

Will GM
workers
strike?

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

As a retired General Motors worker, I am thinking that there may be a strike against GM. There is certainly enough dissatisfaction amongst rank-and-file GM workers for a strike. When Roger Smith, GM chairman, and Donald Ephlin, UAW Vice-President and this year's chief contract negotiator with GM, toured a General Motors truck plant near Fort Wayne, Indiana, a few months back, they were both booed by the workers there.

BOGUS "PROFIT-SHARING" PLAN

GM workers are very unhappy with the so-called "profit-sharing" bonus plan that was negotiated by the UAW in 1982 and 1984. In 1984, GM reported profits of \$4.5 billion, and GM workers were paid an average "bonus" of \$550. That same year, Ford's profits were \$2.3 billion, but Ford workers averaged a bonus of \$2,000—still a tiny crumb of all the wealth the workers produced, but GM workers want to know why they didn't even get that much! For 1986, GM reported profits of \$2.9 billion. The GM workers got a big zero in "profit sharing," while the executives at GM split bonuses of \$169.1 million!

GM sold its "profit-sharing" plan to our union misleaders by stating that its multi-billion dollar capital spending plan, for building plants overseas and for utilizing more high technology here in the U.S., would mean higher profits for GM and therefore job security and bonus payments for GM workers! The concrete results have been tens of thousands of layoffs of GM workers, and a few pennies in "bonuses."

At my old union hall, of the shut-down GM-South

(Continued on page 3)

Black World

Claude McKay
—home to
revolution

by Lou Turner

The serious retrogression that manifests itself in the thought of today's Black intellectuals has come to be symptomatic of the ideological impact of Reaganism in the Black America. This seems even more acute when measured against the revolutionary figure which comes to life in Wayne Cooper's biography, *Claude McKay: Rebel Sojourner in the Harlem Renaissance* that we began to look at in the first part of this review. (See September, 1987 N&L) We will need to dig deeper into Cooper's treatment of McKay in order to see what makes Claude McKay a "rebel sojourner" in our "changed world" of the 1980s.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Arguably, the seminal event in the development of the literary radicalism of Claude McKay was his experience of the Russian Revolution. Because that illuminates the literary and historic categories in McKay's writing, he represents, for us, a very important point of demarcation in the development of early radical Black thought, one which clearly separates the era of Lenin from that of Stalinism. Unfortunately, though this political divide, which became fully expressed in 1928, literally screams out at us from his writing, it lies virtually dormant in Cooper's treatment of McKay.

We read, for instance, in a letter from McKay to James Weldon Johnson of April 30, 1928, McKay's own conception of his novel *Home to Harlem*: "I consider *Home to Harlem* a real proletarian novel, but I don't expect the nice radicals to see that it is, because they know very little about proletarian life and what they want of proletarian art is not proletarian life truthfully, realistically and artistically portrayed, but their own fake, soft-headed and wine-watered notions of the proletariat..."

Though clearly McKay had already become acquainted with Marx before his stay in England, 1919-21, it was that sojourn which marked a new intellectual point of concentration for McKay. We read this description of McKay's study of Marx in his autobiographical *A Long Way From Home*, a 1930s work written when he was most disillusioned with the organized communist movement: "...a Marx emerged from his pages different from

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Grave dangers of Reagan agenda:
Bork, contras and Star Wars

by Olga Domanski

Whether it is Ronald Reagan's nomination of the arch-reactionary, Robert Bork, for the Supreme Court of the land, on the one hand, or the alleged arms reduc-



Poster depicting Brian Willson's maiming.

Protest brutal maiming
at naval weapons station

Concord, Cal.—Almost 10,000 outraged people converged on the Concord Naval Weapons Station Saturday, Sept. 5, to demand an end to weapons shipments, many of which leave from this depot, to Central America. They were outraged because four days earlier, a Vietnam War veteran, Brian Willson, was run over by a munitions train as he sat on the tracks to protest U.S. arms shipments.

The non-violent protests at the Naval Weapons Station had been going on every day since June, sponsored by a coalition of peace and religious groups called Nuremberg Action. This group is committed to what they call "civil obedience," basing their argument on the findings of the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials which held that it is each citizen's duty to stop his or her government from committing crimes against humanity. Brian Willson and his fellow veterans undertook to obey international law by blocking the munitions train.

All summer, the Nuremberg Action people watched the train roll by as they stood near the tracks in protest. They decided to begin a 40-day fast on Sept. 1. The base commander was notified people would block the tracks, and two depot observers were on the front of the train as it came out of the base. Nevertheless, witnesses said the train actually accelerated before striking Willson, severing both his legs.

The rally featured Holley Rauen and Gabriel Willson, Willson's wife and stepson, who were beside him when the train hit. Rauen laid the blame directly on the Reagan administration's policy of supplying terror in Central America and throughout the world.

After the rally, several masked people used their imaginations and, with many others surrounding them to block the view of the police, tore up the rails and ties where Willson had been hit. With the ties, they built a peace shrine on the spot.

A few dozen veterans from the Vietnam War, the Korean War, and World War II came to lend their support. The Veterans of Foreign Wars post in Santa Cruz, already risking disenfranchisement, further enraged the national organization by lending the VFW name to the campaign to halt the arms shipments.

Nuremberg Action will continue their fast until Oct. 10, and will continue to attempt to block weapons shipments. Willson has no health insurance, and the hospital bills are running into the thousands. Tax-deductible donations may be made to: MDUUC/NA (Mount Diablo Unitarian Universalist Church/Nuremberg Action), 65 Eckley Lane, Walnut Creek, CA 94596. —Supporter

tion agreement with Russia, on the other, every move Ronald Reagan makes in these last 15 months of his presidency is clearly designed to set in stone, for decades into the future, the retrogression he launched the moment he took office in January, 1981 and has deepened every day since.

To make sure there was no mistaking the mission he has set himself for these remaining months as Commander-in-Chief of the wars he has been waging both at home and abroad against all our human struggles to be free, he explicitly listed his two top goals for his senior Administration officials in September: 1) Senate confirmation of Judge Bork to the Supreme Court; 2) continued aid to the contras—through which he intends to overthrow the legitimate government of Nicaragua. His deliberately jovial formulation of this agenda as if it were only an actor's "good curtain call" belies his hell-bent intention to change history by pushing it back 50 years and erasing as many of the gains won by labor, women, Blacks and youth as he can manage.

REAGAN'S WARS AT HOME AND THE BORK NOMINATION

Judge Bork is the perfect choice for Reagan's plan to consolidate and perpetuate his wars at home right into the next century. Despite the attempt to present Bork as the exponent of "judicial restraint" vs. "judicial activism," and his record as one of "academic theorizing" vs. what he would "actually do" as a sitting judge, Bork—in 20 years of writings both as Yale professor and as "sitting judge"—has worked out a full school of thought that has governed his actions in every case he has heard. He has been nothing if not a vigorous activist of reaction.

He has opposed virtually every major civil rights advance on which he has taken an opinion. He denies that the Constitution protects the right to privacy—including even the rights of married couples to use contraceptives and of women to have an abortion. He has criticized Supreme Court rulings that require "one man, one vote;" that outlawed the poll tax; that extended the 14th amendment's guarantee of equal protection of the law to women, "illegitimate" children, "aliens," and politically powerless or unpopular minorities. He has advocated the "reintroduction of religion into public schools." He has consistently supported the Executive branch—in particular Reagan—in battles with Congress, and has denounced almost all of the anti-trust laws passed by Congress.

It is scant wonder that the American Civil Liberties Union has dropped its 50-year policy against involvement in Supreme Court confirmation battles to join the mounting efforts to defeat his nomination. And that more than 90 prominent lawyers and law school deans have signed a statement urging the Senate to reject Bork.

The truth is that the only part of the Constitution that Bork claims to defend is the original, duplicitous document forged to subvert the social revolution that was underway in America 200 years ago—a document that was opposed by so many of the revolutionary forces in the land that a Bill of Rights—the first nine amendments—had to be added before it could even win ratification in many of the states. Indeed, it took a full Civil War to bring about the all-important 13th, 14th and 15th amendments. It is precisely those three amendments and the Bill of Rights itself that Bork has vigorously attacked.

If, as he now claims, he has "recanted" his 1963 view that civil rights is a "principle of unsurpassed ugliness," it is only because the Black Revolt of the '60s, the masses in motion through the '70s, and the scrutiny of a TV audience today have made it expedient for him to do so.

The nomination of a man like Bork is one more clear measure of the racism Reagan has exuded so foully that Justice Thurgood Marshall—the only Black ever to sit

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On the Inside

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Korean masses in rebellion, page 8.

Woman as Reason

Rosa Luxemburg, a film by Margarethe von Trotta. Released in the U.S. by New Yorker Films, 1987.

It is the bleak year, 1914. In the austere, polished corridors of the German Reichstag (Parliament), Rosa Luxemburg has just learned that the Social Democratic ("Marxist") parliamentary deputies have voted to fund the Kaiser's budget for war.

The world is poised to plunge into the holocaust of World War I; and later in German filmmaker Margarethe von Trotta's *Rosa Luxemburg* we see the horrors of that war in eerily silent, black-and-white newsreel footage of the trenches, the explosions, the piles of corpses of the young men.



Barbara Sukowa, as Luxemburg.

As Luxemburg leaves the parliament building, the film gives us a long view of her descending the Reichstag steps, a small, lone figure framed against the imposing building and a grey sky. Much of *Rosa Luxemburg* is cast in shades of somber grey. The film's opening scene is the dark fortress where Luxemburg is imprisoned during World War I, and throughout the film we return periodically to Luxemburg there.

It was perhaps von Trotta's concept that the film unfolds as Luxemburg's remembrances, from prison, of things past; yet the intensity of each moment of Luxemburg's life is such that I never felt myself in the midst of a "flashback." Barbara Sukowa's soaring performance as Luxemburg rivets our attention and gives us a glimpse of that original character and creative revolutionary: Rosa Luxemburg.

LUXEMBURG AS FEMINIST

Raya Dunayevskaya, in her *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*,* was the one who first developed the concept of Luxemburg as both "original character" and feminist, "more even than she was fully aware of": "...such an original character as Luxemburg, instead of being simply 'one in a million,' combines yesterday, today and tomorrow in such a manner that the new age suddenly experiences a 'shock of recognition,' whether that relates to a new lifestyle or the great need for revolution here and now." (p.83)

In von Trotta's/Sukowa's movie we see and feel Luxemburg as feminist: her independent sense of self, and

* Published by Humanities Press, 1982; available from News & Letters.



Amid the glut of constitution celebrations, a dozen elementary school girls picketed Muessel School in South Bend, Indiana, Sept. 16, demanding equality for women and protesting the school-organized boys-only re-enactment of the Constitutional Convention.

The government of Singapore arrested and tortured 16 human rights and women's rights activists on charges of organizing an underground Communist network with the aim of infiltrating political parties. Nine charged are women involved in campaigns for reproductive rights, marriage and citizenship rights for non-citizen women married to Singapore men, and the plight of domestic workers. For information contact: Concerned Asian Women, P.O. Box 3071, 2600 NA Delft, The Netherlands.

— From ISIS Women in Action

Hospital strikes have spread from California (see Sept. 1987 N&L) to New York as 200 nurses walked out of Richmond Memorial Hospital on Staten Island, Sept. 11, after several weeks of contract negotiations. The dispute centered around nurses' workloads in the intensive care and coronary care units. In Chicago, more than 300 housekeeping, maintenance, transport, laundry and cafeteria workers have been on strike at Grant Hospital since July, as administrators try to force them to take pay cuts and pay their own health benefits.

The story of Phoolan Devi, a Dalit "Untouchable" woman of India, has become legend in recent years. After being tortured and raped for 23 days, Phoolan set herself free, formed a Dalit army, and killed 20 Upper Caste Hindus, the class of her tormentors. For two years, she eluded the police, hiding in snake-infested ravines, until she was forced to surrender. Phoolan Devi is in jail now awaiting a trial which may never come. A recent book on her, *Devi-The Bandit Queen*, by Richard Shears and Isobelle Gibbey (Allen & Unwin Press, London) describes the heart rending story of this Dalit heroine of human rights and women's rights.

—From Dalit Voice 109/7th Cross, Palace Lower Orchards, Bangalore-560 003 India

'Rosa Luxemburg'

close relationship with women; her fight with all the male party bureaucrats, warning, correctly, that they will betray; her comradeship with feminist Clara Zetkin—the two of them the most radical and anti-militarist leaders in the party both in the years before WWI, and in the years after war has broken out and the "Marxist" Second International, headed by the German Social Democratic Party, has collapsed like a house of cards.

At the same time, Luxemburg's "reluctance" on feminism is caught in one short scene, an exchange which reveals the male party leaders anxious to shunt her aside into the party's "women's section." Luxemburg refuses; she will not leave to the men the questions of imperialism, of the fight against bureaucratism and for the rank-and-file, of perspectives for social revolution.

LEGACY FOR TODAY

The film's portrait of Luxemburg, as activist and theorist, is stunning but incomplete.** The most glaring, inexplicable historic omission is the Russian Revolution of 1917: what it meant to the world, to the movement, to Luxemburg; what it means as a dimension of Luxemburg's legacy, her hailing of the revolution but critique of its early bureaucratization, her banner of socialist democracy after the conquest of power.

That need speaks to our age, when so many revolutions have soured and been transformed into their opposite. Dunayevskaya's book takes precisely this question—what happens after revolution—as one critical point of departure. The greatness but incompleteness of Luxemburg's concept of the spontaneity of the masses is one opening to Part Three, of Dunayevskaya's book, which is devoted to Marx's Marxism as a philosophy of "revolution in permanence" which "creates new ground for organization."

Such questions are barely raised in the film, yet despite its limitations, its impact is powerful. It is *Rosa Luxemburg* that we see. It is a passion for a totally new human society that we feel.

I loved the film; I hope it is shown widely. And I hope many who see it will turn to Raya Dunayevskaya's book to dig deep into Luxemburg's legacy for today, our age that surely needs a human, permanent revolution like no other.

—Michelle Landau

** Yet the film is a far more profound view than the arrogant, ignorant recent biography by Elzbieta Ettinger, *Rosa Luxemburg: A Life* (Beacon Press, 1986). That book could aptly be called *The Love Life and Insecurities of Rosa Luxemburg*. Ettinger paints a disgusting male-chauvinist portrait of Luxemburg that stems from her own virulently anti-Marxist and anti-revolution stance.

Pope: fraud on tour

In a country that supposedly places a high value on democracy and looks upon dissent as a valid means of effecting social change, we have been treated to a U.S. Papal tour.

The Pope was shown appearing to listen to the many voices of dissent within the church—women, gays, liberation theologians and others seeking to change the way that the authoritarian church operates. He was generous in his blessings but never gave an inch on changes sought by church members.

The church is not a democracy, does not follow democratic processes, supporting regimes throughout the world that are repressive, while calling for patience, rejecting the use of the force necessary to achieve political change and forcing its membership to accept torture and even death at the hands of dictators. The Pope had kind words for those who feed and protect homeless refugees from Latin America, but made it clear that he does not endorse the Sanctuary movement.

On the very human issues of divorce, birth control and abortion, he was adamant—they are forbidden. Those who persist in such heresies, he urged to leave the church. Many already have and many more will follow.

His only response to the Catholic women who pleaded for equality within the church and the right to serve at mass was, go home and have babies and bring them up to be good Catholics.

At best, the visit of the Pope offers no encouragement for social change, and leaves unresolved the real problems of American Catholics.

—Irish ex-Catholic

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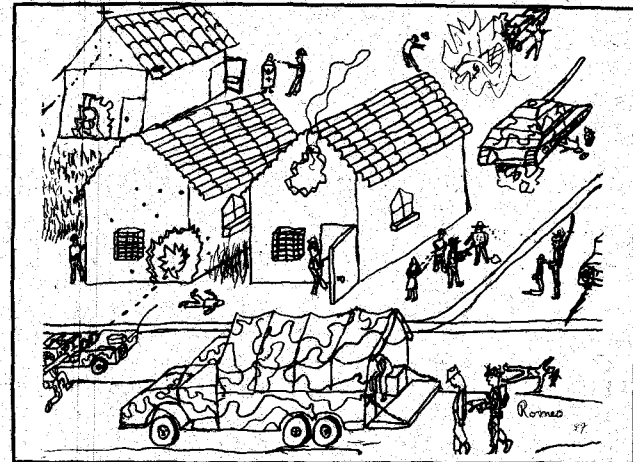
El Salvadoran revolution

I was persecuted and forced to flee El Salvador because I worked with the four North American nuns who were killed by government soldiers in 1981. I had become active earlier in our church group because I wanted to change the conditions in my town. We had no water, electricity or clinics. The government provided bars rather than any services for the people.

In the church, up until the 1970s most priests used to tell the community to be grateful that they were poor. We were supposed to be quiet and accept the way of life we had, because we would "reach the kingdom of God." Take Oscar Romero, he was a very conservative man. It was we who showed him how we lived, how people worked from day to night with miserable wages. How the patrons took "interest" out of peasants' wages, how we lived in houses made of cardboard, and how the workers and peasants were mass cred whenever they wanted to form a union. I think these struggles and the growth of workers' strikes in the 1970s had a great impact on Romero and many other priests.

The youth in our country are the most watched by the government. The army catches them violently in the streets or at home and then claims they have disappeared. Many of the youth who are held prisoners are forced to train as soldiers and if they desert the army, they will be assassinated. The draftees are supposed to be allowed to leave after completing one year of military service but the government orders them to stay longer. And if they leave they will be killed or their families are threatened.

Many Salvadoran women have now started "Las Comadres," which is an organization of women that demands freedom for the disappeared. So many of our children are assassinated by the government and then their faces are disfigured so we can't identify them. But the mothers still identify their children. We publish a monthly bulletin with testimonies



Drawing by a 7-year-old Salvadoran depicting an army attack on his village.

and we need help in publicizing these cases.

Those of us Salvadorans who come to the U.S. don't come for economic reasons but to at least defend our lives. But we have no real life here. If we want to study we need residency papers. We work in factories for \$2 an hour. If you have a family of three or four kids, how can you manage to live on that?

The U.S. government gives one and a half million dollars in arms to the Salvadoran government each day. That money should be used for people here. And I've been to a lot of neighborhoods in the U.S. which are poor and dilapidated.

What we need is a dialogue between the people, because our governments aren't going to listen to the people. North Americans have the obligation to stop the U.S. government from giving arms to El Salvador.

—Pilar

Hebrew National's sad end

New York, N.Y.—After picketing Hebrew National's Queens plant for a year after it closed down, we gave up the picket line in June. The company had moved the work out of state when we refused to accept a new contract with major give-backs. In return for our trying to hold the line in the industry, we all lost our jobs. Whether we will ever get any compensation is still in court. I blame the union for letting the company pay people less to do our jobs somewhere else. There is now no Hebrew National in New York except for the name.

I spent 18 years in the plant, and the meat line was so hard. It's almost impossible to find jobs in meatpacking in New York, especially for women, and those who found new jobs are getting half the pay. The year of being unemployed was the worst year of my life. I've taken a clerical job and it's hard to get adjusted. It pays less, but the hours are better. Some of the workers took minimum wage jobs in McDonald's; some still don't have jobs; some are waiting for openings in meatpacking.

—Black woman meatpacker

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Oscar Mayer's safety plan: baloney!

Madison, Wisc.—I'd like to tell you what recently came down the pike at the Oscar Mayer plant here. In December, 1981, two men were seriously injured when a 15,000 volt power substation panel exploded. Both men lost right arms and had serious injuries to their left hands. They sued the company.

It took nearly six years to be brought to trial. The jury awarded them \$2.5 million, which can't be collected. It seems that you can't sue your employer in the State of Wisconsin if you collect workers' compensation. This makes me sick.

The Oscar Mayer spokesman had the nerve to say after this came out, "We have established a safety program after the accident. We don't want anyone hurt."

Detroit teachers strike

Editor's note: Nearly 12,000 Detroit public school teachers were on strike from Aug. 31 until Sept. 21. While on strike, one teacher gave the following story to News & Letters:

Detroit, Mich.—Children are at the bottom in our society because they have no political power. In all areas—prenatal care, day care, schools, abused children—money and programs are grossly inadequate.

Class size is so important because the children are human beings, and with too many you can't always treat them like human beings.

Teachers feel the school system doesn't treat us like adults. That is why the pay raise is important. We feel we are professionals and need to be decision-makers. A lot of picket signs read: "Teachers won't finance mismanagement." The Board's chauffeur-driven limousines are a small part of the whole budget, but if that money were used elsewhere, say \$100 for supplies for each classroom, it would make a difference to the kids.

Lack of supplies is another big issue. We all spend our own money for basic items like paper and pencils. Legally, the school is supposed to furnish all supplies, so we can't even ask for anything from the community!

How much good does it do to be out? I really want to go back, and I want my daughters back in school, but if teachers don't take a stand, we are saying that it's OK to be treated as we are.

—Detroit teacher

No borders for workers

Oklahoma City, Okla.—After reading in the UAW paper *Solidarity* what GM is doing, it is very important to get a message to all workers, especially in the U.S. and Mexico. GM is letting 30,000 workers go, then going to Mexico and hiring people who make an average of \$4 a day. This is an insult to all workers. Why should these people who have the same needs and perform the same manual labor as U.S. workers not be given the same benefits which they deserve?

This is why we need to change things as a whole in this capitalist system. Maybe the first step is to get an international labor panel. We need to be under workers' control and let the companies like the big car makers change. Even though one worker makes 55 cents an hour and another makes \$13.00 an hour, the price tag on the cars is the same. So that should make all workers see that the rich get richer and the workers are the ones who suffer all the inhuman injustice.

We need to stop these boundaries. No matter where a worker works—in the U.S., Mexico, South Korea, Japan, Canada and so forth—we all have the same needs and big business needs every one of us just as much. So instead of just getting mad at each other, just as capitalism wants, we need to stand tall on all continents and stand firm, employed and unemployed, and make our needs and wants known.

—Woman worker

Like hell. They don't care. The safety program consists of a mix of company personnel and a few union officials. They meet for coffee, donuts, and chit-chat. That's all I see.

They have a game going where if you work so many days you get a prize or a meat market certificate. The top prize is \$20 for the meat market or a cooler or beer steins! But they have not replaced either guys' arm.

We have sewers backed up and have to walk in water to get to the production area. We have hinges on doors falling off. We can't afford new knives or sharpeners. The company calls people back from workers' compensation with carpal tunnel syndrome or any hand or arm surgery and say they can handle any job. They put people on trucking with one arm. This is dangerous.

They deny you get hurt at work when you go to the nurse bent over from slipping on the greasy floor and falling over barrels. They deny you workers' compensation and put you on sick leave. You save them over \$100 per week this way, not to mention the seniority you save them for future benefits. It's a human tragedy.

On Oct. 3, the company is having open house for the immediate families of employees. In our paychecks, we were told it's our open house and the company wants volunteers to help staff it. They want people to have their photos taken for the Guinness Book of World Records with the largest stick of bologna being carried to the smoke house to serve at the open house. I don't feel all the bologna at Oscar Mayer is in that one casing.

"Muckraker", Oscar Mayer
Local 538, Madison

International Labor and Working Class History

Editor's note: The following review is excerpted from International Labor and Working Class History (No. 31, Spring, 1987, pp. 124-129). The review focused on two books by Raya Dunayevskaya: Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1982) and Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press International, 1985). Both books can also be ordered from N&L.

Because of its often critical bite, its controversial political standpoint even within Marxism, the sheer scope of her endeavor, and her position outside academia, Raya Dunayevskaya's work has just begun to get the type of discussion which it deserves in radical intellectual circles. More and more people have found her concept of dialectic to be a vantage point from which to assess critically both "vulgar" deterministic Marxism and "Western Marxism." Some of those who were unwilling to accept either Marcusean one-dimensionality or Althusserian antihumanism and yet sought a philosophical foundation for Marxism, have found themselves increasingly drawn to the work of Dunayevskaya in the 1980s.

Her work has also gained more attention recently from labor historians, as seen in the extensive exhibit on her life and writings at the Wayne State University labor archives in 1985, covering the period from 1941 on, much of it available on microfilm as *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*. Her newest book under review here, *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*, is a selection of some of her material on women from those Wayne State archives. This and her 1982 book on Rosa Luxemburg and Marx are such a culmination of a lifetime of work that it is necessary to look briefly at the development of her thought as a whole.

As illustrated by her thirty-year collaboration in De-

Workshop Talks

(Continued from page 1)

Gate plant, I had a chance to see GM's opening contract offer to the UAW, which it was calling a "conceptual proposal." GM's "new" concept is the same old concept of speeding up the line and making the workers work harder—but it does have some "new" ideas about how it wants to do this.

"NEW" IDEAS MEAN MORE SPEED-UP

GM is proposing no wage increase, but only lump-sum added payments in each year of the contract. For the second and third years these sums will be tied to quality/productivity targets. Only at plants where these targets have been met or exceeded will workers receive the lump-sum payment. And only at those same plants will workers be safe from "outsourcing," or GM moving its work to outside suppliers.

GM used to talk to us about quality/productivity standards. We used to strike GM until they hired enough workers to produce a quality product, but in the 1960s the public started to believe General Motors that we workers were just "strike happy."

We gave up, and the quality of the cars went to hell. How can workers put out quality work when GM controls the number of workers on the line, and the speed of the production line?

I am not the only auto worker, retired or still sweating on the line, who is disgusted with the crumbs the company feeds us, and the way the union bureaucrats OK more speed-up, more sweat and blood extracted from the workers. Workers are thinkers as well as workers, and we cannot leave our fate in the hands of the alien class of management and bureaucrats.

troit with auto-worker Charles Denby, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, until his death in 1983. Raya Dunayevskaya has been a committed intellectual as a Hegelian Marxist, as a feminist, and as a lifelong activist in revolutionary groups. Born in Russia, she became active as a teenager in the 1920s in the Communist party in Chicago, especially in the black Marxist movement and its remarkable but little known weekly paper, *The Negro Champion*.

Her early break with Stalinism took Dunayevskaya into the Trotskyist movement, where she eventually became a secretary to Leon Trotsky in Mexico during the Moscow Trials in 1937-38, only to break with him as well in 1939 at the time of the Hitler-Stalin Pact and the outbreak of World War II, when Trotsky continued to consider Russia to be "a workers' state, though degenerate." In the 1940s she developed a theory of state capitalism, writing articles on this for *New International and American Economic Review*...

Dunayevskaya dates her formulation of this new concept of dialectics to two key events of the early 1950s: (1.) The massive 1949-50 coal miners' strike against automation and against the bureaucratic leadership of John L. Lewis in West Virginia in which she was a participant, as recently recorded for the first time in her 1984 pamphlet (co-authored with former miner Andy Phillips), *The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.*; (2.) The East Berlin workers' uprising of 1953, coming almost immediately on the heels of Stalin's death, and signifying, in her view, nothing less than "the beginning of the end of Russian totalitarianism."

Since 1957, in her *Marxism and Freedom*, Raya Dunayevskaya has sought to reconstruct Marxism along humanist and Hegelian lines. She has not hesitated, as in her *Philosophy and Revolution* (1973), to critically appropriate the culmination of Hegel's "system," his absolutes, turning it into what she terms "absolute negativity as new beginning," and writing: "In Hegel's Absolutes there is embedded, though in abstract form, the fully developed 'social individual,' to use Marx's phrase, and what Hegel called individuality 'purified of all that interfered with its universalism, i.e. freedom itself.'..."

Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* is a wide-ranging book, the first part of which presents an important critique of Rosa Luxemburg, who is much praised but whose theories have been seldom discussed. Dunayevskaya not only presents a serious critique of Luxemburg's *Accumulation of Capital*, but also brings the whole theoretical discussion alive by connecting Luxemburg to women's liberation, to the Third World and to Polish and German mass strikes.

While not all readers will be satisfied that Dunayevskaya has uncovered enough empirical evidence to give Rosa Luxemburg a "feminist dimension," to debate only at that level is not really the point, because for Dunayevskaya the whole purpose of bringing in the revolutionary woman theorist Luxemburg is what she considers "the need for today's Women's Liberation Movement to absorb Luxemburg's revolutionary dimension, not for history's sake but for their demands of the day, including autonomy" (ix). Dunayevskaya has certainly challenged previous work both by serious Luxemburg scholars (such as J. P. Nettl) and by those feminist theorists—including Marxist feminists—who continue to ignore Luxemburg...

In the last section of *Rosa Luxemburg*, she issues a challenge to non-Marxists as well as all Marxists by arguing that only our period can fully understand the real Marx as a humanist who, not just in 1844, but in his 1881-82 *Ethnological Notebooks* laid a trail for our

(Continued on page 4)

I graduated from high school in 1930 and was thrust into what became known as the "Great Depression." Things we take for granted today—unemployment insurance, social security, and even the basic relief programs—were unknown, and millions of people were out of work....In that context, the radicalization of the working class became inevitable. Street corner meetings were held everywhere with appeals to the emotions of the unemployed by every radical tendency...

At various times I organized for the Shoe and Leather Workers Union, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. In Lynn, Massachusetts, we founded the first Teachers Union. The birth of the CIO gave new life to the labor movement. The self-developing idea permeated the movement. I can recall incidents where a delegation would show up at the union office and tell us, "We have formed a union and walked off the job. Come out and sign us up."

John F. Dwyer
"Notes on the 1930s"

Dwyer's collection includes documents dating from the early 1920s on the impact of the Russian Revolution on American workers, and materials available nowhere else on the development of Trotskyism in America in the 1930s. The papers also cover the origins of state-capitalist theory in the 1940s, and show Dwyer writing as a Marxist-Humanist from the 1950s to the 1980s.

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Raya Dunayevskaya and the 1979 Iranian Revolution

by Azadkar

Raya Dunayevskaya is a household name among the Iranian revolutionaries. Her philosophy of Marxist-Humanism, which she founded and developed for over 30 years will, no doubt, have a profound influence on the new generation of Iranian revolutionaries who are given the historic task of building a new human society from the rubble to which Khomeini has reduced Iran today.

My relationship with Raya was forged late in 1978 during the heat of the Iranian Revolution. I was a young student then and had participated in the now historic Iranian student movement for several years. The revolution had struck and shattered the student movement into pieces. We were caught unprepared. We knew what we were fighting against, but not what we were fighting for. This was true both in practice and in theory.

I had just broken with a Marxist wing of the Iranian National Front that was founded by Dr. Mohammad Mossadegh, Iran's Nationalist prime minister who was overthrown in 1953 through a CIA-orchestrated coup that brought the Shah back to power.

Thus I had, along with a few friends, begun looking for something new, more meaningful and profound to match the greatness of that ongoing revolution. We were scrambling around, each on our own initiative, to find new theories and new ideas. We were reading and translating anything that we felt was important, from Lukacs to Karl Korsch to the Frankfurt School and from psychoanalysts to anarchists.

It was at this point in mid-1978 that I was introduced to News and Letters and Raya Dunayevskaya's works.

At first I did not realize the profoundness of Marxist-Humanism as a philosophy. I had liked the state-capitalist position on Russia and the fact that Raya had supported Mossadegh in the 1950s. But she also gave me a vantage point to look at Karl Marx's early writings known as his Humanist Essays of 1844.

December 28, 1978 is the most important date in my life. It was the date that I had chosen for my return to Iran to join the revolution. I had told myself "you have read and talked enough about the revolution. Now, it is time to act. Now you must throw your life on the scales of destiny."

I had already translated Raya's Nov. 13 letter to the late Charles Denby, entitled "Iran's Revolutionary Past and Present" which I had found to be thought-provoking and wanted to smuggle into Iran.

But I did not know that Raya had invited me to stop in Detroit and see her on my way to Iran. I accepted her invitation gladly.

It was a cold and rainy day in Detroit when I was brought to Raya's residence. It was a petite but warm woman who greeted me with open arms and a smile. She gave me the impression of a classic revolutionary like the ones I had read about in the books.

At the dinner table she kept repeating the word "emjumane," but I could not understand. Later she

International Labor review

(Continued on page 3)

day. This included a conception of revolutions occurring first in technologically backward lands.

By connecting Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* to his writings on Russia in his last decade, Dunayevskaya argues that Engels' preoccupation with the "origin" of the family and of class society was not Marx's. She holds that Marx was looking at non-European society and its communal structure—whether in primitive tribal societies such as those described in Morgan's *Ancient Society*, or in a pre-capitalist class society such as India—to explore not origins of humanity but new pathways to social revolution, continuing and deepening the discussion begun in the *Grundrisse* on the Asiatic mode of production. Marx was also pointing to women as a revolutionary subject, not ten thousand years ago, but in his period. In short, these were multilinear paths of development toward social revolution involving women, peasants, and minorities.

Women's Liberation enriches the discussion begun by Rosa Luxemburg...

Part 3, "Sexism, Politics and Revolution—Japan, Portugal, Poland, China, Latin America—Is There an Organizational Answer?" contains a 1966 report on Dunayevskaya's trip of that year to Japan, including a first-hand account of worker resistance in Toyota City. She reported the special bitterness of those workers against Toyota's barracks-like discipline. The rest of the articles here are from the 1970s and 1980s, offering a critical world view of women and revolution.

Part 4 is strictly on dialectical philosophy, interweaving it with women's liberation. It begins with an interview "On the Family, Love Relationships and the New Society," but perhaps the most ground-breaking piece here is "Marx's and Engels' Studies Contrasted: The Relationship of Philosophy and Revolution to Women's Liberation." Dunayevskaya singles out the importance to her of this article in her introduction: "I found that Marx's heretofore unknown *Ethnological Notebooks* disclosed a deep gulf between Marx and his closest collaborator, Engels, whose unilinear view has nothing in common with Marx's multilinear view of human development. All too many of today's Women's Liberationists have rejected 'Marxism' as if Engels' *Origin of the Family* was Marx's view, without ever digging into Marx's Marxism" (12)...

Her voluminous writings open up many new points of departure for radical historians and social theorists in the 1980s.

dug out a book by Ivar Spector about the 1905 Russian Revolution and its impact on the East. She found the misspelled word "Anjoman," meaning soviet, that was a spontaneous form of organization during the 1906-11 Iranian Revolution. In Iran the Anjomans included peasants and for the first time in history women had formed their secret Anjomans as well, and played an important role in keeping the constitutional movement from submitting to the pressures by foreign powers and the clergy to divert the revolution.

By pointing out Anjomans, Raya was trying to bring my attention to the importance of the role that both the spontaneously born mass organizations and women had played in keeping the revolution ongoing. She gave me Spector's book to read on my way to Iran and her last words to me were, "If you make any speeches, say enough to get arrested but not killed!"

I spent about six months in Iran. Those were the most revolutionary months of the Iranian revolution, before it began to be subsumed by Khomeini's counter-revolution that had reared its ugly head from within the revolution itself.

During those months Freedom was most touching and truthful. The activity and creativity of the masses involved every man, woman and child. Even the infants had learned as their first words "Marg bar Shah" ("Down with the Shah") and would dance to the tune of "Revolution! Liberation!" to which Khomeini's supporters added "and Islamic Republic." That was the beginning of the end of the Iranian Revolution.

After the Shah's regime was toppled in a three-day insurrection in February, 1979, the first group that challenged Khomeini's rule was women who came to the streets by the thousands to celebrate International Women's Day, March 8-10. They were opposing the wearing of chador (Islamic veil) that Khomeini had decreed in a speech. Their slogan was "We did not make the revolution to go backward."

The spontaneous "shoras" (soviets or councils) was the new name for a widespread form of organization that had come to the scene months before the overthrow of the Shah and had been in the forefront of every revolutionary act. It included workers (both oil workers of the south and seasonal and unemployed workers), peasants, women, students, teachers, artists, etc. Marxists and other Leftist groups were involved in most of these mass organizations. But Islam had also taken an ideological shape and was confronting the Left aggressively.

In March, Raya had begun the first of the series of Political-Philosophic Letters on Iran. It was entitled "Iran: Unfoldment of, and Contradictions in, Revolution." When I look back now, this was the most revolutionary manifesto that ever was written for the Iranian Revolution, something comparable only to Marx's 1850 Address to the Communist League after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolutions in Europe. That address ends with the workers battle cry: "Revolution in Permanence!"

When the issue of News & Letters came to Iran carrying Raya's essay, it had a picture of a train with the word revolution on it and Khomeini trying to stop it. In that atmosphere we did not even dare to publish it with that picture. I finally translated that with the help of another comrade, but it took several months before it could be distributed in Iran.

In that essay Raya pointed out the new forces and new passions that were trying to open a second chapter of the Iranian Revolution; they included women, workers, Kurds and the revolutionary Left with a need to hew out a philosophy to challenge the Islamic ideology that had posed itself as a philosophy of revolution. She also pointed to the danger that lay ahead, when the Left was reducing the contradictions to a mere anti-imperialism.

Raya followed that with four more Letters including "What is Philosophy? What is Revolution?" which dug into the very process of creating a revolutionary theory. In June 1979, when I came back to

the U.S., Raya had hoped that our small group of Iranian revolutionaries could get to work on developing such a theory by digging deep into her own philosophy of Marxist-Humanism. She wrote me: "Welcome back to Marxist-Humanistland...and perhaps we can work out the next stage, be it a Russian April or Iranian fall!"

She then went on to propose a study group with specific suggestions of readings from her works.

We began the study group months later and it developed into an Iranian Marxist-Humanist tendency which we called Anjoman-e-Azadi. For four years we put out a paper called *Eghelab va Azadi* (Revolution and Liberation) and have since translated and published some of Raya's writings including all the Political-Philosophic

(Continued on page 5)



News & Letters photo

Five hundred people demonstrated in front of the Arlington Heights Army Reserve Base in Illinois, on Aug. 22, to oppose the U.S. government's sending of army reserves and national guards to Central America to aid the contras. Many climbed over the Base fence despite imminent arrests by the police.

Life today on the Yaqui Indian reservation

Chicago, Ill.—I'm a 21-year-old Mexican-American student and I've recently returned from working this summer on a Yaqui Indian reservation in Tucson, Arizona. My experience there was a very interesting one because I got a chance to see what life is like on a reservation. Although the Yaqui Indians aren't as poor as many other tribes in the U.S., they have many problems, politically, socially and economically.

Tension was felt throughout the reservation among families. Yaquis were fighting Yaquis because of political differences. There were groups who opposed what the newly-elected Tribal Council was doing to people. The new Council was transferring people and replacing them with their own people, either relatives or strong political supporters of the new Council. The new Council has also suspended two Council members who had worked eight years with people. People were outraged.

The Yaquis have been recognized as a tribe since 1979. In order for a tribe to receive any government assistance it must have a tribal constitution. A constitution was submitted to Congress but it did not win Washington's approval. The constitution had to be modified "to assure technical sufficiency in compliance with Bureau policy and clarity." These modifications made by Congress did not meet the needs of the Yaqui people. The Yaquis are still trying to come up with a constitution that will satisfy the Bureau of Indian Affairs as well as the needs of the Yaqui people.

Politics isn't the only problem with the tribe. Unemployment is high among the Yaquis which has led to a high incidence of alcohol and drug abuse and, sad to say, wife and child abuse. The suicide rate among the Native Americans is the highest in the country. In the first three weeks I was there, there were three suicide attempts and one actual suicide. The teenage pregnancy rate is high, as it is everywhere else in the U.S. Diabetes and high blood pressure are the two most prevalent diseases.

I saw a lot of energy and a lot of potential in the kids and it was a shame to see that some parents didn't treat their kids as individuals. There wasn't much dialogue between parent and child.

The high school youth hated school and many dropped out, with many still not knowing how to read well. Some said they dropped out because of the teachers; others said it was because of the other students who called them names and made racist comments about them being Indians.

I can see that whatever our U.S. government approves or disapproves has nothing to do with how things are going to affect people. It doesn't matter to them that people can't read or write well; that people are unemployed and are committing suicide. But people aren't stupid. They have eyes to see corruption, ears to hear the cries of the oppressed people, and mouths to speak the truth. I truly believe that there is room and hope for the emergence of new movements, new beginnings and new dimensions in the struggle for human liberation.

—Christina

MARXIST-HUMANISM: PERSPECTIVES ON LABOR

A special issue of the *Quarterly Journal of Ideology*
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Mexican workers inspire U.S. organizer

The following are excerpts from an interview that News & Letters conducted with Antonio Orea, a garment worker organizer in Los Angeles, about his recent trip to Mexico. What he told us about the rank-and-file struggles there showed the human dimension that the big labor bureaucrats here have forgotten all about. — Felix Martin, Labor Editor.

Los Angeles, Cal.—I was in Puebla, Mexico, in July. That's where Volkswagen is located—and every time I go there, they're on strike!

There are about 12,000 workers and they are strong. They have an independent union, not part of the CTM, the labor federation associated with Mexico's ruling party, the PRI. On strike, they work together with a lot of community organizations. The students make their posters. This year they received solidarity from Volkswagen workers in Germany. The company in Germany was trying to make the German workers speed up for more production, because of the Mexico strike, but the German workers refused.

At a strike rally in Puebla, I met two women from the 19th of September Garment Workers Union in Mexico City. I went to Mexico City with them, and they invited me to a "plantón." That's like a rally with speakers talking to the people about their struggle. They do this a few times every week. The women go on the streets and in the buses, telling people who they are, and asking for donations. There is much more involvement in addressing other

workers than we see here in the U.S.

I met the Executive Committee of the union, and it's all women, no men! In Mexico City, women have to overcome a lot of obstacles to get involved and take over a leadership position. Angelina Corona is the President of the Union. (See July, 1986 N&L). She was a garment worker for 30 years. Now she's well known in Mexico.

The women told me that their biggest obstacle to organizing now is not the employers, but the official unions, the CTM. The CTM has even sent goons to scare people away from joining an independent union.

But the women are continuing their work. Now they are building a day care center for their members. They don't even have a building for offices yet. That shows their priorities are with their members, and getting them involved. That's a good lesson for me. Here in Los Angeles we don't have a day care center for our members, and that makes it impossible for some women to get involved actively in the union.

I see the exploitation of the garment workers in Mexico City, and I also see it in the U.S. With the new immigration law, the exploitation will be even greater. Conditions are becoming worse and worse. People can only be pushed so far. There will be a social explosion. It's very inspiring to see the workers in Mexico, fighting and organizing themselves. It gives me more energy for the work we do here.

Chile: end Pinochet's 14 bloody years!

New York, N.Y.—Sept. 11 marked the 14th anniversary of the military coup in Chile. Here there were speeches and music at several events attended by Chilean exiles and their North American and international supporters. A major theme was solidarity with political prisoners in Chile, 14 of whom are on death row.

A subject of intense debate here, as in Chile, is the role of the Left in the upcoming plebiscite which the dictator Pinochet has called over whether to hold elections or keep himself in power. The traditional Left is in crisis over whether to vote against him or to refuse to vote, especially since they will not be allowed to run in any elections, and the mass mobilizations of a few years ago have lessened under increasing repression.

Veronica de Negri, an exile who has continued her struggle against the dictatorship and whose son, Rodrigo Rojas, was burned to death by the Chilean army last year, addressed a Sept. 11 meeting here. She spoke in opposition to the plebiscite, saying that those who think

it is normal to discuss "dialogue" and elections with the dictator, are forgetting the masses in the shantytowns, the Mapuche Indians, the thousands of disappeared, the thousands arrested, the women and the youth who are every day putting their bodies on the line in opposition to the government. She called for unity among the continuously warring Left groups, and for support for a general strike on Oct. 7. She concluded, "We don't want the solution of Argentina, we want justice."

A recent visitor to Chile described the extreme repression going on there now, a throwback to the days of mass murder immediately after the coup. Even members of the Vicariate of Solidarity of the Catholic Church, which used to be considered inviolate, have been jailed and prosecuted under anti-terrorist laws for aiding others.

She criticized the traditional Left for lacking the will to show an alternative to the plebiscite. Only the small parties, she said, are calling for mass mobilizations of the population, and the defense groups in the shantytowns are smaller than a few years ago because workers are afraid to join. But more and more exiles are returning to Chile, legally or illegally, and the spontaneous social organizations in the shantytowns continue to be formed.



—News & Letters photo
More than 200 people picketed in front of the Chilean Embassy in Chicago on the 14th anniversary of the U.S.-backed military coup. The participants—Chilean exiles, Argentinian, Mexican and North American youth—were not only calling for the overthrow of Pinochet but also of Reagan, without whose military support Pinochet could not last in power.

Iranian Revolution

(Continued from page 4)

Letters on Iran.

Our latest work has been the first Farsi translation of Karl Marx's 1844 Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts for which Raya wrote a special introduction. Others both in Iran and abroad had independently translated some of Dunayevskaya's works.

Raya worked with many of us individually and participated in several meetings with us. She used to say "Iranians have adopted me." Her presence always helped give us direction. Her dialectical mind was always at work. Sometimes you had to wait for the objective events to unfold before you could understand her thought. Her last words to me were: "I want you to be half for Iran, half for America, and whole for philosophy."

That philosophy, which is Marxist-Humanism, must be carried on in its totality by live revolutionaries. Otherwise there may be decades before the world would discover Raya. Can we wait that long?

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News & Letters

Black World

(Continued from page 1)

my former idea of him as a torch-burning prophet of social revolution... I marveled that any modern system of social education could ignore the man who stood like a great fixed monument in the way of the world." (p. 110)

The new form of expression that McKay struggled to work out after his trip to Russia was profoundly influenced by his Russian experience. Not only did McKay's creation of the Black proletarian novel anticipate Richard Wright, but its influence on the founders of Negritude in Paris was direct and comprehensive.

RETURN TO HARLEM

With his return to New York in 1934 Claude McKay began his last and most arduous struggle. His autobiographical *A Long Way From Home* seemed ironic in that McKay's last decade saw his greatest estrangement from the Harlem he had called home. A nearly systematic conspiracy to deny him publishing access arose due to McKay's principled stand against Stalinism and his continuous critique of middle-class Black intellectuals and leaders, as well as the liberal hypocrisy of the white publishing world. Yet his literary output had been prodigious in the period 1928-34. To be sure, McKay's homecoming to Harlem interjected him into a battle of ideas over the nature of Russia and the relationship of the Black community to Marxism.

The meaning of the Russian Revolution as the mediating point in McKay's thought is brought into sharper focus when viewed in the context of what Raya Dunayevskaya has articulated as "post-Marx Marxism as perjorative." Here is what she singles out from McKay's speech before the 1922 Fourth Congress of the Communist International to distinguish Marx's relationship to the Black world from what she designates as post-Marx Marxism: "When in 1920 the American government started to investigate and to suppress radical propaganda among Negroes, the small radical Negro groups in America retaliated by publishing the fact that the Socialists stood for the emancipation of the Negroes, and that reformist America could do nothing for them. Then, I think, for the first time in American history, the American Negroes found that Karl Marx had been interested in their emancipation, and had fought valiantly for it." At the same time, however, Dunayevskaya quotes McKay as saying that the American Communists "are not willing to face the Negro question."

What we cannot dismiss is that while McKay, like Richard Wright after him, posed the question of the relationship of the Black intellectual to Marxism and the Party, they didn't answer it. Missing was the full articulation of Marx's philosophy of revolution, a link which has only been worked out in the post-World War II period as Marxist-Humanism. The question is—and Cooper's biography despite its conceptual limits does help us to see it—what does McKay's experience help us comprehend of the question he and Wright posed?

In my view, it lies in what Dunayevskaya formulated when she stated: "...Claude McKay rightly accused American Communists of being unwilling 'to face the Negro Question.' In a word, they too are products of the bourgeois society in which they live and thus do not see in full the contradictory foundation of American Civilization; its Achilles heel is enclosed not in the 'general' class struggle, but in the specifics of the 'additive' of color in these class struggles. Precisely because of this the theory of liberation must be as comprehensive as when Marx first unfurled the banner of Humanism." (*American Civilization on Trial*, p. 26) In a word, Dunayevskaya's dialectical grasp of the meaning in the passion and personality of Claude McKay provides us with an altogether new vantage point from which to work out the inner relationship of Marx's Marxism to Black thought and revolutionary activity.

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'POLITICAL DIVIDES, PHILOSOPHIC NEW BEGINNINGS'

The threat of war looms large. The military is now paying sailors "dangerous duty." Opposite to that is the deepening revolutionary situation around the world, South Africa, South Korea, Haiti, opposition to war in Nicaragua. In the context of this "changed world" the question is: can humanity become free in this world of revolutions and counter-revolutions? The challenge has never been greater to develop a full praxis rounded in development of a total philosophy of human liberation. As founder of Marxist-Humanism, Raya Dunayevskaya was the only one who took up this challenge fully. We face the awesome responsibility of becoming her continuators.

We need to understand not only what she wrote but how it developed. Her final writings were a constant return to Hegel, Marx and her own philosophic new beginnings. The title of her last Theory/Practice column—"On Political Divides and Philosophic New Beginnings" is, to me, the key to what she was getting at. Without the philosophic new beginning, the meaning of the political divide can't be discerned. We cannot just mourn her loss. It is not a question of the next generation, if we don't succeed. Without working out philosophy of revolution in theory and practice, there might not be a next generation.

Gary Clark,
Los Angeles

Philosophic divides—whether Marx's new continent of thought, or Lenin's in 1914 on "transformation into opposite"—were profound and have gone through their own development that has had tremendous pull. Raya's last Theory/Practice column, though abstract, was compelled, I feel, because the Left has been so polluted in their thinking by Reaganism. No one else has caught the need for "second negation."

Black writer
Oakland, California

All of us who are interested in the substance of Marx's views are deeply indebted to Raya Dunayevskaya for the way she persistently brought to the fore the practical application of Hegelian dialectics and their humanist rootage in Marx's thought. We may question the compatibility of dialectics and humanism, but Raya Dunayevskaya made us face the question, and we owe her much.

Prof. Loyd Easton
Ohio Wesleyan Univ.
Delaware, Ohio

In her article for an East European journal, "A Post-World War II View of Marx's Humanism, 1843-83; Marxist Humanism, 1950s-1980s" (N&L, July 1987), Dunayevskaya shows two sources of counter-revolution: Reaganism and, more importantly, the Left. The focus, to me, was on Grenada and Castro's role. The source of the counter-revolution she is stressing is the incomplete Marxism that developed after Marx's death, built on the bad foundation of Engels. I see Dunayevskaya challenging the whole movement, including those worldwide who call themselves Marxist Humanists, to reconsider their foundation.

Environmentalist
Chicago

Editor's Note: We regret the typo in the headline for the article mentioned above, which appeared on pages 4-5 of our Memorial issue of July 25, in which the words "Marxist Humanism" were hyphenated, and should not have been. We have consistently used the hyphenated "Marxist-Humanism", as one word, to designate Raya Dunayevskaya's unique philosophy of revolution. In the title to this article which was meant to include all tendencies that have called themselves Marxist Humanists, she had not hyphenated the words. It was our error.

I would have liked very much to attend the memorial meeting July 25. But notwithstanding the thousands of miles that separated us, I was there with you, comrades who pledged themselves to carry far and wide the political-ideological message and ideas of Marxist-Humanism. Raya's unique contribution to revolutionary Marxist thinking will forever remain her rediscovery of the Hu-

manism of the young Marx and placing it in the proper historical perspective of the general body of Marx's teachings, including post-Marx Marxism.

Somehow I feel that Raya's preoccupation with philosophy and the dialectics of theory/practice made her overlook the very complicated problems that the end of 20th century capitalism had posed for the international working-class movement. The character and composition of the working class; the nature of capitalist production, consumerism, ecology and alienation, are just a few of the problems...

Nahum Sneh
Beer-Sheva, Israel

The last paragraph of the Essay for the East European journal, is very new and difficult. Dunayevskaya critiques the idea of just saying "philosophy is action." But it is we, Marxist-Humanists, who are the ones who have been saying that. What she is saying here is that it is too much a "short-hand"—it is not explicit enough. The multilinearism of the post-World War II world—new forces of revolution, new forms of organization—could not be anticipated in advance. When they came, they didn't fit any conceptions that the many theories of Marxism had put forward, all of which were based on Engels' Marxism. Raya is saying that you have to see what philosophy will do for you that mere theories won't.

Marxist-Humanist
Chicago

I am overjoyed to know that an organization like the News and Letters Committees exists in the U.S. I have always believed in the philosophy and thought of Marx in achieving a better society than we have today. I am a Filipino studying Political Science, and hope that an organization like yours might exist in my country. Please send me more information about you and your publication.

University student
Manila, Philippines



FREE
MOSES
MAYEKISO

The situation in South Africa is, indeed, grim, with the Sharpeville Six actually on death row, as well as Moses Mayekiso and his co-defendants facing treason charges. The fight to save Moses Mayekiso has been taken up quite widely in Britain. There are two campaigns. The Friends of Moses Mayekiso is supported by many union leaders and Labour MPs. It has produced leaflets, posters and other publicity material and is raising money for ads in the press and to support the families of the prisoners. The London Anti-Apartheid Group is organizing pickets at the Embassy and plans a demonstration for Oct 10. I am active with my union and will send you a report by express mail.

Supporter
Oxford, England

WHAT KIND OF PEACE?

After reading the lead article in the September N&L, "Will the U.S. armada in Persian Gulf lead to war with Iran, Russia?" I want to express my feelings about the opposition to war. The UN cease fire resolution offers no convincing evidence that it would or could end the war. In the past 7 years in Iran the war has been the way they suppressed any kind of opposition within. An end to the war will be a great defeat for Iran inside its borders. All the suppressed demands of the masses will be raised and there won't be a war on which to blame their unfulfillment.

If the two superpowers have not been able to start their nuclear holocaust it has been mostly because of the opposition within. But if opposition to war does not go further and stress what kind of peace and what kind of human relations it wants to establish, then, like any unfinished revolution, the movement will stop dead. In my view the real opposition in the Middle East lies

Readers' Views

within Iran and Iraq. I emphasize Iran because if there is going to be a movement it will be different from 1979. The masses there have the experience of the 1979 revolution and counter-revolution coming from within, stealing the banner of freedom.

Middle Easterner
Berkeley

I'm worried because the Left should be out protesting in Washington, DC to get the U.S. armada out of the Middle East. We don't have to support any state power in voicing that kind of protest.

Concerned
New York

During a coffee break at work I tried to talk to people, asking them what they thought about the Persian Gulf War. Some said they don't read the newspapers because they are afraid of where we are headed and were just going to pray. When working people say things like that it means they don't have any hope left.

Worker
New York

In the weeks after N&L's lead on the developments around the U.S. armada in the Persian Gulf (N&L, Sept. 1987), the situation grew even more explosive, while Reagan/Gorbachev continued to claim they were for peace. Reagan's retrogression is inseparable from his turning back the clock on all rights at home, while it becomes more and more clear that Gorbachev has the same world ambitions as Reagan. But that Lead also illuminated the drive for power among the smaller nations in the Middle East. All rulers have always used war to divert from revolutionary struggles at home.

Young student
Chicago

Leaders like Reagan and Gorbachev speak of "peace" but never address "freedom." Russian missiles will just be reoriented toward Asia with a new global strategy. As for Reagan, "peace" means developing Star Wars.

Subscriber
Oakland

BLACK AMERICA, 1987

It is 20 years since the Detroit Rebellion. I compare 1967 to "colonialism" and 1987 to "neo-colonialism." Blacks are more powerful politically in Detroit, but the median income is still 59% of that of whites. Schooling is more segregated—Mackenzie High was 50% Black/white in 1967; it is 99% Black today. The Young administration has put all development downtown. Conditions are obfuscated by having Blacks in power. We are in a neo-conservative era and there is a perversion of information.

Political Science professor
Toledo, Ohio

In 1967, 43 people were shot dead in the Detroit rebellion; in 1986, 43 youth were shot dead in Detroit. The group S.O.S.A.D. (Save Our Sons and Daughters), founded by relatives of murdered children, say they hope for the day they can change their name to S.O.G.L.A.D. They are treated as an "issue group" but they want to change a great deal

more. They have not become a power group in the city in the year since their founding, because they have refused to relinquish their goals and leadership to the Black ministers/politicians.

Concerned
Detroit

There have been three murders or beatings of Blacks in the last week in New York—three separate "incidents"—one in Ozone Park, right next to Howard Beach, where a gang of white youths attacked a Black youth who was distributing circulars in the neighborhood. I guess they're saying, if you didn't get the message that this is for whites only in December, you'll get it now. Nine months after Howard Beach, one must look at the internal contradictions in the movement to ask where is that movement now.

Worried
New York

FROM AN IRANIAN REFUGEE

The situation for refugees from Khomeini's Iran is very bad here in West Germany, and in France it is even worse. Right-wing groups have started massive attacks on people who have been under search by their countries for thinking differently and have been forced to seek refugee elsewhere. These groups consider the refugees their number-one enemy today. They want to put the blame for the economic and political problems they face on the shoulders of the refugees in order to prevent anti-government protests and movements. They have been able to create hate against foreign refugees and workers on the level of the hatred of the Nazis against the Jews.

Three people have been killed by neo-Nazi groups this year. Aid to refugees is cut down daily. From morning to evening you have to worry about why people are sensitive to black hair, why they frown at you, insult you, or tease you...

I have to say that after reading Marx's Economic-Philosophic and Raya's works one question has been raised for me: human emancipation and the struggle for a human society. I want to write for the world of work and toil and suffering, for the world of human beings, for life.

Iranian refugee
West Germany

NOT GUILTY: AN APPEAL

Gillam Kerley, the executive director of CARD (Committee against Registration and the Draft), has been given a three-year term in Leavenworth for refusing to register. It is the harshest term ever given under current laws and the judge explicitly gave the defendant's political work as a rationale. Gillam had entered a plea of "not guilty by reason of sanity."

We are launching a campaign to free him and see it as key in stopping the easy stroll toward a draft before it becomes a stampede. Letters can be sent to Gillam Kerley #01988-090, DI, LVC, PO Box 1000, Leavenworth, KS 66048, and information on our campaign is available from:

Zolan Grossman, CARD
PO Box 6583, T St. Station
Washington, DC 20009

A Radical Life: Vera Buch Weisbord

"One morning just as all the operators had sat down to work, there came marching down the aisle a group of women yelling, 'Strike! Get up, girls. Join us!' How wonderful, a strike! was all I could think as I rushed to join them, and I was right up front, yelling with the rest."

This is how Vera Weisbord described her experience working in the knit goods industry in her autobiography, *A Radical Life* (Indiana University Press, 1977, p. 171). This same spirit permeated Weisbord's life, dedicated to radical and labor struggles since the 1920s.

Weisbord was an organizer of textile workers in the historic labor battles at Passaic, N.J. in 1926 and in Gastonia,

N.C. in 1929. She later worked with autoworkers in Detroit and with Chicago's unemployed. Rather than emphasizing the set-backs, Weisbord always looked to the positive gained in each experience a preparation for the next struggle in the fight for a better world.

Thus, in the latter years of Weisbord's life she met *News & Letters* and clearly found an affinity with Marxist-Humanism when she became one of our first sustaining subscribers, writing to us after Raya Dunayevskaya died to urge us to continue her legacy.

When Weisbord died in Chicago, at the age of 92, she was, indeed, an embodiment of "a radical life."

—Marie Dignan



REVOLUTIONARY CHILEAN WOMEN

During the first half of September when we were remembering the September 1973 assassination of Salvador Allende and the military coup by Pinochet, I attended a special exhibit of Chilean artwork, a collection of hand-made arpilleras. These tapestries were created out of cloth scraps by women who live in the refugee camps, the survivors of families destroyed by the Pinochet regime.

One tapestry showed women marching silently down the street in parade formation carrying signs bearing oversized photographs of their "disappeared" relatives. Another showed groups of women who had chained themselves to the gates of prison camps where relatives and friends were being held. Together with the women who make the tapestries, those depicted in them express the true depth of their pain and unfreedom. They are the women who can impact on analyses and theories about Chile today. The exhibit was at once refreshing, revealing and revolutionary.

Student of Marxist-Humanism
Chicago

BORK AS ARTIFICER

It appears to me that Bork is a perfect example of one who wants to dissect the individual from the universal, as when he differentiates the question of class or race from that of individuals. Benjamin Hooks was incensed with this and spoke about what it meant to remove the "for white only" signs, saying it is a question of race. It is Marxist-Humanism which has developed concretely the relation of race, class and philosophy. Bork is now being praised to the skies about his articulate presentation to the hearing. All I could think of when I heard that was Hegel's description of the "artificer," whose "clarity of expression" is mated to "darkness of thought."

Diane Lee
Chicago

As an appeals court judge, Bork wrote an opinion which endorsed management's right to fire employees who distribute union literature. He ruled it legal for employers to give women workers the "choice" of being sterilized or losing their jobs. (Six were sterilized.) He has worked hard against anything that protects working people, women and minorities from business and the government. Can there be any doubt about the danger he represents?

UE worker
Pittsburgh

WORKER TO WORKER

As a worker in the '80s, I see the advanced state of crisis of capitalism. I make no distinction between myself and workers in other countries. We are all appendages to the machine, the factory clock. Capitalists try to separate workers along many lines, putting knowledge into the machine against the worker. Another separation is patriotism. And another the separation of old from young with the two-tier wage structures. We have to look for our own self-generated ideas and break with everything that legislates misery for other workers.

Hospital worker
Oakland

When the news reported that one in ten workers would be laid off here, we figured that meant 620 workers, and that they would probably shut down the second shift completely. But when I talked with a few friends about the situation, their whole answer was, "We need to buy American." When I asked them if they knew that GM was making the same cars in Mexico and paying the workers there \$1.55 an hour, they had no answer.

When these companies make their economic statements they don't show the high rate of profit they receive from these places. Why do we let this hap-

pen? We're aware of these robbers but do nothing about it. Prejudice needs to stop and all workers need to work together to stop the corporations who not only make huge salaries but rob workers of their human necessities and dignity. They have taken a high toll on workers—including divorce, separation, suicide. What do we need before we decide to do something about it?

I wish, even if only one worker in Mexico reads this, he will tell a friend. Borders and boundaries need to be erased and we must all stand together.

Working woman
Oklahoma City

The Unifier is beginning regular monthly publication. More than anything else our labor movement needs to conduct a vigorous debate on its role in the future. Loss of members, the changing nature of work and the economy have presented us a vastly different world than the 1950s. To sharpen this debate, labor needs to be informed on the issues and struggles unfolding around us. Please let your readers and trade unionists know that subs to the Unifier will be \$15 a year.

National Rank-and-File
Against Concessions
312 - 21st St.,
Newport, MN 55055

I heard from a friend who works in the Oscar Mayer plant in Nashville, Tenn. that a copy of N&L had found its way down there some time ago. Someone had brought it in to the plant and posted it up on the wall near the union notice board. Then another worker wrote on it: "Here's the news we don't get from the union."

Meatpacker
Wisconsin

We haven't gotten any details yet on the new Ford contract. All we know is what has been reported in the papers. I heard there are beer parties being thrown by union reps at local bars around the plant to whip up support for the contract.

Workers are for the idea of job security, but we don't know what the trade-off is, what we gave up. We know there are provisions for combining jobs and classifications. Skilled workers seem even more concerned than production workers about what the contract will mean.

Ford Rouge worker
Detroit

TO RAYA'S LIFE AND SPIRIT

Although Raya did not live to see the revolution, she had time to accomplish much of what she wanted. I will miss her keen intellect and personal charm. I hope that she got to read the Russian-language materials I sent her in response to her article on "glasnost". In addition to our sorrow, we can also elaborate her life and spirit, and learn from it a personal lesson as well as intellectual.

Allan J. Mui
Bronx, New York

I worked closely with Raya for a number of years in the forties, and learned a great deal from her. I remember her brilliant scholarly study in the 1940s of the Russian economy, which proved beyond any doubt that the Soviet Union had become an imperialist, state-capitalist society, subject to the same laws and ultimate collapse governing capitalism as described by Marx.

If Raya had been like so many others in this greedy society, she could have used her great talents to become rich. Instead she chose to devote all her abilities to work for a better world.

Eli Shneyer
Philadelphia

I want to renew my subscription and enclose an additional donation after reading the memorial issue. I will truly miss Raya Dunayevskaya. She once assured me that there is no reason to feel ashamed or belittled over being unemployed or holding a common labor job in a system which is based on corruption, greed, exploitation, racism, sexism and the love of money.

Longtime subscriber
Ypsilanti, Mich.

From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya Marxist-Humanist Archives

Dialectics of Revolution*

by Raya Dunayevskaya

The dialectics of revolution are manifested in the new book [Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future] whose title has been reversed for the class-lecture to "The Dialectics of Revolution and Women's Liberation." From the Introduction/Overview of the new book, here is what was manifested:

The four parts of the new book, as expressed in the Introduction/ Overview are actually the various stages of the dialectics of revolution. It is that alone which explains the essence of why, for that final lecture, we insisted on turning around the title of the book, beginning not with women's liberation but with the dialectics of revolution.

Begin with the first paragraph of the first part and see that the first sentence states that what is new is the epoch. Women's Liberation is one manifestation. Rather than Women's Liberation, what characterizes the epoch is the movement from practice that is itself a form of theory. That same paragraph on the first page of the Introduction/Overview challenges all philosophers not just to come up to what the masses in motion discovered but to work out the new stage of cognition philosophically. It is only the second paragraph that names the new unique feature of this epoch's Women's Liberation Movement. In a word, first comes the newness of the epoch, second comes the newness of today's Women's Liberation in naming male chauvinism as the culprit. When the view is extended not alone in time but in the whole of human development we find once again that we can move nowhere without Marx and his discovery of a new continent of thought and revolution. From then on, you could never separate thought from revolution. And you could not reach a new stage of cognition without a revolution.

Put briefly, Women's Liberation is the first dialectic of revolution when it is relation—when it comes out of—the new epoch itself, which we declared philosophically to be a movement from practice that is itself a form of theory, and absolutely inseparable from revolution. It is those three elements—the epoch, the philosophy, and a new force of revolution—which we and we alone named when we saw Women's Liberation not only as Force but as Reason.

That leads at once to another inseparable—a second determination of the dialectic—the Black Dimension. That second moment, which, of course, had a presence chronologically from Marx's day, was discovered by us alone as the American roots of Marxism inseparable from Abolitionism. It was this which for the first time, in 1957 in Marxism and Freedom (M&F), finally enabled us to name Marx's new Humanism as Marxist-Humanism in the United States, and, indeed, to first name our goal: recognition that along with the establishment of the American roots goes the world concept of Humanism as specifically marking our age.

You see why it is so difficult to pinpoint the dialectic of revolution, single it out, concretize it, until you have both worked out the logic of the Self-Thinking Idea and had new revolutionary forces who wished to take responsibility for it. Clearly, as the 1949-50 Philosophic Correspondence shows, the elements were there even before I worked out that logic to be the movement from practice in the May 1953 Letters three years later. It was that movement from practice which first burst forth six weeks later, on June 17, 1953. So it is both thought and revolutionary forces which finally unite responsibility of both workers and the revolutionary intellectuals (and not by just listing four instead of one force, though that is an improvement, but by working out the unity of the two).

Now take page 2 and you find that what we have there is the birth of a whole new world, the Third World, coming from the national liberation movements. And now you have to ask yourself why I said this collection of 35 years of writings is not presented chronologically. Clearly, I wanted each part to be a totality, but even that is not the answer, because we can get there only when totality is a new beginning and that new beginning is in philosophy. That is why even Absolute Method is now stressed as only the "road to" the Absolute Idea. And the Idea is Marxist-Humanism.

When we named all the forces, the youth especially was a designation that was not limited by class. This reaching for the future was the Promethean vision that Marx bequeathed to us. That bequest is a demand not just for measuring up to history, but for concretizing Absolute Idea for one's own age. You cannot step over historic barriers even with a Promethean vision. Marx had stopped in his Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic at paragraph 384 in Philosophy of Mind because it was his age that made a concretization of the Hegelian dialectic, and the discovery of a whole new continent of thought and revolution was the task history assigned to him. It is Absolute Mind as action, as transformation of reality.

Also on page 2 see that "somehow" both Black dimension and the old radicals suddenly come together in embryo as the problems of the World War II period. And, of all things, these pages are from an organization document. How absolutely necessary it is to uproot all the old so that Reason as the new consciousness and the revolutionary force as the new consciousness comprise the second dialectic of revolution. It is only then—pages 3 and 4—that I first quote the newness of Women's Liberation in our own epoch by quoting from Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution (RLWLKM). All of this, these two moments of the dialectics of revolution, is in Part I of the new book, entitled "Women, Labor and the Black Dimension." Yet even that, even naming more than one force of revolution, and even not following the chronological order does not really cover reason and revolution, the heart of the Marxian dialectic.

Part II—"Revolutionaries All" begins on page 4 and has us turn from our epoch to the first Russian Revolution in 1905-1907, which already involves the Third World even though there was no such designation then. It is out of that, too, that "Women's Liberation as Reason as well as Revolutionary Force" is born out in what is new, the 20th century revolutions, when that third dialectic of revolution—masses in motion—transforms reality and extends East into Persia. Pages 5 and 6 quote and summarize those new forces as they appear in Chapter 9 of Philosophy and Revolution (P&R).

I was asked by Erica at the first class how it was that the class was asked to read Chapter 9 for that lecture without first reading Chapter 1, when I had always insisted that one could not separate them. The answer is that by now the audience for these classes is supposed to know Chapter 1 of P&R from 1973—indeed, know it as it was anticipated philosophically in 1964 when the new chapter on Mao's China added to M&F focused on "Two Kinds of Subjectivity." If we still don't know that, we have a lot of catching up to do. The fourth dialectic, thus, is the return to Hegel—and it is no accident that it is here that we quote Gramsci's statement on dialectics as "Knowledge and therefore action."

(Continued on page 11)

*Excerpts from "The Dialectics of Revolution and Reason—from Marx through the post-Marx Marxists to Marxist-Humanism OR The Continuity and Discontinuity between Absolute Method and Absolute Idea as New Beginnings: The New Book and the Whole Archives," Part III of Responsibility for Marxist-Humanism in the Historic Mirror: A Revolutionary Critical Look, presentation to the Expanded Resident Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees, December 30, 1984. Microfilm #8334. The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection.

South Korea's masses pose new questions in rebellion

by Eugene Walker

In every facet of South Korean life and labor—from the mass worker revolt against the "economic miracle" that has arisen on the backs of the sweated labor of Korean women and men, to the birth of a new generation of student activists/revolutionaries determined to bring down the old and create the new—revolutionary new beginnings have burst forth. And yet precisely because of these beginnings, barriers are being raised in opposition to the full flowering of a freedom movement in Korea. This has made urgent the working out of new pathways forward—not only in action but in thought—by the Korean movement. Let us briefly examine both the dialectic of revolt as it has unfolded and the search for a direction within that revolt.

The dialectic of revolt can be traced among vast groups of the population: from the students, women and men, who have been not only on campus, but in the street and at the factory gate, to religious groups, to opposition politicians. All helped bring Korean society to the brink of a profound upheaval in the months of May and June, forcing the government to capitulate to constitutional changes in the election process. But it has been labor, especially in the month of August, that spontaneously—and yet with great self-organization—acting indigenously—and yet with important support from among the students—which has most profoundly shaken the very roots of Korean society, and threatened to strike at its very heart—the accumulation of capital.

I. The Dialectic of Labor Revolt vs. South Korea's "Economic Miracle"—on the backs of sweated labor

In factories where no labor organization previously existed and in shops where earlier labor activities were beaten back, suddenly, spontaneous, mature forms of struggle—involving tens of thousands of workers in mass walk-outs and in plant sit-ins—have taken place.

Hundreds upon hundreds of strikes involving, in the end, hundreds of thousands of workers have spread across the country. They involved not only the largest conglomerates such as Hyundai, Daewoo, Samsung and Luck-Goldstar, but buses and taxis, textile and shoe factories shut down as well as mines. In Pusan, a sit-in by 600 fishing boat captains shut down the city's central fish market. The major issues have been wages, working conditions and especially a demand for new unions to supplant the government-controlled and company unions of the past.

At the huge Hyundai complex in Ulsan some 20,000 workers occupied factory buildings and a shipyard in response to a lockout on August 17. The workers were forced to battle riot police. On August 18, 40,000 workers massed in front of the Hyundai complex and then marched through the streets of the city. The march included wives and mothers of Hyundai employees, as well as children strapped to their backs. The workers poured into a stadium used by Hyundai company teams. After several hours of protest speeches, the government sent the Deputy Labor Minister to the stadium to offer a settlement. The settlement came only after workers had rejected an existing union as pro-management and formed a new union. When the company refused to negotiate, the mass two-day protest began.

This outpouring of labor revolt has its roots in South Korea's massive economic development, especially in the 1970s and 1980s. From steel making to wearing apparel, from electronics to automobile and shipbuilding, the Korean economy—with important state intervention—has leaped and leaped. The name "the new Japan" is among the praises given. But the crucial factor in this movement from underdevelopment to industrialization has been neither entrepreneurship nor state intervention. It has been the sweated labor of millions of Korean workers.

The International Labor Organization has reported that South Korean workers face the longest work week in the world—nine to twelve hours a day, six days a week. It is a work week filled with blood and repression. Last year the number of industrial accidents was reported to be 160,000, of which close to 10% involved worker fatalities. Asia Watch Committee has produced a study, *Human Rights in Korea*, authored by James Palais, with an extensive section on labor. It documents conditions of labor and life among Korean workers, especially women workers in textiles, in electronics, in steel, in light manufacturing.

To learn of working conditions and wages in South Korea is to glimpse primitive accumulation of capital as a way of life. Labor organizing had been made close to impossible in the wake of the crushing of the Kwangju uprising in 1980 that had consolidated the Chun Doo Hwan dictatorship in power. But the mass rebellions of spring and summer 1987 have left all the old relations of life and labor in tatters. Capital/labor in South Korea can never be the same.

Nor can the government easily suppress the generation of activists who have come off the campus and onto the streets, demanding a new way of life. In the spring and early summer they again and again challenged the government, finally forcing, together with other groups, a change in the constitution. It is not the first time a generation of students spoke as the soul of the Korean nation.

II. Student activist-revolutionaries—a new generation has been born

The student movement in Korea has been a decisive one in exposing the repressive nature of the U.S.-sponsored post-Korean War dictatorships. Indeed, that

ship and in severely challenging each of the others. Listen as a young Korean revolutionary speaks of today's youth generation:

"In the 1980s after Kwangju the students evolved toward socialism. We were so disappointed with the uprising being crushed, we tried to find a way to democratize. We looked at the social formation, the intrinsic contradictions. We realized that the relation between the U.S. and Korea was a neo-colonial one, although there are still debates about its exact nature.

"The opposition leaders Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung are not the leadership of the youth generation. Most of our generation, the youth groups and the student groups, are becoming socialists. Some insist we should give leadership to North Korea. But others want our own leadership, our own party.

"Frankly, we cannot read original books by Marx. Sometimes we cannot get enough information to judge which Marxists are orthodox or not. Most of the students and activists are very careful about saying they are Marxists. We don't have enough understanding of Marxism.

"Many activists think Mao and Lenin are orthodox. After Mao and Lenin we don't agree on others. Some groups insist on humanism. Others say we should be realistic, that if you emphasize the humanism it is too idealistic.

"The military has strong power. There is almost no way to express your political opinion to people, to demonstrate because of the riot police. As a result some young people, workers and students, have committed suicide by public immolation so that the newspapers will write an article and people will think about what they say.

"If students were kicked out of the university for political activity they sometimes went into the factory. It is illegal for them to enter the factory, but thousands of students went there to educate workers and also to learn from workers.

"The military dictatorship is supported by the U.S. If we had political freedom we could make a union, debate freely and move to the sane society. If we want to go to a sane society we need to get rid of this dictatorship."

The Chun dictatorship has recognized the threat that

From the Korean War (1950-53) forward the goal has been to keep South Korea as the U.S.'s outpost in the East. As we wrote shortly after the Kwangju events in reviewing U.S.-South Korea relations in the 1970s:

"1) The U.S. had done nothing whatever when Kim Dae Jung, back in 1971, had obviously won the election against Park, and fraudulently Park took office. 2) They did nothing again when, in 1973, Park abducted Kim Dae Jung, who was then in Japan, intending to murder him. It was the international outcry that stopped that attempted murder. 3) And now it is Chun who is staging a kangaroo court trial to make the premeditated murder of Kim "judicial." 4) Above all, the U.S., nearly 30 years after the Korean War ended, is keeping 40,000 troops in South Korea, with many, many more ready to fly there to keep the neo-fascist South Korean government in power." (Perspectives Report, "Today and Tomorrow," to the Convention of News and Letters Committees, August 30, 1980 by Raya Dunayevskaya).

Today the U.S. is searching for a new formula for maintaining its presence. In the Philippines the ouster of Marcos has not led to a full social uprooting. Instead a bourgeois democratic regime is in place. It has meant no land reform, no fundamental change in labor conditions and no challenge to a U.S. military presence. This is the kind of scenario the U.S. is trying to achieve in South Korea as well.

Under these shackles and constraints how can Korea's freedom aspirations be brought to fruition? How can all the old fetters be stripped away? The answer lies in all the revolutionary new human beginnings—as youth, as labor, as women—that have stamped the 1980s.

Those new revolutionary beginnings have not alone been in magnificent, courageous actions. There have as well been new beginnings in revolutionary thought. Among students, among young workers, there have been the formation of a multitude of underground study groups with their own curriculum of Marxist books to



Mother of jailed South Korean student being arrested while protesting against government torture.

this new generation of revolutionaries represents to its own existence. In the seven years since Kwangju it has tried numerous tactics to stem the student discontent.

Still the student movement persists and grows. Two key elements in this new student movement are the student/worker bond that has been forming and the dimension of women activists.

Beginning at the end of 1984 there has been a fusion of students with labor protesters. Not only have there been a number of mass demonstrations where students by the hundreds have joined workers in mass labor protests, but students have been leaving the campuses and entering the factories to learn from and provide support to workers' organizing efforts.

The participation of women in the movement is both in factories and on the campus. In response the government has tried to intimidate women students in particular on a number of occasions. When students were arrested at a Students' Day demonstration they were assembled at the police station. The women were forced to stand naked and submit to body searches. They were as well subjected to verbal abuse and actual physical beating. Still the presence of women in the movement grows.

III. Where To Now? The U.S., North Korea, and new human beginnings in action and thought

Korea stands on the brink of something profoundly new. And yet it is bound by the shackles of the old: a militarized state run for more than three decades with U.S. sponsorship; the continued presence of tens of thousands of U.S. troops as part of a superpower-divided world; a class-divided, sexist society accumulating on the basis of sweated, super-exploited labor.

Korea came out of the Second World War, divided North and South, as the two surviving big powers put up markers for the next war: East and West Germany, North and South Korea, North and South Vietnam. Korea became the U.S.'s first post-World War II hot war in 1950. At stake was not only the status of Korea, but

study. They have not limited themselves to so-called "orthodox" socialism, that is, texts following Russia or China, or North Korea's Kim Il Sung. Some have wanted to investigate other ideas of socialism and Marxism, including a Marxist-Humanist conception.

When the energy, propaganda and ideology of the South Korean government is bent upon denying the very possibility of learning about North Korea and its ideology, there is naturally a determination on the part of South Korean revolutionaries to overcome such thought control. But by no means does the great, justified desire for reunification of their country keep many young revolutionaries from being willing to investigate and critique North Korea as well as South.

The daring activist revolutionary students, workers, and women in South Korea, who have sought out and created such revolutionary new beginnings in action are as well challenged to find the necessary new beginnings in revolutionary thought. Thought here is no abstraction opposed to "action." It is precisely what can give action its critical, revolutionary direction. The lack of working out a comprehensive vision of the movement's direction is as great a danger as Chun's troops or the U.S.'s military presence. Such a void is what allows a bourgeois democracy to pose as the viable alternative to a military dictatorship, when in truth it is the opposite side of the same coin, and can quickly be withdrawn in favor of the iron heel when conditions demand.

The questions being posed by the workers on strike, the students in the street, have by no means been limited to wage increases or choosing between candidates in a presidential election. Instead the posing of new questions in mid-rebellion speak to the very fabric of life and labor in Korea. The new forms of struggle engaged in, the new forms of organization created, speak to a maturity of self-activity in the practice of the Korean masses. The challenge is to work out as profound a philosophic expression of liberation for Korea today. Only when such a full revolutionary vision is hewed out, can it become the unifying cement for the aspirations of the Korean masses. It remains the task on Korea's revolutionary agenda.

1987-88 Reagan agenda: Bork, contras and Star Wars

(Continued from page 1)

on the Supreme Court—was moved in an unprecedented public statement to denounce him as at the absolute "bottom" of all the presidents in their impact on racial justice.

As for his wars abroad in the coming 15 months, Ronald Reagan has made it clear beyond any doubt that he is determined not to leave office with the Sandinista government still in power in Nicaragua: "Soon the communists' prediction of a 'revolutionary fire' sweeping across all of Central America could come true... I do not intend to leave such a crisis for the next American President," he openly declared in May.

So concerned, in fact, was the Center for Defense Information—after the revelations of the Iran-contra affair—with the extremes Reagan may be willing to go to achieve that end, that the lead article in the latest issue of their *Defense Monitor** is entitled "U.S. Invasion of Nicaragua: Appraising the Option." This group, directed by a retired U.S. Navy Rear Admiral, Gene LaRoque, and other retired brass from the Navy, Air Force and

Nor should it come as any surprise that the Democratic and Republican leaders alike of the House of Representatives have just agreed to provide him extra funds for the contras during the very time Central American countries are trying to negotiate peace. Moreover, their "agreement in principle" to give—supposedly for "humanitarian" purposes—\$3 million more, in addition to the \$100 million already given this year, is not part of the \$270 million the Administration is prepared to request for the next 17 months for openly military purposes.

That the wars abroad are not separate from the wars at home was shockingly confirmed on Sept. 1 when Brian Willson, a 46-year-old veteran who had been transformed from a Goldwater Republican to an anti-war activist by the experiences in Vietnam, was cold-bloodedly run down by a Navy "death train" as he knelt in a protest demonstration on the railroad tracks at the Concord Naval Weapons Station. (See page 1)

REAGAN'S RELENTLESS OBSESSION: STAR WARS

The moment Reagan announced on Sept. 18 that the U.S. and Russia had reached an "agreement in principle" to ban intermediate-range nuclear missiles, he revealed that the Pentagon had officially approved the acceleration of research on six Star Wars programs against long-range Russian nuclear weapons. It was the first decision that pushed Star Wars technologies from "pure research" to actual development. He lost no time in announcing on his weekly radio program the next day that he would never abandon Star Wars.

Just as the insane idea that there could be a "winnable" nuclear war has never left Reagan's mind, so his obsession with his long-repudiated scheme for Star Wars has made the drive for ever-greater militarization a hallmark of his whole presidency. Unprecedented as an agreement to eliminate any class of nuclear weapons is, the truth is that the number of weapons involved, in the context of the horrendous stockpile on both sides, is infinitesimal, affecting five percent of existing nuclear arms. Moreover, what it means is that the drive to war now will see the greater and greater increase of "conventional" weaponry, on both sides.

Above all, it is clear that the games being played by Reagan and Gorbachev, with the lives of all humanity at stake, are being played with the eyes of each watching, first and foremost their own masses at home. The only real opposition to Reaganism—as to Gorbachevism—is mass revolt, which does not mean that "more militancy" alone can do it. That illusion is as disastrous as the other illusion that permeates the Left, that Reagan is a "lame duck," that he was seriously "set back" by the exposure of his Iran-contra campaign, or "disrupted" by the Guatemala Peace Plan.

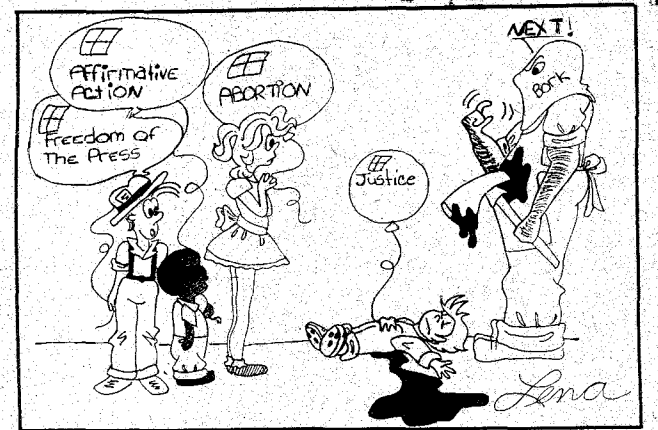
Just as we cannot delude ourselves that the Reagan presidency is a lame duck, so we cannot be deluded that the arms agreement means peace. Reagan has never stopped preparing for war even as he is out to provoke it at every opportunity, from Grenada to the Gulf of Sidra to the current nuclear-armed armada in the Persian Gulf. The wide-spread opposition to Bork and the fact that no one has been fooled about Reagan's counter-revolutionary intentions in Central America are beginnings, but only the barest of beginnings. They demand a deep digging for new beginnings in thought as well as in action. It was not because Marxist-Humanists had a "crystal ball" but because the revolutionary dialectic does not permit a separation of theory and practice, that nearly four full years ago, just on the threshold of

Reagan's "four more years," Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in our *Draft Perspectives 1984-85*:

"Four more years" for Reagan, as for Nixon, is a slogan that promises to subject us to continuing retrogression. Moreover, this scoundrel-patriot's outreach extends far beyond four more years, since he would also pack the Supreme Court and install the kind of militarization for his mad Star Wars that would guarantee that no presidency through the 20th century would be able to escape his plan for the ultimate East-West confrontation.

This must be stopped. This is what makes it imperative to turn to what is the only true opposition to Reaganism—mass revolt on the home front as it fights against Reagan, the Great Strike-Breaker.

The need for that kind of deep opposition is more urgent today than ever.



A view of Bork submitted by a high school student.

The taming of our youth

New York, N.Y.—I see a deliberate scalping of minds taking place against our youth. The culprits are the powers-that-be. The powers-that-be have consciously attempted to make the 1960s a bad dream never to occur again in any form whatsoever.

I don't want to sound without hope because I have seen through what the carefully planned scheme has done to the once flourishing brains and ideas of our youth. I am 22 and a child of the '70s.

Parents and our government have taught my generation to look down on, if not hate, their Black, Hispanic or Asian brothers. The government needs a scapegoat to finance their lavish lifestyles and greed. They satisfy the middle class by blaming the minorities for welfare, and other social programs.

The real problem is that the government has wanted our youth to remain illiterate and stupid so they can't grasp the historical consequences that the future will bring to our country because of covert action, a misguided foreign policy, support for military dictators, overemphasis on defense leading to a paralyzing deficit and support for racism in other countries to keep revolutionaries much like our founding fathers out of the political scene where they can have an impact.

In Washington on April 25, we saw an outpouring of youth, but we must not only have college youth's participation, we need the whole rank-and-file youth to participate in order to succeed.

In this country where freedom and democracy are alleged, if this mindless suppression of youth can take place, then we are putting a mask over individual liberties as much as Russia does. How can any country that flies the flag of democracy and freedom not let the youth develop their own selves? —Future teacher

Written on threshold of last "summit":

Reagan still believes that there will be a summit. But neither side—neither U.S. nor Russia—is budging on what it considers "research" on the "Star Wars" program, the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). One top military analyst, the former military affairs specialist for the New York Times, Drew Middleton, who isn't against the SDI program, has nevertheless criticized the endless amounts of money for it, as if that contains the answer. He reminds them that you can destroy a country, but to occupy it, you have to be there, with infantry. The infantry is the key, not the high-tech weaponry. That is what the rulers always forget—the masses, the people who are there.

The truth is that this is exactly what is at the root of Reagan's and Gorbachev's views—no matter what they say about the world economy, it is in deep crisis.

—From 1986-87 Perspective Thesis

Marine Corps, were impelled to write: "If several \$100 millions spent on the contras in the past and the \$100 millions that the U.S. will spend in the future cannot produce a contra victory, as even the American military believes, U.S. forces may well invade Nicaragua to topple the Sandinistas. It is impossible to predict when, but the short time remaining for the Reagan Administration may dispose the President to order early military action." (Emphasis in original)

The horrendous scenario they offer, however, is not a Reagan aberration, but a continuation of U.S. policy ever since its imperialist tentacles first reached out to Latin America. The U.S. never stopped invading Nicaragua until Somoza (rightly called "the last Marine") succeeded in murdering Sandino in 1933. The U.S. then supported that brutal dictatorship for 46 years until Somoza was overthrown in the 1979 Nicaraguan Revolution. Every year since Reagan took office, he has been trying to defeat that revolution.

Thus, it should certainly have come as no surprise that he never for one moment gave up his all-out campaign to continue funding the contras, despite the fact that he was forced to pretend—for only one moment—that he "welcomed" the Aug. 7 peace treaty signed in Guatemala City by the presidents of five Central American countries—Guatemala, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Honduras, Nicaragua.

*The Defense Monitor, Vol. XVI, Number 5, 1500 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20005.

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Black/Red View

by John Alan

When President Reagan announced that he considered winning Senate confirmation of the ultra-conservative Robert Bork to the Supreme Court his "top domestic priority", he unveiled the long-standing plan that he and his Attorney General, Ed Meese, had been working on: the conversion of the Supreme Court into a bastion of conservative ideology as a road block to any expansion of civil and human rights, in this country, once Reagan had departed from the Oval Office.

In selecting Judge Bork, Reagan didn't just reach into a grab bag of competent federal judges and choose him because of his academic and professional qualifications. Indeed, Bork was waiting off-stage for this nomination. Reagan and Meese had long considered Bork uniquely equipped to bring to a conservative majority on the high Court a consistent "philosophic method" on how to interpret the U.S. Constitution according to the Administration's retrogressive policies on civil and human rights, as well as Presidential powers.

For more than two decades Bork has expounded, in numerous articles and lectures, a "Constitutional philosophy" that he calls "interpretivism" which holds that judges should interpret the Constitution according to the "original intent" of the Framers of the Constitution. On the face of it, within this simple dogmatism, and its kinship with religious fundamentalism, there is an absurd denial of movement and development in human history and consciousness. But once it assumes the power of legality it becomes a weapon in the hands of those who plan to nullify all rights that Blacks and women fought for and gained over the last 30 years.

Bork's spurious philosophy of "original intent" favors the limitation of civil rights to only those specific instances and groups that are mentioned or alluded to in the Constitution, all others have "no standing in the courts." And even within the field of this limitation, the rights of citizens are defined solely in terms of their relationship to the government and not in their relationship to other members in society. According to Bork, this means that the 14th Amendment only protects Blacks from racism in their relation to the state, and not from the racism practiced by a white restaurant owner who refuses to serve Blacks. If it were otherwise, argues Bork, this would impinge upon the liberty of the restaurant owner.

If such a concept of "original intent" is allowed to become a "doctrine" of the Court, it could open up a legal assault on civil rights in the country, not unlike the post-Reconstruction "doctrine of separate but equal." Bork has built his legal career upon a history of using "original intent" to challenge the constitutionality of affirmative action; the use of busing and other means to

Native American impasse

by Shainape Shcapwe

It has been hard over the past several months to watch both the federal government and the news media try to change the thrust of the Native American struggle. We see numerous articles about individuals who were considered to be the leadership in the Indian movement, as though what is happening to these people is what is all-important to our movement. I am referring to reports about Russell Means attempting to run for U.S. President, Dennis Banks promoting "Red Capitalism," and Leonard Peltier asking from prison for political asylum in Russia.

These reports are circulated in hopes that the public will forget about the day-to-day hardships caused by the Reagan administration's cutbacks, from health care and jobs to education.

We all know the problems that exist and are growing worse. But it isn't just a case where we need to expose what the federal government is doing to our lives, and what is genuinely at stake in our movement. We also have problems within the movement of cutting ourselves off from each other and from different ideas.

We keep hearing about the struggle between Peter McDonald, head of the Navajo Tribal Council, and the federal government, to get control of mineral rights in the Big Mountain area. Both McDonald and the government claim to know and be working for what's best for the people there. But we almost never hear from the people themselves about what they want.

At the beginning of July, elders of both the Navajo and Hopi tribes held a closed meeting to draft a letter addressed to the Tribal Council and to the federal government. They were asking for a peaceful conclusion to the resettlement of the remaining Navajo families, and for money to redevelop grazing areas for livestock, which provide their main subsistence. They were very clear about not inviting reporters to come to this meeting, partly because they do not trust them to tell the truth.

I can understand their reluctance to accept what people choose to call "support." During the Big Mountain occupation last year, a lot of self-styled supporters came into the area. They brought a great deal of attention to themselves, including that of local police and the FBI. The Navajo and Hopi ended up being distracted from their struggle in order to deal with them.

But we need to go past that. In order to work out what can reasonably be called mutual support among ourselves, we can't lump all supporters or all the Left together. Instead, we need to be able to share ideas and philosophies openly and examine them for ourselves, and not cut ourselves off totally.

Reagan-Bork "original intent" is racism

integrate schools; the "one man one vote" ruling by which the Court ended racist poll-tax practices; and the right of women to an abortion.

Bork's nomination is another attempt by Reagan to narrow both the idea and actuality of freedom, just as the current official deification of the Constitution projects the Constitution as the determinant element in shaping the legal rights we have in the United States. In both instances, the 200-year struggle of labor, Blacks and women to override the "original intent" of the Framers of the Constitution is conveniently ignored.

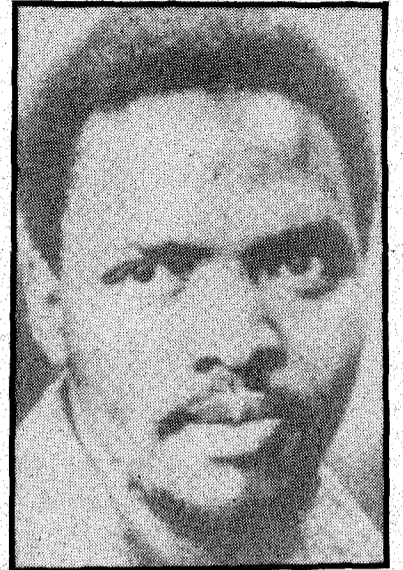
The small group of men that met behind closed doors in Philadelphia 200 years ago, were not "freedom fighters"; they were slave holders, commercial capitalists and their lawyers; and the depth of their wisdom was confined to their self interest. John Hope Franklin, the noted Black historian, in his *From Slavery to Freedom*, called that meeting a "conservative reaction" to the social revolution of the "plain people's demand for liberal and democratic land laws and greater guarantees of human rights." The Constitution they devised was firmly based on the rights of property and ownership of Black slaves. To undo the latter "right" it took 75 years of Black masses in joint struggle with Abolitionists and the Civil War.

The tremendous way in which the right-wing has marshalled its forces in support of the reactionary Robert Bork and the tremendous opposition that's come

from labor, Blacks, women, and ethnic minorities during this 200th anniversary of the U.S. Constitution, has objectively brought history and the present together. It, at the same time, calls upon today's forces of freedom to finish the unfinished American Revolution.

10 years later: Biko lives

Steve Biko injected a new creativity into the stasis of the late '60s. He not only filled the void left by the banning of the ANC (African National Congress) and PAC (Pan African Congress), but he changed the vocabulary and parameters of the struggle. He cut across the ruling class terms of reference that characterized the methodology of other organizations, and popularized the tenets of self-assertion and anti-collaboration.



His brand of humanism lives on, and it is doubtful whether much of the events of the last decade-and-a-half would have occurred in quite the same manner and intensity without it.

Steve Biko sowed the seeds for the popular uprisings that have characterized the last 15 years. Ironically, it was only when he was killed and the various Black Consciousness organizations were banned that it was possible for such historical documents as the Freedom Charter to re-surface and for the ANC to make its imprint on the political scene. Steve Biko was in the major league of world leaders, working tirelessly to unite the oppressed and exploited, to destroy all forms of chauvinism and tribalism. He infused new hope and courage among the dispossessed, disenfranchised Black majority, breaking through the fear that had infested the country during the '60s.

Steve Biko lives ahead of his time: that is why his ideas and work live on. His death was inestimable. He had to be killed by the Boers because he was on the verge of effecting the unification of political tendencies under the banner of the Black People's Convention, of which he was president. He was considered so dangerous by the ruling class that they not only killed him, but tried to kill his humanist ideas as well. Steve Biko's was the beginning of the era of mass funerals with thousands being detained or turned back on their way to the funeral. So great has his impact been that at the commemoration service in his home town last weekend, the police, who were sent to disrupt the gathering, sat quietly with their caps off throughout the function.

He has been vilified by the system and his political detractors, but he remains a martyr of the people, although he got no media coverage or lionization by the liberal-imperialist alliance. Clearly, no previous or present leader had Steve Biko's abilities, perspicacity, integrity and intellect.

—Jongilizwe*

Sept. 17, 1987

*One of Biko's close colleagues at the founding of the Black Consciousness Movement from the late 1960s.

Judge nailed for racism

Los Angeles, Calif.—In the Black community there has been discussion about a racial incident which occurred in the suburb of Glendale. The conflict began in August when Glendale Court Commissioner Daniel Calabro was caught using the word n---r in a public court proceeding. The attorney prosecuting the case, in which four white youths had assaulted a Black man, said, "I couldn't believe what I heard; then he went on and repeated the word again!"

When the District Attorney's office advised that Calabro be barred from hearing cases, he defended himself by repeatedly pleading that his use of the word had been taken "out of context," and that "in the context" of his entire remarks it actually wasn't a racial slur.

The court transcript quotes Calabro as having said, "Another n---r case? Another case where this n---r business came up? We're not past that yet? I thought we were all past that."

After Calabro apologized, some Black clergy and officials forgave him. But the Black community does not accept this. "I was disgusted, but not at all surprised at the Black bourgeoisie forgiving that white judge for his racial slur," one Black woman said.

A young Black man told how he had called the NAACP office to "give 'em hell" for the flip-flop by its Los Angeles Chapter President, Raymond Johnson, who only four days before had called for the removal of the judge from the bench. The secretary at the NAACP office said that a lot of people had called the office to complain about it, and many critical letters showed up in the local newspapers the next week.

Glendale has a long history as a racist white suburb. Only a month ago its city council gave a platform to a white supremacist, claiming that "public exposure would provoke opposition to such racism." —Wayne Carter

Direct from South Africa Freedom Journal

Why miners went on strike

Johannesburg, South Africa—Over 340,000 mineworkers at 44 gold and coal mines took strike action—the biggest of its kind in South African labour history. The strike was disciplined and well co-ordinated. This reflected the depth of the union's organization and the unity of our members.

Over 95% of the members of recognized mines voted in support of strike action. When the negotiations started, the NUM (National Union of Mineworkers) was reasonable. We pointed out that the gold and coal mines had made huge profits. The Chamber of Mines, on the other hand, argued that things are bad in the mining industry.

In 1986, the gold mines recorded their highest profits in history. Profits rose by 37% in 1985 and by another 14% in 1986. Dividends paid to shareholders rose by 38% in 1985 and 10% in 1986.

The union's demand for a living wage is based on the fact that the mining houses can afford to pay. Our demand is supported by the excellent results over the past decade in which gold mines have earned remarkable profits for their owners and for the government.

It is the same on the coal mines. Since the rise of the international price of oil in the early '70s, demand has increased for South Africa's coal as an alternative source of cheap energy. Despite the competition with other coal producers, South African coal is still the cheapest in the world to mine. This is so because they pay very low wages to miners. In return for supplying cheap coal, all the mines get cheap electricity.

The coal mines can afford to pay higher wages. This is what we want: a 30% increase in wages; 30 days leave; June 16 as a paid holiday; danger pay; death benefits to be increased to five years' earnings. The issue is a living wage, and the mineworkers' refusal to accept starvation wages.

Public sector fight back

Johannesburg, South Africa—The public sector in South Africa has come under unprecedented pressure from workers in recent weeks. Workers in three "essential" services—postal and telecommunication, hospitals and railways—have either warned of strikes or are already on strike. Labour unrest has, in each case, been related to the lack of effective dispute-regulating machinery in the government sector. This includes management's refusal to recognize workers' unions. The government-controlled departments have already resorted to dismissals and there is every indication that they are not prepared to allow trade unions to take root in the public sector.

But the dismissals have been resisted by workers, and force has been used in more than one instance to implement management's decisions, according to the National Education Health and Allied Workers Union (NEHAWU). An estimated 600 workers have been dismissed at the Natalspruit Hospital, and the Post Office says it has already sacked hundreds of striking postal workers. Scores of postal strikers and four Natalspruit Hospital workers have been arrested.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) has warned that the continuing use of police in industrial disputes will only serve to politicize the strikers. The dismissal of NEHAWU's members coincides with increasing militancy among health workers in recent months. There have been at least four work stoppages involving health workers. The recent stoppages were preceded by big strikes at the huge Baragwanath Hospital on the outskirts of Soweto, which necessitated government intervention to continue the vital services.

Mihailo Markovic writes on Raya's 'philosophical humanism'

Belgrade, Yugoslavia—When I last saw Raya, during a brief visit to Chicago on March 22, she was full of life, lucid, witty, sharp—her usual self. We discussed the crisis in Yugoslavia, the American scene, her next book on dialectics of organization. She inquired about her Yugoslav friends, about Praxis International, made some critical comments on a recent article of mine about George Lukacs, whom she obviously despised for his repeated self-criticism. Raya had the right to demand a full unity of theory and practice from others since that is how she lived all her life. Near the end of my visit she wanted to show me her archives. All her papers were carefully classified and put into large boxes; I never saw such a perfect order. A thought struck me: She seems to be ready to leave any moment. But it was immediately rejected. With all her immense life energy, with her vitality, her ever expanding interests and projects Raya will stay with us for many more years. With such a meaningful existence, with such a strong motivation to create and struggle one would not easily give in to much superior force...

I had the privilege of knowing her for 22 years. In 1965 Erich Fromm published an international collection of essays under the title *Socialist Humanism*. Her essay on "Marx's Humanism Today" was next to mine on "Humanism and Dialectic." We discovered an extraordinary similarity of ideas and commitments and started corresponding. We met in Detroit and New York. My friends from Praxis and I tried several times to attract her to the Korchula Summer School in Yugoslavia but she did not quite trust the leaders who rejected and destroyed so many of their comrades as "Trotskyists." However she published two articles in Praxis, the last one (on "Marx's 'New Humanism' and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies" in Praxis International, Vol. 3, No. 4 of January 1984). In all those years when we from Praxis were under heavy political pressure—suspended from teaching, fired from the University, blacklisted in the Yugoslav mass media, banned from travel abroad, younger colleagues arrested—Raya protested vigorously. No other progressive journal or newspaper has engaged to help us as much as News & Letters.

In one most important respect Raya Dunayevskaya was a unique intellectual figure of our time. A powerful, creative mind, she committed herself to the ideal of human liberation but she also engaged practically for the realization of that ideal, and she engaged in a completely free way. Something of this is missing in all great examples from the past: Lenin, Luxemburg, Mao, Trotsky, Gramsci, Korsch. Even when they were greater philosophers and revolutionaries they did not fully understand the humanist substance of the socialist idea; they were immediately more interested in seizing political power than in universal emancipation, and their freedom of practical activity was limited by the constraints of the Party to which they belonged. On the other hand, if we compare Raya with leading contemporary leftist intellectuals then again we either find in them a less sophisticated theoretical ground (in which Marxist humanism, certainly the most consistent and articulated emancipatory philosophical position, is being more or less neglected or like in the case of "Marxist structuralism" altogether rejected), or find in them considerable opportunism and self-censorship by virtue of being members of a more or less authoritarian Party (Lukacs for example), or else see them harmlessly engaged on cultural issues and not in daily political struggle (Frankfurt School would be an excellent example)...

As to Raya's philosophical humanism she understood better than many academic Marxist philosophers that it was not a stage in the development of Marx's thought but its very theoretical ground. The fundamental, universal and most urgent problem to be solved both theoretically and practically was the fact that under present historical conditions human beings are alienated, oppressed and exploited even in the most developed societies of our epoch. Therefore, human liberation is the basic issue, not just abolition of private property or of the bourgeois state. That is why Raya constantly emphasized that Marxism was either a theory of liberation or nothing. And liberation did not mean seizing power for one party or the other, even less it meant substitution of the bureaucratic state for the bourgeois government. It meant free and full development of each individual and it had to be the achievement of associated producers themselves.

What followed from such basic humanist premises was a resolute consistent critique of all existing oppres-

sive and exploitative social systems, whether they labeled themselves "capitalist" or "socialist." In this respect Raya was extremely independent and honest. Most leftist intellectuals and politicians, even when they are not openly opportunistic, feel uneasy in the absence of some powerful ally and tend to develop a will to believe that one or the other of contemporary states finds itself on a true road to socialism. For a long time the leftists all over the world cultivated an almost religious faith that the Soviet Union was the fatherland of socialism. Those who got disillusioned shifted the object of their absolute loyalty to Mao's China, then to Castro's Cuba and Tito's Yugoslavia, let alone those who cling to Kim Il Sung's North Korea or Enver Hoxha's Albania as the only remaining citadels of true Marxism-Leninism. Raya had no need for the emotional comfort of this kind. She was sufficiently strong to fight her battles without any such symbolic ally. She had to struggle because she could not live in peace and comfort with all surrounding misery, injustice and insanity...

A society in which many private capitalists were replaced by a big collective one—the state—was for Raya state-capitalism, not socialism of any kind. She



did not believe that socialism could be brought to life by big authoritarian, hierarchical vanguard parties led by established Party bureaucracies. But she believed in grassroots movements: of workers, blacks, women, youth. She supported them, analyzed them, participated in them. She was one of the first Marxist scholars who fully understood the role played in our societies by new emancipatory social forces and new social movements. But she was too serious and too deeply committed to the cause of human liberation to regard those new movements as new fashionable phenomena and to write off the labor movement as so many intellectuals in the left have done since the upheavals of the Sixties. Raya knew well that, in spite of all improvements in their living conditions, workers were still the most exploited, repressed and alienated social group in contemporary society, and especially young blacks, women and ethnic minority workers. Instead of going from one one-sided position to the other, she built an ever more complex and comprehensive theoretical position, a synthesis in which all partial truths found their proper place. But in spite of the complexity and sophistication of her theoretical views she expressed herself clearly, lucidly, vividly: she wrote and spoke for the people, directly to the people, and was understood...

Raya will keep her unique place in the hearts of all of us who had the privilege of knowing her personally. And she will also keep a lasting place of honour in the history of humanist theory and praxis.

Center for Philosophy and Social Theory
University of Belgrade, Yugoslavia

From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya

(Continued from page 7)

Part III—"Sexism, Politics and Revolution—Japan, Portugal, Poland, China, Latin America, the U.S.—Is There an Organizational Answer?"—begins on page 6. I deliberately don't answer the question there because the person really asking the question is not I, but Sheila Rowbotham—and she thinks it is a question against all Marxists, and that Organizing Idea is all women, when in truth she is only expressing Lenin's 1902 conception: "Without an organization..." The fifth dialectic, on the contrary, is that without revolution-in-permanence as ground for organization, it doesn't make any difference. Whether you have an organization or not, you will fail.

That is what you learn on pages 6 and 7, and you learn it by seeing that Marx in 1844 is the only one who then posed "feminism" in a way that meant something as the Man/Woman relationship when you have revolution-in-permanence as individual development, as well as universal development and not just as theory. And that means a new humanity, a new human stage, a new human person, everything. Since you cannot answer it that way yet, and since all the ramifications of the Marxian dialectic have not manifested themselves yet, pages 8 and 9 remind you what the half-way dialectic means, even if you are as great as Rosa Luxemburg, even if we are talking about the unfinished Latin American Revolutions, even if it is the unfinished Portuguese *apartidarismo*. It means you have not grasped what you think you know very well—the whole question of objectivity as unseparated from second negativity.

It is Part IV, "The Trail to the 1980s," which begins on page 9, where we meet the sixth and final dialectic—the need for a total uprooting, including that of the family.

Now watch the process: how Marx comes to it when he becomes an "economist," and how it is reflected in this part. Page 10 deals with the *Grundrisse* and Women, and it is there where Marx became the Marxian type of economist by returning to Hegel and restating the super-Hegelian expression: "Absolute movement of becoming."

Page 11 therefore stresses all over again that unless critique means the critique of all post-Marx Marxists you haven't understood the New with which Marx infused critique and which led to his *Ethnological Notebooks*. It is only on page 11 that we have new forms of cognition so that by page 12 I come to the measure of everything: the concrete Universal and the prediction of revolution first in a backward land.

Page 13 points to the Marx centenary as demanding of us not just a grasping of his "notes" (i.e. the *Ethnological Notebooks*), but an asking of ourselves: What new points did Marxist-Humanism achieve for this epoch? How fares the concrete Universal philosophically? What have the new live forces challenged us on that Marxist-Humanism has more than come up to by making an historic mark which would outline a new path to revolution?

Also on page 13 watch the sudden venture into literature because the philosopher Sartre, though an outsider looking in, pinpointed "metaphysics" (i.e. the Absolute) not as some sort of abstraction, but the most concrete demand for "commitment" on the part of the revolutionary intellectual. That was his demand at the end of World War II, which led existentialism to flirt with Marxism. Then note that what I chose from Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks* now is not "transformation into opposite" or even "self-movement," but a sudden praise of Hegel for having the chapter on "Life" in so abstract a work as the *Science of Logic*—and not at the beginning, but in the final section on dialectics at the point when contradiction in personal life is experienced as pain. That is not for sob-story purposes, but in order to let his comrades know what is the significance of transition and how you must watch process.

Pages 14 and 15 look at the Critique of the Gotha Program and "Absolute Idea as New Beginning" with all the emphasis on New Beginning. That is what pinpointing means. Absolute Idea is total, but it cannot be total as a quantitative measure. That is where the New of the epoch does require presence and not just Promethean vision. That is not because Promethean vision and reaching for the future doesn't help the next generation see its task. Quite the contrary. That is when discontinuity is not a revision of but a continuation with the original New moment when there were all sorts of new voices and listening to them was quintessential.

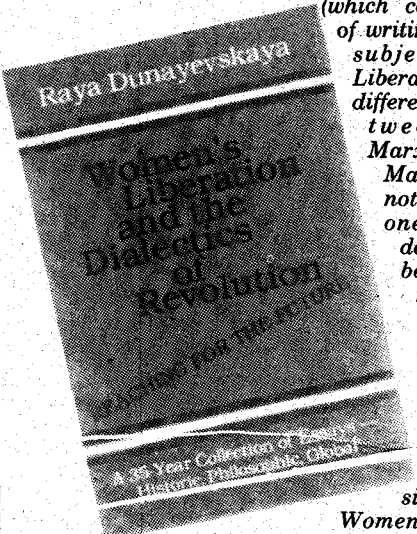
Without all the new forces which we recorded—from the miners' wives in the Miners General Strike to the Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves and the Free Speech Movement; from Workers Battle Automation to Working Women for Freedom and all that we have in News & Letters regularly—there could not have been a Chapter 1 of P&R and the grappling with those paragraphs in Hegel which Marx knew but didn't bother to spell out for us once he discovered a New Continent of Thought and of Revolution. There wouldn't have been Marxist-Humanism in the United States as the challenge to post-Marx Marxism that RLWLKM presents in the continuing form of revolution-in-permanence as ground for organization.

Finally, on page 15, we see the multilinear Marx vs. Engels' unilinear view of all human development...

Today I declare that Absolute Method, though it is the goal from which no private enclave can escape, is still only "the road to" the Absolute Idea or Mind. That is still the only answer which transcends method—or expresses it, if you wish. And that needs concretization. That concretization is the name of the Absolute Idea for our age: Marxist-Humanism, further pinpointed as News and Letters Committees in the U.S., but by no means limited to the U.S. It is a world concept, a world concretization. And it is that historic look at it, and the looking at ourselves, that will assure revolution-in-permanence to be.

from the 1950s to the 1980s —

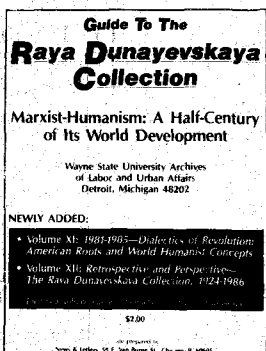
Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future



"As will be evident throughout this book (which covers 35 years of writings on a single subject, Women's Liberation) the sharp differentiation between Marx's Marxism and post-Marx Marxism is not limited to that one question. A deep gulf existed between Marx's multilinear view of all human development and Engels' unilinear view, which is why this single subject—Women's Liberation, whether viewed as it relates to philosophy or to form of organization—is inseparable from the dialectics of revolution."

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Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Editor's note: The following was contributed by two Iranian activists with information also from Rasaneh and Bahareh Azadi.

In Iran today, there are many forms of resistance to Khomeini's rule that are not reported by the world press. In June, political prisoners at Evin prison in Tehran went on a hunger strike to protest the move of 40 other prisoners to Kermanshah to be executed. They were joined in their hunger strike by political prisoners at Gohardasht prison, when one prisoner put himself on fire to protest torture and the intolerable conditions of life. Two prisoners on hunger strike have died. But the waves of hunger strikes have been spreading to other cities, among Kurdish women political prisoners in Sanandaj and political prisoners in Kermanshah.

Mothers of political prisoners have been protesting in groups of 100 to 150 in front of the prime minister's office in Tehran, demanding the right to visit their child-

ren. They have been continuing to gather there despite police threats.

Workers' strikes too, go unreported. In June, 10,000 workers at the Agricultural and Industrial Company in Dezful and Shushtar sat in at the plant, protesting the company's grants of extra benefits to Hezbollah (Party of God) workers, demanding removal of the plant manager, the right to form their own workers' council, and the right to benefits for their children and unemployment benefits.

That same month, 10,000 workers at Melli shoe factory in Karaj, near Tehran, went on strike refusing to accept a 10½ hour work day, forcing the company to back down. In Tabriz, workers at a brick-making factory went on strike demanding a living wage, and sent workers to other brick-making factories around Tabriz, convincing other workers to join their strike. The strike continued for two weeks despite a police night raid and arrest of two workers who have "disappeared."

In the Kurdish city of Sanandaj, where the govern-

ment has ruled that any factory with ten or more workers has to send two people to the war front each month, workers declared a May Day resolution refusing to consent to this law.

In Oroomieh, there have been clashes with police who raid streets and take youth by force to the war front. And in the rural areas, truck drivers are now warning people about raids as soon as they see police convoys on the road.

Of the tens of thousands of youth who have fled the country in the past few years, many live as refugees in Turkey, Pakistan, and India under horrible conditions of life. On July 8, Iranian refugee settlements in Pakistan were attacked by Hezbollah goons of Khomeini, who were armed with machine guns and murdered four people and injured 28 others. The Pakistani police had not only allowed this raid, but they too have been raiding Iranian refugees, arresting and interrogating them and returning them to Iran as "subversives" to be executed.

New Caledonia farce

The September 13 referendum where 98% voted to remain a French colony was a farce, since the indigenous Kanak population did not vote, while the French population and their allies among the island's recent immigrants did. The Kanaks dominate three of the colony's four provinces, but are slightly outnumbered by the non-Kanaks, who mainly live in Noumea, the capital.

The Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS), the main Kanak group, has been holding nonviolent marches and rallies throughout the land in recent weeks. In late August the FLNKS held a demonstration in Noumea, despite a ban. When police ordered them to leave, they instead sat down on the street and linked arms. The response of the French police was to attack and beat them mercilessly, right in front of TV cameras. FLNKS leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou compared police tactics to those in South Africa. On the other hand, 20,000 French settlers and their supporters were allowed to hold a rally on September 9, while even reporters covering the Kanak movement have experienced harassment and death threats.

French fascism

French neo-fascist politician Jean-Marie Le Pen let the cat out of the bag in September when he told a radio interviewer that the Nazi gas chambers were "a minor point in the history of World War II." Up to now, Le Pen's National Front has been winning at last 10% in national elections and more in areas where there are high numbers of North African immigrants. Le Pen, a former paratrooper who tortured Algerian revolutionaries during that nation's war for independence from France, has built up his support mainly by racist attacks on Arab immigrants, while down-playing his anti-Semitism.

Now that Le Pen's views on Nazism are public, will France's rightist Prime Minister Chirac continue to advocate alliances with Le Pen in local elections against the Left? Will Le Pen continue to be invited to British Tory Party conventions? Will he once again get a photo opportunity shaking hands with Reagan, as he did at a recent conservative dinner in Washington?

Protest Russian rule

On August 23, thousands of protestors rallied in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia to mark the anniversary of the 1939 Hitler-Stalin Pact, when their lands were annexed by Stalin's Russia as the world stood by silently, and World War II began as Poland was invaded and divided up by Germany and Russia. It was in fact that notorious Pact which compelled the founder of Marxist-Humanism, Raya Dunayevskaya, to break with Leon Trotsky and begin the journey toward her pathbreaking analysis of Stalin's Russia as a state-capitalist society.

Today, from the Baltic nations in the west to central Asia in the east, Gorbachev's Russia is in ferment. In Alma Ata, scene of a December 1986 Kazakh uprising against Russian chauvinism, a young Kazakh student, R. Ryskubelkov has been sentenced to death. Oppositionists from both Poland and Czechoslovakia are demanding that his life be

spared, while some Russian intellectuals have called for the abolition of the death penalty, citing its abolition in revolutionary Russia in 1920.

Also in Central Asia, it has been revealed that thirty young women have burned themselves to death in Tadjikistan in the last three years to protest traditional Islam-influenced restrictions on women. The thirty women were protesting arranged marriages, not being allowed to attend school, battery and other gross violations of their humanity.

While many reports are stressing Gorbachev's liberalization programs, these have not changed nor can they change Russia's state-capitalist nature. This is illustrated in a recent article by Robert C. Toth (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 8/31/87) which notes that Gorbachev has given the KGB secret police a greater role than ever before, including a spot on the Politburo for its head, Victor Chebrikov. Toth writes that "the KGB is the only major institution Gorbachev has not publicly criticized."

China's new purge

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) is sweeping its ideological decks as the 13th national party congress, planned for Oct. 25, approaches. Reports have surfaced within the past two months that several more high-ranking intellectuals have been purged or "asked to leave" the CCP.

One is Wang Ruoshui who, during the 1983 Marx centenary in China, theorized that socialism and not only capitalism could generate alienation, and criticized the then-ongoing "anti-spiritual pollution" campaign. Wang was among those targeted for criticism following the massive student demonstrations which swept China in December and January.

Su Shaozi, director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, has also reportedly been sacked for allowing articles critical of the CCP to be printed.

While the latest purges have taken place quietly, the party press in early

September publicized widely the positions to be endorsed at the national congress. Articles have appeared promoting the view that China in 1987 has only arrived at an "immature and imperfect" stage of socialism, and that this stage is expected to continue "for a long time to come."

This doctrine provides an ideological base for the current Chinese rulers to continue on the present road of so-called economic reforms to expand China's "backward" productive forces. It shifts the focus even further away from workers at the point of production to concentrate instead on market growth, the workings of finance capital, and ownership, private and state.

Workers, the actual and only "productive force" in state-capitalist China, may be surprised to learn in 1987 that all the surplus value extracted from them has not advanced China (or its ideologues?) beyond Mao's 1956 declaration that the transition to socialism was complete.

Philippines coup

Below are excerpts from a report we received from the Philippines on the most recent coup attempt.

The August 28 coup attempt on the Aquino government staged by Colonel Gregorio "Gringo" Honasan cannot be dismissed merely as an internal dispute between two military factions. There is an added dimension to this internal factional strife of the military, that is, the involvement of the United States in the recent coup attempt.

The bloody coup d'etat was fueled by several factors: 1) internal dissension of the military faction which staged the coup against the Aquino government because of its policies toward the communist rebels; 2) the lack of economic welfare for the low-salaried AFP soldiers; 3) the ideals of professionalism; 4) disenchantment with "traditional politicians."

These are the demands of the coup plotters as far as official statements are concerned. However, there was a hidden nature of the coup attempt in the first

hours. It was a strategy to generate sympathy and support from other ranks of the military and the people. This hidden nature of the coup is the politics involved in it.

At this point there are indicators that the U.S. foreign policy has a double standard with respect to dealing with the political situation arising from the August 28 coup attempt. This double standard stems from the uneasiness of the U.S. government with President Aquino's policy towards the United States bases. Aquino is keeping all options open until 1992—the time for re-negotiation of the leases for U.S. military bases.

In Brief....

Bolivia—Teachers and education employees, numbering 80,000, went on strike July 13 for an increase in their paltry \$40 a month wages. They have received widespread support, including from peasant unions that blocked transportation in the countryside. In late August, the Federation of Education Workers rejected a government offer to give them a one-time pittance "bonus" instead of a raise. They also oppose the government's plans to "privatize" the education system.

Poland—Marches and commemorations were held on the seventh anniversary of the founding of Solidarnosc. People turned out in Gdansk, Warsaw, Wroclaw, Lodz and other cities. In Wroclaw, a group of 500 workers that assembled near the Polar refrigeration plant were dispersed by riot police. Workers at the factory had attempted to form a union under the name Solidarnosc, but their application was rejected by the courts.

As the Polish economy continues to sink, people are being forced to work sometimes up to 16 hours a day, or to hold more than one job, in order to keep up with price increases. Marchers in Gdansk called for an end to the price hikes, and "factories for the workers."

Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

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

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

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

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