with the company. That's a little contradictory, isn't it?

—B. Ann Lastelle

### BLACK, YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

While total employment declined by 1.1% between May and February, employment among Blacks declined by 4%, clearly indicating that Blacks are still "last hired, first fired." Employment among youth (ages 16-24) fell even faster, by 7.5%, with the largest percentage fall in employment, 10.8%, being recorded for Black youth. The official unemployment rate for Blacks stood at 12.5% in February, nearly double the average rate of 6.5%.

Joblessness among youth is better measured by employment rates rather than official unemployment rates, partly because fewer than one-third of those jobless youth not enrolled in school is counted as "unemployed." In May, 1990, 59% of youth were employed, but only 41.6% of Black youth. By February, these employment rates had fallen to 52% and 37.2%, respectively. This racial gap cannot be explained by differential rates of school enrollment—which are actually lower among Blacks than among whites—nor by differential child-raising responsibilities, especially since the racial gap in employment rates is as large among men as among women.

—A. Anielewicz

## Inland Steel

### Are workers obsolete?

**East Chicago, Ind.**—It seems like Inland Steel wants to eventually eliminate all of the steel-making facilities here at the Indiana Harbor Works. I am on lay-off although I have close to 20 years in the plant.

In its heyday this facility used to employ maybe 19,000 or 20,000 workers. There are about 11,000 workers here today, but the company is eliminating many of them, mostly through attrition. The A and B blast furnaces of plant number three are closed permanently. That's the 28" mill.

Indiana Harbor Works is very obsolete compared to a new plant Inland opened a couple of years ago in New Carlyle, Ind. The new plant is ultramodern. It produces a cold-rolled steel for auto parts and appliances and does so with a fraction of the people that our plant employs—maybe 500 union workers.

Our plant turns out a semi-finished steel which is now sent to the New Carlyle plant to finish up. According to Inland the old plant is not making good enough steel. Some 40 railroad carloads were rejected as not good enough quality.

The plant may be obsolete, but does that mean the workers are? One person who works on the railroad that Inland has in the plant told me how railroad crews have been cut back. They used to operate with four workers per engine—an engineer, a conductor and two switchmen. Now they don't even need an engineer! They use a remote control operator on the ground to operate the train, eliminating a couple of workers.

The two-person crew which now operates the engine actually ends up getting out more work than the four-person crew did before and for about the same pay. The remote control operator ends up with a 20-pound pack strapped to his waist for six to eight hours at a time.

All of the cutbacks in different parts of the plant are causing dissension among the workers. There is a lot of bickering about who gets overtime. It seems like it is dog eat dog even in the union ranks. I only hope I can get in 30 years and get out, but I may have to switch to some other kind of work before that.

—Inland steel worker

## Oscar Mayer

### A plot against women

**Chicago, Ill.**—We are going to lose quite a few jobs at Oscar Mayer from the closing of the Lunchables line and the bacon department. We're talking 300 jobs. Those are all senior people in bacon and, except for about four or five men, they are all women.

Now, the women have to bump the junior people, the hard jobs. They go to clean-up, and the supervisors give them the worst jobs. They give women the jobs where you have to climb on a ladder and lift these big 50-pound pipes over your head and clean them out.

The company offers women jobs in department 128 dumping sticks; 80 pounds you have to pick up. A woman can't pick up 80 pounds all day. In some departments the supervisors only want their own regular people there, so they do everything they can to keep the senior people from other departments from making it.

Some of the women have tried some of the jobs, but some are actually too hard for a woman to do. It takes two men to do some of them, but the company wants a woman on them by herself. If she can't do the job, then she's disqualified and she's laid off. You have a plot here to get rid of these older women.

About 20 of us women went down to the union, and we had a meeting where we told them how the company was doing it and it wasn't right. We told them that if they didn't do something, we were going downtown and we were going to file charges that Oscar Mayer was discriminating against women. So the union got a rider for the contract where now if you bump somebody, then you can assume that person's job. The company cannot bring that person back and bump you out. That's what they were doing, and it's totally unfair.

The way they do women at Oscar Mayer is unbelievable. We have women in different departments letting us know what's happening. If we think a supervisor has abused somebody, we take it downstairs to the office, and if we don't like what they say, we go to the union. We're not taking all this crap anymore.

—Black woman worker

Celebrate May Day! Read the voices of workers fighting for their rights in the 1990s.

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by Raya Dunayevskaya  
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

*Editor's note: The year 1991 marks the 50th anniversary of Raya Dunayevskaya's first writings on the theory of state-capitalism. In the years following her original presentation she developed the theory extensively. For the 30th anniversary she had written, on May 1, 1971, an essay entitled "Culture, Science and State-Capitalism," which we are excerpting below. (For complete text see The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection microfilm #4633.) Because of the todayness of her unique analysis that ours is an age of state-capitalism, we expect to publish other important documents from The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection as well as discussion around them throughout the year. The ad-educational on page 10 lists a few of the writings on the theory of state-capitalism available there.*

... In this [1971] the 30th year of the elaboration of the theory of state-capitalism, and the 15th year of the rebirth of the Humanism of Marxism produced by the mass movements in East Europe in the 1950s, growing throughout the world in the 1960s, we must go back to theoretic origins not only to set the historical record straight, but also to test the dialectic method of the state-capitalist theory against the dialectics of liberation today.

### THE THEORY OF STATE-CAPITALISM

Born under the impact of the shock of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, the outbreak of World War II, and Trotsky's calling for the defense of Russia, "a workers' state, though degenerate," the "state-capitalist tendency" decided to make its own study of the class nature of the Russian economy in strict relationship both to Marxism and the specific form of workers' resistance to the Five Year Plans. I happened to have been the first to make a study of the Plans from original Russian sources, but it was not embarked upon solely as a Russian study. It was done as a restatement of Marxism for our age. It was by no accident, therefore, that, in the process of analyzing the operation of the law of value, that main-spring of capitalism, I rediscovered, in the early 1940s, Marx's now celebrated 1844 Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts. It was its concept of free labor as the shaper of history vs. alienated labor which is the mark of capitalism that governed the study, *The Nature of the Russian Economy*.<sup>1</sup>

Because the law of value dominates not only on the home front of class exploitation, but also in the world market where big capital of the most technologically advanced land rules, the theory of state-capitalism was not confined to the "Russian Question," as was the case when the nomenclature was used by others. Quite the contrary. The new in the theory of state-capitalism, its dialectics, its conclusions, demonstrated, first, that the State Plan, the State Party, the monolithic State, differed in no fundamental degree from the capitalism Marx analyzed, in *Capital*, where he showed that it was not the anarchy in the market, but the "despotic plan of capital" which labor confronted daily in the factory. Equally fundamental was the second point my study made, that the 1930s made it possible to prove, in the concrete, what Marx could only state in theory about the ultimate development of the concentration and centralization of capital "in the hands of a single capitalist or a single capitalist corporation."<sup>2</sup>

State intervention in the economy, whether totally or "in part," characterized both Hitler's Germany and Roosevelt's U.S. "New Deal," Japan's "Co-Prospersity Sphere" as well as the "Labor Government" in Great Britain. What the 1930s established is that under no conditions could The Plan be considered either "socialist" or only a "war measure" as it was during World War I. The State Plan had become part of the very organism of capitalism undermined by the Great Depression, fearful of proletarian revolution, determined to survive at all costs, be it state control or world war, or a nuclear holocaust—that is to say, destruction of civilization itself.

On the other hand, the proletariat has no intention

1. A minority political tendency is always limited in the space accorded to it in the public press. Thus, the section of the study of the Russian economy that was based on the early essays of Marx and was entitled *Labor and Society* was not published either when Part I, *Analysis of the Russian Economy* appeared (*New International*, Dec., 1942, Jan., 1943, Feb., 1943), or when Part II, *Nature of the Russian Economy* (*New International*, Dec., 1946 and Jan., 1947), was finally published. *Labor and Society* finally appeared in mimeographed form in the Johnson-Forest interim period Bulletin No. 5 (1947). [These documents are available on microfilm in The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development.]

2. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 689. See also what I wrote in *Marxism and Freedom*: "The single capitalist, call him 'Collective Leadership under Khrushchev, Inc.' if you will, will have at a certain stage a magnificent plant, completely automated, or a jet bomber, but he cannot stop to raise the standard of living of the masses of the workers. He may be able to avoid the more extreme forms of ordinary commercial crises, but even within the community itself he cannot escape the internal crisis of production... That is why Marx, throughout *Capital*, insists that either you have the self-activity of the workers, the plan of freely associated labor, or you have the hierarchic structure of relations in the factory and the despotic Plan. There is no in-between," (p. 136).

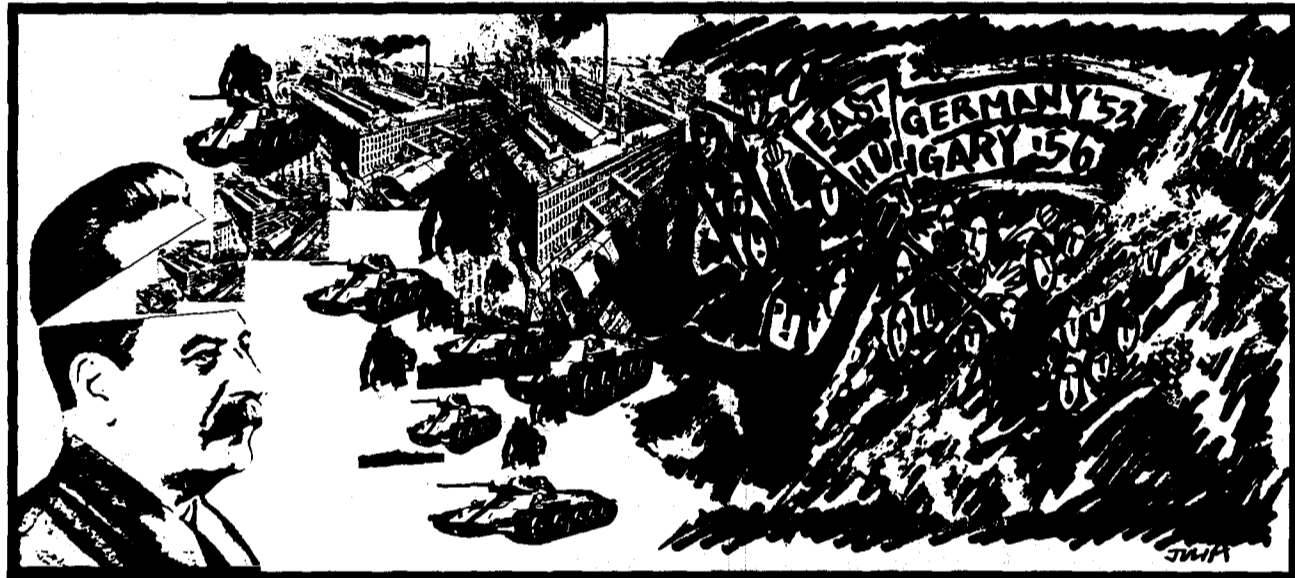
whatever to let that happen. Its struggles against that are ceaseless, although the forms of resistance, of necessity, manifest themselves in new forms. Thus low labor productivity, far from being a sign of the "backwardness" of the Russian proletariat, is the measure of his resistance to the State Plan, the State Party, the Leader.

The masses have proven they cannot be brainwashed. All the means of communication may be in the hands of the state, but the heads belong to the same bodies that are being exploited, and they think their own thoughts.

By the time they openly revolt, their spontaneous outburst hews out new roads to freedom, to totally new human relations as well as to working out a new relationship between theory and practice. Such a new epoch opened in the 1950s when, at one and the same time, a second Industrial Revolution had begun with Automation, and the wildcats against it, in the U.S. and, in East Europe, revolts within totalitarian lands broke out.

### THE MOVEMENT FROM PRACTICE TO THEORY AND TO FREEDOM

Like the removal of an incubus from the brain, the death of Stalin, in March, 1953, released fantastic, elemental creativity on the part of the proletariat. Within three short months, the first uprising ever against Communist totalitarianism erupted in East Germany. This



initiated a totally new epoch of freedom struggles in East Europe. The "Polish October" had not actually developed into a full revolution, but the ideological struggles, especially among the youth, were open-ended, many-sided, passionate and brought Humanism of Marxism onto the historic stage.

The revolts culminated in a full-scale revolution in Hungary in 1956. With the establishment of a new form of workers' rule—Workers' Councils—the workers had created also the decentralized form of relationships for all other sectors of the population so that we had Councils of Revolutionary Youth, Councils of Intellectuals as well as a proliferation of parties, newspapers, free minds.

No matter what one's point of concentration was in those three years between the East German uprising and the Hungarian Revolution—before the Russian tanks moved in to crush the revolution, when the Russians feared the possibility of revolution, they had launched a deliberately abstract discussion of the dialectic, "the negation of the negation"<sup>3</sup>—there was no doubt whatever that the masses in revolt were a new breed. Even so simple a slogan as "Bread and Freedom" pointed to new ways of uniting economics and philosophy.

The historic, the unique, the new initiated in East Germany in 1953, climaxed in Hungary in 1956, reborn in the 1960s throughout East Europe and culminating in Czechoslovakia in 1968<sup>4</sup>, and, as the Polish strikes at the end of 1970 showed, the resistance has not yet ended. All these epochal developments have yet to be grasped by intellectuals for what they were, are: a movement from practice both to freedom and to theory, a still developing new dialectics of liberation.

Paradoxically, the state-capitalist tendency which had

3. See "Marx's Working Out of the Materialist Dialectics in the Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts of the year 1844" by V. A. Karpushin. This article (*Voprosy Filosofii* #3/1955) has never been translated into English. Although many other attacks appeared, none were as "strictly" philosophic. Nor is it possible, now that Khrushchev has become an unpersone and the 21st Congress of the Party has been played down, to see, how from open attacks on the Humanism of Marxism, the bureaucracy suddenly tried to usurp it for its own use by having the reigning philosopher, Mitin, then declare Khrushchev's report to contain "the magnificent and noble conception of Marxist-Leninist socialist humanism" (!). I have traced through the changes of line on the subject of Humanism for the years 1955-59 in *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions*, pp. 22-29. (Left Group, Cambridge University Labour Club, England, 1961.)

4. See *Czechoslovakia: Revolution and Counter-Revolution*. (*News & Letters Pamphlet*, 1968.)

On the 50th anniversary of "Russia is a State-Capitalist Society"

## The origin and todayness of the theory of state-capitalism

looked towards just such spontaneous outbursts, had enthusiastically hailed the East German uprising, failed to meet the challenge to theory from practice. While I had begun to pose, the moment Stalin died, the question of the relationship between philosophy and revolution, the working out of a new relationship between theory and practice that would be rooted both in actuality and in dialectics,<sup>5</sup> the co-founder of the Tendency was moving away from open Marxism. Whether that was due to the fact that McCarthyism was in full bloom in the U.S., or was due to his changed attitude to nationalism, the indisputable fact is that he glorified, first West Indian nationalism, then Cuba, and then raised Nkrumah to the level of Lenin, if not a notch above.

[When I first read Johnson's statement, "In one of the remarkable episodes in revolutionary history, he (Nkrumah) single handedly outlined a programme based on the ideas of Marx, Lenin and Gandhi..." I wrote: "I admit that combining Marx, Lenin and Gandhi is quite a feat. But for a pamphleteer like J. R. Johnson who thundered so for the Soviet United States of Europe, Soviet United States of Asia, world revolution, the struggle against bureaucracy 'as such,' the self-mobilization of the masses and for new passions and new forces to reconstruct society on totally new beginnings—to end with Nkrumah as representative of the new, the new, is

rather pathetic. There is nothing to add but to say with Hamlet, 'Alas, poor Yorick, I knew him.'" (*Afro-Asia Revolutions*, supra p. 9ftn.)<sup>6</sup>

Naturally this not only did not stop the Tendency's full development into Marxist-Humanism, but also, and, above all, the objectivity of the specific form of Marx's philosophy of liberation was embraced by great masses of people having nothing whatever to do with ideological battles that appear in factional form, and everything to do with their spontaneous struggles for freedom under a concrete banner of liberation. The socialism "with a human face" was embraced first by the East Europeans who were fighting for freedom from Communism, then by the African Revolutions gaining freedom from Western imperialism, and even, at first, by Castro de-

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5. "An Exchange of Letters on Hegel's Absolute Idea" (May 12, May 20, May 22, 1953) which appeared as Appendix in the mimeographed edition of *Extracts of Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks* (*News & Letters*, November, 1955). [See *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism*, *News & Letters*.]

6. Perhaps this is the place to comment not only on what J. R. Johnson had written on Nkrumah, but also on his sudden rewriting of the history of the state-capitalist tendency.

Johnson's pamphlet from which I quoted p. 77, was called *Facing Reality* and carried, as Appendix, a fantastic rewrite of the history of the state-capitalist tendency upon which I did not bother to comment. The deafness to reality calling itself *Facing Reality* has since then, however, not only rewritten the history of, but published the Tendency document itself, *State-Capitalism and World Revolution*, as if it were a product of C. L. R. James alone. If we are to believe Martin Glaberman, who writes the preface to this new publication, "the author was C. L. R. James. Perhaps this will help to place James, who wrote for a number of years under the pseudonym of J. R. Johnson, in a truer light as a major inheritor and continuator of the Marxist tradition."

One thing can be said for Martin Glaberman. As against the sudden long list of names appended as prefators to the republication of the document in England in 1956, all of whom had nothing to do with the writing of the document and some of whom were adherents, not of the state-capitalist tendency, but of bureaucratic-collectivism, Martin Glaberman is an exponent of the state-capitalist theory. Too bad that since his grandiose pronouncement, above, he too has separated himself from James, who had not only split the state-capitalist tendency, but also split from the co-author of *Facing Reality*. It was left to Paul Buhle and *Radical America* (Vol. IV, No. 4, May, 1970) to present "with the encouragement of C. L. R. James" a new collection, without any compunction whatever to cite which are Tendency documents, and which are individual writings, on any subject whatever. It is a mishmash worthy of not-so-radical American eclecticism.

## Essay Article

by Kevin Anderson

# Trotsky and Luxemburg: Attitudes to philosophy and objectivity in post-Marx Marxism

The continuing discussion in Russia and East Europe of the writings of the great Marxist revolutionaries, Rosa Luxemburg and Leon Trotsky, belies the notion propagated by both establishment ideologues and some on the Left that "Marxism is dead." In East Germany, Luxemburg's famous statement on revolutionary democracy after the revolution—that "freedom is always for the one who thinks differently"—appeared on opposition banners in East Germany before the 1989 upheaval, while Trotsky's ambivalent role as an opponent of Stalin in the 1920s is being discussed in Russia.<sup>1</sup> This makes Raya Dunayevskaya's Marxist-Humanist critique of Luxemburg and Trotsky relevant for today, especially to those East and West, seeking a pathway out of the Bush-Gorbachev-dominated "New World Order."

In a 1977 article, Dunayevskaya notes that, around the turn of the century, when the reformist social democrat Eduard Bernstein argued openly for evolutionary socialism, he also rejected equally openly the Hegelian "dialectical scaffolding" of Marx's *Capital* in favor of a form of neo-Kantianism:

*"Revolutionary Marxists felt the strong need to reassert their 'allegiance' to dialectics and rejection of 'Kantianism.' Insofar as not being guilty of any departure from the class struggle, or being guilty of a concept of the dependence on [Kantian] 'men of good will' to resolve class contradictions, this certainly held true of Trotsky the revolutionist. Unfortunately, this did not lead to deep digging into the philosophic origins of Marxism in the Hegelian dialectic. It is here...where dualism emerged in Trotsky's theory at its highest point of development—his most original theory, the Permanent Revolution."<sup>2</sup>*

### TROTSKY'S DUALISM

In the Trotsky chapter of her *Philosophy and Revolution*, Dunayevskaya focuses on two types of dualism in Trotsky's concept of Marxism. Both are rooted in his truncated, "scientific-materialist" concept of dialectics.<sup>3</sup> "Trotsky was not unmindful of the dialectic," Dunayevskaya writes. "He took it for granted. It remained 'inner,' somewhere in the back of his head" (p. 133).

The most obvious form of dualism lies in Trotsky's being "bounded on one hand by the concept of world revolution, and, on the other hand, by [the concept of] workers' state=nationalized property" (p. 129). This, of course, refers to Trotsky's defense, to his dying day, of Stalin's Russia as a "workers' state, though degenerate." It was Dunayevskaya and her colleagues who, in the 1940s, worked out a rigorous theory of state-capitalism as an alternative to Trotsky's dualistic theory.

But in *Philosophy and Revolution*, Dunayevskaya does not leave it at that 1940s analysis, important as it was as a first step. She writes that "underlying the universalization of the particular, nationalized property [in Stalin's Russia], was the dualism in Trotsky's practice of the dialectic" (p. 129). This is not limited to a notion that "if only Trotsky had...re-examined Hegel's Logic, all would have gone well," a notion Dunayevskaya terms "ludicrous" (p. 133).

No, the dualism in Trotsky is found in his practice of the dialectic in the development of the concept which his supporters, as well as his critics, have always agreed was his most original contribution, his famous theory of permanent revolution.

The most important tenet of the theory of permanent revolution was, as Trotsky wrote in 1906: "In a country economically more backward the proletariat may come to power sooner than in a country capitalistically advanced." This was an original thesis, one which seemed to anticipate the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Here Trotsky's dualism emerges in sharp relief. His abstract notion of revolution remains, in Hegel's apt phrase, "utterly separated from reality," the reality in the economically underdeveloped East in which the peasantry formed the majority of the working people. Yet, far from seeing the peasantry as a new revolutionary subject, Trotsky is burdened with a concept of the "backwardness" of the peasantry.

Thus, Trotsky's practice of the dialectic lacked one of its most important elements, a concept of a self-devel-

oping subject. And he did not budge from his concept of the "backwardness" of the peasantry, not even after 1917, or the beginnings of the Chinese revolution in the 1920s and 1930s. In *Philosophy and Revolution*, Dunayevskaya calls Trotsky's inability to grasp these issues a "failure" to develop "a new appreciation of the dialectic on the basis of the new reality" (p. 139).

### HEGEL'S CRITIQUE OF KANT'S DUALISM

Two aspects of Hegel's critique of Kant are used by Dunayevskaya as a foundation for her critique to Trotsky. The first one appears as the frontispiece to the Trotsky chapter of *Philosophy and Revolution*. It reads: "In every dualistic system...the fundamental defect makes itself visible in the inconsistency of unifying at one moment, what a moment before had been explained incapable of unification." This passage appears in Hegel's *Smaller Logic*, paragraph 60, in the discussion of what Hegel terms the "Second Attitude to Objectivity." The type of dualistic system to which Hegel refers is "seen especially in that of Kant."

What is the nature of Kant's dualism? First, writes Hegel, for Kant, "on the one side stands the world of sensation, and of the understanding which reflects upon it." In this sense, Kant's categories operate "quite the same as in empiricism." Yet Kant is no mere empiricist, but the thinker who was so great as to have reintroduced dialectic into philosophy. Thus, in Kant's dualistic system, "on the other side and independent stands a self-apprehending thought, the principle of freedom."

Unfortunately, Hegel concludes, Kant does not develop this principle of freedom very much, but merely asserts it: "...it was only formally, that the Kantian system established the principle that thought is spontaneous and self-determining. Into details of the matter and the extent of this self-determination of thought, Kant never went."

In her 1977 critique of Trotsky, Dunayevskaya quotes a key passage from Hegel's critique of Kant in his *Larger Logic*, from the chapter "The Notion in General": "It will always remain a matter for astonishment how the Kantian philosophy knew that relation of thought to sensuous existence, where it halted for a merely relative relation of bare appearance and fully acknowledged and asserted a higher unity of the two in the Idea...but yet stopped dead at this relative relation and at the assertion that the Notion is and remains utterly separated from reality; so that it affirmed as true what it pronounced to be finite knowledge, and declared to be superfluous and improper figments of thought that which it recognized as truth, and of which it established the definite notion."

In this paragraph, Hegel also writes that the Notion or Concept shows itself to be "incomplete" when left as "only abstract truth." It needs to pass over into reality. However, he is not talking here, of mere empirical reality, but of a critical, dialectical concept of reality.

Thus for Hegel, the notion accomplishes this "not by falling back again into a reality which it finds standing

ready...nor by taking refuge with...appearance." No, "it does this by generating reality from within itself." This dialectical procedure, where the concept produces reality "from within itself," means subjecting empirical reality to the critique of dialectical Reason, thus creating a new unity of philosophy and reality. Because Kant denies this type of unity of notion and reality, philosophy is mired in dualism: "the notion remains utterly separate from reality."

In *Philosophy and Revolution*, Dunayevskaya views this particular critique of Kant as central to the whole third book of the *Larger Logic*: "Hegel keeps developing from the spot where Kant 'stopped dead' by putting an impenetrable 'thing-in-itself' between thought and experience. The Great Divide between Kant and Hegel is reached in the final chapter...[There] not only is the Idea 'Absolute,' so is Method" (p. 27). This is also the philosophical underpinning of Dunayevskaya's critique of Trotsky and Luxemburg.

In a 1977 lecture on *Philosophy and Revolution*, Dunayevskaya focuses "on the question of Kant, in relationship to Trotsky and Luxemburg."<sup>4</sup> She argues that they both "stop dead at the relationship of the Universal to the Particular, and theory to practice." This was true, even though Luxemburg and Trotsky were theoreticians writing "from very opposite points of view."

That Dunayevskaya's critique of Kantian dualism takes in Luxemburg, as well as Trotsky, is probably why in the passage cited at the beginning on Trotsky's Kantianism, she does not refer initially only to Trotsky, but to "revolutionary Marxists" who wanted to oppose Bernstein's reformism and rejection of dialectics, all the while keeping away from what Marx, in *Capital*, called "the source of all dialectic," Hegelian dialectics.

### DUALISM IN LUXEMBURG

Some of Luxemburg's great theoretical insights are discussed in chapters one and two of Dunayevskaya's *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (hereafter, RLWLMR). First, there was Luxemburg's brilliant book *Social Reform or Revolution?* (1900), where she made the most serious critique of Bernstein's revisionism, including his rejection of dialectics, which she termed:

*"[A]n attempt to shatter the intellectual arm with the aid of which the proletariat, though materially under the yoke of the bourgeoisie, is yet enabled to triumph over the bourgeoisie. For it is our dialectical system that...is already realizing a revolution in the domain of thought."*

A second important contribution of Luxemburg was on the question of war and imperialism. A third great contribution was her theory of spontaneity, perhaps best seen in her 1906 book, *The Mass Strike*, an analy-

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4. Included in the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection #15058.



## Editorial

## Gulf war ends, "Star Wars" continues

Standing astride the gory aftermath of war in the Middle East, George Bush is using the post-battle period to further intensify U.S. military might in his drive to make the U.S. the predominant, nuclearly superior global superpower.

Bush deliberately presented his Pentagon budget in the middle of the war against Iraq. It proposes to eliminate older weapons technologies to make way for newer "electronic" arms systems. These include the systems which U.S. warplanes and to annihilate Iraq's industrial and social fabric, and to annihilate tens of thousands of people in a matter of weeks.

With a military victory in the Middle East, Bush intends to wipe out the last vestige of talk about a "peace dividend" arising from any temporary lessening of tensions between the U.S. and Russia. And with his campaign to militarize the mind, both at home and abroad, Bush is targeting the deeply rooted worldwide desire for an end to the superpowers' incessant preparations for war. The spineless U.S. Congress, for all intents and purposes, has handed Bush a blank check for 1992 military funding, which stands at \$295 billion.

### STAR WARS RESEARCH

Most ominous is the \$4.6 billion slated for "Star Wars" research and testing—and this figure is undoubtedly a gross understatement of the actual costs of the programs that have been underway ever since Reagan in 1983 first embraced plans for space-based warfare.

A billion dollars was spent over the last five years on "third generation" nuclear weapons which can alter or direct the deadly energy from a nuclear explosion. Three of these devices have reached the testing phase: X-ray lasers, kinetic energy weapons and microwave weapons. This is but the tip of the iceberg of Bush's intention to follow out Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) schemes.

The Pentagon is already implementing a program to develop nuclear-powered rockets capable of lofting huge Star Wars weaponry into space. The current U.S. shuttle flight is on a military mission to test space-based sensors and anti-missile devices. The cost of producing and deploying Star Wars weapons will be many billions more.

The U.S. Congress also agreed to Bush's budget de-

mand not to transfer any cuts in military spending to domestic programs for three years. Instead, these cuts are slated to disappear into the yawning pit of meaningless "deficit reduction." As of yet, there is no official final "dollar cost" of the Persian Gulf war; estimates range from \$30 to \$90 billion.

### EVER INCREASING MILITARIZATION

In April, Secretary of War Cheney announced the planned closing of 43 U.S. bases, eliminating 190,000 jobs in the military and civilian sectors. Far from signifying any real cut, the base closings represent a minuscule 3% reduction. And the job figures are misleading since, with transfers to other bases, the net loss in actual jobs amounts to 72,000.

To Congressmen scrambling to save bases in their districts and states, Cheney said, "Smaller forces need fewer bases." With the power of an actual war victory, George Bush now aims to get, on demand, the kind of military he wants: fewer personnel, highly mobile, and armed to the teeth with the most lethal weapons available. Through this military force, Bush is ready to intervene anywhere to protect whatever he considers U.S. "vital interests."

Obviously, there is to be no "demobilization" after this war. There hasn't been one since World War II. From the Korean War to the present, every war has been followed by ever greater militarization.

The various arms agreements between the two superpowers, U.S. and Russia, including the current START talks, have never aimed at more than slightly slowing down the growth rate of the arsenals of destruction. While Gorbachev and Bush may simply agree to pause, neither will abandon the goal of world supremacy.

The weight of ever-burgeoning militarization is being carried by workers, the unemployed and the poor—through rapidly deteriorating conditions of life and labor; through the ever-expanding national debt to pay for the military; through the "poverty draft" of youth into military service. It is with this weight that Bush hopes to suppress the idea of freedom and crush the passion for a society totally opposed to capitalism's permanent war state. This is the battle we confront.

1. See Viktor Danilov, "We Are Starting to Learn about Trotsky," *History Workshop* #29, Spring, 1990. This article was first published in the Russian opposition journal *Echos*. Danilov reviews Pierre Broue's massive book *Trotsky* (Paris: Fayard, 1988), a book which, although Trotskyist in orientation, agrees with several of Raya Dunayevskaya's critiques of Trotsky.

2. Raya Dunayevskaya, "Leon Trotsky as Man and as Theoretician," with a comment by Ernest Mandel, *Studies in Comparative Communism*, Vol. 10 (1 & 2), 1977.

3. See *Trotsky's Notebooks 1933-35: Writings on Lenin, Dialectics and Evolutionism*. Trans. and introduced by Philip Pomper (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986). Composed after the publication of both Marx's 1844 *Essays and Lenin's "Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic,"* these Notebooks show no substantial change from pre-1914 vulgar materialist Marxism.

## FIGHTING AGAINST WARS AT HOME AND ABROAD, AND AGAINST OUR 'MIND-FORGED MANACLES'

All the forces and passions of revolution in the world today are standing eyeball to eyeball against the "new world order." Governments act quickly when the interests of capitalism are threatened—look how fast the White House rushed to Congress to pass a law to keep the railroad workers working. But when it comes to protecting living people, the rulers act very slowly. It took them weeks to help the Kurdish people who are dying from starvation and cold.

In these heartbreaking times you run the danger of being derailed unless you develop that total vision that Marx laid out and worked out throughout his life—what Raya Dunayevskaya called "a whole new continent of thought and of revolution."

Felix Martin  
California

There are at least 17 Marines being held in prison at Camp Lejeune in North Carolina who had developed beliefs against killing long before the Gulf crisis, but did not know about Conscientious Objector status. Faced with the actuality of being ordered to kill in violation of their consciences last fall they sought counseling and now face court martial and up to seven years in prison on charges of Desertion or Missing Movement. The Marine Corps is pushing for maximum punishment. They are kept in separate barracks and subject to severe harassment. Some are in solitary confinement. Reading material is restricted. Mail is censored.

Readers can get more information and support them by sending mail to them c/o Hands Off! 111 East 14th St., New York, NY 10003. (It will be hand-delivered.) Tax-deductible donations (lawyers are working free, but money is needed for travel and other support) can be made to the same address. And letters can be sent to Congresspersons and Senators demanding an investigation into their unjust treatment.

Pax Christi  
Illinois  
(1-312-283-5156)

When did we become a nation which could only find pride in how many human beings our military managed to have killed?

Mother of teenager  
Chicago

Whenever I saw the videotape of Rodney King's beating replayed on TV, I couldn't help feeling that part of the message was, "Look at what we can do to you." My brother is in the military, and every time I hear the politicians say how we should all be proud to be an American, I think: But if you're Black, don't come to L.A.!

Racism is everywhere in this country. Arizona still hasn't adopted Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday as a holiday. To me, that's just the American way. It's not a question of a holiday, but that Black people are being killed every day. It's a whole war in this country against you if you're Black.

Young Black woman  
Los Angeles

The Supreme Court recently legalized the use of confessions of guilt obtained through force and deception "in limited cases." Put that together with the beating of Rodney King, and you get a very good picture of Bush's wars against the American people that N&L has been writing about. I say: Wake up America and smell what's perking. It is being brewed in a political sewer and it has that rich aroma of fascism.

Alert and frightened  
California

Enclosed is a check to help keep N&L going and to support your opposition to Bush and Co.—not because I fully agree with you. Still, best wishes!

Intellectual  
Washington, D.C.

A virtual schism has arisen between the forces outraged by the police beating of the unarmed, unemployed Black construction worker, Rodney King, early last March. The divide is between the politicians and those community members who are teed-off at Mayor Tom Bradley, the L.A. City Council and

the Police Commission for not standing unequivocally with the people in our struggle against police brutality. The growing number of Black women at the protests, demanding a radical change in the way the L.A. police conduct business, demonstrates the refusal to adhere to the prevailing ideology that "we can't do anything" about the system.

Protester  
Los Angeles

Many thanks for your March editorial on how the "battle for the minds of humanity" has intensified since the war ended. We seem to be moving into a new Dark Ages. Do you think the next war will be Cuba? The masses of the industrialized countries have so far not fulfilled their historic task. All the revolutions seem to have taken place in the "Third World" and have been deformed... The Talmud says that while one is not required to do the whole task, neither is one free to desist. I am appalled by the number of old radicals who have given up. Keep up the work.

Old radical  
New Mexico

Your editorial in the March issue summed up exactly what I was thinking on the current situation. It is discouraging that there is no real protest against what Bush has done and continues to do. Could it be that people haven't had enough time to absorb the shock yet?

Margaret  
Italy

I support your publication wholeheartedly. It's refreshing to find a "left" paper that isn't just a mouthpiece for one party or another. Left papers are looking, these days, as much like each other as the Democrats and Republicans.

New Subscriber  
New Jersey

The trouble with most Americans is that they don't know who is their worst enemy. The worst enemy of the people of any nation is their own government. I am 65 years old, and all my life I have worked in this society and fought the capitalist wars—but all I've got from the government is being taxed to death, or sent to lay my life on the line for capitalism. Do you really think anyone could convince me that the American government is there to protect me and my "rights"?

Retired worker  
San Diego

Leftists get disappointed at a march and quickly ask, "How come the masses aren't here?" but never see a need for re-organizing their thinking. A perfect example is the response I got from one Leftist while I was selling N&L at a large intellectual event here. "I'm already converted!" he said, as if that should be the end instead of the beginning of a discussion.

R.B.  
Bay Area, Cal.

You have a point about the Left losing sight of the vision of a new society in the era of Reagan-Bush! It seems to me News & Letters remains one of the very few groups left in the movement that still takes thinking seriously.

Ecologist  
Vermont



### HEGEL AND THE OWL OF MINERVA

Read out of context, Hegel's maxim that "The owl of Minerva spreads its wings only at dusk" seems to mean that philosophical cognition is only achieved late in the day, after much effort when there's not much time left. But when you read the Preface to *Philosophy of Right* you see he is really saying that philosophy can only discover the meaning of historic events in retrospect, but cannot shape them. Was it that when it came to political philosophy Hegel wanted to deny the revolutionary drive of the Absolute Idea? Dunayevskaya,

## Readers' Views

developing the revolutionary side of Hegel's thinking, asserts that philosophy can and must "reach for the future." Otherwise, why bother with it? This, I think, is what she means by an "un-chained dialectic."

(I can't resist pointing out that Hegel wasn't much of an ornithologist. The "owl of Minerva" is the European little owl—*Athene noctua*—a species that does hunt by daylight as well as at dusk. Maybe it's not such a bad symbol for philosophy, after all.)

Richard Bunting  
Oxford



### ARTISTS FOR MIDDLE EAST PEACE

Artists for Middle East Peace has produced four original and distinctive buttons of great relevance to the current situation: 1) Israeli and Palestinian figures holding hands and dancing under their crossed flags; 2) a Middle East woman cradling a baby in her arms; 3) a child shouting at Israeli and Arab leaders to talk and listen to each other; and 4) a church, mosque and synagogue in Jerusalem. Buttons are \$2 each or 4/\$5. We invite anyone interested to make posters for our ongoing exhibitions.

Mitch Kamen  
Artists for Middle East Peace  
144 Moody St.  
Waltham, MA 02154

### STACKING THE CARDS AGAINST LABOR

The moment a bill comes up in Congress to prohibit hiring permanent replacements, every little dictator in the U.S., from Bush to the head of the *Chicago Tribune*, claims it will destroy the "balance" that has existed between labor and management for the past 50 years. That's an outright lie. First, the cards have always been stacked against labor. Second, almost nobody hired permanent replacements before Reagan fired the air traffic controllers. By now the practice is so common that it has transformed the strike into the very opposite of what it once represented. When workers have no weapons on their side, it is forced labor, pure and simple. The right to strike is like the right to breathe. It is not negotiable.

Jan Kollwitz  
Chicago

I've been working at the same Southern Pacific Railroad yard in Los Angeles for 40 years. The day our national strike started the entire country knew it wasn't going to last but a few days. It says a lot about how unfair labor-management negotiations are today. That's not the worst of the situation. Our union wasn't telling us a thing. When people stop by your picket line to solidarize, do you know what it feels like to have to say "you know as much as I do from watching the TV"? We've lost our own union; that's the real tragedy.

Railroad worker  
Los Angeles

### WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND THE SUPREME COURT

Your heading for the article in April N&L on the Supreme Court ruling on Johnson Controls said it all—"Women win equal right to work unsafe jobs!" It reminded me of how many working women opposed the ERA because they feared their hard-won protective legislation would be taken away, instead of being extended to male workers.

Susan Van Gelder  
Detroit

It's so important for women to have a choice that I consider the Supreme Court ruling on Johnson Controls some kind of breakthrough, even though the choice women are given is an alienated choice. Marx said "the wage laborer is free—to starve." Still, I would rather

not be a slave. I would rather be the one to make the choice rather than have my husband or father make it.

Subscriber  
Michigan

The Johnson Controls decision showed once again how anti-labor this Supreme Court is. It has wiped out any lawsuits brought by women against health damages caused by their employers. What Marxist-Humanism shows is how total the uprooting of this society must be.

Ex-Miner  
Detroit

### THE BRITISH SCENE

The Anglo Irish (emphasis on Anglo) Agreement (AIA) has been suspended for ten weeks to enable the orange/unionist politicians (opposed to the AIA, on paper) to participate in Tory government-initiated talks on the future of Ireland. It is, of course, just a further bourgeois exercise in trying to marginalize the militant Republicans and their political organizations, who have not been invited. In fact, they have been barred and the ban on freedom of speech against the representatives of militant Republicanism continues. There can be no national democratic solution without the major involvement of representatives of what is a very sizeable section of the Irish working class, particularly in the more militant north.

Correspondent  
Britain

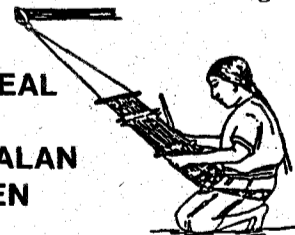
We have been deeply involved in the peace protest work here, setting up vigils both in Glasgow and in Argyll where we have the American base for nuclear submarines. I find most of my strength from the women in the Peace Movement. I don't need to tell you how awful the political scene is in Britain. When the dogs of war are loosed reason is abandoned.

Kay Carmichael  
Scotland

In the United Kingdom anti-war movement there was not so much a feeling of "what can we do about it?" as confusion stemming from the popular front composition of the movement. A very sizeable minority here opposed the war. There was little public display of jingoism. The workers were politically mainly concerned about the poll tax, as was proved when, a few days after the "ceasefire" was declared by Bush, the working class and some sections of the middle class, in a by-election in Ribbles Valley, overturned a Tory majority of 20,000 into a Liberal Democrat majority of 4,000.

B.H.  
England

### AN APPEAL FOR GUATEMALAN WOMEN



Thousands of Guatemalan women became widows when their husbands were kidnapped and assassinated by the Guatemalan military. They were forced to organize to provide for their common needs. During the first four weeks of the newly elected Serrano government in Guatemala, there have been 62 extrajudicial executions. The economy is in shambles. People are devastated by the violence of both repression and poverty. Women for Guatemala was formed to support the efforts of Guatemalan women who have organized themselves into weavers' cooperatives and to promote communication between North American and Guatemalan women, as we try to change the U.S. role in Guatemala. For information on how to help, readers can contact:

Women for Guatemala  
529 S. Wabash, Rm. 404  
Chicago, IL 60605

**IN DIALOGUE WITH THE MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES**

Raya Dunayevskaya's column in the April issue on "Unshackling Mind-Forged Manacles" concludes that the need is to concretize the demand that "spontaneity and organization in unity be so inseparable from the philosophy of revolution in permanence that the actual revolution can be released." The "passion for philosophy" has had such great impact in our age that you see it could have opened doors for that. You also see the way a Mao or a Nasser caught the objectivity of the hunger for philosophy, but ended up derailing the movement for freedom. In a period of such massive disintegration and crises as today, taking time to grapple with this may appear to some as a lesser priority. But Dunayevskaya shows it is precisely at such times that the philosophic direction of the revolution becomes a life and death question.

Iranian Marxist-Humanist  
California

In response to Raya Dunayevskaya's column in the April issue, I have read some of Nasser's speeches. He spoke about socialism, but never built the idea of that. There was this vision of the "non-aligned," the Third World. But it was very ambiguous, with a lot of contradictions. When Nasser died, everything died. That's the problem with populism: you can't build something after the leader dies. I compare a lot of these leaders with Peron in Argentina, where I am from. He too had a "great vision," spelled out in his book, *The Organized Community*. There were times when he spoke about socialism, its "inevitability." But that was only the ground of his opportunism.

Student  
New York City

Though she is referring to "the great artist" in her article, "Unshackling the mind-forged manacles of unfreedom" (April N&L), Raya Dunayevskaya exposes a major void in the art world as a whole. She writes, "Not being that philosopher of revolution [Marx], aiming to transform reality, he [the artist], more often than not, does not understand the

masses in motion which have inspired his vision."

Recently an artist submitted an abstract sculpture to Northern Illinois University entitled "Balance of Equality" which is supposed to represent Martin Luther King, Jr. The administrators are drooling all over this sculpture which is to preside over the Martin Luther King, Jr. Commons in the center of campus. But Black students are in an uproar because they want "a statue of the man," something they have been fighting for since a Black student uprising seven years ago. The students know that King was a man who fought for humanity and freedom, and that no abstract sculpture can do anything but reduce the people of the Civil Rights Movement to a concrete slab.

Julia Jones  
De Kalb, Ill.

**THIS**  
is Martin Luther King, Jr.



This is  
**NOT**  
Martin Luther King, Jr.



Editor's Note: De Kalb students have created two buttons, to be worn together, to protest the abstract sculpture they have been offered instead of a statue of Martin Luther King, Jr. They are available from *Freedom Now Button Source*, P.O. Box 350, Malta, IL 60150, for \$1.50 the pair.

When I was reading *Philosophy and Revolution* I didn't feel I understood Dunayevskaya's strong objection to Daniel Cohn-Bendit's idea that the masses can pick up theory "en route" as against her own concept of a "movement from practice that is itself a form of theory." Now that I've read "Marxist-Humanism and its Summation as New Beginning" (March, 1991 N&L) I think I'm beginning to understand it. She said that *Marxism and Freedom*, structured on that movement from

practice, laid the ground for all the *News & Letters* pamphlets that were a "forum for the new voices from below," but that they were not "products of the movement from below." She said they could only come from a great philosophic breakthrough such as was represented in the Letters on the Absolute Idea. The difference between Cohn-Bendit's concept and hers is that he held only an "abstract view of a philosophy of liberation," as she put it. That's what youth also have to avoid today.

Jim Guthrie  
Chicago

I don't think that I have broken completely from post-Marx Marxism. I don't think it is enough for me (or all other ex-vanguardists) to recognize what Engels or Lenin did not do, or what they did wrong, or what books they have not read. The problem is deeper and more serious than that. We cannot take the category of post-Marx Marxism in a simplistic, superficial way.

Latino revolutionary  
Los Angeles

**VIEWS FROM MALTA AND ITALY**

According to our Constitution, Malta has a so-called "neutral policy," but this was not the case in the Gulf War. The Maltese government was inclined to the Kuwaiti monarchists, so though we talk "peace" in this country, the resolution of the Labour Party in Parliament to condemn the war and its implications was turned down. The Nationalist Party, affiliated with the Italian Christian Democrats, has one seat more in the House of Representatives than the reformist Labour Party.

We admire the unlimited space you offer your readers to be correspondents and participate in writing the paper. It makes your journal very informative and important.

Anti-Imperialist Front  
Malta

There is a lot of interest here in the USSR, but Marxism is almost a taboo subject. The Communist Party (CP) here finally changed its name to Left

Democratic Party (partito democratico di sinistra, PDS). As yet, it has not proposed a political program. The minority formed another party—Communist Re-foundation. It refers to Marxism and support of the working class—but just the same kind of positions as before.

Correspondent  
Milan

**THE AMERICAN ECONOMY**

The best statement I heard on the "utter sickness of the U.S. economy" came from my brother-in-law who is in the insurance industry: "In the 1980s the banks used to check up on us, now we check up on the banks." When the pinnacle industry of capitalism is going bankrupt, what does it say for the other industries?

J. K.  
Chicago

**APPALACHIAN STUDIES**

It is clear from the pamphlet on *The 1949-50 Miners' General Strike and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism* that Raya Dunayevskaya always felt strongly the connection between the development of her thought and her early experiences in West Virginia. To this day Appalachia has remained an arena of intense struggle and was a national focus in the 1960s. But Appalachians themselves were expected to be silent partners in the political and philosophic debates. It was in order to fill this gap that in the 1970s, scholars and activists there decided to meet yearly for a conference, and formed an Appalachian Studies Association to highlight the problems of the area and represent the region as it truly is. This year the meeting was at Berea College in Kentucky with the theme: "Environmental Voices: Cultural, Social, Physical, and Natural." What is clear is that 40 years after the Miners' General Strike the people of the region continue to suffer persecution and exploitation. Although it lacks a coherent philosophical foundation, there is a profound, native anti-capitalism flourishing both in Appalachia and Appalachian Studies.

Conference participant  
Morgantown, W. Va.

**SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS**

**—BOOKS—**

- Marxism and Freedom ...from 1776 until today**  
1989 Columbia University Press edition. New 1980s introduction by author 381 pp.  
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$17.50 per copy
- Philosophy and Revolution from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao**  
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by Raya Dunayevskaya \$14.95 per copy
- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution** 234 pp.  
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future** 294 pp.  
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$15.95
- The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two Historic-Philosophic Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya.** Contains "Presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy of June 1, 1987," and 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes." 52 pp.  
\$3.00 paperback, \$10.00 hardcover
- Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal**  
1989 Wayne State University Press edition includes Afterword by Raya Dunayevskaya, "Charles Denby 1907-83" 303 pp.  
by Charles Denby \$14.95

**—PAMPHLETS—**

- Constitution of News & Letters Committees** 29¢ postage
- Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts**  
Special bulletin on Marxist-Humanism as a body of ideas by Raya Dunayevskaya, Eugene Walker, Michael Connolly and Olga Domanski \$1 per copy
- The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.**  
by Andy Phillips and Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
- 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments by Raya Dunayevskaya** \$1.50 per copy
- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard.**  
Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucuses in the Unions" by Charles Denby \$2 per copy
- Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions**  
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.25 per copy
- Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought**, by Lou Turner and John Alan  
New Expanded edition contains Introduction/Overview by Raya Dunayevskaya, Lou Turner and John Alan  
Appendices by Rene Depestre and Ngugi wa Thiong'o \$3 per copy
- Selections from Raya Dunayevskaya's Writings on the Middle East** \$2.50 per copy
- Working Women for Freedom**  
by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes \$1 per copy
- Dos ensayos por Raya Dunayevskaya. Spanish language pamphlet**  
1989 edition \$2.00 per copy

**—ARCHIVES—**

- The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development**  
A 15,000-page microfilm collection on eight reels \$160
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# Bush's complicity in Hussein's genocide of Iraqi peoples

(continued from page 1)

sein's slaughter of the Kurds, the two flow from the same degenerate, counter-revolutionary principle.

Bush is now feverishly trying to cover over his complicity in this holocaust by shedding crocodile tears over the Kurds' plight and sending in U.S. troops to build refugee camps to house them in northern Iraq. To see through the rewriting of history now underway demands we view the actual course of events that transpired over the past month.

## IN THE TWILIGHT OF FREEDOM... THERE IS GENOCIDE

The revolt of the long-oppressed Shiite majority, which erupted in the south of Iraq in the days following Hussein's defeat by Bush's imperial armada, did not long remain restricted to that part of the country. Within days the Kurds unleashed what many of them called (in reference to the Palestinian struggle) their "intifada." The choice of words is revealing, in that the uprising arose spontaneously and not through the agency of the exiled Kurdish opposition or even the long-active guerrilla groupings. The uprising involved all layers of the Kurdish population in village after village, city after



city throughout the northern part of Iraq.

By the second week of March, the Iraqi Kurdistan Front (a coalition of one Assyrian and five Kurdish political parties) announced it had taken control of much of Iraqi Kurdistan. Kurdish guerrillas and Iraqi army deserters occupied the major city of Irbil on March 6; by March 11 the revolt had spread to Kirkuk. By March 16, according to the Kurdish Democratic Party, 95% of Iraqi Kurdistan was liberated.

By that time Hussein had regrouped his forces and was engaged in a bloody assault against the poorly armed Shiites of the south. After crushing their revolt he turned his attention to the Kurds by attacking Kirkuk on March 26, where he massacred large numbers of civilians. Whole areas such as Tuz Khurnatu were razed to the ground by Hussein's fascistic troops. By March 30 tens of thousands of Kurdish civilians were fleeing toward the Turkish and Iranian borders.

As these events unfolded, the UN Security Council was debating conditions for a permanent cease-fire between the U.S. and Iraq. Yet not a single state power raised any protest against Hussein's treatment of the Kurds. It was not until April 3 that the French ambassador meekly asked whether the "Kurdish question" should be discussed. Gorbachev's UN ambassador Yuri Vorontsov, no doubt concerned at the impact of the Kurdish revolt on the Russian empire's own restless minorities, said the Security Council "should not get involved." U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering insisted, "It is too early to speculate on the Kurdish question."

This was said on April 3, by which time over a million Kurds were fleeing toward the Turkish and Iranian border! Pickering's statement expressed U.S. policy from the start. At the height of the Kurdish revolt (March 23), Bush said, "What we're looking for [in Iraq] is stability. We're not looking for disorder." A Pentagon spokesman put it this way: "We have certainly called for the overthrow of Saddam Hussein, but we have never called for the overthrow of the Iraqi government."

Least of all did Bush call on Hussein to stop his slaughter of the Kurds. The U.S. was aware of the revolutionary character of the Kurdish movement which includes Marxist as well as nationalist tendencies.

So determined was Bush not to interfere with Hussein's slaughter of the Kurds that at first he refused

to extend refugee assistance to them. By April 4 reports of virtual genocide against the Kurds had already reached the Western press. That same day Bush turned down requests to send special aid to the refugees saying the U.S. had already pledged \$36 million to international relief organizations.

It was not until almost a week later, following a worldwide outcry against his do-nothingness, that Bush finally began to provide aid to the refugees. That did not mean U.S. policy suddenly became dictated by concern with the Kurds' well-being. As the Kurdish organizations have pointed out, Bush's decision to build the refugee camps 50 miles inside the Iraqi border benefits not the Kurds but Turkey's President, Turgot Ozal. Ozal wants the Iraqi Kurds as far from Turkey as possible, to prevent any outbreak of revolt among Turkey's 12 million Kurds. Meanwhile, over a million Kurds trying to cross the border into Iran remain ignored.

As Iraq scholar Christine Moss Helms put it, "At a minimum they are giving humanitarian aid, but in fact what [the U.S.] is doing is getting the Kurds under control while the Turks are doing everything they can to make sure these Kurds don't go further into Turkey."

Opposition to revolution is what underlies the complicity of all state powers in the region with Hussein's genocide. The effort to crush the very idea of revolution is what motivated Bush both to support Hussein's war against the Kurds and to wage war against Hussein, which left over 100,000 dead and now threatens over five million with starvation and disease.

As we put it in a statement issued within 48 hours of Bush's dispatch of troops to the Gulf last August, while "Hussein has been ruthless in attacking all opposition to his rule, be it by Kurds, Assyrians, students, striking workers or women... Bush's military intervention in the Persian Gulf is aimed not against his (Hussein's) counter-revolutionary legacy, but rather at the resistance to

oppression that has characterized masses of people, not only inside Iraq, but in the Middle East as a whole."

## BAKER'S SHUTTLE MISSION

Bush has tried to follow up his "victory" in the Gulf war by further burying the idea of revolution, not only in Iraq, but in the whole Middle East. This explains not only his inactivity on the Kurds, but also Secretary of State Baker's active efforts to broker an international conference on the Israel-Arab dispute.

While the Iraqi masses lay bleeding, Baker was running from one capital to another trying to promote the idea of "settling regional conflicts" through a conference co-sponsored by the U.S. and Gorbachev. This is part of fulfilling a promise Bush made to Gorbachev at the Helsinki summit last September, when he offered him a direct role in future Middle East negotiations in exchange for support in the Gulf war.

In case any had the illusion this meant the U.S. was willing to compromise on its insistence on being the one power to dictate events in the Middle East, Baker shattered it by leaving out the U.S.'s European allies from his proposed conference. The European Community voiced so much opposition to this at a meeting with Baker on April 17 that he has since softened his opposition to their participation.

What has not softened is U.S. opposition to the very idea of Palestinian self-determination. Baker says his envisioned international conference would preclude discussing anything that could lead to a Palestinian homeland. In this, he has the support of Shamir's Israel, which has reached such degeneracy as to accelerate the building of Jewish settlements in the occupied territories while outlining a "shoot to kill" policy against Palestinians. Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait concur with Baker's anti-Palestinian stance, anxious as they are to put the lid on such "destabilizing forces" as the struggle for Palestinian self-determination.

Whether or not Baker will be able to pull off his envisioned international conference, given Israel's total intransigence on such questions as returning the Golan Heights to Syria, is not the critical question. For the events of the past months show that any arrangement between the state powers will have the deepest of

## Kurdish activist speaks

I am from the town of Halabja. It is—was—a beautiful and ancient town, more than 1,000 years old, with a population of 70,000 people. The people of Halabja were proud Kurds, and always part of the Kurdish movement and Kurdish revolution and the struggle for democracy and the right for self-determination. That was our only crime.

On March 16, 1988 Iraqi planes coughed up a huge yellow cloud that covered the sky of Halabja. Children, women, men and animals collapsed like rag dolls. In a wink, 5,000 people were killed, 16,000 people were injured.

This crime was neither the first nor the last atrocity perpetrated to stifle Kurdish determination to attain our full national rights. Long before the genocide in Halabja, the Iraqi government forcibly removed the Kurds from their oil-rich region. Our home towns were razed and thousands of people were deported. Out of a total of 5,000 villages, 4,000 were destroyed.

As early as 1984, chemical weapons were used against the Kurds. It escalated after 1987. We warned the world; the world yawned. U.S., the Europeans, Japan: the governments thought first of their vested interests, and the same was true for the Arab and Islamic countries. The Soviets did not want to annoy their ally Iraq. The UN was absolutely silent about the Kurdish tragedy.

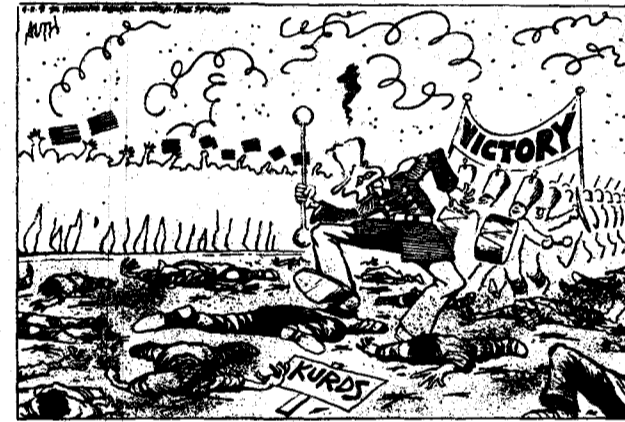
It is ironic that Western "amnesia" vanished once Saddam Hussein's army marched into Kuwait. But what happened is that the Iraqi people and the Kurds became victims of yet another war they had nothing to do with. The Kurds, the Arabs of the South, the other minorities, all the Iraqi people, suffered a very high price in the war, with men sent as draftees and killed, with civilians killed in the Allied bombings.

That swift and bloody war still left the ruling regime of Iraq intact. The Kurds, along with the southern oppressed Iraqi people, the Shiites, started their popular uprising. The Kurds stood up in the land of poisonous bombing and they kept on fighting. The Kurds are a symbol of people who, no matter what—chemical gas, bombs, or destruction of half of them—still rebel against tyranny, for the right of self-determination, for freedom.

This time the world's justification in being silent about genocide is that it's okay, in the name of the stability of the region and because it's an internal matter. But what is most amazing to me is that I don't hear the voices of the Leftists, of the freedom-lovers, I don't hear of any protests and meetings. I don't hear of any organized demonstrations to show support of the Kurdish people. Aren't we people too? Aren't we human too?

There is a genocide being committed in Iraq against the Kurds. Now the world is looking at the Kurdish issue as humanitarian, rather than political. But it is a political question, and we demand that we be given the right to self-determination.

Concerning the latest news, Talabani's peace agreements with Saddam Hussein I feel like I have been betrayed. I cannot call these men Kurdish leaders because they are not representative of all the Kurds in Kurdistan. The outcome is really a big loss for the Kurdish movement and the Kurdish struggle for self-determination. I denounce any negotiations of the Kurdish organizations with Saddam Hussein as a betrayal.



counter-revolutionary consequences. In this situation, for the forces of opposition to tailend any of the state powers can only help pave the way for the rulers' effort to kill off the very idea of freedom.

## THE CRISIS IN THOUGHT

The depth of today's crisis in the Middle East is measured not only by the degeneracy of the rulers, but also by the crisis of thought within the Left. It is seen in how the PLO, with its long history of tying itself to one or another Arab regime, has become so reactionary as to tailend Saddam Hussein during the Gulf war. It is seen in some of the Kurdish organizations, who entertained illusions about Bush's willingness to intervene against Hussein on their behalf, despite their long history of being betrayed by state powers.

This crisis in thought is no less prevalent within the U.S. It is seen in many of Bush's former liberal critics suddenly calling on Bush to "finish the job against Hussein," thereby giving Bush an open door for embarking on further bloody adventures. Most ominously, it is seen in the virtual silence on the part of the anti-war groupings and Left in the U.S. in face of the holocaust against the Kurds. Even the effort of solidarizing with a genuine national liberation struggle is now blocked when the projection of a total opposition and a banner of full human liberation is missing.

The fact that outrage at Bush's genocide against the masses of Iraq has begun to be raised by ordinary people around the world is a beginning toward a different type of opposition. We cannot allow the welfare and security of the Kurdish, Assyrian, or other oppressed people in Iraq to be left in the bloody hands of George Bush. We must initiate that solidarity ourselves, by contributing material assistance to the victims of Bush's and Hussein's policies at the same time as voicing our support for the freedom struggles of the Kurds and other peoples of the region.

Given today's objective and subjective realities, the first necessity is to clear our heads of any notion which stands in the way of the actualization of a total philosophy of freedom.

—April 22, 1991

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## Black World

(continued from page 1)

New Left Review editor Robin Blackburn.

Although the most formative years of James' intellectual development as a revolutionary Marxist theoretician were the 15 years he spent in the U.S. as the co-founder, with Raya Dunayevskaya, of the State-Capitalist Tendency (also known as the Johnson-Forest Tendency), that aspect of James' "intellectual legacy" never surfaced as a dominant theme of the conference. This, despite the fact that the theory of state-capitalism marks its fiftieth anniversary this year, and despite the more compelling reason that the world-historic upheavals in East Europe and Russia since 1989 have powerfully confirmed its analysis of the present capitalist epoch and the totalitarian nature of statist Communism.

While there were several recurring themes throughout the conference, the lack of interest in the Tendency's philosophic studies in Hegelian-Marxian dialectics was inseparable from the near absence of any reference to today's crisis in the revolutionary movement.

### 'ANOMALY' OR CONTRADICTION

James' problematic legacy was poetically evoked in Derek Walcott's observation that "James was proud to be a Victorian," who like Matthew Arnold "found benign aspects in British empire." Walcott referred to the "willed anomaly" of CLR James, for whom the "sunset of the British Empire...and the sunrise of the Caribbean were the same sun."

Later, this was developed further by Harvard sociologist Orlando Patterson, who characterized James as the "prototype of the West Indian intellectual." It was James' notion that the West Indies is *sui generis* in history which led Patterson to agree with Robin Blackburn's "post-Marxist" view that James subverted the alleged "Eurocentrism" of Marx by "transforming the [intellectual] tools of the European father."

In this same session, "James and History," Winston James, a London-based Caribbean studies professor, took Blackburn's position to its logical extreme: the problem with CLR James was that "he came out of the

## CLR James: which 'legacy'?

Eurocentric thought of Marx and Engels." Although the subject of Winston James' attack was more Marx than James, nevertheless, he singled out the same quotation from James' 1984 interview with *Third World Book Review* that Raya Dunayevskaya had critiqued in 1986. "This 1938 author of *Black Jacobins* denies in 1984 his African roots," she wrote, in response to James' claim that "We of the Caribbean have not got an African past. We are black in skin, but the African civilization is not ours. The basis of our civilization in the Caribbean is an adaptation of western civilization."<sup>1</sup>

However, the conceptual error at the heart of James' notion of Marxism does not reside in the postmodernist debate over Marx's alleged "Eurocentrism." To comprehend that error, we must go back to the high point of James' philosophic development in the Johnson-Forest Tendency.

### PHILOSOPHIC DIVIDE

James' contradictory legacy is rooted in the theoretical work his followers today consider his most original philosophic testament, his 1948 *Notes on Dialectics*. From the beginning of his *Notes*, James held that the historic responsibility which rested with him was to work out and articulate a new theory of knowledge for what he called the "dialectics of the party." In contrast to the knowing of the party, James posited the "being" of the masses, a being whose nature he viewed as impulsive and spontaneous. For James, dialectics was the theory of knowledge of the party, and the party was the "mind," the knowing of the masses, without which they would know nothing. Throughout his *Notes* James reiterated that the further elaboration of this "dialectic of the party" meant mastering Hegel's Absolute Idea.

The theoretical conclusions James arrived at in his *Notes* underwent further development in the Tendency in the subsequent period, 1949-50, a period marked by the first labor revolts against the new stage of capitalist

1. See Dunayevskaya's article, "Grenada: Counter-Revolution and Revolution," in Turner, Lou and John Alan, Frantz Fanon, *Soweto and American Black Thought*. Chicago: News & Letters, 1986; pp. 92-93.

evskaya to remark that it was "as if the birth of Marx's whole new continent of thought was simply a question of materialism versus idealism" (p. 117).

While Luxemburg quoted and praised the above-cited passage from Marx's critique of Hegel's *Philosophy of Right*, she did not quote the essay's magnificent concluding sentences, which showed that, for Marx, there was a close connection between continued digging into philosophy and proletarian self-emancipation: "The head of this emancipation is philosophy, its heart is the proletariat. Philosophy cannot realize itself without transcending the proletariat, the proletariat cannot transcend itself without realizing philosophy."

Nor did she quote Marx's statement, which was a critique of the young Hegelians, including Feuerbach: "you cannot abolish philosophy without realizing it." These types of statements by Marx tended to be dismissed or ignored by Luxemburg. A later generation would read the young Marx in such a way as to question the so-called abc's of Marxism, i.e., post-Marx Marxism, a questioning which led some of them to return to Hegel.

Instead of rethinking her concept of Marxism on the basis of the young Marx, Luxemburg judged the young Marx from the vantage point of post-Marx Marxism, and on that basis, found much of his early work to be flawed. Luxemburg, the theorist who had such great sensitivity for the self-development of the masses in revolution, had far less awareness of what Dunayevskaya terms "the self-determination of the Idea" in Marx's thought.

Of course, she did not have the 1844 *Essays*, but surely she and her colleague Mehring, who were at the center of Marxism in those days, Germany, were among the ones who decided that there was no rush to bring out all of Marx's unpublished writings. The 1844 *Essays* did not see the light of day until the Russians published them in 1927.

Thus, as great as their contributions were, the theoretical legacy of Trotsky and Luxemburg is at best an ambivalent one. We can say that today not because we are "smarter" than Trotsky or Luxemburg, but because we have access today to the whole of Marx's writings. We also have Dunayevskaya's 46-year struggle to overcome the anti-dialectical or half-way dialectical heritage of post-Marx Marxism, and to recreate the Hegelian-Marxian dialectic for our time as Marxist-Humanism. It is on the basis of that heritage that we can begin to make a serious critique of such great revolutionary theoreticians as Trotsky and Luxemburg.



production methods and technology known as automation.<sup>2</sup> In the years 1949-50, the "universals of 1948" were revisited by James, along with his co-leader Raya Dunayevskaya, and the acknowledged philosopher of the Tendency, Grace Lee (Boggs).

Their "trilogue" on the dialectic constitutes one of the most profound discourses on Hegelian-Marxian philosophy to be found anywhere in the history of Marxist thought. The record of their correspondence can be found in the Raya Dunayevskaya Archives.<sup>3</sup>

However, the philosophic breakthrough on the Absolute Idea of Hegel's *Science of Logic* sought by the three was not accomplished by James, but by Dunayevskaya. In May, 1953, writing to Grace Lee directly on Hegel's *Absolutes*, Dunayevskaya appended a coda to the five year discourse that James had begun with his *Notes*. Lee wrote back that the two letters (May 12 and 20) Dunayevskaya wrote on Hegel's *Absolutes* were "the equivalent of Lenin's [Philosophic] Notebooks for our epoch."

The transcendence of James' "dialectic of the party" with Dunayevskaya's breakthrough on Hegel's *Absolutes*, in 1953, marked a philosophic divide between the co-leaders of the State-Capitalist Tendency. In returning to her 1953 breakthrough, in the course of working on her last but unfinished work on *Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy*, in 1987, Dunayevskaya stated that "it was Marx who...led me to conclude suddenly that the dialectic of the Party as well as of the contradictions in the Absolute Idea itself, resulted in my seeing what I called 'the new society,' i.e. the end of the division between mental and manual."<sup>4</sup>

Not only did the 1953 letters signal the beginning of the end of the Tendency, according to Dunayevskaya; they contained "the philosophic moment of Marxist-Humanism," which she went on to develop over the next three decades, following James' break-up of the Tendency in 1955. For his part, James abandoned Hegelian-Marxian dialectics by 1953 for cultural and literary studies.

That James could have dug so deeply into the dialectic and not broken through to what he called the "core of the dialectic...the materialist interpretation of Hegel's last chapters in the *Logic*," especially the Absolute Idea, has meaning not only for today's discourse in Black and Marxist thought. It impinges on the problematic of today's revolutionary movement.

### 'NARRATIVE OF EMANCIPATION' OR BONAPARTISM

Which is why the most problematic theme of the conference was the notion of James as chronicler of the "narrative of emancipation." Caribbean activist-scholar Horace Campbell expressed this as "the right of the oppressed to rebel in James' thought," a right which Campbell correctly sees being submerged today.

The focus on this aspect of James' thought was rightly attributed to his famous 1938 work on the Haitian Revolution, *Black Jacobins*. However, the meaning of Robin Blackburn's reference to Manning Marable's earlier critique of the "self-limiting" character of James' notion of mass spontaneity was brought home when Blackburn argued that "James' essential intuition about Black Jacobinism in Saint-Domingue" led James to see the "need for the autonomous force of the Haitian masses to be disciplined by [Haitian general, Toussaint] L'Ouverture and the centralizing force of the Army." (One wonders how Blackburn sees James' "essential intuition" about the "centralizing force of the Army" playing itself out in Haiti's political crisis, today.)

In the end, this whole question impinged on the single instance at the James conference when today's crisis in revolution did emerge. It was brought out by West Indian scholars Brian Meeks and James Millette. Meeks observed that when Grenada's New Jewel Movement "moved to a Leninist model, it showed the failure of James' influence." Yet Millette noted that of the "three streams" which ran through the milieu of the political crisis in Trinidad in the 1960s — i.e., prime minister Eric Williams' PNM (People's National Movement), the independent Marxists, and the insurrectionary movement in the Army — "James was most associated with the third stream," the Army.

That liberation and Bonapartism co-exist in the "intellectual legacy" of CLR James is not merely a chance disclosure of the conference. On the contrary, as Dunayevskaya wrote in 1986, critiquing the analysis James wrote of the events in Grenada for *Communist Affairs* (July 1984): "The fact that, by 1983, we were witness to the shooting of one leader, Bishop, by another, Coard, and that this murder meant shooting directly into the mass movement that had spontaneously mobilized in defense of Bishop, only brought James to the fantastically Bonapartist conclusion: 'A mass movement above all needs leadership, and if the political leader does not give it, people turn to another organization, often the Army. The army consists of organization — commanders, lieutenants, majors, etc.'"<sup>5</sup>

Thus, once James abandoned the philosophic labor of working out the dialectics of liberation for the state-capitalist epoch that he was instrumental in comprehending, for literary and cultural pursuits, Bonapartism subsumed the "narrative of emancipation," and the artistic and the cultural subsumed the dialectics of Marx's philosophy of revolution.

2. See Phillips, Andy and Raya Dunayevskaya, *The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.* Chicago: News & Letters, 1984.

3. Consult the *Raya Dunayevskaya Collection — Marxist-Humanism A Half Century of its World Development*, available on microfilm from Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs.

4. Dunayevskaya, Raya, *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism*. Chicago: News & Letters, 1980; pp. 12.

5. Dunayevskaya, "Grenada: Counter-Revolution and Revolution," p. 92.

## Essay Article

(continued from page 5)

sis of the 1905-06 Revolution in Russia and Poland. Always, there was a great appreciation of the creativity of the masses, as when she wrote:

"In short, in the mass strike in Russia, the element of spontaneity plays such a predominant part, not because the Russian proletariat are 'uneducated,' but because revolutions do not allow anyone to play the schoolmaster with them." There was also produced in the struggle what she termed "its mental sediment: the intellectual, cultural growth of the proletariat."

What, then, are the dualities within Luxemburg's concept of Marxism? One fairly obvious duality lies in her principled, lifelong, and serious theoretical analysis of the problem of war and imperialism. No more stinging indictment of Western imperialism has ever been written than the last chapters of her *Accumulation of Capital*. Yet, surprisingly, this same theorist was uninterested in the indigenous mass movements against imperialism inside the colonies, movements she dismissed as petty-bourgeois nationalist.

But there is another duality, directly on the dialectic proper. As we have seen, on the one hand, Luxemburg passionately defended the dialectic against the revisionist Bernstein, and at the same time, her concept of spontaneity included an appreciation not only of the creative self-development of the masses in revolution, but also an appreciation of the need for theory, for the "intellectual, cultural growth of the proletariat." On the other hand, as will be shown below, this same theorist had far less appreciation for the self-development of Marx's own thought.

While it is true that Luxemburg never saw the young Marx's 1844 *Essays*, she did review a volume edited by Franz Mehring which contained some of Marx's early writings in 1901,<sup>5</sup> a year after completing *Social Reform or Revolution*?

In her RLWLMPPR, Dunayevskaya writes that in this review, when it came to looking at Marx's own early writings, for Luxemburg "the dialectic remained an abstraction" (p. 117). These early writings which she reviewed included Marx's 1841 Doctoral Dissertation, plus such important essays as "On the Jewish Question" and his "Introduction to a Critique of Hegel's *Philosophy of Right*." It was in the latter essay that Marx first spelled out his concept of the proletariat as a revolutionary subject, all the while calling for the unity of philosophy and revolution:

"As philosophy finds its material weapons in the proletariat, so the proletariat finds its intellectual weapons in philosophy, and as soon as the lightning of thought has struck deeply into the virgin soil of the people, the emancipation of the Germans into human beings will be completed..."

Luxemburg had no trouble appreciating this passage, but she viewed it narrowly, as a welcome transition by Marx away from idealism and Hegelian philosophy, and toward materialism and practical politics. Luxemburg wrote of "the painful inadequacy of his idealistic world conception" and dismissed much of the writings of the young Marx as "motley, disjointed fragments" expressed in a "wild, half-understood tongue," prompting Dunay-

5. *Aus Dem Nachlass unserer Meister*, in Luxemburg, *Gesammelte Werke*, Vol. 1/2 (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1970).

# From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya

(continued from page 4)

feating both internal reaction and U.S. imperialism.<sup>7</sup>

The whole new Third World that was born sans any "leadership" from the Communist world led to the historic split in that orbit, not because either the Russian or Chinese Communist Parties were moving together with these new "storm centers of world revolution," but because both state powers were fighting for direction of and control over (especially the latter) a world movement which emerged elementally, independent of all existing state powers—East and West, private capitalist, or state-capitalists calling themselves Communist.

It is true that, at first, Mao's Communism appeared as the greater force of attraction—in theory, with its dictum that "power comes out of the barrel of a gun"; in practice, with the "Great Leap Forward" which promised to skip both capitalism and socialism, and go "directly" to Communism. When, however, it had become clear that the "Great Leap Forward" had ended in great disaster, and when U.S. imperialism chose to throw the gauntlet (filled with devastating, barbaric bombs), not to mighty China, but to little North Vietnam, the Third World kept away from both ends of the Sino-Soviet conflict, solidarizing, instead, with North Vietnam....

The only contribution the Chinese Communists made to this struggle with revisionism was to constantly accuse their dissidents of wishing to establish "Petofi circles" in China. Then, when the Sino-Soviet conflict erupted, the Chinese added the adjective, Russian, before the noun, "revisionism," without, however, erasing either the adjective, Hungarian or Humanist. Clearly, a spectre is indeed haunting Communism, haunting it from below, from practice—the spectre of Marx's Humanism.

Both giant Communist state powers were alike also in substituting science for the self-activity of the masses as the "proof" of the "superiority" of their social order, thereby proving instead the correctness of Marx's Humanist attack on science: "To have one basis for life and another for science is a priori a lie."

## THE LIE OF SCIENCE

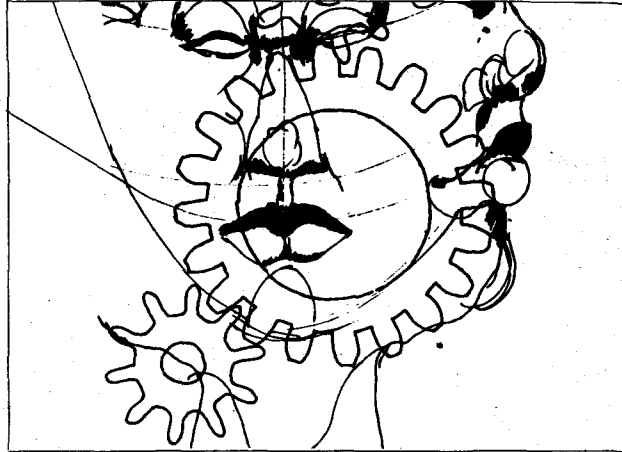
This is where state-capitalism calling itself Communism shows its affinity to private capitalism....

In a word, the lie of science shows itself nowhere more glaringly than in the attitude to labor. Thus, Khrushchev, at the height of his power, proclaimed: "It is only logical that the country of victorious socialism would have...blazed a trail into outer space." When, however, the paens of praise to science came down to earth, they turned out to be pure capitalistic admoni-

7. The New Left Review, Jan.-Feb., 1961, reproduced Fidel Castro's 1959 declaration: "Standing between the two political and economic ideologies or positions being debated in the world, we are holding our own positions. We have named it humanism, because its methods are humanistic, because we want to rid man of all fears, directives and dogmatism. We are revolutionizing society without binding or terrorizing it. The tremendous problem faced by the world is that it has been placed in a position where it must choose between capitalism, which starves people, and communism, which resolves economic problems but suppresses the liberties so greatly cherished by man... That is why we have said that we are one step ahead of the right and the left, and that this is a humanistic revolution, because it does not deprive man of his essence, but holds him as its basic aim... Such is the reason for my saying that this revolution is not red, but olive-green, for olive-green is precisely our color, the color of the revolution brought by the rebel army from the heart of the Sierra Maestra."

tions for workers to work hard and harder.<sup>8</sup> Thus, while Mao canonized the superiority of science into the Constitution itself, the dictum for labor remained what it had been through "Great Leaps Forward," all on the backs of that labor, most concretely spelled out: "Each person must work ten hours and engage in ideological studies for two hours a day. They are entitled to one day of rest every ten days."

By no accident whatever, glorification of science is the mark not only of the ruling classes in the age of "scientific and technological revolutions," but also of theoreticians busy revising Marxism. Not the deliberate statist misnaming of revolutionary proletarian opposition as "revisionist," but the genuine historic revisions have always used "science" in the fight against "the Hegelian dialectic" which turned out to be the fight against the proletarian revolution, for the "defense of the fatherland." Eduard Bernstein was the first, back at



the end of the 19th century; Louis Althusser is the latest but he is sure not to be the last since, of necessity, these proponents of "science" and opponents of "philosophy" are sure to keep reappearing so long as capitalism is not torn up, root and branch, the world over.

What concerned us here was, on the one hand, the achievements of the state-capitalist theory which kept revolutionaries from tail-ending Stalinism into imperialist war, and, by relating the new stage of world capitalist development to the specific forms of workers revolt against it, aligning with the latter. On the other hand, the inadequacy of the state-capitalist theory which, without development into Marxist-Humanism, could not cope with the actual movement from practice that refused to be only the muscle of revolution and let the intellectuals do the theorizing.

The masses—all the new forces of revolution—have shown how different proletarian "subjectivity" is from petty-bourgeois subjectivity. They refuse any longer to be only the force of revolution, for they are also its Reason, active participants in working out the philoso-

8. The just-concluded 24th Congress of the Russian Communist Party reiterated that it was most based on the 22nd Congress. Though none of the promises have been realized which were made at the Congress a full decade ago, the full concentration on labor productivity remains. And the 1961 Program was most explicit:

"... It is necessary to raise the productivity of labor in industry by more than 100 percent within ten years... To increase labor productivity and reduce production costs... implies a higher rate of increase in labor productivity as compared with remuneration... (and in) the second decade every family, including newlyweds, will have a comfortable flat conforming to the requirements of hygiene and cultured living."

phy of liberation for our age. Now that they have done so, isn't it time for intellectuals to begin, with them, to fill the theoretic void left in the Marxist movement since Lenin's death? At no time has this been more imperative than now when a new generation of revolutionaries has been born, but is so disgusted with "the old" as to turn away from both theory and history as if actions, without those unifying forces of historic and theoretic continuity, can devise shortcuts to revolution. Jean-Paul Sartre's advice to youth to reject history notwithstanding, a "newness" that treats history as if it weren't there dooms itself to impotence. A Hitler with his *Mein Kampf* could break with history; a revolutionary youth movement cannot. Nor can one continue to delude oneself that theory can be gotten "en route." To turn one's back on philosophy is as big a lie as is the lie of science separated from life.

Marx foresaw the impasse of modern science not because he was a prophet, but because he had made the human being the subject of all development and saw that there was no other answer to: can mankind be free in an age when the machine is master of man, not man of machine. There is still no other answer. It is from this ground that we today face what Hegel called "the birth-time of history" and Marx called the unity of theory and practice, of philosophy and revolution, of mental and manual labor, the new human dimension, "the rough-going Naturalism or Humanism."

## Haiti since Aristide

*Port-au-Prince, Haiti*—There have been scenes of violence, vandalism and looting all across the country. The Aristide government announced in a communique the lowering of prices of certain products, such as sugar, flour, etc. Contrary to this communique, the prices of these products were raised considerably by merchants. In some parts of the country, they have become hard to find. This is the case with rice, which one can seldom find. In the course of a demonstration against the high cost of living, people looted several rice and flour warehouses.

After two months in power, President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and his Prime Minister, Rene Preval, have not begun to find adequate solutions for the problems facing the country. The people's aspirations have not been satisfied. Recently, the economic situation has deteriorated. The Senate voted for a proposed law which would raise the daily pay of factory workers from \$3 to \$5.60, but the government and the employers have not accepted this proposal.

The economic situation is increasingly desperate. The government has asked for loans from the private sector—merchants and industrialists—but they have not responded. The government is increasingly boxed in. The Communist Party led by Rene Theodore, and several other political parties, are demanding the resignation of the government, at the very time when the demonstrators—most he slums—shout "Vive Aristide—PRESIDENT FOR LIFE." Many observers speak of a probable confrontation between the two factions.

Another key event was the arrest, in April, of former President Ertha Pascale Trouillot, in connection with the failed coup attempt last January by the Duvalierist Roger Lafontant. Trouillot's arrest angered the American ambassador, and she was released provisionally after 24 hours, and is now under house arrest. There are persistent rumors of the imminent forced retirement of the Commander-in-Chief of the army and his probable arrest, also in connection with the failed coup attempt.

Certain observers ask, if this takes place, will it not lead to an open conflict between the Haitian armed forces and the Aristide government?

—Renan Hedouville, correspondent

## Selected Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya on State-Capitalist Theory in the Marxist-Humanist Archives

"The revolutionary movement has lost Marx's capacity to keep his fingers on the pulse of human relations, that is, social relations of production, and gets lost in the world of objective things. It keeps its eyes glued on the phenomena—property and politics—instead of keeping them focused on the essence—labor and production. It took the genius of Marx to extract political economy from its fetishism of commodities. Has the revolutionary movement freed itself from the fetishism of a form of a product of labor (a commodity) only in order to create a new fetishism of a form of property (stified property)?"

—"Is Russia A Part of the Collectivist Epoch of Society?", 1942 (microfilm #8888)

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- "An Analysis of the Russian Economy," 1942 (#69)
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- "The Law of Value and Capitalist Society," 1943 (#8895)
- "Our Development: Philosophic Innocence and New Humanist Proletarian Maturity," 1957 (#2606)

To obtain the Archives and the Guide to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development, see the litera-



"From the start of the state-capitalist debate in 1941, my immediate point of departure was not the crimes of Stalin, but the role of labor in a workers' state. That role was of the essence, irrespective not only of the role of the 'rude and disloyal' Stalin, but also of the 'administrative' attitude of the revolutionary planner, Trotsky, as well as of the non-dialectical but revolutionary Bukharin. Dialectic is, after all, just shorthand for development, self-development, development through contradiction, development through transformation into opposite, development not only through negation (abolition) of what is, but also, and above all, through negation of the negation, that is to say, reconstruction of society on new beginnings... Without the Humanism of Marxism, the theory of state-capitalism could degenerate into one more variety of economism."

—"State-Capitalism and Marx's Humanism, or Philosophy and Revolution," 1966 (#3791)

- "On the 20th Anniversary of the State-Capitalist Theory," 1961 (#2931)
- "Today's Global Crisis, Marx's Capital, and the Marxist Epigones Who Try to Truncate It and the Understanding of Today's Crises," 1976 (#5282)
- "Capitalist Production/Alienated Labor: this Nuclear World and Its Political Crises," 1986 (#11028)

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# Youth dialogue: What happened to the anti-war movement?

*Editor's note: Youth across the country continue to debate the meaning of the anti-war movement's rapid rise and fall. Here we print some contributions to the discussion and invite you to send your views to News & Letters to continue the dialogue.*

## Separation of 'leaders' and ranks

**Chicago, Ill.**—The anti-war movement, like the Left which rushed in to attempt to direct it, suffered from the separation between the so-called "leaders" and the ranks. The idea of "leadership" as held by the vanguardists, and their complementary idea of the backwardness of the masses, were, to my mind, the Pillars of Hercules between which the movement managed to sail off the edge of the world.

Among the campus anti-war groups, "leaders" were quite willing to stereotype people, in the allocation of tasks, as Black or white, Jewish or Palestinian, working-class or student youth, etc. On the other hand, many of the young people thus treated were quite vocal in their opposition to this narrowness. One student activist put it magnificently when she said: "I want to participate in this movement as a thinker, not just a worker bee. I want my ideas to be taken seriously." Another young woman in the same campus group said, "I was sitting there with all these ideas, and all they wanted to do was talk about their stupid 'organization'."

This waste of so much potential by the "leadership" of these groups was also visible in their relationship to the broad masses of people who might have been supporters of the movement.

Rather than build a dialogue many activists were content to wait until people's family and friends began to come home in body bags. Then, surely, they would look

## NY students strike for today and tomorrow

*Editor's note: Continuing a month of protest which included a march of home health care workers (see story, p. 3) and occupation of 12 City University of New York (CUNY) colleges, 50,000 militant New York City workers marched Apr. 30 to protest budget cuts proposed by Gov. Mario Cuomo. Demanding no cut-backs, no lay-offs and no furloughs, Black, Latino, Asian and white workers in scores of health care, civil service and social service jobs were joined by hundreds of students of all ages.*

As we go to press, nearly all the student occupations have been ended, in several cases by police break-ins. At Borough of Manhattan Community College (BMCC), administration convinced students opposing the occupation to break in. Below we print excerpts from interviews with three BMCC student protestors during the occupation. We hope to include in the next issue of N&L views of student activists who are now discussing how to deepen their movement.

**New York, N.Y.**—The occupation began at BMCC. We were the first students to take over our college, on April 8 at 4:30 a.m. But security guards jumped out from hiding places in the morning and clipped the locks to allow students in. We took the building again the next night at 10:30 and were successful because we had the support of students from other schools, including Columbia University.

The administration is trying to mobilize students to oppose the occupation. They are trying to make us look like scavengers disrupting classes, but we're in here studying. That's what we're struggling for. We want everyone to have an education.

We've done rallies at City Hall, rallies in Albany; we've lobbied legislators. We exhausted all our resources. The legislators always told us they didn't have time to meet with us and sent a representative. We want all the legislators to remember that CUNY was meant to be free. Many people responsible for raising tuition, like Gov. Cuomo, got their education free from CUNY. We're asking for no increases, but we really want free education.

When CUNY was free (up until 1976) it was predominantly white students. Now a lot of Blacks, Latinos and Asians are coming into the system, and they're raising tuition. In 1989 they wanted to raise tuition \$100 a term and the students occupied the schools and were successful. But a year later they raised tuition \$200, and now they want a \$500 raise. If it goes through, 3,000 students will not be able to come to BMCC next year. They're also limiting scholarships and eliminating programs and services.

Many of us come from Third World countries. It's incredible that in places like the Dominican Republic and Haiti, where there are a lot of poor people they have free education. Here in such a rich country, there is none. President Bush says this is the year of education. The money it costs to build one Patriot missile would pay for tuition for all CUNY and SUNY students for one year.

We're getting a lot of support from unions. Home health care workers went on strike too because of health care cuts and in solidarity with us. We also have had great community support at City College in Harlem. At a rally April 12 little kids were singing: we are the future, and education is a right.

Some students don't understand why we're taking this to extremes. We always have to struggle for progress, for our rights. We are fighting for the future generation, for our younger brothers and sisters, and also for health care workers, faculty, everyone. People say, you are the future. We want to remind people, we are the present too.

—Three student strikers

to them for leadership. Whew!

What this shows is that organizations which reproduce the dominant society's conditions of hierarchy end up reproducing the same oppressions. Whether the mass making of the streets was "spontaneous" or not, the point is that both during and afterward the "leaders" had nothing to say about it. The demonstrations didn't become the basis for any further development.

The high school student walkouts were another example of this. They didn't lead to a broadening of the movement organizations to include the participation of younger people, even though, in this case, the high school students were obviously far ahead of the college students.

Also, occasionally women in the student groups were reduced to the role of typists, while men claimed the right to do the thinking, and meetings of young students were dominated through bureaucratic manipulation by middle-aged radical careerists who were careful to exclude all ideas but their own.

The participants in the anti-war movement, especially those who saw the problems, need to engage in a serious discussion of them. If this doesn't happen, then the Left, far from being the vanguard of a new society, will remain what it is now—the wagging tail of the Fenris wolf of capitalism.

—Anti-war activist



## 'How the hell did that flag get all those stars?'

**Brooklyn, N.Y.**—The anti-war movement fed the general climate that allowed Bush to get away with murder, by emphasizing the demand: "Support Our Troops, Not the War," as though Iraqi soldiers, and civilians, truly were the demons sent by the "insane" and "worse than Hitler" Saddam Hussein to "destroy our way of life...."

Many, many nontraditional, uncompromising and vibrant actions swept the country every night, but they were forced to do without the resources needed to pull in much larger numbers of people. Affinity group networks sprung up everywhere, spray painting the barricades to break the media-imposed silence. Police barricades were gathered and burned in the middle of streets, as marshals looked on helplessly, unable to control and channel the rage. They disrupted nationally televised basketball games in Montana and Wisconsin by carrying anti-war banners, onto the road and lying down, blocked freeways, organized safe houses for deserters and resisters, shut down bridges, federal buildings and recruiting centers, and began generating a real climate of resistance in the U.S. In New York City, protesters flooded past the "peace police" and marched on Wall Street time and time again, to "take the war to the real warmakers."

But the Campaign for [peace in the Middle East] rarely joined the people in the streets, except for orchestrated demonstrations worked out ahead of time with the police....

The two national groupings maintain their bickering, which has from the start divided the anti-war movement (despite significant attempts initiated by students from Stony Brook University and others to seize back our movement and mediate the differences.) And yet, despite difference in political line, both groupings conceive of and structure protests in similarly impotent ways: in New York City, we've worn out a path on 42nd Street between the Times Square Recruiting Station and the United Nations, arriving at one end or the other to listen to speeches again and again that have nothing new to say, except to more and more reveal the impotence and strategic dearth of the leadership. Meanwhile, the Bronx, Queens, Brooklyn and Staten Island neighborhoods go untouched and the recruiting station at Times Square—and the U.N. itself—still stand unmolested.

"Seek out the lowest common denominator," they say. "Don't talk or act against capitalism, patriarchy, imperialism; it'll 'alienate' people." "Wave the flag instead, we're told. Oh? That's their strategy? Three-hundred-thousand Iraqis were murdered with barely any fight back, and these 'leaders' say 'imperialism has nothing to do with it. Wave the flag!'" If America is not an imperial power, then—inquiring minds want to know!—how the hell did that flag get all those stars?

—excerpted from "They Only Followed Orders" by Mitchell Cohen of the Red Balloon Collective in New York.

## 'The vision wasn't deepened'

**De Kalb, Ill.**—Walking around campus with all the yellow ribbons and flags, you sometimes have to remind yourself that yes, there was just a mass anti-war movement. Wait a minute, what happened? Why did it collapse so quickly? Why was Bush's ideological attack on the movement so successful? What could we have done? How can we make a new beginning out of this mess?

The movement against Bush's war grew slowly but progressively until the Jan. 15 deadline. Then it suddenly swelled, and with the first bombings we burst out onto the streets across the country and around the world, never reaching the numbers of the anti-Vietnam War movement, but growing much more explosively.

But after that most exciting week the spontaneity seemed to have spent itself and Bush was allowed to carry out his war. The problem was more than just with the numbers, the vision wasn't deepened. The movement didn't sustain itself and it collapsed from within. If we choose to ignore this and go on with business as usual, we do so at our own peril.

The two most commonly given causes of the collapse given by activists are that the psychological attack conducted through the media on those opposing the war succeeded in isolating, disorienting and demoralizing many. Also, that many established left groups succeeded in stacking meetings, determining agendas, and controlling microphones at rallies; essentially squashing the real creativity of the many new youth and others.

However, these analyses lack an internal critique. We must ask: how did we allow them to succeed? How can we battle the ideological assault both from the rulers and those in the movement that would limit the goal of a totally free society?

How many of us were so excited by the upsurge from below that we fell into the trap that Raya Dunayevskaya showed us many fell into in the 1960s, especially the youth—that is, thinking we could ride the wave of spontaneity to the new society, absolved of the difficult theoretic labor of working out the meaning of what we were fighting for?

How many of us who did do a lot of theoretic digging then abandoned the movement once the press and Bush announced that the war was "over"? Did we feel absolved of the urgency to work out that idea of freedom and the new society just as the ideological warfare heightened?

Unlike the movement against the Vietnam War, this one collapsed so quickly before our eyes that we don't have to wait several years to discover that activity, no matter how mass, cannot substitute for developing a total philosophy of freedom and revolution.

We can't afford to wait for another mass movement before we begin to work out the questions raised by the last one. We need continued dialogue.

—Marxist-Humanist youth activist

## African-American woman demands support for Kurds

*Editor's note: On April 25, 50 protesters demonstrated in downtown Chicago, Ill. to support the struggle for the self-determination of the Kurds. We print, below, excerpts from the talk there by Jamilla Muhammad, spokesperson for Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC).*

Criticizing government policies is not a popular position these days, especially when it comes to war. But there comes a time when silence is betrayal, as Dr. King told us once, and today we're living in such times. As Black America mobilizes to fight Mr. Bush's veto of the Civil Rights Bill and as we begin to mobilize our church network to raise money for the famine and its resulting starvation of millions of our people in the Sudan, Ethiopia and four other countries in Africa, we cannot help but be concerned and appalled as the Kurdish people are brought into the field of our moral vision.

They really must see Americans as some strange liberators, because our obsessive pre-occupation with war has produced a machine that gives new definition to the words "war" and "militarism" and has banished completely the word "self-determination" from its vocabulary when referring to Third World nations in their fight for freedom.

There has got to be a profound change in American life and American policy. Because as long as our nation supports its support of bloody regimes, America's poor will continue to be devastated by the nation's resources going into building the military machine that enforces this type of genocide. And, as usual, Blacks and Hispanics are the most vulnerable to the human suffering in America brought about by our government's misguided priorities.

If we continue to ignore the atrocities upon the Kurdish people today, we are going to find ourselves organizing rallies like this on into the next generation. The rallies will change—like Thailand, Peru, Assyria, Sudan, Angola, Mozambique and South Africa. But the atrocities will still be the same.

We need to begin now to rededicate ourselves to the struggle for a new world, instead of a "new world order." Not only for the sake of the Kurdish people, but for our own sakes as well.

## Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

On April 24, Gorbachev met with Boris Yeltsin and eight other leaders of the Soviet Union's various "republics" in order to hammer out a truce. This came at a time of massive labor and nationalist unrest from below on the one hand, and on the other hand, pressure for greater repression from a weakened Party-Army-KGB apparatus. Gorbachev agreed to some unspecified modifications of his economic austerity plan which would supposedly ease the burden on working people, while Yeltsin and the other leaders agreed to call for the workers to end their strikes. Yeltsin also agreed, at least implicitly, to withdraw his earlier call for Gorbachev to resign.

The next day, Gorbachev beat back a challenge from the most reactionary wing of the apparatus, who had wanted to remove him as head of the Communist Party. The capitalist class nature of all three factions vying for power—Yeltsin and the "democratic" regional leaders, Gorbachev and his shrinking group of loyalists, and the reactionary apparatchiks—was seen in how they all seemed to agree that they are opposed to the "chaotic" self-activity of the working people.

Beginning in early April, workers in the key industrial center Minsk carried out a series of massive, determined and well-organized strikes against the economic austerity plan which came into effect on April 2. It had, at a stroke, doubled and even tripled the prices of basic commodities without raising the pay of the workers. The strikers demanded immediate pay increases to be sure, but they also called for the resignation of Gorbachev's whole government. By April 10, the movement

### Chernobyl—5 years after

On the fifth anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster in the Ukraine, everyone can still see the crumbling concrete "sarcophagus" meant to contain the exploded reactor's deadly radiation. The forest strips where contaminated trees were uprooted, the evacuated towns, and the 800 dumps for radioactive materials are also visible.

What can't be so readily seen are the relentless and deadly effects on human life and on the environment. Over half a million people are officially listed by the Russian government as having been exposed to Chernobyl's radiation. The number who died during and since the disaster range from the government's preposterous figure of 32, to estimates of 5,000 and more. The number is certainly well into the hundreds.

The group at greatest risk are the 229,000 who cleaned up the area. Many of them were army recruits and reservists who did the actual decontamination work. Two years ago, they started refusing to report when called up for Chernobyl duty.

More than half of Chernobyl's radioactive fallout came down outside the evacuation zone, including an area covering about 20% of Byelorussia. During the April strikes in Minsk, the republic's capital, workers included demands for dealing with the effects of the disaster.

Many accuse the state of lying and suppressing information in order not to harm Russia's nuclear power industry. The government was forced to scrap construction of 30 reactors and is being pressured to shut down the Chernobyl-type reactors in operation, including those still on line at Chernobyl.

## Gorbachev, Yeltsin unite in face of unrest

had swelled into a general strike involving tens of thousands.

At the same time, the even larger ongoing coal miners strike, begun on March 1, continued to gain strength, threatening to undermine the entire economy. The miners unions, many of whom support Yeltsin, were the first workers group to launch the call for Gorbachev's resignation, something they made a central demand of their strike. It remains to be seen whether the miners will now heed Yeltsin's call for them to return to work.

What is clear is that the most well-established opposition groups which are contending for power against the Gorbachevites are themselves like Gorbachev, for the most part anti-labor, anti-women's liberation, and apostles of a Reagan-type "free market." Some among the Gorbachevites and the "democratic" opposition are even heard to express admiration for Gen. Augusto Pinochet's fascist economic "reforms" in Chile in the 1970s.

This is especially true of some of the nationalist leaders vying for independence from Moscow in the Baltics and the Caucasus. Take the pro-independence President of Georgia, Zviad Gamsakhurdia. While he raises the le-

gitimate demand for Georgian self-determination and independence, he does so in a way that totally opposes self-determination to the Persian-speaking South Ossetian minority within Georgia. The Ossetians have been the victims of bloody pogroms in recent months.

Gamsakhurdia has also called for making the Georgian Orthodox Church the official state church, and for a total ban on abortion and birth control because he says that Georgia needs to increase its population.

### Albania crisis deepens

Despite a supposedly "free" election on March 31, unrest continued in Albania in April, as opposition groups claimed that the slightly "reformed" Communist Party (CP) had stolen the election by the use of manipulative and coercive tactics in the rural areas. The opposition had not been able to campaign effectively in those areas where two-thirds of the population live.

So deep was the opposition turnout in the industrial and urban centers that even CP head Ramiz Alia was defeated in his parliamentary district in the capital, Tirana. A newly organized opposition group, the Democratic Party, got the bulk of the urban vote. It campaigned on a platform of privatization of the economy and the establishment of bourgeois democratic liberties.

The day after the election, massive demonstrations took place on the streets of Shkoder, Albania's second largest city and leading intellectual center. Shkoder has been at the center of the opposition ever since demonstrations broke out there in January 1990. On April 1 this year 1,000 youths staged a sit-in, blocking the streets in front of CP headquarters. The next day 30,000 people assembled by 7 a.m. outside Party headquarters.

The Army was called in and ordered the demonstrators to disperse within two minutes. When they did not, the soldiers opened fire with live ammunition, killing three and wounding 30 demonstrators. The crowd fought back, setting the troops' armored personnel carriers on fire.

For the moment, the system seems to have weathered the crisis and the new government, once again Communist-led, will take office. It remains to be seen whether the Communist apparatus, which still controls the Army and the police as well as the government, will succeed in intimidating the opposition through repression. It seems more likely that the opposition will gain the initiative, however, since the apparatus is both divided and discredited.

### Cholera ravages Peru

The deadly cholera epidemic which began in Peru has spread through Ecuador and Colombia, and cases are being reported in Chile and Brazil. Unknown in South America since 1895, the lightning spread of cholera is a measure of how far conditions have deteriorated all over the Third World.

Cholera is easily preventable with access to sanitary water and sewage disposal and easily treated by rehydration procedures. The poor have access to neither. To date, over 1,140 people have died in Peru and 100 in Ecuador. Most health officials expect cholera to become an epidemic throughout South America.

The actions of Peru's President Fujimori range from callous to criminal. He staged a meal of raw fish while visiting a Pacific fishing town in order to downplay any effect of the epidemic on tourism or fish exports. Reportedly, hospital admissions for cholera shot up within days.

An Ecuadorian medical official has recommended that relatives of cholera victims sue government officials for "criminal laziness" for not providing sanitary drinking water, trash disposal, or sewage facilities. U.S. health officials are not concerned with the epidemic, undoubtedly because there is virtually no chance of its spreading north.

### Palestinian workers

*Editor's note: The following is excerpted from the newsletter of "Kav La'oved"—Workers' Hotline for the Protection of Workers' Rights, 78 Allenby St., Tel Aviv, Israel.*

With the end of the Gulf war, new regulations came into effect preventing many of the Palestinian workers from returning to their old jobs in Israel or finding new ones. Opportunities for alternative employment in the occupied territories are extremely limited. Israel has long been enforcing severe restrictions on local industrial development.

Even prior to the war, a Palestinian who wished to work in Israel could receive a work permit only if he had already paid all his outstanding debts. Before the war, these conditions were successfully applied only to the Gaza Strip. Now with the sealing of the border with the West Bank, these regulations are being enforced there as well.

The only people permitted to work are: 1) Married men, over 30, with children, with no record of arrest on criminal or terrorist charges. (Since the outbreak of the intifada about 60% of the Palestinian men have been arrested or detained.) 2) Only industrial, agricultural and construction workers are admitted.

A new law being considered is one forbidding Arabs from the occupied territories from entering Israel in their own vehicles. They would be allowed in only in transportation organized by their employers. In addition, the government is offering employers monthly subsidies for each new Israeli worker hired.

### Mali regime overthrown



in power since 1968 and resisting with brutal violence until the very end, the military regime of Gen. Moussa Traore in Mali was overthrown on March 29 by officers responding to massive unrest in the streets. Two hundred people were massacred by Traore's forces during four days of revolt, as tens of thousands came out into the streets to demand democracy. The new regime has promised to work with the Committee of Pro-Democracy Organizations to schedule elections sometime in 1991.

### 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* (1958); *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* (1973), and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (1982) spell out the philosophical ground of Marx's Humanism internationally, as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa. These works challenge post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism.

The new visions of the future that Dunayevskaya left us in her work from the 1940s to the 1980s are

rooted in her rediscovery of Marx's Marxism in its original form as a "new Humanism" and in her recreation 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.

Dunayevskaya's philosophic comprehension of her creation and development of Marxist-Humanism, especially as expressed in her 1980s writings, presents the vantage point for re-creating her ideas anew. Seeking to grasp that vantage point for ourselves and make it available to all who struggle for freedom, we have published Dunayevskaya's original 1953 philosophic breakthrough and her final 1987 Presentation on the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy in *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* (1989), and have donated new supplementary volumes to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection. 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.