

NEWS & PRACTICE LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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25¢

The union has two faces



by John Marcotte

I would like to turn over my column to the bakery worker, Runa, who wrote about "Living the capitalist crisis" in the March 13, 1987 N&L—John Marcotte

The company where I work just gave us the vacation schedule. The maintenance mechanics are yelling that they're being forced to work two weeks before the vacation, right through the two-week shut-down, and two more weeks after that—and then the eight mechanics start getting their vacation one by one. So they'll end up on vacation in September and October when they can't be with their families.

(continued on page 3)

Ongoing struggles in Black Belt challenge revolutionary Black thought

by Lou Turner

The journey I recently made through the rural South has cast new illumination on the ongoing nature of Black struggle in America for me. Not only can a new stage of Black political activism be found in the South that is unmatched anywhere in the U.S., but the many discussions I had with grassroots and political activists, workers, students, academics and journalists in the Alabama Black Belt and the Mississippi Delta show the Black South at a turning point, one which discloses new freedom struggles and old contradictions within.

It would be impossible here to report on all the new developments which took me from Tuskegee University in Macon County and Lowndes County to

Wilcox, Sumter and Greene counties in the west Alabama Black Belt; from a mass meeting around an education boycott in Senatobia, Miss. to Sugar Ditch in Tunica, Miss.—a town whose Third World poverty makes it the poorest in the U.S.—and from Black women catfish workers in Indianola and chicken processing workers in Laurel, Miss. to the Southern Poverty Law Centers in Montgomery, Alabama.

Though I will report on these in subsequent issues, here I want to begin with Lowndes County, Alabama, home of the late editor of *News & Letters*, Charles Denby. Lowndes County had historically been the scene of one of the fiercest civil rights struggles in the 1960s.

LOWNDES COUNTY: POLITICS VS. PEOPLE

Today, however, that struggle has been subsumed under the political antagonisms of the two contending Black political organizations in the state, the ADC (Alabama Democratic Conference) and the ANSC (Alabama New South Coalition). As one independent activist and educator in the school system told me: "Lowndes County has made a lot of progress but there still needs to be a lot more done, especially to meet the needs of the children here. The two parties, ADC and ANSC, are hungry for power while education is in the middle and suffering. That's my reason for getting out of politics and concentrating on helping youth. It's not like the 1960s. We can't accept that anymore."

Two years ago GE (General Electric) moved into Lowndes County, onto 6,200 acres of land. It replaced Dan River Mills (DRM) as the largest private employer in the county. What, however distinguishes DRM from GE is that while DRM employed only 275 workers, 85% of them were Black, whereas, GE employed few Blacks in the multi-million construction of the plant and rationalizes the virtual non-existence of Blacks at its plastics facility, except in menial positions, by pointing to the poor educational system and lack of skilled labor. This is in a Black Belt county where more than 60% of the Black population lives under the poverty line and the unemployment rate is well over 20%. Alabama is 48th in the nation in the amount spent per student and, according to a recent National Education Association report, gets only 16.5% of its educational funding from local sources compared to a national average of 42%.

To this, one Lowndes County Black elected official rattles off a litany of criticisms: "Politically, we have Blacks in position in Lowndes County—a sheriff, four county commissioners, two Black mayors, a tax assessor—but things haven't changed since the 1950s and '60s. Take the school system. Test scores are some of the lowest in the nation. Yet, we've had a Black superintendent eight years. Black-on-Black crime is at a peak, with a Black sheriff. The court system is all white and we can't elect a Black district judge. Hayneville and Fort Deposit are 60% Black, yet we have not one city council position, and Hayneville and Fort Deposit control millions of federal dollars.

"Man, there are still Black people who have to go to the toilet outdoors, while we have a court house full of Black elected officials! And what is so tragic about it is that proportionately, Black folk have been paying more taxes than whites."

As one Black worker concluded: "Politicians are not looking for what they can do for the people but for what the people can do for them. We're going to a different form of oppression today, not with chains and whips but with no houses, no land, no food. If you could win, the white man has bought your winning power."

WILCOX COUNTY: LAND AND INDUSTRY

If Lowndes County displays some of the contradictions within the unfolding struggle in the Black Belt, the west Alabama counties of Wilcox and Sumter contiguous with the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway Project, reveal the ongoing nature of that struggle. Wilcox County, which has become the recent focus of national media attention as one of Alabama's poorest counties while possessing some of the state's most valued resources, illustrates the Third World dilemma of "the development of underdevelopment" plaguing the Black South. It also gives the lie to the argument that indus-

(continued on page 12)

APRIL 25: 'NO' TO REAGAN'S WARS IN CENTRAL AMERICA, S. AFRICA, pgs. 2,3



100,000 in Washington D.C.



50,000 in San Francisco

Black/Red View

The politics of poverty

by John Alan

In the politics of poverty and welfare, "workfare" has now become the current political theme for all those politicians in need of a popular political issue to exploit. Congress is now busily writing a national "workfare" bill that would replace AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children).

President Reagan has sent to Congress "workfare" legislation that would give states more leeway in forcing people off welfare. Last March the National Governors' Association embraced the idea of replacing welfare benefits with work and job training.

NOTHING NEW ABOUT 'WORKFARE'

There is nothing new about "workfare," it has appeared in other forms and was proposed to Congress in 1981 by Reagan as a method to purge AFDC of an alleged 800,000 employable recipients.

What is new, however, is that both liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans have joined together to push for "workfare" as a mandatory requirement for AFDC recipients, if they want to get public assistance.

The human targets of this "reform" are the 3.7 million families receiving AFDC. The overwhelming majority of these families are single parent families headed by women, a large percentage of whom are Black, living in the decaying ghettos of the central cities with a growing concentration of Black poverty. The average benefits that these women receive from AFDC range from \$92 in Mississippi to \$499 in California, hardly enough money to give any family a de-

(continued on page 9)

Letter from Prague

Gorbachev in East Europe

Prague, Czechoslovakia—This is being written on the eve of Gorbachev's visit here. Many people have many hopes of something changing more quickly and more deeply because of his impact on the leaders here. Of course these hopes are naive wishful thinking and it's the people here who have to make the changes, but this is just to show the atmosphere in which we live—and the old custom of these people to look up to somebody who would save "us."

An observer could see the scared men at the top now forced by circumstances—economic and of Gorbachevian origin—and from below, to pursue a policy that is becoming contrary to what they have been doing. No one can foresee the course of events. The cracks that can be observed—cracks in the walls surrounding the fortress of the "Party and government"—widen, but very slowly. People just begin to open their eyes with what purports to be a more "open" policy now filtering into the mass media. But no comparison can be made with the situation of 1967-69, Prague Spring (see *Czechoslovakia: Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, News & Letters, 1968). The situation is very different now in every respect, including the youth and the bitter memories of the old.

Gorbachev, being no revolutionary and coming from a quite different "climate," could serve as a catalyzing personality, but everything else has to ripen here.

It will take some time before "the ground" is prepared. History may surprise us of course. But so far there is no indication of a rapid change. The sphere of culture could be of some importance again, but that is perhaps the only common factor with the late 1960s. What we have to face is, in my opinion, a rather long-term process of several years before a "turn" could arrive.

—Observer

Reagan's DRGs extract a pound of flesh

by Suzanne Casey

Almost every day now you can read or hear horror stories about what one physician writing to the New York Times called "medical atrocities" being inflicted on hospital patients—especially Medicare patients—under the Reagan administration's diagnosis-related-group (DRG) program. For women, this is added to the sexism and paternalism already permeating medicine.

Under the DRGs, which are administered by the misnamed Department of Health and Human Services, fixed hospital payments are mandated for every patient admitted with a certain illness or for a certain procedure. While these guidelines allegedly do not control how a physician treats the individual patient, there is tremendous pressure applied by hospital administrators to stay within these limits.

If a physician prescribes extra procedures or additional days in the hospital, he/she runs the risk of the patient's insurance not paying beyond what the DRGs specify. (And Medicare and Medicaid definitely will not.) Because medicine is like any other capitalist business, patients and dedicated health care workers are suffering tremendously under these restrictions.

'MINOR SURGERY'

More and more surgeries are being classified as "minor," using local anesthesia, which is infinitely cheaper, although in many cases safer, than general anesthesia. However, each patient's metabolism is different, and some patients experience intense pain because local anesthesia alone is not adequate or does not take effect quickly enough. A friend who had a double mastectomy

had to have prostheses placed with only local anesthesia and said the pain was unbearable. I know of another case in which a patient's surgical wound became infected because she was sent home too soon.

Recently, I had my own experience with the DRGs, when I had to have a surgical biopsy (lumpectomy) of a tumor which showed up on a routine mammogram. The biopsy—which was done under Novocaine, "just like at the dentist's"—was excruciating and more extensive than I was led to believe, because the tumor was very deep. They were in such a hurry to get me in and out that I wore my street clothes and shoes right into the operating room!

The nurse took my hand and told me to squeeze it when I needed to, which surprised me. Then the surgeon injected the Novocaine and started cutting immediately. When it was obvious that I was feeling pain, he told the nurse to turn up the music being piped into the room. He asked me what kind of pain I was feeling and gave me another injection, but said that some pain was unavoidable. As if this were not callous enough, he proceeded to toss his instruments onto the side of my chest he wasn't operating on.

After the pathology report came back negative, he finished his part of the procedure, told the resident to close the wound, and left the room, patting my head on his way out. After it was all over, I felt better, because the Novocaine had finally taken effect. The nurse who had helped me through the procedure said that prior to the DRGs, surgeries like mine were always done under full anesthesia.

DISREGARD FOR WOMEN

She told me that 10-12 breast biopsies are done there each week, and that she and other nurses have pleaded with the surgeons to consider each case individually and to offer each patient the option of having some form of anesthesia or at least a tranquilizer to make her more comfortable. They have also asked permission to give out a questionnaire after surgery, so they could learn how the patients themselves feel. The doctors have refused. We agreed that there is a special disregard for women's complaints (whether nurses' or patients') that allows this suffering to continue.

Reagan and his cohorts invented the DRGs allegedly to cut hospital costs. But when I figured out my hospital bills, here's how they averaged out: operating room, \$3 per minute; radiologist, \$3.30 per minute; and the surgeon-god, who explained nothing and answered all questions with insolence, \$11 per minute. So where was the cost cutting? It was with me, the patient, who received only \$5 worth of Novocaine.

"Medical atrocities" are the perfect words to describe what is being done to patients—human beings—in the name of profits. But it is not only Reagan and his administration who are to blame, but also those physicians and hospital administrators who have not only gone along with these inhuman guidelines, but who continue to block the efforts of caring health workers who try to oppose them.

Feminist gives insight on rights for disabled

Editor's note: The following are excerpts from remarks by Anne Finger, a disability rights activist, during a discussion at a "Feminist Forum" meeting, chaired by Betty Brooks in Los Angeles, April 20.

I had polio when I was three years old, and have walked with crutches most of my life. I grew up both with an identification with other oppressed people, and also some self-hatred and internalized oppression. I didn't want to associate with other disabled people—they were whiny, dependent, queer—I wasn't like that!

I first became involved in the disability rights movement through my involvement in feminism, in the reproductive rights movement. Women would talk about a "defective" or "deformed" fetus as a taken-for-granted reason why women would always have an abortion. That made me very uncomfortable.

I've always been troubled by the word "defective." It's a word that was first used for things, and it was only with the eugenics movement at the turn of the century that it began to be applied to people. Its meaning is that the thing is not fulfilling the purpose it was supposed to fulfill. When the word "defective" was applied to human beings, it reflected the view of human beings as objects with the purpose to produce, rather than beings to themselves, with rich and various talents and experiences.

We have to be clear that the fight for reproductive freedom is the fight for women to control our own bodies, not to get rid of social problems by aborting them.

We can't deny the existence of disabled people in our world. Some feminists have invented very ornate language to describe us—"differently abled," "physically challenged." But to me that's a way to cover over a harsh reality that we all need to confront and relate to.

It's important that when we talk about reproductive rights we're not talking about genetic engineering to make "better," that is, "more productive" human beings. We want a better world for all of us, not to engineer a perfect race.

Union at Nationwide Chemicals



This in-plant organizing committee, composed of nine women, won union recognition at Nationwide Chemicals in Baltimore, Md. last month. Workers at the plant fought a management that offered no health insurance, no sick days, no job security, and no seniority rights. Wages just barely exceeded the federal minimum wage. The drive was conducted under such secrecy that plant managers didn't even know the women were organizing until they were presented with a petition for a union election. In the election, workers voted for the ACTWU by 57 to 32.

April 25 marches

Washington, D.C.—Neither cold, rainy weather nor A.F.L.-C.I.O. leader Lane Kirkland's call for a boycott deterred over 100,000 people who came to Washington April 25 for the Mobilization for Justice and Peace in Central America and Southern Africa. They came from all over the Northeast, Midwest and Southern U.S. The large number of rank-and-file workers was impressive.

Young people, workers, Blacks, Latinos, members of peace, women's, gay and lesbian groups, Filipinos, Haitians, Iranians and many others brought a rich and new multi-dimensionality to this demonstration, which was the first mass protest since Reagan's Irancon. They exposed the fact that Reagan's counter-revolutionary policies toward the South African and Central American masses have not abated.

Their solidarity with the peoples of South Africa and Central America extended to the struggle to uproot Reaganism in the U.S. in the form of strike-breaking, and lay-offs. Latino and Caribbean poultry workers at Barrett Foods left their picket lines in New York to attend. Their three-week-old strike to force the company to negotiate a contract has been supported by other meatpackers in the area.

Most energetic were the thousands of youth from high schools and colleges in cities and small towns as far away as Austin, Tex. Many chanted, "Money for Education, Not for Contras!" Others carried banners opposing racism in the U.S.

While speakers such as Ed Asner and Holly Near drew applause when they stressed the need for a deep commitment for standing up for each others' rights, Jesse Jackson and Eleanor Smeal confined that commitment to the parameters of Democratic Party politics. On this rainy day, it was the breadth and depth of the participation itself which brought home the inspiration of the freedom movements in Southern Africa and Central America.

—Laurie Cashdan

San Francisco, Cal.—The Western States Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice drew over 50,000 demonstrators to San Francisco on April 25 to protest U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean and called for an end to U.S. support of apartheid in South Africa. Hundreds of buses brought demonstrators from all over the West so that there were banners and contingents representing campuses and organizations from California, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Nevada and Arizona.

The march and rally were resoundingly anti-Reagan in tone with nearly everyone pointing to the contra-irangate affair as further evidence of the corruption of the Reagan Administration at home and abroad. A new element at this rally was the presence of large contingents and organizations protesting the implementation of the Immigration Reform and Control Act, which is to go into effect May 5. Demonstrations are being planned in San Francisco and San Diego on that date.

While everyone was excited by the massive turnout, especially the large number of high school youth, and felt that it marked the re-emergence of protest activity in the U.S., there were several points of concern. It should be noted that A.F.L.-C.I.O. president Lane Kirkland's edict against union endorsement and participation seemed to split the unions, so that labor's presence at the event was greatly reduced from past demonstrations. Also of concern was the large turnout of the Communist Party, which seems to be riding high as a result of the illusions sown by Gorbachev's "glasnost" policy.

At the same time as the West Coast mobilization, more than 30,000 demonstrators marched through Vancouver, British Columbia, for the sixth annual Walk for Peace. The Canadians were protesting U.S. cruise missile testing in Canada and Reagan's Star Wars proposal for a space-based missile defense plan.

—Participants



From women in Mauritius

Editor's note: Women's Liberation-News & Letters just received from the Women's Liberation Movement of Mauritius their "Women's Minimum Program," which was prepared for International Women's Day, 1987, and sent to all major political parties there. Mauritius is an island in the Indian Ocean smaller than the state of Rhode Island, with a population of nearly one million. Their 21 points included the following:

- Amendment of the Constitution of Mauritius...to make unconstitutional all laws which discriminate on the grounds of sex.

- Amendment of the Constitution so as to declare illegal any discrimination in any field on the grounds of sex, race, place of birth, political opinion, colour or religion.

- Legislation to once again bring the legal marriage age up to 18, the age of majority.

- Legislation to prohibit the employment of labour under 18 years of age; and as long as the work age is less than 18 years, we demand that the right to unionise be the same as the age at which one has the right to seek employment.

- The repeal of the Industrial Relations Act and the Public Order Act so as to allow the right to strike, and the right to hold peaceful demonstrations.

Specific demands for the work site included:

- Break time increased to 20 minutes, 30 minutes and 20 minutes.

- Provision of sufficient good toilets with running water throughout all shifts in factories, and the setting up of chemical toilets on work lorries for agricultural labourers, and the provision of an adequate toilet for all domestic workers.

- A workers' mess (dining hall) to be set up in all factories, and a tarpaulin to be suspended next to work lorries for agricultural workers to have meals in shelter from rain and sun, and a decent place for domestic workers to take their meals.

—Muvman Liberaayon Fam of Lakas Ros, Antelme Street, Forest-Side, MAURITIUS

Eighteen women who would otherwise be homeless will soon move into a downtown hostel in Toronto, Canada, where they will have their own rooms and be allowed to stay until they become self-sufficient. They have organized themselves to determine who needs this housing the most. All Saints Anglican Church is renovating a theater for this purpose. It is part of a growing movement in Metropolitan Toronto for and by the homeless, estimated at nearly 20,000 there.

Women and children have been holding a protest "live-in" in the all-male hostels in which Black coal miners in South Africa must live. The women and children are supporting the National Union of Mineworkers' (NUM) demand that the Anglo-American Corporation abolish the entire migrant labor system in the mines. The NUM has also demanded that until migrant labor is ended, the union must be allowed to run the hostels, and that the mining company begin to build subsidized housing for Black mine workers, as they now do for whites. The 250 women and children living-in (the protest began with 600) are determined to remain, and the NUM wants to spread the live-ins to other coal, gold and diamond mine workers' hostels.

Editorial

Stop Reagan's war plans for Central America

From all over the country some 200,000 people came to march in Washington D.C. and San Francisco, Cal. on April 25, in protest against the Reagan administration's imperial policies in Central America and South Africa. Hundreds boarded buses in Chicago; hospital workers went down from New York; Black activists from Philadelphia and Central American refugees from Los Angeles swelled the numbers and added their own voices and anger. It was the largest expression of opposition to Reagan's foreign policy since he took office.

The mass outpouring of protest in Washington, D.C., shows that the American people know that nothing possesses Pres. Reagan more completely than his dream of counter-revolution in Nicaragua. Even the possibility of an arms control treaty takes a back seat to this obsession. Nor has he "moderated" his position in the aftermath of the Iran-contra scandal.

PRACTICE FOR AN INVASION

Far from it. Instead, he is proceeding with plans for Operation "Solid Shield," beginning in early May. One of the largest U.S. military maneuvers in the post-World War II era, this operation will mobilize some 100,000 troops in the U.S., Puerto Rico and Honduras.

Raya Dunayevskaya put it in the April 10 N&L: "This is a great deal more than just a mock maneuver. It is the practice for an invasion." An invasion of Nicaragua, by U.S. troops if necessary, is what Reagan has been aiming at since before he took office in 1981. The invasion of Grenada and the bombing of Tripoli—each with its own foreign policy objectives—were at the same time directed against the Nicaraguan Revolution.

No fiction writer could create as fantastic and insane an interpretation of the current turmoil in Central America as Reagan himself. Here is his view, as presented a year ago: "Using Nicaragua as a base, the Soviets and Cubans can become the dominant power in the crucial corridor between North and South America. Established there, they will be in a position to threaten the Panama Canal, interdict our vital Caribbean sea lanes and ultimately move against Mexico." No peasants fighting huge landowners, no workers facing starvation wages, no youth protesting U.S. imperialism, no women demanding liberation, enter into Reagan's picture of "the Russian threat" in Central America.

Thus his "solution" throughout the 1980s has been one of ever-escalating militarization—in Honduras, in El Salvador, in Guatemala. U.S. military "aid" to Central American armed forces soared from \$14 million in 1981 to \$212 million in 1986.

In Honduras over 50 military bases have been set up. The Honduran army has grown from 14,000 in 1981 to some 25,000 today. And now Reagan has proposed giving the Honduran armed forces \$100 million worth of F-16 fighters, on top of some \$80 million in military assistance already budgeted.

HUMAN TOLL OF MILITARIZATION

In El Salvador military aid has escalated from \$10 million in 1981 to \$122 million in 1986, while the El Salvadoran army has reached a bloated 57,000 troops, versus 16,000 in 1981. But it is the human toll of seven years of Reagan-backed death squad assaults on the peasants and workers of that tiny land that tells the real tale of militarization's outcome—55,000 civilians killed, 5,000 "disappeared," 1.5 million "desplazados" (refugees within and outside El Salvador).

Even Guatemala, far from the Nicaraguan "war zone," has seen the same trajectory of swelling armed forces (from 18,000 in 1981 to 44,000 in 1986), mass murders, and floods of refugees. In the last few months, official U.S. government estimates of the toll in the Guatemalan army's war against mostly Indian peasant insurgents have been made known. They reveal that some 5,000 were killed from 1978 to 1985; that 440 villages were destroyed; that 100,000 children were orphaned.

These cold, numbing figures of death and suffering, of military power and imperial will, cannot hide the deeper truth about the Central American masses—that they are determined to liberate themselves from both their own rulers and U.S. domination. Reagan's attack is sharpest against Nicaragua, which overthrew the U.S.-imposed dictator Somoza, became a beacon of freedom to all Latin America, and which is now engaged in a life-and-death struggle against Reagan's private contra army.

It is this contra mercenary army which, with CIA help, has pin-pointed such civilian targets as dams and bridges, produce trucks and livestock. Particularly vicious assaults have been launched in the last month against Miskito Indians returning to their homes along the Rio Coco. They have been subjected to mortar and small arms fire from across the river in Honduras. A bus carrying some 40 Miskitos was seized and burned; the passengers kidnapped.

All of this is but prologue as far as Reagan is concerned. Within his remaining 21 months in office he envisions a "pacified" Central America, one in which all society—Nicaragua included—is firmly under U.S. rule. The only forces that can stay Reagan's hand from such an adventure, that can prevent his obsession from becoming the reality of a U.S. invasion, are those we saw assembled in Washington on April 25. They are the voices of human Reason raised against the un-reason of Reagan's continuing plans for war in Central America.

Workers organize at Ideal Textile

Los Angeles, Cal.—We have been on strike here at Ideal Textile since March 26. About 180 workers are out, almost the whole plant. The way it happened was that a union organizer, from the ILGWU, came down here and started talking to some of the workers about organizing a union. We want the union because a lot of people only make minimum wage, \$3.35 an hour. There's a man who's been working here for 12 years and he only makes \$3.75 an hour.

Conditions are unsafe: we work with chemicals—fabric dyes—and these are not stored safely but left out in the open where we breathe in the fumes all the time. We have no insurance or medical plan. If you're injured on the job, you go to the clinic here at the plant, and they just bandage you up to send you back to work, even if you have a broken arm.

We started holding our own meetings to talk to each other about organizing a union. The company knew what we were up to and started harassing us—giving us warnings, sending us home—and then they fired some

of the most active workers. They tried to divide us, giving some workers raises.

On March 26, the company fired another worker. Everyone in the plant stopped working and demanded that he be put back on his job. The owner came down to talk to us, and called us stupid and lots of other harsh names. The entire plant walked.

Most of the workers here are undocumented, and our strike comes at the same time as the new immigration law is going into effect, but this hasn't stopped us. Before we began to organize, the company had promised to help workers get legal status; they stopped once we started to talk union.

We're continuing our struggle, picketing the plant and organizing a boycott. The company has hired about 30 scabs, but it takes time to learn how to operate the machines, and the cloth has been coming out spotted and with lots of mistakes.

—Ideal Textile striker

A meatpacker's letter

Editor's note: We received the following response to our lead on meatpacking in the April 10 N&L.

Madison, Wisc.—We need a packinghouse union for a 50-person operation or a 2,000-person operation. If I hear any more about competing with other meatpacking workers, I'll die. Who are we competing with? We need a master agreement that covers everyone.

I am scared to eat meat that isn't clean. All the advertising in the world isn't going to sell a product if it isn't killed, cut and processed by experienced and proud people. If the final product is going to be junk, the consumer may buy it once, but not a second time.

Where should workers in meatpacking be going at this time? There is no democracy in the locals of the UFCW (United Food and Commercial Workers). None of the International is elected or stands accountable for their actions; nor the regional directors. People need freedom to think, and they need information. No information from local to local ever gets through to the people. Where the labor song "Solidarity Forever" speaks of the feeble strength of one, it is so true.

Workers need to realize they are not dumb. The leadership we have cuts people down. But people are the most important thing, and we all have brains. If people have freedom to think and have the facts, they can decide their own best course.

—Oscar Mayer worker, Local 538

High tech pressure

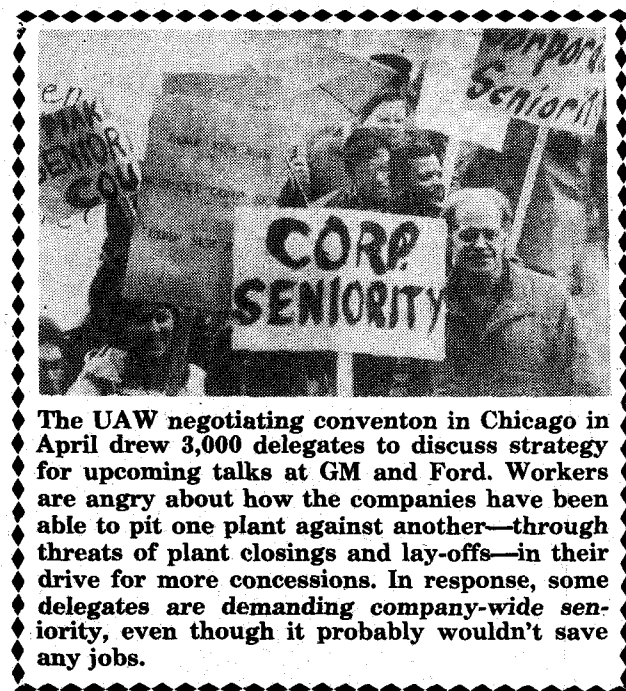
Los Angeles, Cal.—I work as a technical illustrator. It has always been a most tedious trade, requiring long hours bent over a drafting table drawing and pasting minute details. On the other hand, the job has a false glamour by being located near the aristocratic engineering and administrative departments.

I work in the aerospace industry, but the fact that we are paid 25% more than comparable job classifications in other industries has hardly saved us from the stress of today's shaky economic atmosphere. Money from the war machine has enabled the sudden appearance of literally thousands of personal computer terminals at my plant, where some 4,000 of us silently sweat inside our "white collars."

Because of the strong foundation laid by union victories in the 1940s and '50s, the employer has not dared to force all the illustrators to learn the computers. But supervisors encourage all "not to be left behind" as high tech takes over. Those of us who have submitted to this "inevitable" now find we are subjected to great pressure to produce more drawings and are forced to work overtime, in exchange for an alleged greater share of job security. Meanwhile, graphic art shops in New York are folding, as publishing houses are getting lower-paid clerks to do our jobs on these "user-friendly" monsters.

I hope more of us "white collars" will wake up and solidarize with other workers to reverse this movement toward even more monotonous drudgery and unemployment. At the same time, the answer is not to be merely "anti-technology." Whether by hand or by machine, work will bring neither fulfillment nor reward until it exists within a social relationship different from wage slavery.

—Wayne Carter



Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

So the union rep came. The mechanics said they wanted to file a grievance. The rep said, "A grievance against whom? For what?" Then the manager and the union took out the contract and went over the paragraph on vacations, line by line. The whole paragraph favors the company! There's not one line in our favor.

UNION CONTRACT FAVORS COMPANY

When we were negotiating this contract, we wanted to extend the vacation and put the rules in our favor. The company opposed this. But the union didn't argue it. My point is, the role the union plays is to accommodate itself to the company's side and obey peacefully.

The union has two faces. One face is generous, and that's for the company. The other face is serious, and that one is for the workers. It is tough, hard: "You have to follow this rule. If you don't you'll be fired."

Where does that leave the worker? I am a worker. Because the owner pays me, the union says I have to do whatever he says. This resulted in a tragedy at work. There is a mechanic who was made to paint, high up on a ladder. Now he is a great mechanic, one of those mechanics who can take a piece of steel and make you any part you could want. But he is not an expert painter. He doesn't know how to climb a ladder safely and so on.

So there he was painting, saying, "What can I do? The supervisor told me I have to." And he fell off the ladder, from so high it's a miracle he didn't get killed. He smashed his elbow and now the doctors say he won't ever be able to bend that arm again. He can no longer work as a mechanic!

WORKERS QUESTION THE RULES

All the rules are written against us, but the union always says, "You can't go against the contract." Well, when we were on strike for this contract, we got some other rules against us, but this time from the government and its police. We were stopping the trucks from coming into the plant, when the manager called the police. The police ordered us to picket in an area far away from the gate. Workers said, "What kind of strike is this?" Then the manager drove in trucks full of scabs to take our jobs, and the police had us far away.

Latin-American workers have compared their experience here with that in their countries where national general strikes are a form of struggle. They tell me, "What's the point of 100 or 150 workers going on strike alone?"

The form of organization of the union is to limit strikes to separate shops without communicating with any other group of workers. The old forms are rotten. We will not find any new changes there. Workers themselves will have to find a new direction; will have to create a new form of struggle which does not yet exist. I don't know what it will be, but I know it will have to be the workers themselves who create it.

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REAGAN, GORBACHEV, 'GLASNOST' AND ARMS TALKS

The two "Theory/Practice" columns (N&L March 27 and April 10) on "Reagan and Gorbachev and their bipolar world" by Dunayevskaya were very helpful. I hadn't thought before about how these "two of a kind" pair up as soon as the masses try to take things into their own hands. This point is most pertinent to the Central America solidarity movement today, where some think that Iran-Contra has given them a breather.

That the Iran-Contra scandal is not an aberration, but the specific character of today's counter-revolution was shown in Part II of the column, which was largely devoted to Reagan's threat to Nicaragua. Is it possible that the prospect of an arms control treaty will provide a cover for Reagan to invade Nicaragua?

Worried
Detroit

Thatcher's trip to Russia was by all accounts "a great success" for both parties. No deal was made over nuclear arms and none was expected. Instead the "iron lady" crusader against Communism spent hours talking with Gorbachev, saying that "glasnost" was marvelous. That was the point of the trip. Of course they agreed to disagree, answering "Get out of Ireland" with "Get out of Afghanistan." But they truly did seem to be "Two of a Kind."

The fact that they all seem to forget is that a few changes in the bureaucracy is nothing more than some changes in management. And the primary concern of that management is how it can get more production out of the workers.

British observer
in the USA

Secretary of State Schultz attended a much publicized Passover Seder in Moscow, an alleged gesture on human rights.

We are still waiting for Schultz to express similar concern for the tortured victims of the Chilean dictatorship, and those in South Korea who are fighting that dictatorship and seeking honest elections. Back home in the U.S. there are 6,800 Cuban refugees held in U.S. federal prisons who have had no trial, who are guilty of no crime other than being Cuban.

The one-sided concerns of Schultz and the Reagan administration on human rights are both a farce and hypocrisy. I doubt they are interested in Russian Jews either.

Boston Blackie
Evanston, Ill.

Mikhail Gorbachev's advice, to a group of U.S. Congressmen, that America could solve its race problems by setting up a separate state for Blacks, was both disgusting and revealing. Evidently, not even a protest by Black Congressman Mickey Leland from Texas made Gorbachev realize that he was wrong.

Perhaps Gorbachev thinks Black Americans have forgotten where these "proposals" come from. We haven't. We heard all this from Moscow and the U.S. Communist Party back in the 1930s, when they suggested a separate "Negro nation" in the counties of the Black Belt of the South. It was disgusting then, and it is revealing now. Gorbachev wants to appear as the epitome of de-Stalinization, yet here he is mouthing an old, discredited policy advanced by Joseph Stalin himself. It certainly knocks holes in "glasnost."

Lou Turner
Chicago

RESURGENT RACISM

The Reagan retrogression has found another arena in which to roll things back—the history of the Black revolution of the 1960s. Last week a history conference at Wayne State Univ. featured Sidney Fine, the famous historian of the CIO upsurge of the 1930s. Fine has always been thought of as a very liberal figure in academia. But the title of his talk here was shocking: "The Detroit Riot of 1967: Looting, Arson, Sniping and Homicide." The content was no better—only statistics about the extent of looting and anecdotes about liquor "consumed on the spot."

Readers' Views

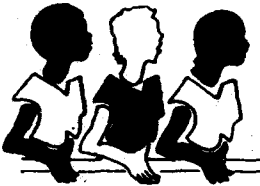
Many of us in attendance felt that it was an anti-Black presentation, and that Fine's book, when it is finished, will revise the history of the 1967 ghetto rebellions in a manner far to the right of even the official Kerner Commission report, which at least had the objectivity to state: "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one Black, one white, separate and unequal."

Furious
Detroit

I am interested in your paper because I'm really upset about racism. What happened at Howard Beach was terrible. I am not sure what I can do about it besides think about my own personal ethics, unless there is a protest here. I wish everyone at this school could get a copy of this paper because it's so different than other papers.

I also want to say that I hate Ronald Reagan. Star Wars is so insane. Are we supposed to think that if a war starts up there in space that it's not going to come down here?

White high school student
New York City



WOMEN
AT
WORK

I'm a 52 year-old woman who has been working for 22 years. With that many years I should be looking towards a retirement pension, but after supporting six people all that time I am unemployed and there is nothing left of my savings. Two of the plants I worked at folded, and the last one has not paid the workers for the two months of time we worked trying to straighten out their mess before they let us go. Unemployment is high anyway, but as an older woman I find it almost impossible to get hired. I guess I'm not a useful commodity anymore.

Working woman
Los Angeles

I hope homework never becomes legal. It's hard to live on the minimum wage, but homework means getting paid less. I know a woman who was paid \$5.25 for a fringe skirt. The store, Norma Kamali, sold it for \$650. She's an undocumented worker, so she's afraid to complain.

Labor organizer, ILGWU
New York City

A visit I made recently to China was extremely informative. It is true that production has increased several fold in China and that 80 percent or more of the people have improved standards of living. But their decollectivization programme, with its stress on home-based production and the decreased number of women in decision-making bothers me.

Women's Liberationist
New Delhi, India

'LAND OF GREED' — AND REVOLT

I'm down in Texas now, organizing support for the P-9 strike and boycott against Hormel. Times are hard here; the economy's in bad shape. The official unemployment figure runs to 10-11 percent. The farm areas are depressed—people there are very supportive of our struggle but can't afford to contribute much money. Safeway closed down 140 stores, and then they were re-opened under new names, many as non-union. There's some labor activity around that.

I found out that N&L is well known here. Some people who used to live up north had seen N&L up there, and other workers in Texas have also been reading your paper. I thought the Lead article on meatpacking (April 10 N&L) was real good; I made hundreds of copies of it to distribute. Boycott Hormel!!

P-9 striker/activist
Texas

I know some people who consider themselves middle class. They work for Con Edison or the telephone company. They are in their late 30s or 40s. Some even own their own home. For a long time they thought they were secure in

their jobs and life in general. Now they have this new fear of homelessness. As layoffs continue in this type of company—AT&T laid off 82,000 nation-wide since they were broken up—they envision homelessness as a possible reality for themselves.

Angela Terrano
Queens, NY

When I was distributing N&L at the unemployment office, a group of workers got into a discussion about the Hormel strike and boycott and what was happening to the meatpacking workers as a whole. One worker commented on the P-9 picket sign on the front page of the April 10 N&L, "Hormel, Land of the Greed and Home of the Slave"; he said: "That sign says what has to be said about America."

Felix Martin
Los Angeles

VOICES FROM THE NORTH

The Editorial (N&L April 24) about Canada would have been excellent except for a "detail" which is not a detail at all—the absence of any mention of French Canadians. The 1970 October Crisis referred to in the Editorial was not a mere imposition of police-state rule, but a racist military occupation of Quebec... The vicious racism toward French Canadians and Native Canadians is one of the central facts of Canadian social reality... It is a constant and insidious racism and one full of daily insults and humiliations. One of the worst aspects is that of making a whole people invisible...

To talk about Canada without talking about French Canadians is like talking about labor or poverty in the U.S. without talking about Blacks and women. Native Canadians and French Canadians are the "touchstones" of Canadian history, just as the Black dimension is the key to American history...

Concerned
Oakland, Calif.

Your April 24 issue with its Editorial "Canadians seek independence from the US and their own rulers" came just in time for my vacation in Toronto. I could "open a two-way road of freedom ideas" with a good handful of papers for some friends of N&L. They had been part of the 8,000 who protested Reagan's visit in Ottawa and were also glad to see the Lead article against repressive immigration policies. They and several thousand will also march in Toronto on April 25.

MARXIST-HUMANISM: AS BODY OF IDEAS, AS ORGANIZATION

I read Dunayevskaya's *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution* this term. At the same time, I'm taking a course from a Marxist professor on history since the French Revolution. But I find that course disappointing. It's just like Raya Dunayevskaya points out in her book—whenever my professor mentions Marx, it's really Engels that he's talking about and quoting. Also, he has yet to mention women. Here we have two very different concepts of Marxism.

Student
Northern Illinois Univ.

I think N&L is a good effort to give the other side. It brings some things to you that are not covered by the mainstream press. Plus it's educational.

Black activist
Marianna, Arkansas

Oliver Tambo came to Sydney Town Hall to speak about the liberation struggle in South Africa. He drew a couple thousand people—the hall was packed. At the end of the meeting I was selling N&L with a friend. A man came up to me and said: "Is that the paper connected with Raya Dunayevskaya?" He bought both recent issues of the bi-weekly I had. It turns out that he had met News and Letters Committees at a march in San Francisco several years ago, and had read *Marxism and Freedom*. He has been through the mill of the Trotskyist movement in Australia,

Among the revolutionary voices which "need to be heard more clearly" are the Innu Indians who pitched tents on the Canadian Air Force runway Goose Bay, Labrador, to protest low level NATO jet flights over their land and traditional caribou hunting ground. What U.S. news media reported this?

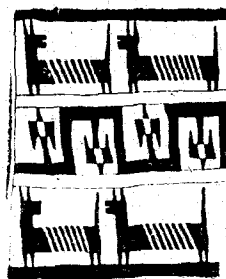
Detroit on vacation
Toronto, Ontario

IRISH EXPORTS

The situation in Ireland—south of the border—is one of a young population starved of work. The Irish are the "black workers" of Europe, fleeing the home country in pursuit of bread. Those that remain are heavily dependent on money sent home from abroad. And the repression in Irish society makes anywhere else seem more attractive to the young than home.

Young mobile Irish workers with little to lose flock into London, to their relatives' homes or the streets. Long held animosities to Irish workers are regenerated in England today. A new EEC regulation permitting Irish students to study in England has been bitterly attacked here. The exploitation of Irish workers is OK, but not Irish youth learning.

Formerly of Co. Monaghan
Now in England



SUPPORT
INDEPENDENT
INDIAN-OWNED
RADIO

On the tenth anniversary of the 1973 Wounded Knee uprising, dedicated activists on the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota opened the first—and only—independent Indian-owned radio station in the country. It is a 100,000-watt, public, Indian-controlled station, broadcasting 18 hours a day, seven days a week in Lakota and in English. All news and public service announcements are broadcast in both languages.

The call letters of the station are KILI. In Lakota, KILI means "right on," or "that is good." In every house on the Pine Ridge reservation today, no matter how poor, there is a radio, and often it is tuned to KILI-FM. But Washington has cut the budget for small community public radio stations, and now KILI is faced with cutbacks or even closure. They need your help. Send donations to:

KILI Public Radio
Box 150
Porcupine, SD 57772

and was very enthusiastic about finding N&L again.

Friend of Marxist-Humanism
Sydney, Australia

Recently I've been reading *Marxism and Freedom*. I had read quite a bit already on the structure of *Capital*, but none of these other analyses pointed out the crucial nature of Marx's chapter on "The Working Day." They treated it as illustrative statistics. Dunayevskaya shows that it is pivotal to Marx's whole view of workers. Marxist-Humanism puts flesh on the bones of Marx today.

Environmentalist
Chicago

N&L is a more open paper than I have seen. Because it is semi-underground it has coverage you don't find easily—like the articles direct from Soweto about the women who had been detained. I'm glad that could be publicized. I feel that for the most part the U.S. government supports racist and fascist governments, which I think should be exposed. I would like a copy of your Constitution.

High School Student
New York

Ed. Note: Copies of the Constitution and by-laws of News and Letters Committees are available to all our readers. Just send us 25¢ postage. We look forward to your comments on our struggle to realize our philosophy of liberation in organizational form.

Special

Theory/
Practice

NEWS & LETTERS

"Human Power is its own end"—Marx

Supplement

WHY HEGEL'S PHENOMENOLOGY?

WHY NOW?

by Raya Dunayevskaya

The Spirit of the time, growing slowly and quietly ripe for the new form it is to assume, disintegrates one fragment after another of the structure of its previous world. That it is tottering to fall is indicated only by symptoms here and there. Frivolity and again ennui, which are spreading in the established order of things, the undefined foreboding of something unknown—all these betoken that there is something else approaching. This gradual crumbling to pieces, which did not alter the general look and aspect of the whole, is interrupted by the sunrise, which, in a flash and at a single stroke, brings to view the form and structure of the new world.

—Hegel, Preface to *Phenomenology of Mind*

THE MOST DIFFICULT of all tasks that have confronted every generation of Marxists is to work out Marx's Marxism for its age; the task has never been more difficult than the one that confronts the decade of the 1980s. We often like to quote that creatively great statement of Hegel about the "birth-time of History." What is important to see is that the same paragraph that talks of the birth-time of history and a period of transition is likewise one that speaks about the period of darkness before the dawn.

That is what we all have had to suffer through—the darkness before the dawn. Hegel articulated both the darkness and the dawn in the very same paragraph lucidly enough. Yet, because this appears in the Preface to the *Phenomenology of Mind*, it looks as if it were written in anticipation of the book, whereas, in truth, the Preface was written *after* the whole work was completed; thus, we do not realize that the contradictory unity first became that translucent *after* the work was completed.

It never fails that, at momentous world historic turning points, it is very difficult to tell the difference between two types of twilight—whether one is first plunging into utter darkness or whether one has reached the end of a long night and is just at the moment before the dawn of a new day. In either case, the challenge to find the meaning—what Hegel called "the undefined foreboding of something unknown"—becomes a compulsion to dig for new beginnings, for a philosophy that would try to answer the question "Where to Begin?" This was the reason for a new revolutionary philosophy—the birth of the Hegelian Dialectic—at the time the great French Revolution did not produce totally new beginnings in philosophy. It caused Hegel's break with romanticism. His deep digging went, at one and the same time, backward to the origins of philosophy in Greece around 500 BC and forward as the French Revolution was followed by the Napoleonic Era trying to dominate all of Europe.

In a word, the crucible of history shows that the forces of actual revolution producing revolutions in philosophy recur at historic turning points. Thus in the 1840s, with the rise of a totally new revolutionary class—the "wretched of the earth," the proletariat—Marx transformed Hegel's revolution in philosophy into a philosophy of revolution. This founding of a new continent of thought and of revolution unchained the Hegelian Dialectic, which Marx called "revolution in permanence."

Just as the shock of the simultaneity of the outbreak of World War I and the collapse of established Marxism (the Second International) compelled Lenin to turn to Marx's deep-rootedness in the Hegelian Dialectic,¹ so it has become imperative to find that missing link of a philosophy of revolution in the post-World War II world.

¹See "Lenin and the Dialectic: A Mind in Action" and "The Irish Revolution and the Dialectic of History" in Part IV—"World War I and the Great Divide in Marxism"—of my *Marxism and Freedom—from 1776 until Today*.



Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, 1771-1831

A whole new world—a Third World—has been born. Just as the East European revolutionaries rose up against Communist totalitarianism from within that orbit, so the Third World arose against Western imperialism. This movement from practice that is itself a form of theory has been digging for ways to put an end to the separation between theory and practice. It is this movement that has rediscovered Marx's early Humanist Essays, as well as the work of his final decade where Marx predicted, in his studies of pre-capitalist societies, that a revolution could come first in a technologically backward land rather than in the technologically advanced West. It has had to struggle under the whip of counter-revolution in a nuclearly-armed world.

Nowhere has this been more onerous than in the 1980s under Reagan Retrogressionism, which has been bent on turning the clock backward—whether that be on civil rights, labor, women's liberation, youth and education or children. At the same time that there is this ideological pollution and the revolutionary struggle against it, even some bourgeois Hegel scholars who opposed the "subversion" of Hegel by Marx and by today's Marxist-Humanists have had to admit: "If Hegel has not literally been to the barricades of strife-ridden

²See George Armstrong Kelly's *Hegel's Retreat from Eleusis*, p. 224, and my answer to his critique of my *Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* in the new Introduction I wrote for the 1982 edition (Humanities Press).

cities, or explosive rural foci, he has been in the thick of current ideological combat."²

In its way, this, too, will help illuminate why we are publishing "Why Hegel's Phenomenology? Why Now?" It will have two parts. What follows, as Part I, is a study of Hegel's first (and what Marx considered his most creative) work, *Phenomenology of Mind* (Geist), written as Lecture Notes for a class I gave in the *Phenomenology* in the 1960s. Part II, which will follow in the near future, will be an essay on the Hegelian Dialectic as Marx critiqued it in his *Humanist Essays* in 1844 and continued to develop it throughout his life. This is seen most clearly in Marx's greatest theoretical work, *Capital*, especially in the final section of Chapter One, which Marx expanded on the "Fetishism of Commodities," in his last decade. It is there that a citation of what first appeared in Marx's 1841 Doctoral Thesis reveals Marx's continued deep-rootedness in Hegel.

May 1, 1987

Notes On Hegel's

Phenomenology of Mind(Geist)

THE WHOLE OF THE *Phenomenology*, with its six stages of consciousness, can be divided into two major departments comprising: I. *Consciousness, Self-Consciousness and Reason*, being the summation of both the relationship to, or rather awareness of, a world outside oneself through feudalism to the beginning of capitalism, i.e., commercial capitalism; and II. *Spirit, Religion, and Absolute Knowledge*, which takes us from industrial capitalism and its ideological predecessors covering the field from Christianity through the Enlightenment to the Jacobins of the French Revolution, all the way to "the new society" (Absolute Knowledge) with its "predecessor" in Greek art and the Greek city-state.

In the case of Subdivision I., once we have gone from consciousness—whether that's only first awareness of things (sense-certainty) or perception, or actual understanding where the forces of the world of appearance with its laws which "leave out their specific character,"—we immediately enter the true relationship between people and not just things. Thus, in self-consciousness we are thrust into a production relationship—lordship and bondage. So that once the bondsman gains "a mind of his own," he is compelled to see that there is more to freedom than either stubbornness or a mind of one's own. That is to say, if freedom is not "a type of freedom which does not get beyond the attitude of bondage," it must first now confront objective reality. Otherwise, a mind of his own would be little more than "a piece of cleverness which has mastery within a certain range, but not over the universal power nor over the entire objective reality." (p. 240B; 119M; 150H)³

In the struggle to realize freedom, we confront various attitudes of mind that sound heroic, but are in fact adaptations to one or another form of servitude. Thus, stoicism is nothing more, Hegel reminds us, than "a general form of the world's spirit, only in a time of uni-

(continued on page 6)

³Hegel's *Phenomenology of Mind*, translated with an Introduction by J. B. Baillie, Unwin Publishers, London, 1931. All quotes in the following text are from this edition. The first parenthetical pagination cites refer to this Baillie translation; the second to the translation by A.V. Miller, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1977; the third to the German edited by Johannes Hoffmeister, Felix Meiner Verlag, 1952. They are designated as B, M, and H.

WHY HEGEL'S PHENOMENOLOGY? WHY NOW?

(continued from page 5)

versal fear and bondage." (p. 245B; 121M; 153H)

Even skepticism, Hegel tells us, which corresponds to some form of independent consciousness, is very negative in its attitude, so much so that it leads to nothing but "the giddy whirl of a perpetually self-creating disorder." (p. 249B; 126M; 157H) That is why both stoicism and skepticism lead to nothing but the Unhappy Consciousness, or Alienated Soul.

The interesting thing about this unhappy consciousness for the Christian philosopher, Hegel, is that it is a description not only of the disintegration of the Roman Empire, but the Roman Empire at a time when it had adopted Christianity to try to save all from the debacle. Of course, the Lutheran in Hegel may have consoled himself by the fact that this Christianity, as the Christianity of the Borgias in Renaissance Italy, was "Catholic," and it really was not until the Reformation, etc., etc. We are not interested in any rationalization, but in the objective pull upon the mind of a genius which describes this individually free person with his unhappy consciousness as a "personality confined within its narrow self and its petty activity, a personality brooding over itself, as unfortunate as it is pitifully destitute." (p. 264B; 130-1M; 168-169H) You will recall that in **Marxism and Freedom**, I have a footnote on this which uses the specific personalities of the old radicals who cannot find a place for themselves in bourgeois society or in the movement as examples of this unhappy consciousness. Be that as it may, Hegel's point is that until this alienated soul has "stripped itself of its Ego," it will not be able to execute the leap to Reason.

Before we proceed to Reason, however, let's retrace our steps back to the Preface and the Introduction which, in a very great sense, also comprise his Conclusions. At any rate, it is a constant paean to "ceaseless activity," "equal necessity of all moments," which constituted the "life of the whole"; which, however, cannot be seen before being seen; that is to say, it is all a question of a process of "working the matter out," on which the purpose depends. This constant emphasis on process, on experience (the experience of Consciousness no less than "objective" experience) of self-development that must have, nay, must go through "the seriousness, the suffering, the patience, and the labor of the negative," that must not take "easy contentment in receiving, or stinginess in giving"—all of which signify "a birth-time and a period of transition"—amounts to the very reason for being of Dialectics and Absolute Knowledge in his principle that "everything depends on grasping and expressing the ultimate truth not as Substance but as Subject as well." (pp. 80-81B; 6-7M; 19H)

The work, the purposive activity, the mediation, the self-directive process, the subject in the objective movement, and the objective movement in the subject of mind, which Hegel calls Science, is in fact not only a Preface to his Philosophy, but to the entire human spirit as it has developed through thousands of years, his-

torically, nationally, internationally, and as it is going to develop via opposing all contemporary philosophies from mysticism to Kantianism—all this on the day after, so to speak, the French Revolution, which demands the reorganization of all previous thought. With Hegel, "immanent" rhythm and strenuous toil are one and the same thing. And finally, the man puts his faith in the public rather than the philosophers, "those 'representatives' who are like the dead burying their dead." (p. 130B; 45M; 58H) This man was really saying, "To hell with all parties (representatives) who are out to lead." And instead, he was hewing a pathway to Science which would reach "a position where, in consequence, its exposition coincides with just this very point, this very stage of the science proper of mind. And finally, when it grasps this, its own essence, it will connote the nature of absolute knowledge itself." (p. 145B; 57M; 75H)

To return to the last section of this first major division—Reason—we see here the first Hegelian development of actuality, that is to say, the reality of the objective world and the reality of thought. The historic period is the one which preceded his own, or the period before the French Revolution. There is an awakening of the scientific world of thought which sees beyond the empirical, but cannot unify the objective and subjective. He hits out against both Kant's "Table of Categories" and the "Abstract empty idealism" of Fichte. Of Kant's discovery he says, "But to pick up the various categories again in any sort of way as a kind of happy find, hit upon, e.g., in the different judgments, and then to be content so to accept them, must really be regarded as an outrage on scientific thinking." (p. 277B; 142M; 179H)

He, therefore, proceeds to examine the process of observation, both of organic nature and of self-consciousness. The sections on the so-called laws of thought are quite hilarious, and are a perfect slap at modern psychoanalysis, of which he knew nothing then. Indeed, if anyone thinks that the very long section on Phrenology merely reveals the backward state of science at that time, and not our age, he fails to understand that thought or, for that matter, feeling, have no meaning apart from the reality with which thought is concerned, and which builds up "feelings."

Although we are in the realm of the phenomenal, reality and thought are so inseparable, practical reason as well as theoretical combine to show the inadequacies of mere observation, which does not mean that purposive activity can do away with one-sided subjective idealism. On the contrary, the criticism of Rousseau and the whole Romantic Movement, which Hegel makes under the heading, "The Law of the Heart, and the Frenzy of Self-Conceit," apply to the labor bureaucrat and his "earnestness of a high purpose, which seeks its pleasure in displaying the excellence of (his) own true nature, and in bringing about the welfare of mankind." (p. 392B; 222M; 267H) When it meets up against mankind's opposition to this personal interpretation, "the heart-



"A Woman of the Revolution" painted by Jacques-Louis David in 1795.

throb for the welfare of mankind passes therefore into the rage of frantic self-conceit, into the fury of consciousness to preserve itself from destruction." (p. 397B; 226M; 271H)

It is at this point that individualism tried to take refuge in the concept of "virtue." How many windbags, from Castro to some of our best friends, are not included in the following beautiful passage: "The vacuousness of this rhetorical eloquence in conflict with the world's process would be at once discovered if it were to be stated what all its eloquent phrases amount to. They are therefore assumed to be familiar and well-understood. The request to say what, then, this 'well-known' is would be either met by a new swell of phrases, or in reply there would be an appeal to the 'heart' which 'inwardly' tells what they mean—which is tantamount to an admission of inability to say what the meaning is." (p. 410B; 234M; 280-81H)

As Hegel hits out against this form of self-expression, he digs deep into the objective base. We reach here the section which could equally describe Mao's China, Castro's Cuba, and Djilas' counter-thesis to the new class, which Hegel calls "Self-Contained Individuals Associated as a Community of Animals and the Deception Thence Arising: The Real Fact." This section should be studied in detail, especially so pages 434-438B (248-52M, 297-300H), on the "Honesty" or "Honorableness" of this type of consciousness which, actually, since it concerns a reality not involving action, but merely good luck, is summed up simply as follows: "The true meaning of this 'Honesty,' however, lies in not being so honest as it seems." (p. 434B; 248M; 297H) By the time Hegel gets through exposing the deception of himself, as well as of others, his conclusion is an uncompromising one: "The moments of individuality which were taken as subject one after another by this unreflective incoherent stage of consciousness..." (p. 438B; 252M; 300H)

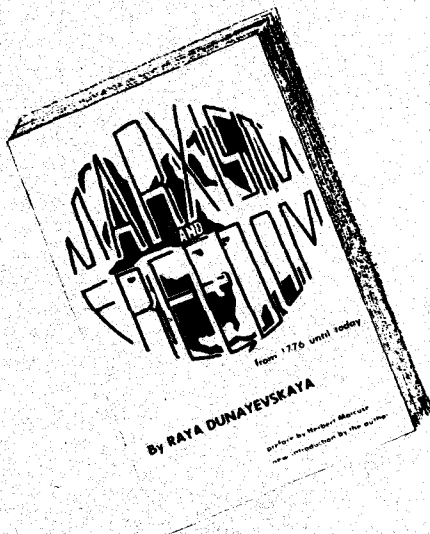
THE SECOND MAJOR subdivision—Spirit—is the cornerstone of the entire work. Since alienation has by no means disappeared with the "realization of Reason," i.e., the rise of industrial capitalism, we get here the really revolutionary impact of the dialectical philosophy which refuses to be confined even where the sciences have been liberated, the individual has been freed, and production "progresses."

Whether it's nation and the family, "law and order" (legal status), or the moral laws and ethical action that proceeds with both guilt and destiny, we find that Personality or the master and lord of the world, the power of destruction, continues. Indeed, Hegel is here dealing with what he calls "titanic excess" (p. 505B; 293M; 345H), not only insofar as his point of reference is the Neros who fiddled while Rome burned, i.e., slave societies, but also insofar as free enterprise is concerned—Hobbes' Leviathan. Thus, not only stoicism, skepticism, the unhappy consciousness, but also Spirit finds itself estranged: "What in the case of the former was all harmony and union, comes now on the scene, no doubt in developed form, but self-estranged." (p. 506B; 294M; 346H)

It is this spirit of self-estrangement which Hegel also defines as "the discipline of culture." That is to say, it is a critique of everything from the Industrial Revolution to the French Revolution, and including what Marx called the "fetishism of commodities," as well as what Hegel calls a spiritual, but factual, "reign of terror"—the intellectual run amok. Throughout, we will be seeing the contradiction between the individual and society or between what we would call petty bourgeois individualism and the truly social individual.

Let us remember also that we will find here what
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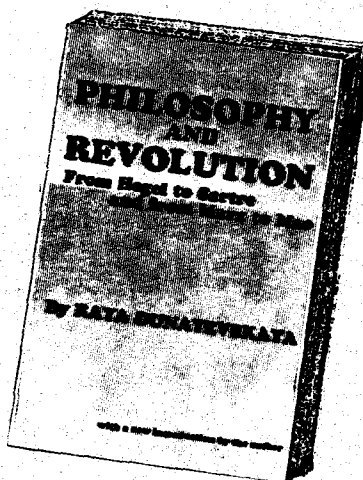
A Trilogy of Revolution



Marxism and Freedom



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



Philosophy and Revolution

Where **Marxism and Freedom**, whose structure was grounded in the movement from practice throughout the 200 years from 1776 to Today discloses Marx's "new Humanism", both internationally and in its American roots, **Philosophy and Revolution**, in recreating Marx's philosophic roots both in the Hegelian dialectic and in the actual revolutionary movement of his day, articulated these forces of revolution as Reason — Labor, Black, Youth, Women — of our day. By tracing and paralleling this age's 30-year movement from practice to theory with our own theoretical development for the same three decades, Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. has met the challenge of the "new moments" in the last decade of Marx's life by disclosing in them a trail to the 1980s. It is this trail, these paths of revolution—be in the birth of a whole new generation of revolutionaries, including the transformation of Women's Liberation as an idea whose time has come into a movement or the emergence of a whole new Third World — that form the content of **Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution**. This work challenges post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism. At a time when the nuclear world is threatened with the extinction of civilization itself it becomes imperative not only to reject what is, but to reveal the revolutionary Humanist future inherent in the present.

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WHY HEGEL'S PHENOMENOLOGY? WHY NOW?

(continued from page 6)

Marx thought contained the critique, though in still mystical form, of the capitalist state:

Spirit in this case, therefore, constructs not merely one world, but a twofold world, divided and self-opposed. (p. 510B; 295M; 348H)

The self-opposition deepens not only because of its opposition to reality, but the internal opposition which first is "Pure Insight," which completes the stage of culture, which "extinguishes all objectiveness." That is to say, in fighting against faith and superstition, it is Enlightenment, but in trying to be an island of safety for Spirit, it confines it from further self-development. In this critique of 18th century deism and utilitarianism, Hegel writes:

Enlightenment upsets the household arrangements, which spirit carries out in the house of faith, by bringing in the goods and furnishings belonging to the world of Here and Now... (p. 512B; 296M; 349H)

The sphere of spirit at this stage breaks up into two regions. The one is the actual world, that of self-estrangement, the other is that which spirit constructs for itself in the ether of pure consciousness, raising itself above the first. This second world, being constructed in opposition and contrast to that estrangement, is just on that account not free from it... (p. 513B; 297M; 350H)

It is important to keep in mind that by culture Hegel does not mean only the Humanities or the Sciences. He means material wealth and the state, as well as the intelligentsia and their ivory towers. If you keep in mind what Marx meant by super-structure, you will be able to swim along with Hegel's critique of Culture.

In criticizing Empiricism (especially Bacon's idea, "knowledge is power"), Hegel criticizes not only his principles, but the reality on which these principles rest: "The extent of its culture is the measure of its reality and its power." (p. 515B; 298M; 351H)

He then moves from the "power of culture" to the power of state. Here we can see that ordinary psychological or moral terms like good and bad have a very different and altogether profound meaning in Hegel:

...these bare ideas of Good and Bad are similarly and immediately alienated from one another; they are actual, and in actual consciousness appear as moments that are objective. In this sense the first state of being is the Power of the State, the second its Resources or Wealth. (p. 519B; 301M; 354-55H)

Until Hegel reaches the attitude of "thoroughgoing discordance" (p. 535B; 312M; 366H), Hegel has the time of his life criticizing both the Good and the Bad, both the State and Wealth, both the Attitudes of Nobility and Authority in a way that could encompass everyone from Proudhon, whose anarchism had no use for the state, to Mao Tse-tung, who completely identifies himself with this state. This is what is so extraordinary about Hegel, that he catches the spirit of an epoch in crisis, and, therefore, its ramifications extend into both Ages that are marked beyond the one he analyzes, and Personality beyond those that he has known in his own period or in history. Think of Mao and read the following:

The noble type of consciousness, then, finds itself in the judgment related to state-power....This type of mind is the heroism of Service; the virtue which sacrifices individual being to the universal, and thereby brings this into existence; the type of personality which of itself renounces possession and enjoyment, acts for the sake of the prevailing power, and in this way becomes a concrete reality....The result of this action, binding the essential reality and self indissolubly together, is to produce a twofold actuality—a self that is truly actualized, and a state-power whose authority is accepted as true....It has a value, therefore, in their thoughts, and is honored accordingly. Such a type is the haughty vassal; he is active in the interests of the state-power, so far as the latter is not a personal will (a monarch) but merely an essential will. (pp. 526-528B; 306-7M; 360-61H)

Not only is the critique of state power total in its es-

sential respects, but also in its language, for to Hegel speech contains "ego in its purity." The heroism of dumb service passes into the heroism of flattery: "This reflection of service in express language constitutes the spiritual self-disintegrating mediating term..." (p. 533B; 310M; 364H) One doesn't have to think or be too bright to remember, in this respect, expressions that must have been in Hegel's mind, such as that of Louis XIV, "I am the State." No wonder that Hegel added (p. 537B; 314M; 368H) that this was the type of "pure personality to be absolutely without the character of personality." Indeed, on pages 537-548B (314-21M; 368-76H), there is a beautiful description of Existentialists, fellow-travelers, people who break with the "East" to go to the "West" like Djalas, as well as vice versa, like C. Wright Mills. In each case we find that "in place of revolt appears arrogance." (p. 539B; 315M; 369H)

This type of spiritual life is the absolute and universal inversion of reality and thought, their entire estrangement the one from the other; it is pure culture. What is found out in this sphere is that neither the concrete realities, state-power and wealth, nor their determinate conceptions, good and bad, nor the consciousness of good and bad (the consciousness that is noble and the consciousness that is base) possess real truth; it is found that all these moments are inverted and transmuted the one into the other; and each is the opposite of itself. (p. 541B; 316M; 371H)

The perversion is not ended when culture moves over to "belief and pure insight." It has always been a wonder to me how Hegel keeps trying to reassert religion as an absolute and yet at every concrete stage or form of religion, actual religion is criticized. For example, he does not deny that belief or religion has always been a form of alienation which man had to rid himself of in order to face reality; he has been devastating when it was the unhappy consciousness that confronted him, and again in the form of culture, and now as "merely belief"—in the nether world, as pure ego (see Kant: "Pure ego is the absolute unity of apperception") or "pure thought," and finally as Enlightenment. Naturally, Hegel does not deny the good enlightenment accomplished in its struggle with superstition and in its clearing the ground for the French Revolution. But when it is made into something absolute, he feels the revolutionary impulse to overthrow this idol. Note in the following quotation how Hegel moves from a critique of idolatry to a critique of any "dead form of the spirit's previous state" which would equally be applicable to something like Trotsky's forced identification of nationalized property and "workers' state":

On some 'fine morning', whose noon is not red with blood, if the infection has penetrated to every organ of spiritual life. It is then the memory alone that still preserves the dead form of the spirit's previous state, as a vanished history, vanished men know not how. (p. 565B; 332M; 388H)

That is why Hegel concludes that "enlightenment itself, however, which reminds belief of the opposite of its various separate moments, is just as little enlightened regarding its own nature." (p. 582B; 344M; 401H)

Hegel leaves himself one loophole that this is just an empty absolute. In proof of this, he hits out against what we would call vulgar materialism:

...pure matter is merely what remains over when we abstract from seeing, feeling, tasting, etc., i.e. it is not what is seen, tasted, felt, and so on; it is not matter that is seen, felt, or tasted, but color, a stone, a salt, and so on. Matter is really pure abstraction... (p. 592B; 351M; 409H)

Read this along with Marx's description of the five senses in his "Private Property and Communism." Hegel is hitting out both against Descartes and the Utilitarians.

THE LAST SECTION of the Spirit in Self-Estrangement that we have been dealing with, Hegel entitles "Absolute Freedom and Terror." It is an analysis of what happened to the French Revolution as factionalism broke up the unity of the revolution so that for "pure personality" the world became "absolutely its

own will," so that terror succeeded so-called absolute freedom, since, by being only negative it was "merely the rage and fury of destruction." (p. 604B; 359M; 418H) In a word, Hegel considers that if you have not faced the question of reconstruction on new beginnings, but only destruction of the old, you have, therefore, reached only "death—a death that achieves nothing, embraces nothing within its grasp; for what is negated is the unachieved, unfulfilled punctual entity of the absolutely free self." (p. 605B; 360M; 418H) This is where he identifies that absolutely free self with a "faction." The victorious faction only is called the government;...and its being government makes it, conversely, into a faction and hence guilty." (pp. 605-606B; 360M; 419H)

It is not only government that Hegel criticizes here, but the philosophic transformation of enlightenment into Kant's "thing-in-itself." In a word, he is criticizing all forms of abstraction, whether in thought or in fact, when fact is narrowed to mean not all reality, but only aspects of it. He, therefore, concludes that this self-alienated type of mind must be driven to opposition:

Just as the realm of the real and actual world passes over into that of belief and insight, absolute freedom leaves its self-destructive sphere of reality... (p. 610B; 363M; 422H)

This very section is cited by Hegel in the Science of Logic, where, in the penultimate chapter on "The Idea of Cognition," in the final section on "The Idea of the Good," Hegel suddenly tells us that the two worlds of subjectivity and objectivity still remain in opposition: "The complete development of the unresolved contradiction, of that absolute end which the barrier of this actuality insuperably opposes, has been considered more closely in the Phenomenology of Spirit." (See Science of Logic, Vol. II, p. 462 in Johnston and Struthers translation, New York, 1929; p. 820 in Miller translation, London, 1969; p. 544-45 in Suhrkamp Verlag edition, Frankfurt, 1969.) In a word, Hegel is saying, in that penultimate chapter of Science of Logic, where we are on the threshold of the Absolute, that the unresolved contradiction between the two worlds of subjectivity and objectivity "has been considered more closely" in his phenomenological study.

This central part of the Phenomenology—Spirit—ends with the section called "Spirit Certain of Itself: Morality," which is just another form of talking about the state and consequently the certainty is by no means peace. On the contrary, it moves from Dissemblance that deals with what Kant called, according to Hegel, "a perfect nest of thoughtless contradictions," through the so-called "beautiful soul" (Jacobi) but which to Hegel is really "self-willed impotence" (p. 666B; 400M; 463H), that can only lead to hypocrisy. And on this note he ends the part on "Evil and Forgiveness." (You might return to the section on "Guilt and Destiny" (pp. 483-499B; 279-89M; 330-41H), and compare the similarity between moral and the ethical action which had previously led us into "Spirit in Self-Estrangement" or the "Discipline of Culture and Civilization.")

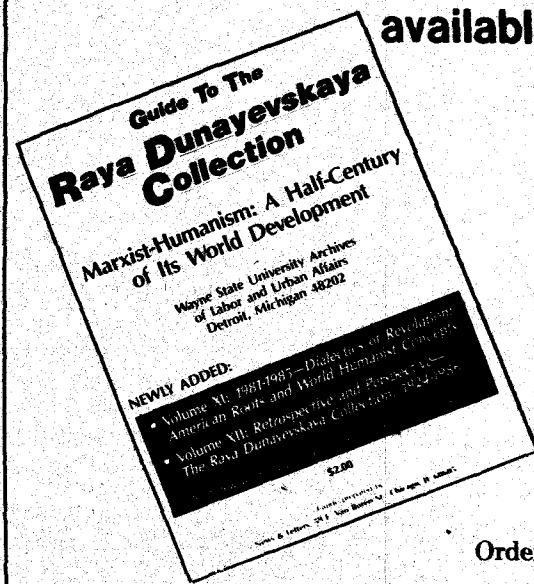
In a word, Spirit, as it was on the eve of the French Revolution and developed through the terror to Napoleonic France, has found no harmony either with its culture or its state, its literature or philosophy as enlightenment, or philosophy as abstract absolute a la Jacobi. Therefore, the human spirit has not been able to shake off alienation and reaches Religion.

Religion, which is the second major section of the division into two of the whole Phenomenology, as I have been tracing it through here, is just one step before Absolute Knowledge. Religion is subdivided into three sections: (1) Natural, which takes up both nature, plants, animals, concept of light and the "artificer" (Egyptian religion); (2) Religion in the form of art; (3) Revealed Religion, or Christianity.

In his introduction to this section, Hegel says that religion has, of course, entered before this, i.e., in the four stages of consciousness we have heretofore dealt with Consciousness, Self-Consciousness, Reason and Spirit, but more or less on a low level. That is to say, when we were at the first stage of consciousness, Religion was "devoid of selfhood"; when we reached Self-Consciousness, it was merely, "the pain and sorrow of Spirit wrestling to get itself out into objectivity once more, but not succeeding." (p. 685B; 410M; 473H) The third stage of Consciousness—Reason—more or less forgot about Religion since it first discovered itself and, therefore, looked to the immediate present—empiricism, science, etc. Even when we reach Spirit, whether of the ethical order where we have to fight fate "devoid of consciousness," or we reached and perished in "the religion of enlightenment," or finally reached the religion of morality, the best, says Hegel, that we accomplished there was to face "Absolute Reality." Therefore, it is only now in religion that we really confront the Spirit of Religion: "But only spirit which is object to itself in the shape of

(continued on page 8)

Selected commentary on Hegel by Raya Dunayevskaya available in the Marxist-Humanist Archives



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WHY HEGEL'S PHENOMENOLOGY? WHY NOW?

(continued from page 7)

Absolute Spirit, is as much aware of being a free and independent reality as it remains therein conscious of itself." (p. 688B; 412M; 476H)

Outside of the little subsection on the artificer, which in fact relates not only to Egyptian religions and pyramids and obelisks, but to what in our age would be called "the confidence man," there isn't much that I can see in the section on Natural Religion, except I see that I wrote down two expressions, "fetishism of commodities," and "Dr. Zhivago" near the following expression of Hegel: "The darkness of thought mated with the clearness of expression." And it is through this clearness of expression that we reach religion in the form of art, which is again subdivided into Abstract and Living and Spiritual Work of Art. Under Culture, Hegel deals with language as still one other form of estrangement (p. 529B; 308M; 362H), as the speech of the ego, of the haughty vassal, of the arrogant monarch: "L'etat c'est moi" (I am the State). Under Art, on the other hand, he traces language from the manner in which the idea presents itself—Epics—through the act, i.e., the drama, so that the language of the minstrel is transformed into that of Tragedy: "In regard to form, the language here ceases to be narrative, in virtue of the fact that it enters into the content, just as the content ceases to be merely one that is ideally imagined. The hero is himself the spokesman..." (p. 736B; 443-4M; 510-11H). He then breaks up the question of language as it appears when it is "double-tongued" in the oracles or via witches, and to that in which it is thought (Hamlet), and finally via action. "The process of action proves their unity in the mutual overthrow of both powers and both self-conscious characters" (p. 743B; 448M; 516H), action both as in Tragedy and in Comedy.

The last section on Religion, which deals with Christianity, is even more contradictory, for here Hegel is supposed to reach, more or less, the height of his thought, the step before Absolute Knowledge, and has been put by him in a section beyond Greek Art. And yet we know that, to Hegel, Greek Art was certainly a great deal greater than the appearance of One God among the Jews, or even the Christian God as it was with the Catholics; for to Hegel the Lutheran Reformation to make the alleged unity of freedom and Christianity is anything but abstract. I have a feeling that the whole section, as it has been expanded in his volumes on the Philosophy of Religion, will, in actuality, turn out to be a devastating critique of the Church or the Party. But I have no chance to go into this. In any case, to make explicit what is only implicit in Religion, we must turn to Absolute Knowledge.

AS WE REACH THIS APEX of Hegelianism—the consummation of experience, of philosophy—we will confront the end of the division between object and subject.

This takes the form of making consciousness itself the object. Hegel lists three specific aspects: "This knowledge of which we are speaking is, however, not knowledge in the sense of pure conceptual comprehension of the object; here this knowledge is to be taken only in its development..." (p. 790B; 480M; 550H)

Development is of the essence. It is the beginning out of which something arises. It is the middle through which something must be passed. It is the end, "the

⁴Appended to these Notes is a further comment on Hegel's concept of Tragedy in the Phenomenology that I made November 17, 1968, in answer to a question posed to me.

mediated result," which is really not an end of anything but a process of development which is the beginning of another process as much as it is the end of a former one. Therefore, it is development where the question is one of understanding the method of grasping the object, that is to say, confronting consciousness. In confrontation you meet the second aspect—Relatedness; from Relatedness you must go to Action. Therefore, Action, the deed, practical activity, mental activity, spiritual activity, in a word, doing something, is always the only proof there is of the thought, and therefore stands in the center of all Hegelian philosophy:

It is through action that spirit is spirit so as definitely to exist; it raises its existence into the sphere of thought and hence into absolute opposition, and returns out of it through and within this very opposition. (p. 797B; 485M; 555H)

This is the movement towards Science, that is to say, from individual experience through social experience, to a universal generalization of the experience which goes to make up the action: "As to the actual existence of this notion, science does not appear in time and in reality till spirit has arrived at this stage of being conscious regarding itself." (p. 798B; 486M; 557H)

Time is just the notion definitely existent...Time therefore appears as spirit's destiny and necessity... (p. 800B; 487M; 558H)

It is peculiar how Hegel is constantly returning to the simple feelings even when he has reached Absolute Knowledge. He says, in fact, that "nothing is known which does not fall within experience, or (as it is also expressed) which is not felt to be true..." (p. 800B; 487M; 558H)

We reach explicitness here, and have to deal with the transformation of Substance into Subject (not just Things versus Human Beings, but Substance as God into living "gods" or the human and divine merged into an extension of human power).

In a single page (802B; 488-9M; 560H) Hegel sums up the entire development of Philosophy and Science from Descartes to himself. Thus, we move from Observation, which analyzes what is and "conversely it finds in its thought existence" (Descartes), to Substance, that is to say, God as both Thought and Reality, though abstractly stated (Spinoza). The abstraction of this forced unity brings about "the principle of Individuality" (Leibniz). We have entered Private Enterprise, or the first stage of capitalism, only to move to Utilitarianism into which the Enlightenment had "perished." Here the Individual Will (Kant) comes to the rescue of Absolute Freedom, or to put it in more human language, men of good will will yet straighten out this topsy-turvy world of private capital versus labor, freedom versus terror, etc., etc., and since this really doesn't happen, we jump back from Kantianism to the Absolute Ego of Fichte, or Absolute as "intuited" by Jacobi, and finally land into the Empty Absolute of Schelling. In a word, Hegel shows the birth of our modern world as Science rejected theology to strike out on its own, met up with a first statement of the dialectic in Kant, who tried to unify Thought and Science by sheer will, and when that philosophic exertion failed to meet the challenge of the time, the contemporary philosophers—Fichte, Schelling, Jacobi—slid back. To go forward, Substance had to become Subject. This is where Hegel comes in. The last three pages of the Phenomenology are an outpouring of "simple mediating activity in thinking" where the whole process releases itself, History and Science, Nature and Spirit: "born anew from the womb of knowledge—is the new

stage of existence, a new world, and a new embodiment or mode of Spirit." (p. 807B; 492M; 564H)

This new world, which Hegel calls Absolute Knowledge, is the unity of the real world and the notions about it, the organization of thought and activity, which merge into the new, the whole truth of the past and the present, which anticipates the future.

December 12, 1960

Further comments on Hegel's Concept of Tragedy

Don't forget that remembering and recollection—sich erinnern—has a very special meaning in Hegelian terminology, based only, in part, that the German expression means to go into one's self, and mainly because, if you remember by "going into yourself," obviously, you have been in the "outside," i.e., the objective world, and now have to communicate with yourself to bring about a new unity of objective and subjective. In the Absolute Idea, recollection is used in the manner in which we would use history and in all of the consideration of Art, Hegel views as a form of the Absolute Idea. Secondly, insofar as language and the epoch is concerned, as a dialectician, Hegel does not consider that you have reached the highest stage when you have expressed yourself in narrative form alone. It has to be a drama, a tragedy, a comedy, in a word a dialogue between antagonists. (In the Greek origin of dialectic, dialect or conversation was always what produced the new ideas, the new being, neither the ideas you came with to the discussion nor the ideas that others came with, but a synthesis of the two which was neither the one nor the other.) Now then turn to page 736B (443-4M; 510-11H), the last paragraph:

This higher language, that of Tragedy, gathers and keeps more closely together the dispersed and scattered moments of the inner essential world and the world of action...In regard to form, the language here ceases to be narrative, in virtue of the fact that it enters into the content, just as the content ceases to be merely one that is ideally imagined. The hero is himself the spokesman, and the representation given brings before the audience—who are also spectators—self-conscious human beings, who know their own rights and purposes, the power and the will belonging to their specific nature, and who knows how to state them.

Although Hegel doesn't use the word revolutionary, negation definitely serves that function, and it is because neither the hero, as an individual, nor the chorus, because of its "powerlessness," could possibly succeed in uniting the individual and the universal that Hegel writes:

Lacking the power to negate and oppose, it is unable to hold together and keep within bounds the riches and varied fullness of divine life; it allows each individual moment to go off its own way, and in its hymns of honour and reverence praises each individual moment as an independent god, now this god and now again another. (pp. 737-738B; 444M; 511H)

Turn to page 740B (446M; 513-14H), and note, especially, the brilliant notes by Professor J.B. Baillie, who interprets the various references Hegel had in mind when he wrote the following and which I will include in parenthesis:

He (Oedipus), who had the power to unlock the riddle of the sphinx, and he too who trusted with childlike confidence (Orestes), are, therefore, both sent to destruction through what the god reveals to them. The priestess, through whose mouth the beautiful god speaks, (in the Delphic Oracle) is in nothing different from the equivocal sisters of fate (the witches in "Macbeth"), who drive their victim to crime by their promises, and who, by the double-tongued, equivocal character of what they gave out as a certainty, deceive the King when he relies upon the manifest and obvious meaning of what they say. There is a type of consciousness that is purer than the latter (Macbeth) which believes in witches, and more sober, more thorough, and more solid than the former which puts its trust in the priestess and the beautiful god. This type of consciousness (Hamlet), therefore, lets his revenge tarry for the revelation which the spirit of his father makes regarding the crime that did him to death, and institutes other proofs in addition... (p. 740B; 446-7M; 513-14H)

Shakespeare was an "optimist" (that is outside of being a genius) and, therefore, no matter how many corpses at the end of a tragedy are laid out on the stage, there is always the bugle call and the new arriving, invariably late. Despite all statements to the contrary, including by himself, so is Hegel an "optimist," that is to say, he is sure that somewhere or another, at sometime or another, the individual and the universal will be united so that finally the individual will be free as well as pluri-dimensional, or, as he expressed it in the Philosophy of Mind, "individuality purified of all that interferes with its universalism, i.e. freedom."

Marx never stopped rereading the Greek tragedies and Shakespeare and he brought in those remarkable passages from Timon of Athens on gold directly into both the Grundrisse and Capital, not only because they so well described the avarice and fetishism of gold but, also, because the dehumanization of man resulted from a class society.

November 17, 1968

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Language and politics of African literature

Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o. Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1986.

The history of Kenya flows deeply through the works of Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o. He completed the first of his novels on the eve of Independence. His early works are filled with a host of village and townspeople who intimate the vast promises of the new nation and the painful, contradictory progress of Kenya's struggle for full independence. As the contradictions in the African reality lingered, the author's voice changed.

Ngũgĩ has produced several collections of essays in recent years. The title under review is the third of these and it contains both new theoretical ideas and some of Ngũgĩ's sharpest polemics. The overall topic is again the political role of writers in Africa.

Ngũgĩ discusses his development as a writer and his imprisonment in 1978 for work with a community theater which produced his play "I Will Marry When I Want." The repression of intellectuals under President Moi has greatly increased since 1982. The regime, with staunch backing from the U.S. and Britain, seems terrified of the nation's own collective memory. Why else do so many of Kenya's intellectuals, so many of the freedom fighters for independence, languish in its prisons? Why does the renowned Ngũgĩ remain in forced exile?

CHALLENGE TO NEO-COLONIALISM

Decolonising the Mind challenges writers to separate from the neo-colonial order and all of its internal allies. The essays involve a scathing critique and soul-searching which fully involves the author himself. Ngũgĩ attacks the current self-perceptions of intellectuals, their conceptions of culture.

Ngũgĩ writes, "Our capacity to confront the world creatively is dependent on how those images correspond or not to that reality, how they distort or clarify the reality of our struggles. Language as culture is thus mediating between me and my own self."

Why, he asks, should each new generation of African intellectuals continue to enrich the European languages which were imposed on Africa by colonialism? In Ngũgĩ's view, African languages have no less a range of ideas and experiences and can lend themselves generously to any branch of literature as well as philosophic works.

NGUGI'S GOAL VS. HIS DECISION

It is falsely believed that English or French possesses an inherent universality, foreign to Africa. But the universality of language, which Ngũgĩ argues is specific to all human culture, is not merely an attribute of words. "Thus a specific culture is not transmitted through language in its universality but in its particularity as the language of a specific community with a specific history."

Ngũgĩ's concept of "relevance" for African writers involves the development of national culture through revolutionary relations between the writer and the African masses. The African languages have always belonged unequivocally to peasants' and workers' communities. Ngũgĩ's goal is the creation of a new African community which has undermined the divisions of existing class society.

In a statement at the front of the book Ngũgĩ informs us that in favor of Gikuyu he will no longer be writing in English. In our view, that decision is very unfortunate. This is not because we are impatient with the time required for translation. It is that Ngũgĩ's ideas

have created an international discussion* which he should continue to address directly. We dearly hope he will reconsider his statement.

—Calvin Brown

*See Frantz Fanon, *Soweto and American Black Thought*, available from N&L. See ad, page 8.

Direct from South Africa Freedom Journal



Striking railroad workers in South Africa attack police after six of their fellow strikers were killed by the government. The six-week long strike has included two police invasions of COSATU (Congress Of South African Trade Unions) headquarters.

S.A. unions oppose Botha, demand May 1 holiday

Johannesburg, South Africa—The South African government's announcement declaring the first Friday in May a public holiday, instead of officially making May 1 a paid public holiday, has been strongly criticized by Black labour unions and the community at large.

They say the government does not want to be seen openly bowing to the people's demands, which would lead to serious labour unrest in the future, but instead uses devious ways of giving tidbits.

The State President, P.W. Botha, made an announcement on March 21, in Boksburg, that the first Friday in May of every year will be declared a public holiday known as Workers' Day.

The country's two biggest union groups, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the Council of Unions of South Africa-Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (CUSA-AZACTU) said they were still committed to getting May 1 and June 16 as public paid holidays.

CUSA-AZACTU has said that, "P.W. Botha is under pressure from the labour movement, employer organizations and the international community to declare May 1 a public holiday and at the same time he fears the right wing. He thus accepts a position of in-between and expects us to swallow this. He is very wrong because we know Labour Day as May 1."

Haitian referendum

Port-au-Prince, Haiti—On March 29 the CNG (National Governing Council) organized a nationwide referendum on the new constitution which the constituent assembly had just prepared. Recall that the Oct. 19, 1986 elections to choose members of this constituent assembly were boycotted. The people abstained.

A few days before the March 29 referendum, there were divergent opinions about the referendum inside the democratic sector. Certain movements asked the people to vote "yes." Here one found, for example, the Mobile Institute for Democratic Education, the Unified Haitian Communist Party, and the Democratic Action Movement. Other movements, such as the Movement for Mobilization for National Development, asked the people to vote "no."

Finally, some groups favored a boycott. In this category one found the Union of Patriotic and Democratic Forces, the Committee Against Repression in Haiti, and the National Organization for the Defense of Youth. These groups thought that voting in the referendum would give the CNG a legitimacy and a legality which it does not deserve. This is because the military junta which has been in power since Feb. 7, 1986 was formed by ex-president Jean-Claude Duvalier and the U.S. State Department. —Renan Hedouville, correspondent

Editor's note: The military-run CNG claims that 99.9% of the people voted "yes." But they admit that the ballot was not secret and that at least 50% of the people did not vote in the capital. Some estimates for abstention in the country as a whole run 72%.

'Red capitalism' won't work on reservation

by Shainape Shecapwe

The cuts in federal spending by the Reagan Administration have affected Indians living on and off the reservations dramatically in our everyday lives—from education and employment to health care and housing. I don't know of any people as profoundly hurt by Reaganism as we have been, and we are trying to do something about it.

DENNIS BANKS AND PETER McDONALD

Lately though, I've been reading about and talking to people whom we have thought of as our spokespeople for the Indian Movement. Some have turned to the idea of private enterprise—people from different reservations getting together to create "Red capitalism"—as though that were the way to solve our problems. I am hearing this kind of talk from Dennis Banks. He is now saying that he tried militancy and it didn't work, and that it's time to see what he can do with private enterprise in the form of his company, called Loneman Enterprises. He says that he can guarantee employment for Indians on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

Then there is Peter McDonald, who just got re-elected as head of the tribal council by the Navajo Indians. McDonald says he's going to fix all ills there by taking control of the Navajo's mineral rights and dealing with Peabody Coal himself, so that the Navajo people can derive whatever good can come from that.

Who do they think they are fooling? To start with, they could spend a few minutes talking to workers at some of the auto companies here in Detroit to get an idea of how "wonderfully well" capitalism is working. Thousands are losing their jobs as the plants shut.

FORT TOTTEN AND BIG MOUNTAIN

Closer to home, on the reservations, capitalism hasn't helped us either. On my reservation, Fort Totten, a factory was opened in 1975 to get work subcontracted from the Army. It was subsidized by the government, including the minimum wages people were paid. The factory was meant to employ 500 people but at most only 235 worked there. Now the contracts have run out, and less than 100 people work there. This is on a reservation where 1,800 people need jobs and nearly everyone is on some form of welfare.

The "entrepreneurs" in the Indian Movement should listen to the people closer to home, such as the group of tribal elders who went with supporters to protest at the Peabody Coal headquarters in Arizona in February. These spiritual leaders have consistently said that Big Mountain is their sovereign land, not to be tampered with and not to be taken by the coal companies at any price. They don't discuss "making deals" with private enterprise, much less laying their land open to industrial waste and destruction.

These elders often talk about working together to create a better society, where we can live together in harmony with each other and the land. But we know that dream can't be made true living in this society. I can understand the desperate need to make jobs on the reservations so that we can survive, but we need less talk about expanding our horizons into private enterprise, and more discussion of fundamental change and freedom. No one but Dennis Banks and the press is fooled by "Red capitalism".

Broadwater Farm 3

London, England—As the March gales swept across Britain, it was feared that the statue of Justice would be blown down from the roof of London's Central Criminal Court. On March 19, three men were found guilty of murdering Police Constable Keith Blakelock, killed during the Broadwater Farm revolt on Oct. 5, 1985. The three men were all sentenced to life in prison. Winston Silcott and Mark Braithwaite are Black; Engin Raghupathi is white. The jury consisted of eleven whites and one Black woman. The prosecution's case rested entirely on statements that the defendants were alleged to have made in police custody. There were no witnesses, no photographs, no forensic evidence.

The trial brought to light some of the methods used by the police to extract confessions. The judge instructed the jury to acquit the three other youths on account of the way they had been interrogated without being allowed to see their parents or a lawyer.

In the end, the trial was an extension of the social struggle: the verdicts owed less to the evidence than to the enormous pressure from the police and the right-wing press to make an example of someone. The death of this one policeman who was surrounded by about 50 people during the revolt and suffered 40 knife wounds was a terrible one. But his violent death was the fruit of years of racist and domineering police behavior, the primary cause of all the urban revolts in Britain since 1981.

—Richard Bunting

Black/Red View

(continued from page 1)

cent human existence in any section of the country.

Most of the proponents of compulsory "workfare" have paid scant attention to the humanity of the women and children who are the victims of welfare. Prof. Marilyn Gitell, of the City University of New York, wrote late last year in the *Chicago Tribune* that most of the 29 states that have adopted "workfare" programs to put AFDC parents to work are placing the mothers in jobs, at minimum wages, without medical benefits or arrangements for child care.

Regardless of how the Democrats and the Republicans resolve differences over how much welfare (i.e., medicare, money for job training, baby sitters and carfare) will be in the program, objectively the bill can only force young Black mothers into the minimum wage jobs of the working poor. With all of its instabilities, such a make-work program is no road out of the vicious circle of poverty.

WHITHER BLACK INTELLECTUALS?

We Black Americans must not only think critically about liberals and conservatives joining in a spurious move to "reform welfare," we have to catch the inseparability of this from the grim and growing poverty in the Black community. The growing racism in the country and such crises as the recent Tampa, Fla. revolt of Black youth are causing a crisis in the thought of Black intellectuals.

No one actually believes that the so-called Black underclass will be absorbed in "workfare." Many Black intellectuals are quite aware of the fact that even in an upbeat economy there is no way for capitalism to solve the problem of Black youth unemployment and poverty. But instead of grasping the need to think about transforming capitalism, they seek the alternative of government intervention with massive training programs, in an age of permanent unemployment caused by automa...

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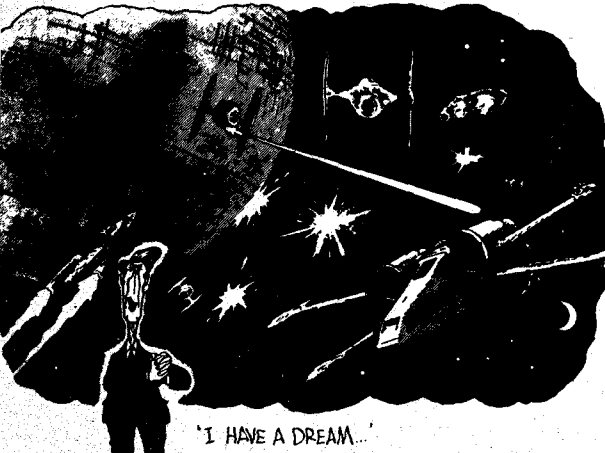
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ssay—Discussion Article

Militarized science in state-capitalist society

by Ron Brokmeyer

The new stage of militarized science is very nearly rotten in all the opposition to Reagan's illegal Iran-ntra deals. The Congressional opposition has been out "save the Presidency," especially the Commander-in-ief. What about the colossal expansion under Reagan what the Pentagon calls its "black budget"? It is now 2 billion a year and is nearly completely secret. This pect of Reagan's secret use of the nation's wealth is ficial policy. One of their projects is a computer com-and network of satellites 70,000 miles up that is to be



ble to fight World War IV six months after a nuclear xchange.¹ Reagan's talk of taking us beyond MAD (mutually assured destruction) is the ability to drop ore H-bombs after the killing field is the entire planet. Nearly unnoticed on March 10 Secretary of War Weinberger singlehandedly reversed decades of official policy that tied efforts in space to exclusively peaceful ims. What followed this amendment to Pentagon poli-y was a directive in April from Weinberger to Secre-ary of State Schultz declaring the U.S. "must be pre-ared to go forward alone" with NASA's projected pace station. What Weinberger means by "alone" is ithout the Allies who object to the militarization of he space station. This war department fiat ends any il-lusions that space research is a vehicle for international ooperation and the peaceful use of science.

The Pentagon's imperious reach is in many directions. he trade crisis with Japan is rooted in directing prod-uction for war. It began when the Pentagon put on hold he sale of a chipmaker, Fairchild Semiconductor, to aapanese company and established a government-indus-try consortium to advance production of "strategic" emiconductor technology.

U.S. AND RUSSIA HARNESS SCIENCE TO PRODUCTION FOR WAR

Even the new talk of an arms agreement in Europe is based on deploying a new round of sure kill computer-ized weapons that recognize their targets. Europe is the potential battlefield for this new generation of Star Wars type weapons on the ground. The projected auto-mated death machine is no respite from horror on the scale of the nuclear bomb. Whether in Russia or the U.S., the mathematician is the "brain" of these new weapons where the "magic is in the algorithms."²

Gorbachev handed a Reagan in trouble this opening for a missile deal in Europe as well as a go ahead with Sakharov's encouragement, for SDI (Star Wars). He is confident his newly reorganized science plans can com-pete in technological warfare. Gorbachev's new "human rights" are tied to that country's ruling ideology of sci-ence, out to militarize further and exhort workers to produce more.³ Sakharov's vision of "human rights" may stop with "glasnost" but many in the dissident

movement are shocked over his uncritical support of Gorbachev.

In this global economic crisis what ties both poles of world capital together is a new stage of integra-tion of production for war. The Pentagon's insane plans reaching to WW IV are projecting an effort on an unheard of scale to direct intelligence into its ma-chinery of death. Whereas now there is practically a surplus of programmers, by 1990 the *Wall Street Journal* (Jan. 28, 1987) predicts there will be a short-age of one million programmers to work on SDI. Far from any breather, Reagan's agenda for the next 20 months reveals the absolute of state-capitalist sci-ence which is a mobilization for the destruction of humanity.

Youth are a special target of this mobilization. Ever since 1957 and the shock that the Russians were first in space with Sputnik, the federal government has inter-vened down to the lowest levels of math and science ed-ucation in the name of "national security." Science is presented as the truth of humanity's relation to nature and as a way to become a participant in this militarized state capitalism. Youth are sung a constant chorus of science and high tech as the future. Student demon-strations persist, like one on April 8 on Biko Plaza at University of California, Berkeley, demanding to "Get the Pentagon off Campus" whether in scientific re-search, the ROTC, or the CIA recruiter. In the move-ment of direct action against militarized science, youth are demanding new human relations in the university. This goes beyond many scientists' intervention in the form of extracurricular "social responsibility," and ex-pert testimony. The limits of that kind of intervention are set by what Marx called "abstract materialism" within which there is no room for "history and its pro-cess."

MARX'S MATHEMATICAL MSS.

For the rank-and-file laborer the idea is inseparable from activity. So from the beginning of the introduction of automation in the post-WWII world, when all science went into the machine to more completely dominate the living laborer and create new extremes of the division between mental and manual labor, the wildcat strikes haven't ceased. The 1983 publication of Marx's *Mathe-matical Manuscripts* made me look again at that total contradiction.⁴ There Marx's return to math focused on the idea within science itself, its concrete history, re-vealing it as a process of development through negation of the negation. That was against the formalism of mathematicians who mystified calculus for two centu-ries and now project computers and mechanized logic as the determinant for human development. Marx's *Manu-scripts* revealed for me a more concrete sense that the revolutionary process, unleashed by the dialectic meth-od, can transform science, too, in a fundamental way.

Marx's view of math not only showed that science as a human activity is found wanting, that it is part and parcel of state-capitalist alienation, but also revealed anew Marx's foundation which rooted the Hegelian dia-lectic of second negativity in corporeal humanity on the earth. The only way to recapture rigor in presenting calculus as a transition in mathematics is to look to the idea's development which is inseparable from the simple personality, the live human being. Science had always relinquished those realms to religion or philosophy. That radical turn to recapture mathematical rigor in the idea's development through specific people may seem like a big leap, yet state-capitalism with science as one of its forms of socialization reveals a necessity for just that.

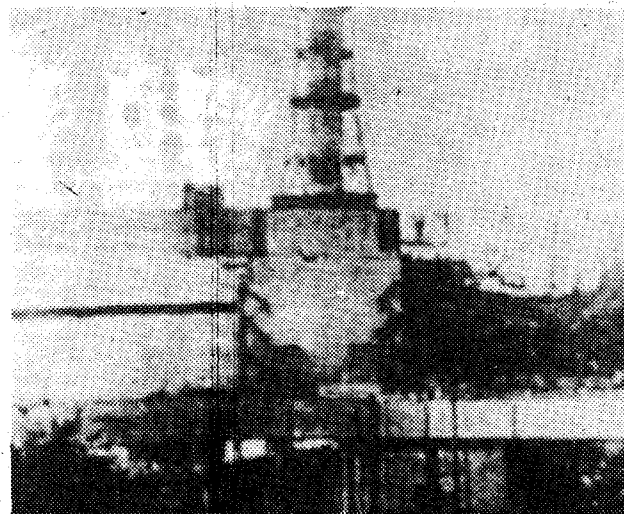
MORE THAN METHODOLOGY

Science is not, I repeat, is not, an enclave that passes from rulers to workers in the revolutionary process. Nor is its transformation into a moment of human develop-ment only the task of labor taking it over and giving it a new form. The question is whether our age can un-

earth that single dialectic of thought and activity, in-cluding science, that can lead to something truly new.

A new presentation of the idea in science,⁵ as what drives its constant revolutions, had a great pull on the activist intellectuals of the 1960s who looked also to the promise of technological revolutions tied to Wiener's cy-bernetics. Thomas Kuhn attempted to view science as a whole. He revealed it as a revolutionary process through negation of the negation—the action of cogni-tion. Because this discovery was reduced to a "metho-dological crisis," it did not result in a new departure in the practice of science. The latter would continue with the same division between the revolutionary thinkers and those who labor at filling out the details of the rul-ing web of ideas. There was no challenge to the conti-nuous "Orwellian" rewriting of history and the conti-nuous purging of the process by which the idea developed. Kuhn stopped short with his "methodological crisis" in-stead of calling for the new relationship to a body of ideas that flowed from his revealing particular scientific theories as moments of the idea's development. For there to be a new beginning in the practice of science the development of the idea cannot be in the back-ground, but that opposition between the process and the particular paradigm must be incorporated in the live human being.

Many volumes of critiques were based on Kuhn's work and focused on showing the social basis of sci-ence's false objectivity. In a new work,⁶ a feminist writ-ter, Sandra Harding, points to the nearly total lack of impact this post-Kuhnian flurry has had on the actual practice of science. Instead Harding demands that sci-ence be revolutionized along feminist ground that would destroy the division of labor based on gender. That fe-



The Chernobyl disaster

minist ground of overcoming the "division of labor by gender," especially the division between mental and manual labor, arose not in relation to science but with the emergence of Women's Liberation from within the revolutionary anti-war and civil rights movements of the 1960s. Within the objectivity of the freedom idea is a path to objectivity about nature.

Though science and its process cannot be confused with what Marx called "history and its process," the social divisions that reign supreme within science are not only a reflection of the division of labor in society but are integral to it. Science's appropriation of the truth of humanity's relation to nature is inte-gral to capitalism's division between mental and manual labor. Free creative thought may be recog-nized as the driving force of science but it is labor, united with the dialectic method, that can energize science in a way that it is one with life. What needs to be underscored, is that the new revelations about the whole process of science came in the workers questioning the whole process of labor, its division between thinking and doing, including capi-talism's science embodied in the post-War automa-tion.

The objectivity of the idea in science cannot be real-ized outside the struggle for freedom, especially labor, which knows humanity's historic relation to nature as we face commodity production's anti-human absolute of a growing unemployed army and a centrally directed warfare state economy. In the year of Kuhn's work, 1962, it was the lure of a different frontier, the frontier of the idea of freedom, that caused Wally Schirra's six-orbital flight to take backstage to James Meredith's bravery in entering the all-white University of Missis-sippi. The new demonstrations against the Klan in For-syth have again ignited that spirit.

It is crucial to capture the idea as it reaches to recre-ate reality through practice, but the ongoing process of the recreation of reality through the masses' own ideas would be a truly new turning point. That Marxist-Hu-manist idea is as well a new basis for relations between scientist and worker as well as all other human rela-tions. Anything less leaves the door open for the false "objectivity" of capitalism, including its science, to make a counter-revolution the day after the revolution. Our age can appreciate Marx's critique of the scientific idea in itself as a dimension of his philosophy of revolu-tion in permanence.

⁵ See *Structure of Scientific Revolutions* by Thomas Kuhn, first published in 1962 and expanded in 1970, University of Chicago Press.

⁶ See *The Science Question in Feminism* by Sandra Harding, Cornell University Press, 1986.

Who We Are and What We Stand For

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation — activities which signalled a new movement from practice which 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. A Black production worker, Charles Denby, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper. Raya Dunayevskaya, the Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees, is the author of *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution* and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally, as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa. These works challenge post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism.

News and Letters Committees, an organization of

Marxist-Humanists, stands for the abolition of capi-talism, 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 hu-man relations, what Marx first called a new Hu-manism.

We organized ourselves into a committee form of organization rather than any elitist party "to lead." The world development of a half-century of Marx-ist-Humanism is recorded in the documents on mi-crofilm and open to all under the title, *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, on deposit at the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Ur-ban Affairs, Detroit, Michigan.

In opposing this capitalistic, racist, sexist, exploi-tative society, we participate in all class and free-dom 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 the mass activities from the activity of thinking.

Youth

'Capitalism has no place for us'

by Gary Clark

"We're helping you."

I grew up hearing those words from social workers and state agencies. Never once did I feel I was being helped. They tore me away from my family and everything I loved. They told me how good I had it as they trapped me in a series of foster homes. I was continually told what I was doing wrong—fighting, arguing, thinking the wrong way—and they "helped" me by telling me how bad I was.

These words of a 19-year-old woman are not just her story. They are the experiences of hundreds of thousands of youth across this U.S.A. who are the victims of a social work system supposedly set up as some sort of "safety net," but which in reality acts more like a trap to take rebellious young people and attempt to kill our spirits.

According to government reports, nearly half a million teenagers and children fall under the direct day-to-day control of the state in foster homes, group homes and half-way houses or through some form of forced counseling. The number of children and youth being put in group homes has increased under Reaganism, while all other social programs have been cut.

STATE INTERVENES IN LIFE

This was my experience as a teenager: My mother died when I was 12. The social workers were in our home before the body was taken away. They asked my father, horribly shaken by the morning events, to "allow" them to help. He needed help then and he knew it. There were seven of us children and there wasn't a lot he could do.

The state proceeded to take the children away, one by one, putting us in foster homes and up for adoption. They took my father to court, saying he worked too much (sometimes shifts longer than 12 hours) and made too little money. The state can do that to you if you're poor—intervene in your life—and there's little you can do.

Group homes are run like the army. Moment by moment you know what you're supposed to be doing. They call this giving you a "structured life"—what the social workers and psychologists say is missing in the lives of the poor. "Structure" means regimentation—rules and regulations—but not caring about your development as a child, as a human being.

If I wanted to speak to my father, I had to have a

NIU students respond to Dunayevskaya talk

Editor's note: On April 13, Raya Dunayevskaya gave a talk at Northern Illinois University on "Youth of the 1980s, Youth of the 1960s: The Other America and the Idea of Freedom." The following are two reactions to the lecture from NIU students.

If someone asked me to sum up in one word what it meant to me to hear Raya Dunayevskaya speak at my university, I couldn't do it because it touched me emotionally as well as intellectually.

I think we, the youth of the 1980s, are more interested than ever in the movements of the 1960s and 1970s because we, along with many others, are suffering the effects of Reaganism. We want to know more about the protests, demonstrations, and rebellions that went on for civil rights, free speech and women's liberation. When Raya told us about the Berkeley incident in 1964 when Mario Savio stood on the police car and shouted "sit down" to thousands of students in protest against their university stifling their right to free speech and political action, I thought of our own anti-racism rally and other activism on our campus. I felt something was holding us back from accomplishing total change.

But then Raya went into the necessity of theory/philosophy in addition to practice for revolution and change to be possible. In its simplest form this made sense to me—without direction and organization, even if action is spontaneous, it cannot go very far or will be stopped. But more specifically, when she talked about Marx as the "founder of a new beginning" and her philosophy of "a new humanism" in Marx, I felt enlightened. In my history course our professor, who says he is a Marxist, only talked about Marx as a materialist, and that was it. Raya seemed to look at Marx as totality, especially now with all his writings published. She said Marxist-Humanism is "the unity of idealism and materialism, philosophy and revolution, and new human relations." As Raya said, there can be no divisions between "the mental and the manual," between race, and between man and woman.

In her speech to more than 400 students at NIU, Dunayevskaya discussed Marxist-Humanism and what it means today. For me, the discussion was inspirational as well as informative. I, as well as others, had almost succumbed to the world's problems with the notion that not much could be done. Yet her speech helped me realize that we, the youth of the 1980s, have more power than we know.

As a young Black woman faced with racism and sexism, I feel new hope and know that I must continue in the daily struggle against this system. By keeping aware of the past and the present, fighting for the rights of oppressed people and arming myself with the Marxist-Humanist concepts, I feel I can make a difference.

written agreement signed by both him and my social worker. Everything needed one more level of bureaucracy, of authority. And abuse is prevalent in these homes—emotional abuse, physical abuse, sexual abuse.

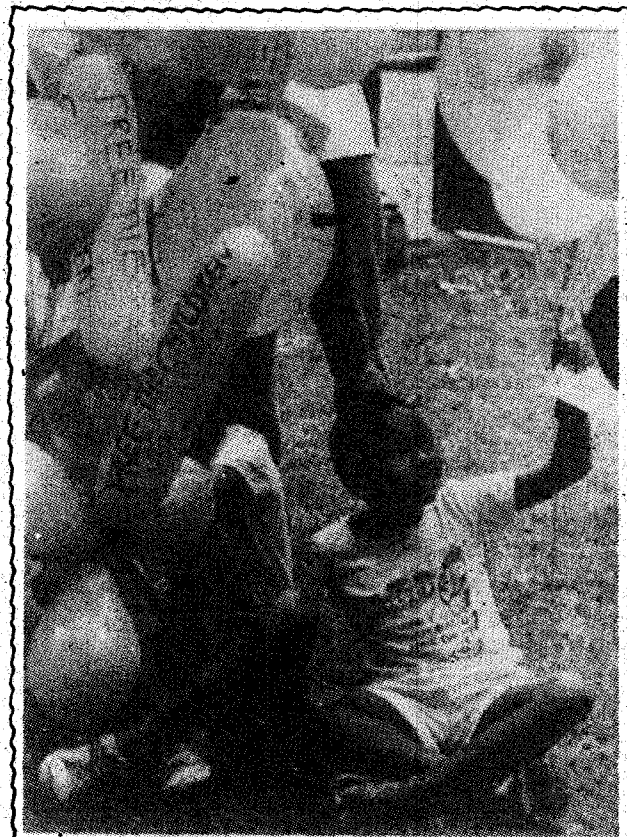
Some youth they can't control end up in mental hospitals, drugged by the state. One youth told me how he always used to raise questions at school about why people go to work in our society, when it doesn't seem to get you anywhere. The teacher sent him to the guidance counselor, who referred him to therapists and psychiatrists.

He was in therapy for three years, on drugs, and then ended up on a psych ward. Eventually they put him in a job-training program, but when he graduated he couldn't find a job. "What was the point of trying to convince me I needed to work 'for the good of society,'" he asks, "if there aren't any jobs?"

NEW GENERATION OF ANGRY YOUTH

It's no accident that what the government calls "youth services"—group homes, half-way houses and work camps (youth correctional facilities)—have tripled over the past 15 years. The state is afraid of a new generation of angry youth, especially since there won't be any jobs for millions, ever. They have no place for us. Capitalism is not going to have any more economic booms.

The state's aim is to stop a new generation of youth from opposing this sick society and its sick institutions. It won't succeed. Any system which tries to repress all the youth who don't fit into the American "Dream" has signed its own death warrant. We will be part of a movement to tear up this system which perverts all human relationships and leaves young people with scars for a lifetime. We want a new, a human world.



Cape Town youth set off balloons in April with demands for release of jailed children, defying a South African ban on protests.

Learning history

Chicago, Ill.—It started out like a normal school year with the students learning who's who in Modern World History. We all had the same feelings when it came to religious persecution—it was wrong—or when the subject of the Enlightenment came up—that was right. There weren't many other ways you could think when Machiavelli came to mind. And no one gave it a second thought when the French Revolution whizzed by.

But when the Industrial Revolution and then Marx appeared, I was stunned. Of course I knew my teacher's ideas of Marx and other socialists were different from mine, but I never expected him to paint Marx as a blood-thirsty tyrant out to rule the world with his socialistic ideas!

Capitalism to my teacher is a Utopia with golden gates in which people can reach all their goals and are protected head-to-toe from the "idea restraining Communists." To him the Communists were the villains, but I know this is not true before the 1930s.

As we began the Industrial Revolution in class, I was amazed at how the treatment of women and children was passed over and, in fact, hidden in the name of progress. I read in Marx's Capital in the section on "The Working Day" that little kids seven years old had to work 16 hours a day!

In school I was taught that all this was an exaggeration and that it was a small price to pay for the remarkable effects of that era. While the inventors of newer and faster machines were getting praised for their wonderful inventions, children were so exhausted from lack of sleep that they had to be kicked to stay awake. Is that fair? No! But that's what I learned in History this year.

—14-year-old student

Columbia revolt grows

New York, N.Y.—Chains were wrapped around the doors of Hamilton/Mandela Hall on April 21, two years after they were removed following the Blockade of 1985 against Columbia's investments in South Africa. This time the protest was against something closer to home—racism on the campus. Thirty days after a group of white football players attacked Blacks on campus (see April 10 N&L) and after a number of large demonstrations and meetings, the Columbia administration had done nothing.

After President Sovern decided to cancel a meeting with the Concerned Black Students of Columbia (CBSC), they and a number of white supporters marched to Hamilton/Mandela Hall and chained the doors. It was to be a one-day sit-in, but turned into something much bigger after police were called in to clear the area, resulting in more than 50 arrests.

The first arrests came at 11:30 after the crowd had swelled to about 100, singing Freedom songs. Columbia security guards, deputized by the New York City Police Department with direct orders from the deans and from Sovern, moved in on the demonstration, arresting nine.

One of those nine was Mike Parris, a law school graduate who earlier was charged by the university with trespassing after he and a group of other students went into one of the residence halls and demanded that a Confederate flag flying out a window be taken down. The arrests ended when students tried to defend Mike Jones, a victim of the original beating against the guards.

After that first round of arrests the blockade grew. Somebody got up and said, "Let's start teaching Racism 101." (One of the demands of the CBSC is that the college institute a course on racism in its core curriculum.) There was talk of the Underground Railway, the Freedom Rides, the Black struggle for freedom in America. There were anti-apartheid and freedom songs.

All day there was the expectation of a police attack. It finally came at 8 o'clock at night when many supporters had left, but a crowd of over 200 remained. Students were just about to show a film on police racism in Boston when about 70 New York cops marched onto campus. After a couple of minutes all pandemonium broke loose as students were dragged away.

What happened this day catapulted the whole movement to a new intensity. Students who had been unsympathetic to the CBSC tactics were suddenly witness to a frightening police attack orchestrated by the leaders of this university. The mass arrests on campus brought mass outrage.

—Fred Shelley

After New York police took the blockaders away, a group of us took off in a spontaneous march to the precinct station. When we arrived, police hastily erected barricades as we were joined by numerous neighborhood youths. More students from campus marched up there, and a rally with lots of chanting and informal discussion took place. After an hour and a half, blockaders were released one by one to the cheering crowd.

At a mass rally the next evening (April 22), Mike Jones declared, "This is not 1985 when they allowed us to demonstrate. They are going to move on us in a police state way." Tanaquil Jones, a leader of the movement then and now, also addressed the rally: "Yesterday was like March 22 all over, but...it was Columbia University attacking the students."

—Participant

Youth in Revolt

by Franklin Dmitryev

Thousands of students throughout Turkey demonstrated in mid-April against a government plan to abolish student unions and further restrict students' rights to organize at all 27 Turkish universities. The protests took the form of campus sit-ins and boycotts of university canteens. Police attacked the students, arresting 100, and mass expulsions were threatened.

A multi-racial crowd of 7,000 students (from fifth grade on up), teachers and parents came from all over California to the April 6 March on Sacramento for Education. The marchers decried education budget cuts, attacks on bilingual education and plans to make admission to the Cal. State University system more restrictive, and called for a more relevant education, including Ethnic Studies.

"Put the CIA on trial," read the T-shirts of 15 protesters acquitted of trespassing and disorderly conduct charges in Amherst, Mass., April 15. The defendants' evidence of the CIA's bloody crimes, from Vietnam to Nicaragua, convinced the jury—as well as hundreds of supporters who celebrated the acquittal outside—of the necessity to stop those crimes. Most media coverage focused on two defendants, Amy Carter and Abby Hoffman, without mentioning that it was one of a series of student anti-CIA protests, from Boulder to Baton Rouge.

Coming next issue

East Europe today

Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Argentines resist military mutiny

The military rebellion in Argentina which began April 16 was faced down by the civilian government of Pres. Raul Alfonsin. The mutiny began when Major Ernesto Barriero holed up in a Cordoba army base after refusing to appear in court to face charges for his role as the former chief interrogator at a military detention center in Cordoba. Argentines were tortured and killed there in the 1970s.

As news of the Cordoba mutiny got out, tens of thousands of people poured into the streets of Buenos Aires and other cities, chanting for democracy and against the military. When a revolt was attempted the next day at the Campo de Mayo infantry school outside Buenos Aires, a crowd quickly gathered and kept vigil, demanding that the soldiers surrender. Many of the demonstrators were youth who sang protest songs written against the military junta a decade earlier.

The journalist Jacobo Timmerman, himself a victim of military torture, described the April events as "the beginning of a new culture" in Argentina. "...the first time in 60 years that a military provocation has been answered with a political answer...a civilian government calling people into the streets to say 'no' to the military."

By the fourth day, Alfonsin was able to defuse the uprising without force or putting the rest of the armed forces to a loyalty test. He announced the rebellion's end to the 400,000 people who had gathered in the Plaza de Mayo. The celebration spread to Uruguay (where the civilian government has not prosecuted the military for their crimes) and thousands marched in Montevideo.

During the following week, tensions with the military resurfaced in sporadic incidents. The week of mutinies occurred at a time when several hundred middle-and lower-level military officers were being charged for crimes against dissidents. These officers have been pressuring the government to grant them amnesty, saying they were just "following orders." It is now up to the Supreme Court to decide the fate of the prosecutions.

Alfonsin was able to remove a number of high-ranking officers after the unsuccessful rebellion. But further compromise with the military is already occurring. Alfonsin received broad support during the crisis, from the Peronist trade union and political apparatus (willing more often than not in the past to aid the military's war against dissidents) to business interests. Even the arch-conservative Catholic Church asked the soldiers to end the mutiny.

But the conclusive isolation of the military came from the spontaneous mass outpourings which began long before the government put out a call for support rallies. The deep antipathy to

the military five years ago led to the downfall of the admirals and generals in the first place.

S. Korea students

Students in South Korea commemorated Student Uprising Week—the anniversary of the April 19, 1960 student revolt which led to the downfall of Syngman Rhee's dictatorship—with protests against the present dictatorship of Chun Doo Hwan.

From universities across the country, they marched April 17 in opposition to Chun's abrupt declaration a week earlier that he was terminating the constitutional reform process until the 1988 Olympics are over and until Chun's hand-picked successor is installed.

The night before, police raided 32 campuses in Seoul, part of a recent harsh crackdown on dissent at all levels. This did not deter students who

gathered two days later at the cemetery where some 200 people who died in the 1960 uprising are buried.

The students sang protest songs and led chants against the Chun government. As they left the grounds, several thousand police and martial arts experts who circled the cemetery went on a rampage against the students, but anti-government rallies continued across South Korea over the weekend.

Kenya crackdown

When Kenya's President Daniel arap Moi visited his friends Reagan and Thatcher in March, he was confronted by protests and newspaper reports over repression, torture, and killings of dissidents in his land. Visibly irritated, Moi left for home early, to a country where he controls the press who dutifully report his sayings, such as one in 1986 that government ministers should "sing like parrots after me."

Many protests have been made over the fate of Maina wa Kinyatti, a univer-

Occupied West Bank



Demonstrators in the Israeli-occupied West Bank after death of Palestinian student

In this, the 20th year of Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, the terrible consequences for both Palestinians and Israelis continue to grow. Four thousand Palestinians are in Israeli jails and detention centers in Gaza and the West Bank. They have just carried out a series of hunger strikes demanding decent treatment in prison, an end to physical and psychological abuse. On April 13 a student at Bir Zeit University in the West Bank was killed by Israeli soldiers firing at students supporting the striking prisoners.

Israeli deaths also continue. A firebomb tossed into the car of a Jewish family living in the occupied territory killed one woman and severely burned her husband and children. Israeli settlers responded by terrorizing a nearby Arab village, setting vehicles ablaze and trying to burn down Arab-owned fields. The Israeli military declared a curfew and proceeded

to bulldoze Arab-owned orange trees in the field from which the firebomb had been allegedly thrown.

At Bir Zeit University in the occupied West Bank—which more than 2,000 Arab students attend—the confrontation has once again come to a head. In the last ten years, the Israelis have closed the school 11 times, from one day to three months. The university has just been ordered shut for four more months.

It is the youth, at Bir Zeit and throughout the West Bank, who have lived their whole lives under occupation. Though many are aligned with the ideas of the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization), their protest and anger is indigenous "without being organized...by a terrorist organization from the outside," as an Israeli Army officer put it. Continued Israeli occupation can only be a pathway to more bloodshed for Palestinian and Israeli alike.

sity lecturer jailed in 1982 for possessing "seditious" literature. His health was said to be deteriorating by February 1987. There is also the case of Left lawyer Wanyiri Kihoro, who disappeared on July 30, 1986, now feared dead.

The most serious scare to the government came about one year ago when a clandestine socialist group, Mwakenya, was discovered. It had organized a number of young oppositionists into three-person cells modelled in part on the Mau Mau movement of the 1950s. Moi attempted to undercut the group by publicly labelling Marx "a racist of the first order," but that only showed how out of touch he was with the new generation. Soon Moi was jolted again when thirteen workers at the Thika textile mill were found reading opposition leaflets in secret in the bathroom.

Another issue has appeared: the claims of Mau Mau veterans for recognition. They gathered in Nyeri stadium for the first time since independence, and expressed bitterness at their lack of public recognition—for example, not a single Mau Mau monument. They demanded that the remains of Mau Mau leader Dedan Kimathi, still buried in Kamiti prison where the British had placed his body, be put instead in a monument they wanted constructed in his memory. The Mau Mau veterans have been supported by the youthful Left opposition, including the exiled writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o. The youth opposition has gone even deeper underground, beginning "low level guerilla warfare," according to some accounts.

W. German anti-nuke

Anti-nuclear demonstrators marched in 20 cities across West Germany over the Easter weekend. Around 300,000 people took part, fewer than in the recent past. The marches, traditionally held this time of year since 1959, come at a moment when the U.S. and Russia are talking about the removal of mid-range nuclear missiles from Europe.

Reportedly a noticeable amount of praise at the rallies was directed towards Gorbachev as "peacemaker," for initiating proposals on the missile pull-out. If this illusion is becoming popular, it is a small manifestation of success in Gorbachev's aim to decouple West Europe from the U.S.

On the other hand, West Germany's rulers are not pleased with the prospect of the missile removal. West Germany has no nuclear weapons of its own, but does base more nuclear weapons in relation to its population than any country on earth.

The demonstrations took place close to the first anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster in Russia, which spread fallout over Germany. Concerns over the long-term effects of the radiation persist. No one is soothed by official assurances, particularly after the contaminated powdered milk scandal. The tainted milk was declared unfit for consumption in West Germany, but the government tried to sell it to Egypt.

Ongoing struggles in Black Belt spark new ideas

(continued from page 1)

try will not locate in Black Belt counties because of the low educational level and lack of skills of the population. Take Macon County, where Tuskegee University, a Black school, is located. In contrast to Wilcox, the educational level in Macon is in the top 12.4% of the national average, but its income, employment and housing rates are similar to Wilcox County's.

According to one Black elected official in Wilcox County, industries refuse to locate in the Black Belt simply "because the population is Black." Schools are still segregated with whites going to private "academies" and Blacks going to public schools, whose funding is controlled by the whites.

Yet, land and industry predominate in Wilcox County. "Though Wilcox County, historically, was the first place where Black people got 40 acres and a mule," one Black administrator explains, "the retention of Black-owned land has been a problem. Throughout history Black people haven't written wills, so it's listed as heir property with multiple owners. Parents may tell you where your land is, but that's no good in front of a probate judge. Maybe 25-30% of the land in the county is Black-owned. Where there is heir property corporations will find the weakest member in the family, buy into the land and through legal means gain control of the whole parcel."

"However, the media only focuses on the Black elected officials instead of the municipalities controlled by whites, who for generations have been responsible for the underdevelopment of the Black Belt. Then the media wants to know why there hasn't been more progress in the few years Blacks have held positions that had been historically closed to them."

Development in the Black Belt, as we have seen, is not only a question of Black political enfranchisement,

but one of the self-determination of the Idea of freedom embodied in the ongoing Black mass challenge to the historic remains of the plantation/share-cropping system and its ubiquitous "boss and black relation." The significance of that is immediately seen upon entering Livingston, a municipality in Sumter county.

SUMTER COUNTY: STRUGGLE ON

A picket line of 15-20 Black women standing in front of a local grocery chain was called by the Sumter County Coalition to protest the store's policy of requiring Black cashiers to take lie detector tests. The impact of the Black economic boycott called by the Coalition was instantly shown by the fact that after half a day of picketing the store, which usually takes in \$4,000 a day, it only took in \$1,500. Such economic boycotts in the Black Belt have reduced the daily revenues of large chains like Wal-Mart from \$22,000 to \$2,000 a day.

Wendell Paris, one of the leading political activists in the Black Belt, who the Reagan Justice Department unsuccessfully prosecuted last year, spelled out the immediate, as well as historic reasons behind such activity:

"If we could pass this racist block in the South there would be economic and social development in the Black Belt. The only thing preventing us from developing is the color of our skin. Though cotton is no longer king down here, cotton money is. There is still a continuity in southern capital. When Judge Hammond died a month ago in Lowndes County—caught embezzling money—a friend called and said, 'Boss is dead.'"

"People like Judge Hammond were 'good teachers,' they showed us that when Black folk vote 80%, white folk vote 120%. Robert E. Lee is still voting absentee down here. We're just trying to play catch-up."

"The cycle of Black dependency running South to North has changed somewhat, with Blacks migrating to

the urban South more. However, what you have in the tenements in Chicago is the Black Southern voting block. That's why we say that nothing works from the top down but gravedigging; because it's more important for us who is sheriff, tax collector, and probate judge, than who is President. Jesse (Jackson) came in on the coattails of our initiative. We already had the community base that allowed him to carry Alabama and Mississippi in the 1984 Democratic Primary.

"White folk were so scared of the Black masses surrounding them that you'd think we were back to Nat Turner. And because a Black sheriff can deputize everyone in the Black Belt, we don't have the Klan marching around here like they do in northern Alabama where only 5% of the population is Black. In the month of February, everyone carries 1 or 2 guns in the back of their trucks because it's hunting season."

"The conditions are still rough, but if it continues like this, the rebellion will surely come out of the rural South, because we've known nothing but struggle."

It is not surprising, then, that Wendell Paris expressed immediate recognition when I told him what Karl Marx concluded when in 1862 the American Civil War reached its decisive turning point and the North was forced to employ revolutionary methods rather than the liberal vacillating of Lincoln: "A single Negro regiment would have a remarkable effect on Southern nerves... a war of this kind must be conducted in a revolutionary way, whereas the Yankees have been trying so far to conduct it constitutionally."

The search for "revolutionary method" has come to occupy many Black activists in the South today. It is that which has brought these ongoing struggles in the Black Belt to a new turning point, which I will take up further next issue, when I report on Mississippi.