

Legislation, or vision of workers?



by B.A. Lastelle

The U.S. House of Representatives on July 16 passed the Workplace Fairness Act, which would prevent employers from hiring permanent replacements for workers on strike over economic (wage and benefit) issues. Passage of this bill, which is sure to be vetoed by President Bush, is a top priority on the AFL-CIO's agenda. But is legislation really the answer to labor's ills?

First, let's stop using the capitalist euphemism: **Permanent replacements are scabs.** Second, let's look at some statistics: Only 16% of U.S. workers are organized into unions, which means that 84% are not. Thirty-five percent of U.S. workers are "contingent"—part-time, temporary or seasonal—and 7% (by official estimates) are unemployed. What relationship does "organized labor" have to this huge number of working people who may desperately need jobs and have heard little good about unions?

SCABBING ON OURSELVES?

Third, let's admit that scabbing occurs in different forms and that, in many cases, "organized labor" scabs on itself. Teamsters Local 744 struck the Coca-Cola Bottling Company of Chicago in 1985, but Teamsters drivers brought Coke in from Wisconsin to a drop-off point, where drivers laid off from other companies picked it up and took it to the warehouse.

While I was at the Greyhound picket line in April 1990, I learned that "sympathizing drivers" from other bus lines who did not wish to cross the picket line could leave their buses in front of the terminal and allow scab mechanics and Greyhound supervisors to drive them in. No attempt was made by striking Greyhound drivers to stop the buses.

This just infuriates me. The fragmentation of the official labor "movement," the careful observation of legalities, and the limitations placed by the unions themselves on the active participation of the rank-and-file

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Black World

Thomas, Buthelezi—2 of a kind



by Lou Turner

"The more a ruling class is able to assimilate the most prominent men of a ruled class, the more solid and dangerous is its rule."
—Karl Marx

Today's changed world exudes such ideological degeneracy that there is no way to keep the retrogressive developments in the U.S. and South Africa this past month in separate compartments. The revelations about South African president F.W. de Klerk's covert funding of the counter-revolutionary Gatscha Buthelezi and his terrorist Inkatha organization came on the heels of George Bush's lifting of sanctions against South Africa.

Bush had already wasted no time in taking advantage of the opening Justice Thurgood Marshall's resignation from the Supreme Court gave him to solidify his "judicial supremacy" over civil rights, women's rights and labor. The nomination of the Black reactionary, former head of the EEOC (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission), Clarence Thomas, is also a revelation disclosing Bush's strategy of dividing Black America against itself in the aftermath of the U.S. imperialist war in the Persian Gulf. In short, Bush hopes he has found in Clarence Thomas the ideological equivalent of de Klerk's unleashing of Gatscha Buthelezi.

The recent media disclosure of the covert funding of millions of dollars to Buthelezi's Inkatha by de Klerk's government reveals an attempt to give that contra-style organization "legitimacy," while actually bolstering its violent attacks on the ANC (African National Congress) and the Black community at large. It demonstrates that there is nothing "irreversible" about so-called "reforms" or revolution in today's changed world.

Neither the untimely resignation of Thurgood Marshall from the Supreme Court nor Bush's nomination of Clarence Thomas to replace him is as arbitrary as they appear. Having stated on many occasions that the Reagan-Bush retrenchment was too dangerous a threat to civil rights in this country, Marshall had always declared that rather than retire from the Supreme Court

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Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1991-92

The Global Need to Re-create Marx's Marxism

I. The crisis in thought as Bush drives for single world mastery

It never fails that, at momentous world historic turning points, it is very difficult to tell the difference between two types of twilight—whether one is first plunging into utter darkness or whether one has reached the end of a long night and is just at the moment before the dawn of a new day. In either case, the challenge to find the meaning—what Hegel called "the undefined foreboding of something unknown"—becomes a compulsion to dig for new beginnings, for a philosophy that would try to answer the question, "Where to Begin?"

—Raya Dunayevskaya, "Why Hegel's Phenomenology? Why Now?" (1987)

What Raya Dunayevskaya, the founder of Marxist-Humanism, called "the most difficult of all tasks that have confronted every generation of Marxists"—to philosophically restate what Marx's Marxism means for our age—has taken on new urgency in face of the unprecedented stage of retrogression the world has been plunged into by George Bush's genocidal war in the Persian Gulf and its aftermath. Bush's military victory, the retrogression on all fronts from civil rights to women's lives, and the crisis within the freedom movements signifies that the time is now to assume responsibility for working out philosophic New beginnings on the basis of the highpoints of freedom struggles and ideas of our time.

Nothing more starkly shows that than the reaction to Bush's nomination of Clarence Thomas to replace Thurgood Marshall on the Supreme Court. Though it is clear that Bush picked Thomas in order to ensure the nomination of as reactionary an appointee as possible, the opposition to him, especially on the part of the Black leadership, is proving quite feeble. It isn't only that, with the exception of the Women's Liberation Movement and the Congressional Black Caucus, few are heeding Justice Marshall's remark that "it makes no difference if a snake is white or Black; it will still bite you." It's that all-too-many Black leaders are allowing Bush's victory in the Gulf war to stifle their own voices of opposition.

Thus, we have someone of the stature of Jesse Jackson eloquently attack Bush for being the first President "in 50 years to so...divide the nation along the lines of race" and then say in the same breath that this is in contrast to how Bush "unified the nation as commander-in-chief in the Gulf War"! Throughout American history, the integrality of opposition to racism at home and to American imperialism overseas has characterized the revolutionary struggles of the Black masses.¹ As against the rich history of Black freedom struggles, today's disarray in thought is so deep that many Black leaders are separating the two, thereby leaving Bush a loophole to codify Reaganism well into the next century.

Today's disorientation in thought has truly global ramifications. Its lethal consequences are manifested not only in the U.S., but in the Middle East.

Though Bush followed up his war against Iraq by giving Hussein the green light to slaughter the near-revolution of Kurds and Shiites that erupted in March, it is already being forgotten that it was only after a world outcry arose against his complicity in the continuing genocide that Bush finally began to provide some assistance to the Kurdish refugees. Though he is again threatening military action against Hussein for trying to keep his unconventional weapons, Bush is moving U.S. troops from northern Iraq to a base in eastern Turkey, not for the sake of aiding the Kurds, but to placate Turkey's rulers, who fear "instability" spreading to the Kurds within its borders.

So how can it be that a section of the Kurdish leadership has both entered into "autonomy" negotiations with Hussein, and is now also proclaiming the U.S. as the guarantor of that "autonomy"? How can it be that so soon after giving Hussein the green light to crush them, Bush can be embraced by some Kurdish leaders as their "savior"?

Whether it be in the Middle East or the U.S., today's disarray of thought is giving Bush an open field from which to further his counter-revolutionary agenda on a global scale. The most ominous dimension of that concerns relations between the U.S. and Gorbachev's crumbling empire.

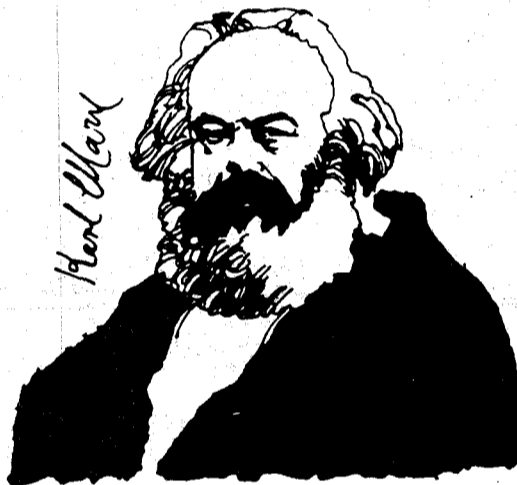
Though the pundits are claiming that the recently-concluded summit of the seven industrial powers in London achieved a "breakthrough" in economic relations between the West and Gorbachev, the summit instead underlined the integrality of economics, politics and ideology in this era of state-capitalism. Gorbachev appealed not only for economic but also political support from the West, arguing that the alternative to his rule is "a social upheaval." He has been around long enough to know that playing to the rulers' fear of revolution is one way to get Bush's attention.

Bush nevertheless made certain that only token economic assistance was extended to Gorbachev at the summit. This is not only because the decrepit state of the U.S. economy hardly puts it in the position of saving Gorbachev's. It's also because Bush's primary concern is no longer "saving Gorbachev," much less creating what Gorbachev called "cooperation between equal partners in international affairs." Bush is instead holding off on opening new doors to Gorbachev unless he can get him to openly submit to the U.S.'s political as well as economic and ideological hegemony. The agreement on the START treaty, which Bush and Gorbachev will sign their names to at their summit in late July, is but preparatory to what Bush is really after—Gorbachev's total submission to the U.S.-dominated "Atlantic alliance."

In our Draft for Perspectives 1990-91, we quoted Bush's "vision" of the future: "Our enemy today is uncertainty and instability. The Atlantic alliance will need to maintain a sound, collective, military structure, with forces in the field, backed up by larger forces that can be called upon in a crisis." Bush soon concretized this with his genocidal war against Iraq. Has he now become so intoxicated with his victory as to think he can extend his drive for single world mastery by getting Gorbachev to totally submit to a "new world order" dominated by the U.S.?

Russia may be an economic basket-case, but that hardly means it is in a rush to totally submit to the U.S., especially when it still has thousands of nuclear weapons. The START treaty still allows each side to have over 7,000 nuclear weapons, far more than enough to destroy the world many times over. Moreover, the Military-KGB-Party apparatus that has been integral to Gorbachev's "perestroika" from the beginning has responded to the Gulf war by embarking on a major revision of military strategy, stressing the need for new high-tech offensive weaponry, including the production of a third generation of nuclear missiles.

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On the Inside

From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya—*New Thoughts on Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*p.4

1. For the tracing out of this throughout U.S. history, see *American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard* (News & Letters: 1983).

Woman as Reason

by Terry Moon

When President Bush announced that his choice to replace Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall was the Black reactionary Reagan-appointed Federal Judge Clarence Thomas, women were not only the first to react, but the most militant. It was the National Organization for Women (NOW) who said loud and clear that Judge Clarence Thomas is the emperor with no clothes. What they saw when they looked at him was, as Patricia Ireland, executive vice president of NOW, said, "a travesty!" As much of the Black so-called leadership waffled, Ireland called Thomas "obsessed with denying the reality of sexism and racism" and vowed to "Bork him." Ireland said that at a demonstration of over 5,000 people, mostly women, in New York City who were demanding Thomas' defeat. (See story this page.)

Even the spineless Democratic-controlled Congress seems ready to challenge Bush on the Supreme Court-approved "gag rule" banning workers in federally funded clinics from even talking about abortion. But the price for this feeble challenge will be young women's rights as these Congressmen are determined to link their opposition to the "gag rule" to a parental consent law, forcing young women to inform parents if they seek an abortion. Parental consent laws mean forced parenthood for some young women, a death sentence through self-induced or back-alley butcher abortions for others.

BLACK WOMEN OPPOSE THOMAS

Last month in this space I wrote that the fact that the attack on abortion rights "has become the central issue in the fight for women's freedom... is no coincidence. It reveals an ideology and a strategy: it is part of trying to limit and control what we think." Bush's calculated appointment of Thomas tries to practice that strategy as he wants not only to divide the Black movement, but to drive a wedge between Blacks, and the Women's Liberation Movement. He did not succeed because Black women immediately opposed Thomas, from the militant Florynce Kennedy to Mary Frances Berry, member of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, who said Thomas' nomination to the Supreme Court "is insulting to those who marched, went to jail and died in the civil rights movement..."

Like civil rights, the right to control our bodies is also a question of life and death. That's why in 1986 over 100,000 of us marched down Pennsylvania Ave. in Washington, D.C., on March 9—the largest demonstration for women's freedom in the U.S.—and a week later 30,000 took to the streets in Los Angeles. And again, on April 9, 1989, women made history when over half a million demonstrated in Washington to keep abortion legal. There is no question that there is tremendous opposition, anger and revolt against this reactionary U.S. government that is trying to strip us of our rights. Clearly, it has not been enough.

What needs to be worked out is how to oppose Reagan/Bush's deadly ideology that is intent on controlling our bodies and minds. We are being attacked by a multi-headed monster and we are fighting just this one battle on so many fronts: defending clinics from anti-abortion fanatics; fighting parental consent laws; trying to find or keep funding for poor women to have abortions; fighting state by state to stop the passage of repressive anti-abortion laws; finding doctors willing to perform abortions and insurance companies to insure clinics and hospitals willing to teach the procedure. Now Bush has

Women protest 'gag rule' in N.Y., Chicago

New York, N.Y.—The July 6 abortion rights demonstration of 5,000 mostly young, white women from all over the East, from Alabama to Vermont, showed that women are once again speaking up against the counter-revolution in human rights with clarity, even while others falter. Sponsored by the National Organization for Women (NOW), it was the first protest since the Supreme Court upheld the federal government's cut-off of funds to health clinics if they mention abortion as an option—the "gag rule."

The demonstrators were angry and transformed NOW's chants into more militant ones. "Hey, hey, ho, ho, the gag rule has got to go" became "George Bush has got to go"; another was "We won't go back" that became "We will fight back!"—as women insisted on being the subject, and not only the object, of our own history.

There was a contingent of Chinese women of all ages from the ILGWU, the garment workers' union. We didn't see any other unions in this union town, however, nor any Black organizations. The biggest contingent besides NOW was ACT-UP, the militant AIDS group.

Patricia Ireland of NOW spoke at the rally, saying the loss of federal funds for abortion, and now for even talking about abortion, means "there is now a price on freedom." But her solution is to pressure Congress to save what rights exist for women. How can she think those in power in this misogynist society care about women's freedom?

Even as the rally was going on, some "right-to-lifers" had closed down an abortion clinic a few blocks away, and pro-choice demonstrators reopened it. What will the women's movement do when abortion is illegal again—exhaust ourselves providing illegal ones, or fight to overthrow a society that denies women control over our own bodies?

—Anne Jaclard

Abortion rights and the Idea of freedom

once again taken this battle to the Supreme Court. This is one way that Bush is trying to limit and control what we think.

THE FIGHT FOR TOTAL FREEDOM

What Bush wants to tear apart is that our fight for control of our bodies has always been one very important battle in the struggle for total freedom. We insist on keeping those struggles as one. Nor should Bush forget what Raya Dunayevskaya reminds us of—this issue has brought down governments:

"Naturally, certain issues, because of their long neglect and present urgency, begin to dominate over all others, and the one that acted as a unifying force was the right to abortion on demand... Just take a look at the mass movement which that demand produced, like the hundred thousand women who marched in Italy in 1976, and on this very issue at one and the same time brought down the Christian Democratic government and delivered a body blow to the Communist Party."*

We will not allow a separation between the fight to control our bodies and the fight for a whole new society because what is at stake in this single battle over the right to a safe, legal, affordable abortion is also the Idea of freedom. That is something we must make explicit.

*See Raya Dunayevskaya's *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, page 102. To order, see ad, page 4.



News & Letters photo

Woman protesting against the 'gag rule' in New York on July 6. See story below.

Chicago, Ill.—On July 9 in Chicago women from a dozen organizations rallied at the Federal Building protesting the "gag rule." Below are excerpts from Jamillah Muhammad's talk at the demonstration.

It's out of a great sense of urgency that we move today to join forces to protect the freedom that is supposedly guaranteed us all under the First Amendment.

And our concern is mainly for poor women—Black and white—who not only cannot afford to see a doctor nowadays, but are threatened by a deliberate manipulation by the Bush Administration that will restrict and control the dialogue between a woman and her physician.

It's one thing to agree with the majority of Americans who disapprove of the "gag rule." But it is another thing altogether to commit yourself positively and actively to the preservation of the ideals of freedom that are supposedly a birthright for all of us and not just for those who can afford it....

In the coming weeks, through Operation PUSH, The Coalition of African American Women for Choice and The Chicago Coalition of African American Religious Women, we pledge ourselves to a mobilization of support for our representatives in Congress in their efforts to override President Bush's veto of the bill to overturn the Supreme Court's ruling on the Rust decision.

We are moved by something within that tells us that poverty is not an acceptable criterion by which our society will determine who is expendable and who is not—and something without that reminds us that we are the ones who are morally bound, regardless of who sits in the White House or on the Supreme Court bench, to make freedom in all its forms affordable to everyone.

—Jamillah Muhammad
Clergy and Laity Concerned



Women-Worldwide

Many women and Blacks in New York and around the country are outraged at the acquittal of three white St. John's University student athletes in the rape of a Black woman student. The jury of ten whites, two Blacks and six women has been accused of refusing to believe the woman's five days of graphic testimony of sexual abuse, because she is a Black woman. The defense attorneys put her on trial—a fact that happens so often to rape victims that only 10% bring charges against the rapist. The Justice Department is considering further prosecution of the men.

* * *

In El Paso, Texas, over 120 garment workers, mostly women have been out on strike at the Sonia factory since at least mid-July against apparel contractor Andre Diaz. The women, some of whom are on a hunger strike, are members of "La Mujer Obrera" (The Woman Worker) and are demanding thousands of dollars in back pay, health insurance, better working conditions and a signed contract with the ILGWU. The mostly immigrant Mexican women have occupied the factory and bring their children with them to the picket line.

—Information from Ms.

* * *

The number of working poor women in Canada increase at five times the rate of men between 1971 and 1986, according to the first major Canadian study on working poor women published by the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women. This rise was due mainly to job segregation and discrimination, lower wages and more unstable employment. In 1986, nearly 60% of Canada's 2.8 million poor adults were women and close to half of those worked full or part time but still lived below the "official" poverty line.

—Information from *Communiqu'Elles*

Women's studies victory

Los Angeles, Cal.—A remembrance that women's studies was once an activist, radical discipline was sparked by the recent "victory"—better than no victory, but far from enough—of the six feminist academics/activists who have been waging a nine-year legal battle against their 1982 firing from the Women's Studies Program and Women's Center at California State University-Long Beach.

The State of California agreed to payment of a six-figure settlement to the plaintiffs, in the case of "Sondra Hale, et al., v. Board of Trustees of the California State University and Colleges, et al." None of the women were reinstated.

In the 1970s and early 1980s, Cal. State-Long Beach had developed a reputation for being in the forefront of a radical concept of women's studies, maintaining the legacy born with the Women's Liberation Movement that women's studies was not one more academic field, but part of the creative effort to integrate feminist theory and activism. It became the target of a concerted right-wing attack.

Religious fundamentalists joined with Phyllis Schlafly's "Eagle Forum" in a brutal harassment of the Women's Center and Women's Studies Program, launching accusations of "Marxist and lesbian indoctrination" against classes on women's history and women's sexuality taught by women with an explicitly radical perspective, some of whom were out-of-the-closet Lesbians. The university responded by firing the Director of the Women's Center and Director and five of the core instructors of the Women's Studies Program.

Betty Brooks, one of the Long Beach plaintiffs, commented that she saw the importance of this one case as "ensur[ing] that the political and radical goals of women's studies... will not be erased from history." Her remark is itself a testament to the serious retrogression we have experienced, where today we fear for the very existence of our own legacy.

—Michelle Landau

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Workplace deaths: not just statistics

Faces: The Toll of Workplace Deaths on American Families, Joseph A. Kinney, project director (Chicago: National Safe Workplace Institute Press, 122 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 60603; 1989), 230 pages.

What I read in this book were essays and perspectives that made me feel so sad, so angry and so sick that I could only read a little at a time. But before I write about the content, I would like to write a little about the person who put this book together.

Joseph A. Kinney is a veteran of the Vietnam War whose brother was killed in a scaffold collapse in 1986. It was this personal tragedy that drove Kinney to establish the National Safe Workplace Institute (NSWI). Kinney wrote in the preface that he formed NSWI to have an independent voice promoting safer and healthier workplaces.

Faces begins with Kinney's preface, followed by five states in alphabetical order with essays on several workers who died in each of these states and what their families remember about them. There are nine perspectives by different authors covering a wide range of work-related topics. As with the preface, death-in-the-workplace essays from five states follow each perspective.

The perspectives that impressed me most were entitled "Government and the Rights of Victims," by Professor James Holzhauser; "Our Cultural Accommodation of Workplace Death," by Kinney; "Job Fatalities on American Farms," by Dr. Kelly Donham, which I, being a city boy, found very informative; and the one that moved me the most, "Sometimes the Boss Should Go to Jail," by Kenneth Oden.

ESSAYS BRING TEARS

I don't think anybody can read the essays and not experience a lump in the throat, tears in the eyes and a strong desire to put a stop to this craziness. Almost every kind of workplace death imaginable is in the book, from construction deaths to farm deaths, electrocutions, falls, exposure to toxic chemicals, and other workplace deaths that are not so sudden, such as black lung, asbestos exposure and other long-term work-related illnesses.

Although it is impossible to write about all the essays, I will write about a few that were really hard on me

Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

turn many strikes into a sort of ritual or elaborate game. Have we forgotten that labor is in a life-and-death struggle against capital?

When the industrial unions of the CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations) were formed in the 1930s, the workers showed little concern for legalities such as "private property." They sat down inside the factories at the very machines that they had long operated, but never controlled. The workers' families and the unemployed joined the picket lines against the police and strikebreakers. What has happened to that vision of the union as a movement of working people against capital?

IDEOLOGICAL ATTACK

Both supporters and opponents of the Workplace Fairness Act argue that "fairness" and "balance" must be maintained between management and labor. What kind of "fairness" and "balance" can exist between two such unequal classes—the capitalist class, which owns and controls all of the means of production, and the workers, who own nothing and must sell their labor-power in order to survive?

Certainly the increasing, and increasingly publicized, use of permanent scabs since President Reagan fired and replaced 12,000 striking air traffic controllers in 1981 is an attack on the living standards and working conditions of all working people. But isn't it also an attack on the very idea that workers, in these very difficult economic times, might dare to stand up for themselves, might dare to strike, might dare to organize themselves to oppose capital? Legislation cannot counter that ideological attack; only the vision, thought and activity of workers themselves can.

emotionally. Debra Beton of Florida, a heavy equipment operator, was killed when the equipment she was operating went out of control and overturned, crushing her to death. At the time of her death, she was driving 71 miles each day to her job and working nine to ten hours a day. She left behind a husband of 13 years and three children. She was 28 years old.

Percy George Brewer was 49 years old, a Native American truck driver who was living and working in Alaska at the time of his death. "You couldn't ask for a better man," said his widow Carol. "He would always be good to you, always smile, always check to see if you were okay." Besides his wife, Percy left four children and a grandchild.

Percy died of exhaustion after hauling four loads back to back from Fairbanks to Prudhoe Bay, a distance of 500 miles each way, 14 hours with a full load and back in 12. That's 4,000 miles and 104 hours without rest. Why? Because he had been out of work for five months before. Percy was found dead in his truck in a rest area.

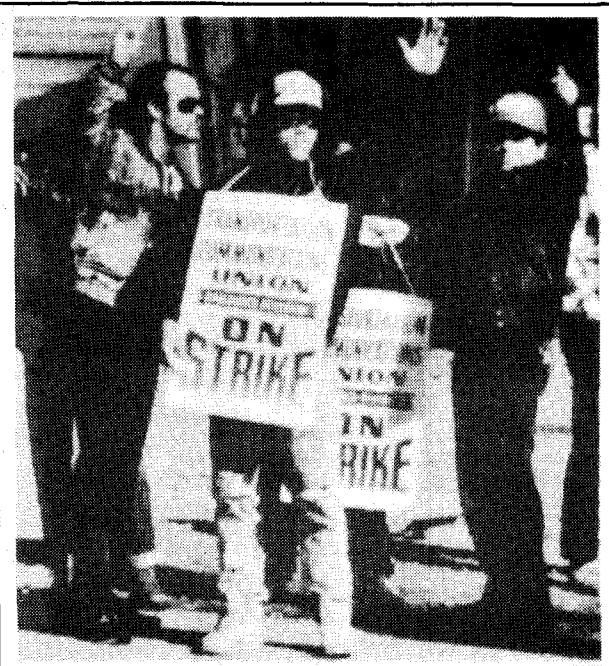
FAMILIES SUFFER MOST

Keith Algreen from Earlham, Iowa was helping on his family's farm. Everyone should know the plight of the American farmer. The entire family must work hard just so they can survive. Keith fell into a grain wagon and sank into three tons of grain being sucked into a bin. He suffocated. "Even though it's been a while since he died, we still miss him when the family sits down to dinner every night," said his mother. Keith Algreen was 11 years old when he died.

This book is not another book of statistics with charts and graphs and what industries are the most dangerous to workers. That is what makes it different from others on the same subject. It is the families of the victims that suffer the most. These stories are just a few of hundreds of thousands here in the U.S.

I highly recommend this book to those who care, those people who demand change in the workplace and revolution in government. I leave you with a quote from Mother Jones printed on the Dedication page: "Pray for the dead. Fight like hell for the living."

—Martin Almora



The April 17 rail workers' strike protested management's reduction of the size of train crews. Cutting workers creates safety and environmental hazards, as in the July 14 Southern Pacific derailment. See story below.

Southern Pacific cuts workers, pollutes river

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

Los Angeles, Cal.—On July 14 seven cars and one engine of a Southern Pacific train jumped the tracks near the upper Sacramento River in northern California. One car fell into the river. It contained the pesticide metam-sodium, a fumigant used before crop planting to kill insects, weeds and fungi in the soil—in other words, everything.

Which is what it did in the river; it killed everything—100,000 fish, and no one even tried to number the dead insects, worms, algae. One writer for the Los Angeles Times called it a "biological Hiroshima." The spill travelled down the river to Shasta Lake, which furnishes drinking water for 22 million Californians.

Southern Pacific was trying to cut costs and labor by not using a helper engine with two more workers to push the train through the river canyon. The railroad had agreed to do this after their last poisonous derailment in the same river in 1976. Larger work crews were part of the demands of the railroad workers when they went out on strike this spring, a strike that our state-capitalist government ended after one day. The workers have now been forced to accept all the company terms.

I was walking through the park the day after I heard the news of the spill. I counted many pine trees dying from the smog. When I was a boy growing up in Kentucky, air and water were the measure of clean. No one thinks like that today. I can remember when the forests were filled with virgin trees and were alive with animals and birds. The rivers were filled with fish. That nature has been transformed by man, by capitalism, into what nature is today, with a smelly, yellow-green poison on the Sacramento River killing everything.

Metam-sodium is a "cousin" of methyl isocyanate, which killed more than 2,000 people in Bhopal, India in

ARCO company threats

Carson, Cal.—Management at ARCO's Los Angeles Refinery has spent the past month on a "non-essential expense"-cutting binge. This has meant a hiring freeze through the end of the year. On July 2 an intentionally vague memo was sent to all employees by CEO George Babikan, which stated that, due to new environmental regulations and economic conditions, all operations would be studied.

Babikan wrote: "The examination will also include realignments, consolidation, or elimination of functions and people." Needless to say, this memo caused quite a stir. Within days, however, there were other memos circulating which were not so widely addressed (i.e., for foremen and above). They made it clear that the cuts were to affect management only.

Meanwhile managers are walking around quoting the Los Angeles Times that the oil industry is in trouble and that ARCO's stock has dropped 13%. It is true that there are troubles in the industry. Two units of our local union have recently suffered these: Eddington Oil was unable to make payroll and closed its doors, and Shell has announced that it will close its Carson refinery by the end of the year if it can't find a suitable buyer.

Throughout our refinery a new round of confrontation has started up about parity (our ongoing demand for a raise to the same wage scale as other local refineries). UNOCAL workers won their fight for \$2 per hour more, bringing them up to the wages paid at Chevron and Mobil. This has really heated people at ARCO up. Management began to enforce its rule against leafleting the gate and threatened firings after a leaflet was distributed by the "Underground" which said, "When they said I'd be working for Les Smith [the refinery manager] I didn't know I'd be working for les(s)!"

—Member, OCAW Local 1-128

Teamsters then and now

Editor's note: Over the past few months News & Letters has had the opportunity to speak with truck drivers about the state of trucking and the Teamsters union. We print some excerpts from those discussions below.

Los Angeles, Cal.—I've been driving for over 30 years. I was a member of the Teamsters for almost 25 years, until deregulation came and all the smaller companies either went out of business or were merged. At first I went to every meeting I could. I really admired the strength of our union. Back then if a boss wouldn't settle a grievance, the B.A. (business agent) would go down, put a small padlock on the fence, put up one picket and the place was shut down.

That was great. But at the meetings they'd buy you drinks beforehand, then they'd sit you down, read the motions, and everybody would vote yes. One time some of us asked why we were voting for the third dues increase in six months. We were taken outside and told that if we ever asked anything like that again we wouldn't be at any more meetings.

What bothers me most about what's going on with the government and the union now is that no one asked the members what they wanted. Guys I know who still have union driving jobs are angriest about that.

I haul hazardous chemicals for one of the few union outfits left. We make about \$13 per hour, but over the past few years our benefits have disappeared, and there are fewer drivers. I'm driving 16 hours per day, five or six days a week, working past my legal limit and fudging the log book on company orders (orders they never gave if I get caught). That's what a Teamster contract is like.

1984. Those who did not die immediately are still suffering, but most of the world has forgotten this horror. One article in the Los Angeles Times said that "available studies seem to indicate" that we won't get cancer from these chemicals; but Ralph E. Lightstone from the California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation said that the studies are incomplete and "If you ask whether it might cause cancer or reproductive effects, the answer is, 'We don't know.'"

President Bush is talking about getting ready to use his "smart bombs" on Saddam Hussein again, if Saddam Hussein doesn't tell him about all of the chemical and nuclear weapons he has to kill people with. What Bush needs to do is to find out about all the chemicals that are killing us here and now and threaten the big corporations that disregard safety regulations with some "smart bombs." But of course he won't do that.

I want to know: How much longer can life exist on this earth under capitalism? How many more Hiroshimas can this earth stand until all itself is dead?

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From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya Marxist-Humanist Archives

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

Editor's note: This text was written by Raya Dunayevskaya in August 1983 as a letter describing each of the passages she wished to add to Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution after the book had been set in type and could no longer be changed. Several of these passages had their origins in questions raised by audiences during Dunayevskaya's two-month-long national lecture tour for the Marx Centenary in the spring of 1983. The full text of the letter excerpted here is on deposit in the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection at Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, microfilm #15370-74. All of these passages appear in the 1991 University of Illinois Press edition of the book.

I would like to explain all the paragraphs that [would be] added [to the latest theoretical work, Rosa Luxemburg,



Rosa Luxemburg
a self portrait

burg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution], after its publication, in the following context:

(1) That it is no accident that it is the Marx Centenary which prompted the new publication of our other two fundamental works, *Marxism and Freedom* and *Philosophy and Revolution*, and

(2) That this led us to call the theoretical foundations of Marxist-Humanism, as a totality, a "trilogy of revolution."

Here, then, are the paragraphs as they [would be] added to each section:

In the Introduction, just before the final paragraphs, I saw a need not to have the reader wait for the final chapter to know that we are challenging post-Marx Marxists. With that in mind, the added paragraph makes clear at once that the very first point misunderstood by post-Marx Marxists, beginning with Frederick Engels, was Marx's work in the last decade regarding what we now call the Third World, and what Marx called, in the *Grundrisse*, "the Asiatic mode of production," as well as commenting on it as he read Morgan's *Ancient Society*. In the new paragraph, we also ask: Isn't the Marx Centenary high time to challenge the post-Marx Marxists on their understanding of Marx's last writings? And we point to the fact that we do just that in the last chapter.

(The new paragraph [would be] added on pp. xxiii-xxiv, just before the paragraph which begins: "From the study of primitive communism...")

That seems to have been the first point so misunderstood by post-Marx Marxists, beginning with Frederick Engels, who, without having known all of the massive *Ethnological Notebooks* Marx had left behind, undertook to write his own version of Morgan's work—his *Origin of the Family*—as a "bequest" of Marx. When Ryazanov discovered these notebooks, he rushed—before he ever had a chance to decipher them, to characterize them as "inexcusable pedantry."

If an Engels, who was a close collaborator of Marx and without whom we would not have had Volumes 2 and 3 of *Capital*, could nevertheless so suddenly have become overconfident about his own prowess of interpreting Marx as to assume he was speaking for Marx; if an archivist-scholar like Ryazanov could, at a time when he was actually publishing those magnificent early essays of Marx (the 1844 *Economic-Philosophic*

Manuscripts), spend a good deal of his first report on the Archives of Marx in asking for twenty to thirty people to help him sort these manuscripts out, and yet pass judgement before he dug into them—it says a great deal about literary heirs but nothing whatsoever about so great an historic phenomenon as Marx's Marxism.

Isn't it time to challenge all of the post-Marx Marxists, when even those who have achieved great revolutions (and none was greater than the 1917 Russian Revolution) did not, in thought, measure up to Marx? Isn't it time to dig into what Marx, who had discovered a whole new continent of thought, had to say for himself? (Chapter 12 concentrates especially on the last writings of Marx, in which this author found a trail to the 1980s.)

* * *

Chapter III of Part One jams up the different views of Luxemburg and Marx on "Accumulation of Capital" in order to show that the new events which Luxemburg called "reality," which she contrasted to Marx's "theory," could have been so contrasted because she failed to fully work out dialectic methodology—which would have revealed a single dialectic in both objective and subjective worlds. To that end, the whole subject of methodology was expanded to reveal the difference between how Absolute appeared in the phenomenal world (and the phenomenon she had in mind was imperialism) and how Absolute was worked out in [Hegel's] *Philosophy of Mind*, where it cannot possibly be separated from Subject, i.e., revolutionary force as Reason. As the added paragraph puts it: "Therein is the nub of the Great Divide between *Phenomenology* and *Philosophy*— and because it is no abstraction, but a live Subject, it unites rather than divides theory and reality."

(The new paragraphs [would be] added on p. 45, immediately after the paragraph that ends with the italicized sentence: "This, indeed, is the nub of Luxemburg's error.")

Methodology being the dialectic movement both in the Phenomenology of Mind and in the Philosophy of Mind, let us look deeper into their

difference. While it is true that in the *Phenomenology* we speak not just of appearance, much less of mere show, but of a *philosophy* of appearance, it is not true that the methodology, as we follow the movement of the dialectic in *Philosophy of Mind*, is either the philosophy of phenomena or even of essence. Rather, the dialectic in the *Notion* is that the Absolute there opens so many new doors in both the objective and subjective spheres as to reveal totality itself as new beginning.

Thus, as against the phenomenology of imperialism being merely a reflection of new surfacings of oppression, new appearances surface as so profound a philosophy of revolution as to disclose that what inheres in it is a living Subject that will resolve the great contradiction of its absolute opposites, imperialism and national oppression. It is this which Marxist-Humanists call the new revolutionary forces as Reason. Therein is the nub of the Great Divide between *Phenomenology* and *Philosophy*— and because it is no abstraction, but a live Subject, it unites rather than divides theory and reality.

* * *

In Part Two on the Women's Liberation Movement, especially the section on the "Unfinished Task," the point I chose to elaborate was, once again, the conception of Women's Liberation not just as force but as Reason. The new here, however, was that the "proof" came from history itself—February 23, 1917. This was for purposes of showing that the women were the ones who initiated that revolution. Even now I am not sure that we totally understand that that, in turn, depends on women practicing the immediate problems inseparable from the philosophic context. This is why I have two final suggestions: (1) Do, please, consider the paper worked out for the anthropology conference, "Marx's 'New Humanism' and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies," as well as the talk I gave at the Third World Women's Conference, as integral to the expansion of Part Two.

(2) The second and key suggestion is the imperativeness of a study of Part Three without which there can be no to-

tal comprehension not just of Part Three, in and for itself, but of the fact that it is that Part that informs the whole work. It is Marx's Marxism as a totality after it has gone through combat with the greatest revolutionaries of the post-Marx period—Lenin and Luxemburg, without whom we could not have reached the new stage we have achieved.

(The paragraph [would be] added on



Karl Marx

p. 109, immediately after the paragraph which ends: "...or by using them only as helpmates.")

Quite the contrary. History proves a very different truth, whether we look at February 1917, where the women were the ones who initiated the revolution; whether we turn further back to the Persian Revolution of 1906-11, where the women created the very first women's soviet; or whether we look to our own age in the 1970s in Portugal, where Isabel do Carmo raised the totally new concept of *apartidarismo*. It is precisely because women's liberationists are both revolutionary force and Reason that they are crucial. If we are to achieve success in the new revolutions, we have to see that the uprooting of the old is total from the start.

(And to the end of the next, the penultimate paragraph, one sentence [would be] added, after the sentence ending: "...which do not separate practice from theory.")

Which is what Luxemburg meant when she defined "being human" as "joyfully throwing your life on the scales of destiny."

* * *

[The following passage was proposed by Dunayevskaya in September 1983 for addition to and substitution for two paragraphs on p. 180. It is inserted here where it would have appeared in the sequence of passages added to the text.—Ed.]

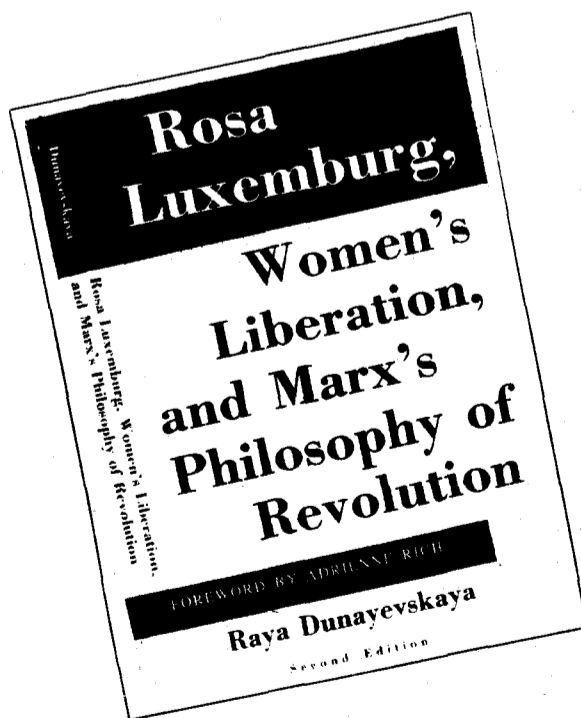
The whole question of the transition period, and the differences on it between Marx and Engels, is taken up on p. 180; that is, what happens during the transition from one stage to another, both as it relates to Women's Liberation and to the Asiatic Mode of Production, which Engels somehow omitted from his *Origin of the Family*. I had, indeed, considered that question crucial, as Marx always related it to new revolutionary upsurges:

In the 1850s, for example, what inspired Marx to return to the study of pre-capitalist formations and gave him a new appreciation of ancient society and its craftsmen was the Taiping Revolution. It opened so many doors to "history and its process" that Marx now concluded that, historically-materialistically speaking, a new stage of production, far from being a mere change in property-form, be it "West" or "East," was such a change in production-relations that it disclosed, in embryo, the dialectics of actual revolution.

What Marx, in the *Grundrisse*, had defined as "the absolute movement of becoming" had matured in the last decade of his life as new moments—a multilinear view of human development as well as dialectic duality within each formation. From within each formation evolved both the end of the old and the beginning of the new. Whether Marx was studying the communal or the despotic form of property, it was the human resistance of the Subject that revealed the direction of resolving the contradictions. Marx transformed what, to Hegel, was the synthesis of the

(continued on page 12)

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Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1991-92

(continued from page 1)

What should have been clear the moment the shooting started in the Gulf is starting to sink in: "It is still possible that the Gulf war will yet cause the worst calamity, a return to power of hard-line military forces in the USSR and thus a return to superpower conflict."²

In face of this, nothing is further from reality than to resurrect illusions of a "multi-polar world," as if European and Japanese economic might impedes Bush's drive for single world mastery. Not only did Europe and Japan totally capitulate to Bush on the Gulf war, but Europe itself can hardly be considered a unified entity, as again seen in how each member of the European Community is pulling in different directions concerning the crisis in Yugoslavia.

There certainly are frictions between the U.S. and European rulers, from Mitterrand's suggestion to replace NATO with a European Confederation excluding the U.S., to Germany's call for massive economic aid to Russia. Yet whether it be mighty Britain or not-so-mighty Czechoslovakia, the rulers of each know it is the U.S. that rules the roost militarily.

This isn't to say Bush has clear sailing everywhere. After failing to get off the ground for months, his envisioned regional conference on the Israeli-Arab dispute gained impetus after Syria agreed to the U.S. conditions, though Israel has continued to build new settlements on its occupied territories. That Bush has exerted minimal pressure on Israel thus far is due not only to the fact that he is no more interested in Palestinian self-determination than Shamir is. It's that what motivates Bush is not so much an effort to "resolve" the Israeli-Arab dispute, as to maintain his regional alliances in the area now that the U.S. has both been able to publicly acknowledge that it stores military equipment in Israel and is on the verge of obtaining a permanent military facility in the Persian Gulf.

Meanwhile, the "new Arab order," based on an alliance of Egypt-Syria-Saudi Arabia outlined in the March "Damascus Declaration," has already dissolved, in part due to Egypt's anger at the Gulf states for developing closer relations with Iran. Iran is meanwhile not only pursuing new relations with West Europe, but also keeping its eyes on events in Algeria, where Islamic fundamentalists are vying for power.

The fractured and ever-shifting political landscape of the Middle East shows it is one thing to bomb a country into oblivion, and quite another to re-make the world in the U.S.'s image.

Bush, however, continues to pursue just that objective. His drive for single world domination extends to China, which was granted most-favored-nation trading status a day after China's Foreign Minister Jiang Zemin told Gorbachev in Moscow "we intend to return to the state of relations we had in the 1950s." It extends to Africa, where Bush is pushing the Angola "peace accord," which may lead to that butcher Jonas Savimbi becoming President next year, as a model for South Africa, as seen in Bush's embrace of Gatacha Buthelezi during his recent trip to the U.S. It extends to U.S. imperialism's backyard, Latin America, where Bush is pushing for a free trade agreement with Mexico while entertaining plans for "hemispheric integration" by eventually drawing most of South America, especially Brazil, into a "free trade" orbit. Bush is also further propping up the murderous Cristiani of El Salvador.

This imperial reach shows that the "new world order" is an effort to anoint a globally integrated capitalism with one commander-in-chief, George Bush, ready to intervene anywhere, at any time, for counter-revolutionary purposes.

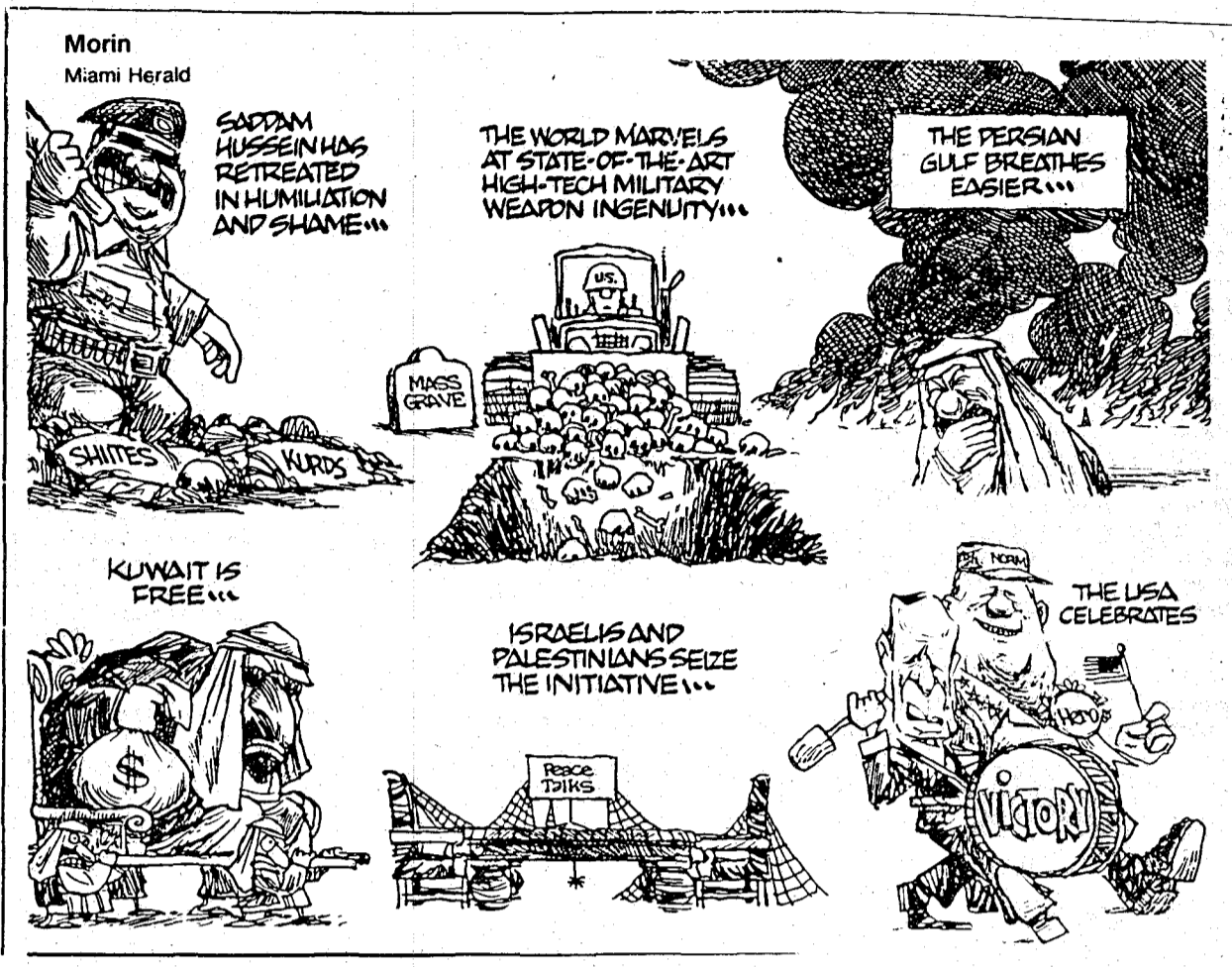
It isn't that there is no opposition to this "vision" of the future. It ranges from South Korea, which is experiencing a massive student and worker revolt, to Russia, where a strike wave has engulfed almost every industry. The opposition is not only visible globally, from South Africa to Poland and from Haiti to China, but also in the U.S. It is seen in the anger of Black masses against the scuttling of civil rights and the continuous police abuse, in the dissatisfaction of workers with the ever-worsening recession, in the outrage of women at the continuing destruction of abortion rights, and in the number of anti-militarist youth facing court martial for refusing to participate in the war machine.

Yet can such opposition anywhere sustain itself so long as the rulers are allowed to win the battle for the minds of humanity? Can the opposition fully unfold in

the absence of a pole of attraction spelling out Marx's vision of a new, human society?

Bush brought this battle to a new stage during the Gulf war by using all means at his disposal—from military might and high-tech wizardry to censorship and collusion with Hussein's crushing of the Kurds—to ter-

projected a totally new category, "post-Marx Marxism as pejorative, beginning with Engels." In taking up great revolutionaries who never betrayed—Engels, Lenin, Luxemburg, Trotsky—Dunayevskaya showed that none built on the fullness of what Marx's Marxism was: a philosophy of "revolution in permanence." Now that



rorize humanity into believing our fate lies not in our hands, but in that of the rulers. Though there certainly was opposition to the war, what was not projected was a vision of the future that is the absolute opposite to that of the rulers. The sense of helplessness and disorientation fostered by this situation explains why the anti-war movement vanished so quickly as to barely leave a trace.

Today's realities disclose that the very effort to sustain mass self-mobilization is called into question when the projection of a total philosophy of liberation is missing. Even when such self-mobilization is sustained, as in the East European revolts of 1989, they can swiftly get pulled toward the ideology of Reaganism in a retrogressive period.³ This, in fact, has been true throughout the whole "changed world" of Reagan retrogression. It can be seen by looking at the nature of the "changed world" that emerged in the 1980s in its relation to the legacy of "post-Marx Marxism."

There was little doubt from the moment Reagan came to power that he represented a new stage of reaction, something made crystal clear with the crushing of the air traffic controllers' strike in 1981. Yet in 1983, a veritable "changed world" emerged when Reagan invaded the Black Caribbean island of Grenada. It marked the first U.S. imperialist invasion of another country since the end of the Vietnam war, and helped set the stage for future military interventions in Libya and Panama, culminating in the invasion of Iraq.

Though U.S. imperialism had its sights set on Grenada from the moment the revolution took power in 1979, what opened the door to Reagan's invasion was that a dispute among the leaders of the New Jewel Movement led to counter-revolution from within the revolution which resulted in the brutal murder of its leader, Maurice Bishop.

In her analysis of this in 1983, Raya Dunayevskaya did not limit her critique to the elitist, vanguardist "Leftists" like Austin and Coard who were directly responsible for Bishop's murder. She also hit out at the non-Stalinist, revolutionary Marxists who opposed the elitism of the Party, but who were so devoid of philosophy that they failed to provide any alternative direction for working out "what happens after" the revolution.

As she wrote in 1983, "The theoretician had not been able to move from what he was against (Stalinism) to what he was for—how to begin anew...he evaded the task of philosophically re-stating Marx's Marxism for one's own age...Instead, he shifted the whole responsibility for that to the shoulders of the proletariat, to 'practice'—when it has been precisely the movement from practice which has shown itself to be a form of theory by raising all these new points of departure, and which demands that the theoreticians meet that challenge."⁴

It wasn't only post-Marx Marxism in Grenada that Dunayevskaya was challenging. In 1982, a year before Reagan's invasion, her *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*

Marx's last writings were finally available after a century of neglect, she insisted our generation could begin anew on the basis of what no prior generation had access to—*Marx's Marxism as a totality*. Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution challenged revolutionaries to break from post-Marx Marxism and work out what Marxism was to Marx—a philosophy of revolution embodying a totally new relation of mental and manual, theory and practice, philosophy and organization.

The conflicting tendencies in the Grenadian revolution failed to meet this challenge. One reduced everything to the Party, the Party, the Party, ignoring the need for a non-elitist relation of spontaneity to organization; the other evaded all theoretic responsibility in the name of opposing elitism. Both evaded responsibility for working out a new relation of theory to practice rooted in Marx's Marxism and in the new stage of mass revolts. What ensued was a counter-revolution from within that opened the door to Reagan's invasion, enabling him to launch a "changed world" of retrogression.

Every stage in the development of this "changed world" since then has shown that so long as the philosophic gap remains unfilled, the rulers are able to maintain the historic initiative. The events of the past decade, and especially of this year, show that we must break with the evasion of philosophic responsibility that has characterized post-Marx Marxists if we are to forge a path out of today's retrogression.

That does not only entail recognizing the bankruptcy of the practice and ideology of state-capitalism that once paraded as Communism, though that is of course crucial. Nor is it enough to recognize the bankruptcy of the concept and practice of the "vanguard party to lead," although that too is crucial. Breaking from post-Marx Marxism entails breaking from all alternatives that stand in the way of actualizing the Idea of Marx's Marxism, which has as its goal no division of theory and practice, i.e., philosophy and organization as a unit.

Though that is an imposing task at a time when the rulers as well as the Left are proclaiming the "death of Marxism" and the "end of philosophy," we have an opening before us that provides ample ground for meeting the challenge. For the whole body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism, which represents the re-creation of Marx's Marxism for our age, can now be explored through the eyes of the founder's philosophic comprehension of that totality. Dunayevskaya's *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* has just appeared in a new edition at a moment when her *Marxism and Freedom* (reissued in a new edition in 1988), *Philosophy and Revolution* (reissued in a new edition in 1989), *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* and her final writings on "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy" are also available. Taken as a whole, this body of ideas represents such an integrality of history and philosophy as to reveal the energizing principle for working out Marx's Marxism as a new beginning.

That, of course, cannot just be asserted, but must be proved, and proved on the basis of today's objective-subjective reality and the self-determination of the Idea. Which is why we need to first turn to today's economic reality.

(continued on page 6)

2. See Bruce Cumings, "The End of the 70-Years' Crisis: Trilateralism and the New World Order," in *World Policy Review*, Spring 1991.

3. For a discussion of the pull of the concept of the "self-limiting revolution" on the East European upheavals of 1989, see our *Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1990-91*, published in *News & Letters*, July 1990.

4. See Dunayevskaya's "Grenada: Revolution and Counter-Revolution," in *Frantz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought*, by Lou Turner and John Alan (Chicago:1986).

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II. Dialectics and economics in the age of state-capitalism

Backward country or advanced, the absolute law of capitalism, as analyzed by Marx, would hold good even if all capital were concentrated in the hands of one single capitalist or one single capitalist corporation. What to Marx was theory is a most concrete problem now. Russia is proof of the fact that the logic and scope of Marxian theory are as integrally connected as are appearance and reality in life. The "mystic" Hegel saw clearly the relationship of the dialectic to life than our present pragmatists who laugh at the dialectic and meet each fact of life as an "unforeseen" phenomenon. "Wherever there is movement, wherever there is life, wherever anything is carried into effect in the practical world, there Dialectic is at work. It is also the soul of all knowledge which is truly scientific."

—Raya Dunayevskaya,
Marxism and Freedom (1957)

How can the fact that the state-controlled economies of Russia and East Europe have almost completely collapsed hide the decrepit state of the economy in the so-called "free market" economies of the West? That economic morass is certainly evident in the U.S.

The predictions of the "experts" that the recession is over ignore unemployment, which continues to rise, as only a "lagging indicator," and base their judgment that what we are experiencing is only a "shallow recession" by comparing it to the depths of the Great Depression. That is supposed to make us stop worrying that unemployment over the past year rose from 5.3% to 7.0%—the highest in five years and still rising. William McReynolds, director of forecasting for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce admits, "Even if the recovery starts in the fourth quarter of 1991 it will be small...and will not stop the unemployment rate from increasing."

Added to the nine million officially considered unemployed are those not counted because they stopped looking, estimated by the Bureau of Labor Statistics to number nearly another million. And among the officially employed are no less than 32 million euphemistically dubbed "contingent workers"—the 35% of the workforce forced into part-time and temporary work with considerably lower wages and no benefits.

One of the most serious indicators of the plunge in living conditions since the mid-1970s is the lack of health insurance for 35 million Americans. The truly obscene state of health non-care in this land is measured in the shocking infant mortality rates, which in the Black ghettos compete with conditions in some Third World countries. One aspect of the fact that unemployment for Black America continues to be twice that of whites, is that for the second year in a row Black male life expectancy dropped in absolute terms.

The bankruptcy of the cities is spelled out in human terms in everything from the suicide of one New York City sanitation worker when he became one of 10,000 laid off, so despairing was he of finding another job, to the report that 75% of the nation's cities have such deteriorating health care facilities that they cannot provide care to AIDS patients.

How can a country that is unable to keep its cities from complete bankruptcy and its entire infrastructure from crumbling present itself as the face of the future? How can the meager growth rates of U.S. capitalism, lower in the 1980s than in any decade since World War II, either end the worsening conditions at home or offer any hope of help to the underdeveloped lands, whether in East Europe or the Third World? According to the UN World Economic Survey for 1991, global economic growth will only be 1% this year while population will increase 1.8%, signaling plunging living conditions for 4.5 billion people in the Third World and East Europe.

What worries many capitalists is a global capital shortage. According to Lawrence Summers of the World Bank, the cost of rebuilding Kuwait and financing modest development in East Europe, Russia, and some of the Pacific rim countries (Latin America and Africa are not even mentioned) adds up to a capital shortage of between \$1.75 and \$2.5 trillion. Others, however, argue that this isn't such a problem because capitalism can no longer be expected to make productive investments in the domestic economies anyway!

To the extent that capitalism has been able to grow at

all since 1974-75, it has been through near-total neglect of such investment. The effect is most starkly seen in places like Peru, where over 1,000 have died in a cholera epidemic brought on (according to the Pan American Health organization) by the failure to invest in water and sewage treatment plants. The situation is even worse in Africa, where 30 million face starvation this year, two-thirds of them in the Horn of Africa.

Most shocking of all is the report of the Worldwatch Institute that one million women will die and 100 million be maimed this year in a "global epidemic of reproductive health problems" due to the lack of access to the most elemental health care throughout the developing world; no less than 250,000 will die from lack of safe abortions.

The simple fact is that capitalism can no more develop the Third World than it can resolve poverty in the industrialized lands, "so long as the motive force of production continues to be the accumulation of surplus value...the straining of the ruling class to appropriate the full 24 hours of a man's labor still fails to create sufficient capital to industrialize the 'backward' lands."⁵

Ever since the 1974-75 global recession, the economic reality has been "no more booms." For capitalism what was new and startling with that recession was that even all the state intervention and planning that characterized the post-World War II era did not prove capable of extracting capitalism from the decline in the rate of profit that Marx pinpointed as the inevitable outcome of the ever-growing preponderance of dead labor (machinery) over living labor, which alone creates all value and surplus value.

Capitalism responded by embarking on a global effort to restructure itself by forcing down wages through union busting, privatizing away social programs and investing in ever-greater amounts of surplus value in automation and high-tech computerization. Precisely because the reality spelled out "no more booms," the economic restructuring went hand-in-hand with an intensive ideological offensive, as the rulers sought to convince humanity that our deteriorating conditions of life and labor are our permanent future.

In the "West," this took the name of Reaganism. In the East, where the economic decline became precipitous by the late-1970s, it took, by the mid-1980s, the form of Gorbachevism. Though Gorbachev tried at first to utilize elements of the ruling Stalinist ideology to promote his restructuring, by now the state-capitalist orbit has sunk into such total crisis that he has abandoned even the pretense of "Communist" rhetoric in totally embracing the ideology of the "free market."

Though that introduces a profound ideological change in the make-up of state-capitalism, the effort to "privatize" introduces no fundamental change in that exploitative system. For both East and West, militarization predominates over everything. The depth of the economic crisis in Russia has everything to do with the fact that there is no shortage of instruments of war, from thousands of nuclear weapons to countless conventional arms and 50 nuclear reactors. Nor is it only a question of Russia: every year from 1951 to 1990 the U.S. Defense Department budget has exceeded the combined net profit of all U.S. corporations. When a nation's largest capital fund is used neither for consumption nor further production but for destruction, the decay of both infrastructure and industry is inescapable.

In both East and West the workers' conditions of life and labor worsen daily. It is thus no surprise that as "restructuring" proceeds in East Europe, strikes have erupted everywhere from Poland, where 10,000 workers demonstrated in Warsaw in May in the first strike by Solidarity against the "Solidarity" government, to Russia, where 1,169,000 worker-days of strikes in 542 enterprises occurred this spring. When Gorbachev and Yeltsin cut a deal to halt the miners' strikes, the leader of one strike committee in Siberia rejected it, saying "This is the land of the gulag—the place where prisoners have been sent since Tsarist days. We have rebel blood." In former East Germany, where unemployment/underemployment has reached 40%, demonstrators greeted the vague rhetoric of speakers at a protest against Kohl in April by shouting, "Concepts, we want Concepts!"

The peoples of Russia and East Europe have only to look at what is happening right here in the West to know that the massive unemployment and impoverishment they are experiencing is not a temporary way-station or "transition" to something else. It is rather the future capitalism offers for humanity, the fundamental form assumed by this global stage of capitalist restructuring.

So how can it be that former revolutionaries like Karol Modzelewski, who in 1981 warned Solidarity that "we must not take over responsibility for government," have today so fallen prey to the ideology of Reaganism that "free market capitalism" is embraced as the only future open to humanity?

The new stage of capitalist restructuring has thrown revolutionaries for a loop because they were never rooted in Marx's Marxism. They failed to fully grasp that "private" capitalism and state-capitalism calling itself Communism are not opposites. In reducing everything to the contrast of private vs. collective property, they ignored Marx's point that it is not the form of property that is decisive, but the class relations at the point of production. Every economic category Marx created was a philosophic category, beginning with his concept of labor power, not only as the commodity the capitalist buys, but as a term that enabled Marx to make a leap in thought to meet the new activity of the workers. It was because Raya Dunayevskaya was following out Marx's



New York government workers protest budget cuts.

analysis of the "law of motion of capitalism" that she worked out her unique theory in the early 1940s that, far from Russia being any kind of "workers' state" that had to be defended, it was a totalitarian state-capitalist monstrosity that had to be uprooted.

As against those who got lost in the illusion that what made a "new society" was the Plan, she showed that the whole theoretical axis of Marx's Capital is the question of plan—the despotic plan of the capitalists vs. the plan of freely associated workers. In rooting her analysis in Capital and in what became known as Marx's 1844 "Humanist Essays," her state-capitalist theory was propelled forward to the development of the full philosophy of Marxist-Humanism by the 1950s.

That was when a new stage of production appeared, automation, and a new stage of workers' revolt arose against it. It first erupted in the 1949-50 Miners' General Strike in West Virginia, where workers raised such philosophic questions as "What kind of labor should man do?" Just as Dunayevskaya's theory of state-capitalism was from the start rooted in workers' revolts, so her embrace of the new forms of revolt was inseparable from a plunge into Hegel's philosophy, which disclosed, by May 1953, the new stage of revolt to be a manifestation of a movement from practice that was itself a form of theory.⁶

Because post-Marx Marxists failed to catch the fullness of Marx's philosophy of revolution, they failed to spell out a concept of a new society totally opposed to both private capitalism and state-capitalism calling itself Communism. By the 1990s, this has allowed the rulers to seize the ideological initiative. Just as the radicals of the 1930s went scurrying to embrace the Plan, those of the 1990s are running to the "free market" (whether as fully Reaganite or anointed as "market socialism") at the very moment capitalism has proved unable to solve a single one of its endemic crises.

There is a way out of today's economic morass. It rests on recognizing that, whether in the Third World or in the industrialized lands, the greatest productive force is not the machine but the human being—not only as muscle but as brain, not only as energy but as emotion, not only as force but as reason—the whole human dimension. Just as that was Marx's greatest contribution to "economics," so it was at the core of Dunayevskaya's restatement of Marx's Marxism in her unique theory of state-capitalism as it developed into Marxist-Humanism. It is that which is urgently in need of re-study today,⁷ when we are living through the lethal consequences of the failure to grasp the truth that "The Idea itself is real, lives, moves, transforms reality," as Dunayevskaya put it in *Philosophy and Revolution*.

6. See *The Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.* by Andy Phillips and Raya Dunayevskaya, which recounts both the historic self-activity of the miners and the new philosophic points of departure projected from it for our age.

7. In 1991-92, News and Letters Committees proposes to issue a special publication consisting of crucial documents in Dunayevskaya's development of the theory of state-capitalism (see Part IV).

The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism

two historic-philosophic writings by
Raya Dunayevskaya

- Presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy, June 1, 1987
- Letters on Hegel's Absolutes, May 12 and 20, 1953

\$3

News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren,
Chicago, IL 60605

5. See "The African Revolutions and the World Economy" in Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution*.

Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1991-92

III. New openings for working out the dialectics of organization and philosophy

"As new beginning" has no precedent. I don't think I thought of it until after re-reading the Absolute Idea in Hegel's Science of Logic, and that was after the three final syllogisms in the Philosophy of Mind, that I suddenly said to myself: it is not only a new beginning, it is as new beginning, that Marx clung to Hegel after he discovered his own new continent of thought—that was the new beginning. Why did no one see it? Is Lenin's State and Revolution "as a new beginning"? No, I don't think so. Revolution first had to be made real after the betrayal [of the Second International], so it was only our age, post-World War II, when the movement from practice was itself a form of theory that theory had to have a new beginning in philosophy.

—Raya Dunayevskaya,
"What is Marxist-Humanism?" (1987)

What makes the task of re-stating Marx's Marxism especially arduous today is not only the ideological pollution of the rulers, but also the legacy of what Raya Dunayevskaya called "post-Marx Marxism as pejorative." In reducing Marxism to a dogma as one moment and departing from Marx every time some new phenomenon appears at another, post-Marx Marxists have left the movement without direction for working out "how to begin anew?"

As against that, what provides direction for meeting today's challenge is the fact that we now have in hand Raya Dunayevskaya's "trilogy of revolution" at a moment when her last writings and *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* is also available. What makes this such an opening, is that the philosophic comprehension of Marxist-Humanism found in her last writings helps to reveal the "energizing principle" for working out Marx's Marxism as a new beginning.

One of the most important dimensions of this is Dunayevskaya's constant return to the "philosophic moment" from which her body of ideas was born and developed—her May 12 and 20, 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes."⁸ She there achieved a new philosophic breakthrough—demystifying the Absolute as either God or some closed ontology by splitting Hegel's Absolute into two, seeing in it a movement from practice as well as from theory.

In seeing within Hegel's Absolutes the expression of a movement from practice, the 1953 Letters anticipated a new stage of revolt which erupted a month later, when the East German workers erupted a banner of total freedom in their revolt against Communist totalitarianism. By 1956, the birth of a new era was manifested in the

⁸ The 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes" are now available in *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism*.

Hungarian Revolution and the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

At the same time, the 1953 Letters anticipated a whole new philosophy of dialectics for the post-World War II world. For in singling out a dual movement in the Absolute, Dunayevskaya embraced the power of the Idea itself to transform reality, as she reinterpreted for our age the final three paragraphs of Hegel's *Philosophy of Mind*, which culminates in the "Self-Abstracting Idea." Far from seeing this as any pinnacle or abstraction, she viewed it as the jumping-off point for freedom-filled beginnings.

This philosophic breakthrough enabled Marxist-Humanism to catch the historic link of continuity with Marx's own "philosophic moment," his 1844 "Humanist Essays." In his 1844 "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic," Marx embraced Hegel's concept of the "negation of the negation" as expressing the actual movement of history at the same time as he hit out against Hegel for dehumanizing the Idea, as if it applied to thought alone. Marx was putting the human being back into Hegel's dialectic and thereby unchaining the power of thought itself, for cognition was now rooted in the human dimension. Marx spelled this out in creating a totally new philosophy, which "distinguishes itself from both Idealism and Materialism, and is, at the same time, the truth uniting them both." He called it a "new Humanism" opposed to both capitalism and what he called "vulgar communism." This is the "philosophic moment" he spent the next 40 years concretizing.

Antonio Gramsci put it this way in his Prison Notebook: "The Hegelian 'Idea' is resolved into the structure as much as the superstructure, and the whole method of conceiving philosophy has been historicized, in other words, the emergence of a new kind of philosophy."

By achieving continuity with Marx, Dunayevskaya's 1953 Letters remain key both to today's freedom struggles and to the re-statement of Marx's Marxism for our time. While such a philosophic breakthrough is experienced only once, by the founder, the doors remain open for all who come afterwards to catch that philosophic moment as concept. Nothing more shows this than Dunayevskaya's own repeated returns to and further concretizations of her 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes."

Dunayevskaya's first book, *Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 until Today* (1957) represents a concretization of her 1953 breakthrough in being structured on the movement from practice to theory. This work projected for the first time Marx's Humanism for our day as Marxist-Humanism. In presenting a concept of philosophy rooted in the movement from practice that was itself a form of theory, it challenged theoreticians to work out a new stage of cognition.

In issuing that challenge with the publication of *Marxism and Freedom*, Dunayevskaya established

new relations with revolutionaries internationally who had broken with both poles of capital, some of whom accepted a state-capitalist analysis. Yet whether it be Grandizio Munis in Spain, Cornelius Castoriadis in France, or Onorato Damen in Italy, they did not see the need to philosophically re-state Marx's Humanism for the state-capitalist age. Without the concept integral to the philosophic breakthrough of 1953, they failed to grasp that the spontaneous self-activity of the masses increases the responsibility of the revolutionary theoretician for philosophy.

The ramifications of this become manifest in the 1960s, when a new stage of mass revolt emerged globally. The Left activism of that decade was so intense that the new generation of revolutionaries acted as if they could be caught "en route." Yet this avoidance of working out a new relation of theory to practice led not to the birth of a new era, but to the failure of the 1960s revolts to achieve a single successful revolution, though myriad spontaneous forms of organization and "parties to lead" abounded.

It would have been easy for Dunayevskaya to say these events confirmed her 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes." Yet instead of simply repeating what she drew from those letters in the 1950s, in the 1960s she returned to that breakthrough with new eyes as part of further working out the logic of her discoveries in face of new realities, a task that entailed over a decade of intense theoretic-practical labor.⁹ The result was her second major book, *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre, and from Marx to Mao* (1973), which projected a totally new category—"Absolute Negativity as New Beginning."

Whereas in *Marxism and Freedom*, structured on the movement from practice, the emphasis is on the split in the Absolute, in *Philosophy and Revolution* the stress is on the movement from theory, the new beginning that emerges from the Absolute. As against the way Marxists of all varieties shied away from absolute negativity, we now confront absolute negativity as **new beginning**. In beginning with "Why Hegel? Why Now?", the book challenged revolutionaries to explore the Hegelian dialectic "in and for itself," not for scholastic purposes, but to fill the philosophic void in the Marxist movement.

Dunayevskaya's next book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (1982), represents a further concretization of "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning" in presenting both the "new moments" of Marx's Marxism and the category, "post-Marx Marxism, beginning with Engels, as pejorative."

In projecting the "new moments" of Marx's last decade now that his *Ethnological Notebooks* were finally available, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* shows how Marx went in search of a new dialectic of revolution following the defeat of the Paris Commune in 1871. In focusing his attention on Russian agriculture, the peasantry and "primitive" society in his last decade, Marx neither simply applied his analysis of the rise of capitalism in the West outlined in his "Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation," nor did he depart from the dialectical methodology he demonstrated in developing it. He instead brought the totality of his creative intellect to bear on new realities in such a way as to bring to full circle the dialectic he first unchained in his 1844 "Humanist Essays."

One of the most crucial moments in that process was Marx's 1875 *Critique of the Gotha Program*. He there hit out against his supposed followers for fusing their organization with that of the followers of Ferdinand Lassalle, whom Marx had earlier fought as a "state socialist." Dunayevskaya insists that in hitting out against this unity, Marx projected his concept of "revolution-in-permanence" as ground for organization. This was ignored not only by the reformists whom Marx critiqued, but even by revolutionaries like Lenin, whose *State and Revolution* built upon the *Critique of the Gotha Program* on the need to smash the bourgeois state but not on the relationship of philosophy to organization.

Dunayevskaya develops this further in her "Presentation on the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy" of June 1, 1987, showing that Marx's 1875 *Critique* represents the "full concretization" for organization of his philosophic moment of 1844.

In his 1844 "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic," Marx concretized the power of absolute negativity, by projecting the "transcendence" not alone of capitalism, but also of "vulgar communism" in proclaiming his goal to be "positive Humanism, beginning from itself." In projecting this concept of "revolution-in-permanence" as ground for organization, Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Program* released his fullest view of what labor in the new society will be like, as he speaks of what happens after we have rid ourselves of the "subordination of the individual to the division between mental and manual labor."

Thus, when philosophy becomes fully concretized organizationally, the power of thought at

(continued on page 8)

The one thing that was certain beyond the peradventure of a doubt was the direction in which the economy was developing: there was a continuous preponderance of means of production over means of consumption. What Marx had shown as the principle of capitalist development turned out to be the exact direction of Russian economic development.

—"Russian State-Capitalism vs. Workers' Revolt," *Marxism and Freedom*

Despite the tremendous growth in mass production, despite the expansion of American capital, there has been no "automatic" growth in rate or in "market." It is for this reason that we could not get out of the 1930s Depression; it simply was "absorbed" into World War II, and then only by virtue of the expansion of state intervention into the economy did pro-

duction keep increasing.

—"The African Revolutions and the World Economy," *Philosophy and Revolution*

It was on the eve of the East German uprising in June 1953 that I commented on Hegel's final three syllogisms. I considered Hegel's formulation, "the logical principle turns to Nature and Nature to Mind," as the movement not only from theory to practice, but also from practice to theory as well as the new society. As it turned out, this proved to be a new divide within Marxism between those who stopped at the economic analysis of Russia as state-capitalist and those who proceeded to develop the Humanism of Marxism for the state-capitalist age.

—"Absolute Negativity as New Beginning" *Philosophy and Revolution*

Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1991-92

(continued from page 7)

tains so rich a human dimension that it not only reflects what is, but projects a path to a new, human society.

This poses a crucial challenge for today. It is projected in Dunayevskaya's Presentation of June 1, 1987, where she draws out the philosophic and organizational ramifications of her 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes." She shows that in tracing out the dialectic of Hegel's Absolutes in 1953, she "wasn't interested either in the mass party...or in the elitist party," but rather in the role of a revolutionary group opposed to the elitist party that nevertheless has a historic right to exist.

In the course of this Dunayevskaya discerned a dual movement within the Absolute, from practice to theory as well as from theory to practice. The power of the Idea was thereby released, for cognition was now rooted in revolutionary subjectivity. In projecting this "free release" of the Idea, the 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes" gave birth to a new concept of organization, consisting of "responsibility for the Idea of Marxism for our age, with its aim being Marx's goal of no division between mental and manual labor, specifically theory and practice as a unit."

In her writings of 1986-87, Dunayevskaya was engaged in philosophically comprehending this concept of organization. This was especially true of her Presentation of June 1, 1987, which projected her 1953 breakthrough as the "ground and roof" for transcending the separation of philosophy from organization. She was challenging revolutionaries to organizationally concretize the dialectic unchained in her 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes." Without working out this dialectic in philosophy, she insisted, "the dialectic of organization...would just be different forms of organization, instead of an organization that is so inseparable from its philosophic ground that form and content are one."¹⁰

The fact that Dunayevskaya died before being able to further develop this in her planned book "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy: The 'Party' and Forms of Organization Born out of Spontaneity," does not absolve us from responsibility for re-stating Marx's Marxism on that basis. For the power of thought released by the jamming together of philosophy and organization is the "energizing principle" for working out Marx's Marxism as a new beginning.

Ever since we published The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism, we have asked, will Dunayevskaya's philosophic comprehension of Marxist-Humanism become our new beginning? Will we achieve the "full concretization" of the philosophic moment of

1953 for organization, and thereby release the concept of a new, human society?

What we are now stressing is that to answer that question in the affirmative requires acting on the recognition that while the elitist party and spontaneous forms of organization are opposites, they are not absolute opposites. In posing them as absolute opposites, revolutionaries have left the movement ill-prepared to work out the path to a new, human society.

As Dunayevskaya wrote three weeks before her death on June 9, 1987: "The point is that of the years 1924-29, 1929-today, World War II, and all those national revolutions, the rise of a Third World and the endless continuing struggle, and nowhere in sight, not even telescopic sight, is there an answer to the ques-



Raya Dunayevskaya

tions, what happens after [the] conquest of power? Why so many aborted revolutions? What type of party or organization? What have the various forms of spontaneity—councils, soviets, committees, associations, communes—achieved? And why when they did come close to power, it was the political organizations that didn't take them over so much, as that they themselves looked to be taken over."¹¹

As we saw in Part I, in acting as if party and spontaneity are the absolute opposites, the conflicting tendencies in the Grenadian revolution left the revolution so unprepared for working out "what happens after" that the revolution was consumed by a counter-revolution from within. It isn't only a question of Grenada. From Russia to China, from Cuba to Iran, from Africa and Latin America to Pol Pot's Cambodia, our age has shown that without a philosophy of revolution activism spends itself in mere anti-imperialism and anti-capital-

¹¹ See Dunayevskaya's "Talking to Myself" of May 19, 1987, as well as her May 13, 1987 "1953 as Concept vs. Experience," in the Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, Vol. 13.

ism without ever revealing what it is for.

This has led to such a crisis within the freedom movements, that by 1991 the rulers have an open field before them for bringing Reaganism's putrid essence to full appearance. We became living witness to this when a new and massive anti-war movement emerged in the days preceding the outbreak of the Gulf War, which nevertheless evaporated shortly after the shooting began. In searching for why this occurred, one young anti-war activist concluded, "We had no ultimate goals guiding us...We didn't have the energy that comes from a philosophy of struggle..."

Never has it been more urgent to break from the incubus of post-Marx Marxism by actualizing for our day Marx's concept of a New Humanism which brooks no separation between mental and manual, theory and practice, philosophy and organization.

Though the economic and ideological collapse of state capitalism calling itself Communism is causing many to finally recognize the bankruptcy of much of what has passed for "Marxism" in this century, what is holding back the needed self-reorganization are all sorts of new half-way houses. One expression of that is the essay by Wole Soyinka, "Beyond the Berlin Wall," published in a recent issue of *Transition*, which sharply attacks the way the theory and practice of the "vanguard party leadership" has helped destroy many an African revolution. Yet what good does it do to expose the vulgarities of "Marxist-Leninism" if no distinction is made between it and Marx's Humanism? What is the point to critiquing those "who lay claim to intellectual leadership" for "having placed ourselves outside the propulsion of a historic moment" if the historic continuum of over four decades of struggles for a humanist socialism is totally ignored? Where does it take us to attack the elitism of the Party if all that is counterposed to it is a re-hashing of bourgeois democracy?

The pull of escapism from working out a new relationship of philosophy and organization rooted in the highpoint of freedom struggles and in the power of the Idea continues to infect not only vanguardist radicals, but also their opponents. Which is why Dunayevskaya's warning not to skip over the labor of working out the dialectic of organization and philosophy (issued in her Presentation of June 1, 1987) is more crucial than ever: "In a single word, we must go into these untrodden paths. We must not, I repeat must not, look for a crutch just because a new epigone is using the word 'democracy' to mean more than one party..."

Today's reality discloses that philosophy must be concretized organizationally if the self-determination of the Idea is to have a future. This can be achieved only by being concretely worked out, which is why we must turn to how we intend to do that in the daily activities and tasks of News and Letters Committees.

IV. The need to organizationally concretize the dialectic in philosophy, 1991-92

The need to organizationally concretize philosophy anew each year naturally is given new urgency now that Reagan's "changed world" has made counter-revolution so tower above the seething discontent of the masses in the world that the very thought of revolution seems impossible...By organization being kept inseparable from philosophy, we see that there is no way for dialectics to be in two different places, one for organization and the other for philosophy. There is a single dialectic of subjective/objective. It is not ended in that relationship. That is where the task first begins. That is the Absolute Method. No other method will do.

—Raya Dunayevskaya,
Marxist-Humanist Perspectives (1986)

This year put us to the test of "keeping organization inseparable from philosophy" when George Bush unleashed his genocidal attack on Iraq and brought to a new stage his drive to militarize the minds of humanity. When a new anti-war movement erupted, it would have been easy to put on the backburner the new series of Classes we had organized on "Marxist-Humanism: The Re-creation of Marx's Marxism for Our Age." In these classes we sought to begin working out "philosophic new beginnings" in Marxist-Humanism by exploring the central categories of the last two major works of Raya Dunayevskaya—"Absolute Negativity as New Beginning" and "Post-Marx Marxism, beginning with Engels, as Pejorative." The fact that we did not separate our intense participation in every demonstration we could find from extending the invitation to others to participate in these Classes underscores the kind of attitude and practice demanded in our work of the coming year.

The labor involved in the task confronting us underlines both the unfinished nature of the inwardization and projection attempted in these Classes and the need to further that kind of philosophic labor in the year to come. What provides the direction and confidence for meeting this challenge is the Marxist-Humanist concept of organization, which Dunayevskaya made integral to each stage in the development of her thought. As she worked on her planned book, "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy," Dunayevskaya issued a sharp critique of her colleagues for having skipped over that concept in our daily practice. Each of the tasks undertaken in the course of the next year is part of achieving the self-reorganization required for transcending the separation of philosophy from organization that has characterized all of post-Marx Marxism.

This year there are two new objective-subjective developments which provide concrete openings for meeting this task. One is the fact that we now have in hand the new edition of Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which means all three of Dunayevskaya's major works are once again in print at a moment when her final writings and *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* are also available. The second is that 1991 marks the 50th anniversary of the birth of Dunayevskaya's unique theory of state-capitalism, which was the crucial prologue for her subsequent development of the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism. Thus, we project as our tasks for 1991-92:

1) The deep inwardization and broad projection of the expanded editions of Dunayevskaya's "trilogy of revolution" unseparated from *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* and her final writings on "The Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy" as our foremost task. The inclusion in each of the new editions of her "trilogy of revolution" of writings by Dunayevskaya from the 1980s, in which she was working out the philosophic comprehension of her entire body of thought, makes each of these books truly new, and opens all sorts of doors to the projection of Marxist-Humanism in the battle of ideas. Whether it be through work at conferences or finding platforms in movement events; whether it be in discussing Dunayevskaya's work in outside journals or in establishing new relations with the those striving for a new, human society, we must ensure that Marxist-Humanism becomes a known and debated tendency in the battle of ideas.

2) Unseparated from this, we propose issuing a new publication consisting of selections from Dunayevskaya's extensive writings on state-capitalist theory on the 50th anniversary of the birth of her unique theory. The deep delving into the Marxist-Humanist Archives and the discussions we have on the documents contained within them will be crucial for working out the form and content of this publication. The todayness of that theory will also be a focus of a special trip to Europe we are projecting for this year.

3) Crucial for all our work is eliciting from the forces of revolution. At a moment when Bush's effort to bring Reaganism to fruition is attempting to subsume the voice of the second America, the imperativeness of a philosophy of revolution for eliciting ever-deeper thoughts and sentiments from workers, women, youth and the Black Dimension has never been more concrete. Of special importance in this regard is our work with Black America. The fact that Dunayevskaya's "trilogy of

revolution" also is in print in Mexico in Spanish-language translations underscores the importance of extending our relationship with revolutionaries in the land this year on the basis of the trilogy.

4) Our need to become practitioners of the Marxist-Humanist method of projection-elicitation is central to our work as revolutionary journalists in *News & Letters*. It is this which makes the column of Ray Dunayevskaya's writings from her Archives the core of every issue. Our work with that column is a crucial dimension of how we elicit from our readers, whether in the "Philosophic Dialogue" section, in essay-articles, or in the unique kind of dialogue we have sought to develop since our birth in "Readers' Views." At the same time, the way we were tested in projecting our analysis of crucial world events over the course of the last year in the pages of *News & Letters* shows this will be imperative in both our philosophic development and winning of new readers and supporters, nationally and internationally.

5) The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, the Marxist-Humanist Archives, on deposit at Wayne State University in Detroit and available to libraries worldwide on microfilm, remains pivotal to each of our tasks. We have prepared for study the 30-year correspondence between Dunayevskaya and the Scottish Marxist-Humanist Harry McShane for deposit in a library in his homeland and have begun to preserve Dunayevskaya's marginalia on her own "trilogy of revolution." Whether it be the preservation of documents not yet in the Archives, or the work in studying and discussing the over 14,000 pages already contained in it, or the effort to place the Collection in libraries worldwide, our work with Archives cannot be placed on any back burner.

6) As always with Marxist-Humanists, finances is not technical, let alone reduced to any kind of commodity exchange, for finances truly proves the breakdown in any dichotomy between philosophy and organization. The need to assure the continuance of *News & Letters* calls for a \$35,000 sustaining fund this year.

We cannot list organizational growth as if it is "one of our tasks, because it is in fact embedded in every single task we undertake. Today's objective-subjective reality demands that we prove that "the Idea itself is real, lives, moves, transforms reality," by living that notion so fully in our work that we assure the organizational development of *News and Letters* Committees unseparated from the individual self-development of each one of us.

The Resident Editorial Board
July 22, 1991

ON WAR AND PEACE

The Marine Corps has changed my brother. They took the anger he had towards the world and focused it on one thing—killing. He became dehumanized from the beginning. He no longer even had a first name. He was taught and lived one thing—how to kill. It took the horrors of war for him to realize something huge had to happen. After seeing and smelling victims of the war (on both sides), his mind had become a "prisoner of war." He was also witness to the massive ecological disaster; in the middle of the day the sky was no lighter than that of twilight. Originally he found fault with the Iraqi soldiers for his being in Saudi Arabia, but he soon found out that they did not want to be there either. He, like many other youth, thought the military would be a way out and bought into all they told him. Although it is difficult he now tries to maintain dialogue with others who have a vision of a world without war. He is now, and will be, in a constant struggle not to forget what he experienced, but to again live his life free from the routine of the military.

Cindy
Illinois

The 29th International Anti-War Assembly is being held in Tokyo and other cities in Japan on August 4, 1991, 46 years after the atomic bombs were dropped upon Hiroshima and Nagasaki. We are resolved, with the 21st century just before us, to make every effort together with you to build up a battle line to make a true breakthrough against today's aggravated world crisis. In the midst of the "optimism" of both the U.S. and the Soviet Union eulogizing about "post-Cold War" and the "creation of a new world order"—the chant of the rosy future since the Malta talks at the end of 1989—has come the Gulf War between the U.S.-led allied forces and Iraq.... We would like to appeal to all of you. Struggle against the imperialist powers' pursuit of hegemony, including imperialist America's scheme to dominate the Middle East. Impeach Stalinist bureaucrats' compromising and surrendering attitude toward these imperial powers. Build a firm battle line for a real breakthrough over the contemporary world crisis.

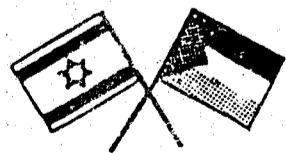
Executive Committee for the 29th
International Anti-War Assemblies
Tokyo, Japan

IDEOLOGICAL POLLUTION

I have been thinking about the way Raya Dunayevskaya refers to "ideological pollution." Pollution is a silencer and loves death. Just as one of the early manifestations of environmental pollution is the silencing of birds, so ideological pollution can work to silence and exterminate ideas. But we don't want our ideas to be an endangered species.

Raya also says that only live human beings can recreate the dialectic. We have to be creative. You can't freeze history, or take a previous solution as the conclusion for today. What I see in Raya's relationship with Marx is a creative dialogue. With each new situation she confronted, she had a conversation with Marx. She trusted both Marx and life itself. She left a unique legacy.

Radical Lesbian-feminist
Los Angeles



ARAB-ISRAELI

Thought you would be interested that Adam Keller, editor of *The Other Israel*, and another dozen or so Israeli peace leaders and academics called on Congress to insist that any U.S. housing loan guarantees be conditioned on an Israeli settlement freeze and the acceptance of the principle of "land for peace." In an "Open Letter to Members of Congress" the peace activists wrote that present policy "inevitably entails gross violation of the human rights of the indigenous Palestinian population of the Occupied Territories, whose land is expropriated so that new Jewish settlements may be established."

America-Israel Council for
Israeli-Palestinian Peace
Downers Grove, Illinois

Readers' Views

ROSA LUXEMBURG, WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND MARX'S PHILOSOPHY OF REVOLUTION

In Raya Dunayevskaya's new book, she warns that despite all the accomplishments of today's Women's Liberation Movement, "without Marx's philosophy of revolution, neither Women's Liberationists nor the whole of humanity will have discovered the ground that will assure the success of the revolution at all times—in theory as in practice." I believe Adrienne Rich, for one, has embraced that warning in a creative way. Her wonderful Foreword does more than praise Raya's method, to "think along with the human forces newly pushing forth, in ever-changing forms and with ever-different faces." Rich actually took the plunge herself into Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks*, as a feminist, and reports on what she found! We can't let this kind of impact on such a feminist thinker as Rich be an isolated case.

Activist
Bay Area

Raya's *Summation* (July supplement) makes explicit that the attitude to archives is not one of "preserving" ideas and books as a static, non-dialectical thing, but as the self-determination of the Idea. That is no disembodied thing as she travels through the decades since Lenin and "back" to Marx. When you speak of "attitude" to founder it is to revisit revolutionary events and ideas to overcome today's retrogression.

The break with Lenin for his failure to work out the question of organization and philosophy seems more intense here as we see Raya work out the relationship to Marx's humanism.

The supplement stands alone, yet it is what speaks to the rest of the July issue and helps us understand the voices from: Mexico, the factories, women, Black, as well as the crisis in thought and crises worldwide. Only real live human beings can overcome the worldwide retrogression, but without the past as revolutionary moments in practice and in thought, we face a bleak future. The supplement is the lifeblood not only of *News & Letters* but of the movements struggling to overcome.

Angela Terrano
New York

I think it has been a long time since those of us who worked hard to change society and our personal lives with the ideas of the women's liberation movement have found a new philosophic book to read and talk about. So the special section in your last issue on the new release of Raya's book, red like an exciting invitation. I especially liked the portraits of the three women, Rosa, Raya and Adrienne looking straight out at us, engaging us to explore their ideas with them. Enclosed is my \$10.95 for the book! Please send.

Activist from women's movement
Chicago

In our News and Letters Committees Local we have talked of how Raya Dunayevskaya was not being unilinear when she spoke of the movement from practice and the movement from theory. That is, it isn't that first comes the movement from practice, then the movement from theory and only then their new unity. The movement from theory can come first, too. While I think that is true, what struck me in reading Dunayevskaya's new Introduction to *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* was that her stress was not on what comes first, but on "Catching the historic link to Marx [which] is not only a matter of finally seeing all his writings, but of grasping, at one and the same time, that something had to happen both in the movement from practice and in the movement from theory."

While it is true, and she said so in this introduction, that her philosophic

breakthrough came "six weeks before the actual revolution on June 17 in East Berlin," she also said earlier on the same page that "It was after the General Strike of the miners in 1949-50 that I felt we had reached a new stage both in Marxism and in proletarian consciousness." Of course, if no one takes responsibility for the self-determination of the Idea, then the greatest revolts can erupt but they will remain undeveloped. So isn't the key task taking responsibility for that—for the self-development of the Idea of Freedom? Isn't that what Raya meant at the beginning of this new Introduction when she talked of taking "organizational responsibility for Marxist-Humanism"?

Terry Moon
Chicago

A discussion I recently had with a "Marxist historian" friend forced me to realize that much of what I take for granted as being true Marxism (for instance, Marx's adherence to the Hegelian dialectic, and his "revolution in permanence") is unique to Raya's thinking. With this new book we can assert that, "it is the philosophy that is new, unique, our special historic contribution that enabled us to find historic continuity, the link to Marx's Humanism."

Julia Jones
Oakland, Calif.

Adrienne Rich's Foreword and Raya's Introduction create a dialogue that opens doors for all serious readers to enter. Rich stresses Raya's method of thought which she vividly presents as essential to the movement for freedom: "at certain moments if we are lucky we catch the experience of how it would feel to be free, Raya...never let go of 'how it would feel,' and she wanted that to be the normal experience of every human being everywhere." Raya clearly felt also that an organizational context was essential to that goal—an organization or organizations which made philosophy of liberation the foundation. Carrying this out, projecting its necessity to others is the central perspective for Marxist-Humanists today.

Susan Van Gelder
Detroit

Until I began studying Marxist-Humanism, I never saw the Idea of Freedom as something total, something that needs to be practiced in every aspect of our lives as revolutionaries, including in the relationships within the revolutionary organizations. We always had problems in the Iranian movement, with not being democratic in our organizations, but we didn't relate this to a lack in our grasp of the Idea of Freedom. *News & Letters* has been writing recently about the world's rulers attempting to kill off the Idea of Freedom. I now see that if there is something missing in our own understanding of that Idea, it makes it all the easier for the rulers to accomplish their aim.

Iranian revolutionary
Los Angeles

BLACK DIMENSION AT HOME AND ABROAD

In spite of all the efforts of the Christopher Commission in Los Angeles and the Kerner Commission before it, no investigation of police departments has ever "reformed" those departments in any fundamental way. It is true that investigations have rooted out glaring cases of corruption, but the alienating role played by the police force in a society divided along class, race and sex lines can't change without transcending that society. The police as a special armed body exist because of these antagonistic social divisions, and hence, are an arm of the state. Thus, we find that the police force in its "battle against crime" ignores the legal rights of minorities and clamors for the curtailment of civil rights, allegedly to catch the criminal.

No amount of "reform," whether it be racial and sexual integration or the

psychological counseling of police officers, can change the social role of the police force.

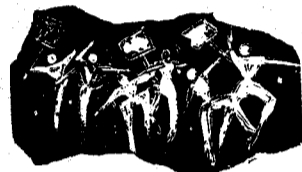
John Alan
Berkeley, Cal.

On December 16, 1990, Haitians elected Fr. Jean Aristide as President. Two months after, in February, he took office. Shortly thereafter financial aid from different countries including the U.S. was held. This was a way to destabilize the Haitian government.

Meantime since March, Haitians here in New York and in various states started organizing. We did a scary thing. Haitians here in the U.S. and in other parts of the world pulled some money together—a dollar, two, whatever we can give and we sent it to Haiti. This is still ongoing. This was really phenomenal. You see, Haitians here in New York as well as in other states seem not so close to one another; but when this happened, we were able to act together as a group. It is not an amount which was enough to support Aristide's government. He will still need foreign aid. But through our mass action we were able to show our support for him so that in May, several countries, including the U.S., released financial aid to the Haitian government.

Haitian subscriber
New York

YOUTH LIBERATION



Youth activists from all over the continent will converge at the Youth Liberation Gathering in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, Aug. 9-12. The conference is being organized by the publishers of *Youth Lib 'zine* and others. All are encouraged to attend. There will be workshops on youth and the law, racism, sexism, homophobia, psychiatric oppression, etc. Free space will be available for spontaneous workshops. The conference will be held at the Great Canadian Theatre Company, 910 Gladstone. After August 9, call (613)236-5192.

Tom Parsons
Bay Area

FERMENT IN THE EAST

In a trip to the USSR I met some pro-labor people who were very naive about U.S. capitalism, the role of the AFL-CIO etc. and very eager for exchanges and learning. The miners and other strikers certainly show their opposition. My own view is that the Stalinist nomenclatura wants to keep its power and legitimize its privilege by doing away with the dangerous myth of "Communism" and turning state-capitalism into private. This means the "commissar" stays right where he is, but changes his title to manager with big stock holdings, while the workers get more speed-up and now unemployment and high prices...The masses may still have their own solution. They may try to privatize from the bottom up, which would be a real class revolution. Otherwise I fear they will have to live through a private capitalist period before they can assert their hegemony, which depends on unity with Western labor.

Politico
Connecticut

The Slovenes and Croats have voted overwhelmingly for independence. The attempt by the federal government and the army to keep them in the federation by force—war in fact—must be condemned. Slovenia and Croatia have been pushed toward secession by the ugly Serbian chauvinism of Slobodan Milosevic. However, the break-up of Yugoslavia into little nation-states can only bring new troubles. The rulers in all the republics want to bury the idea of workers' self-management, when the socialist alternative would be to give it real substance by extending it throughout society. Although the various nationalists are making all the sound and fury just now, Yugoslavia is a country with its own Marxist humanist tradition, which can point the way to a future based on free co-operation between nations, as between individuals.

Richard Bunting
England

Essay Article

The 'End of History' or 'New Beginnings'?

by Dave Black

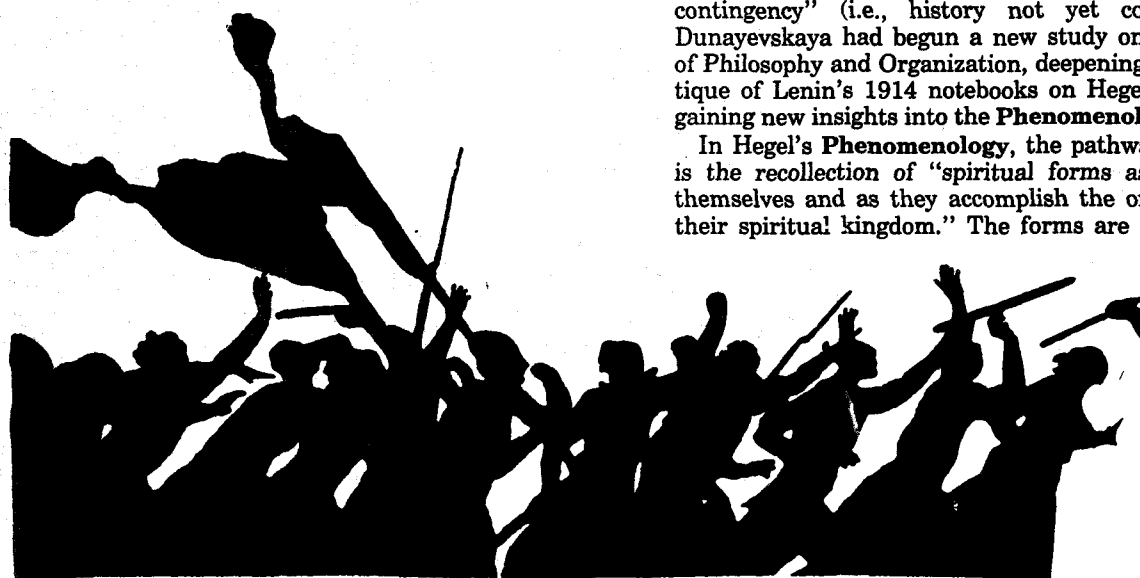
It is as free individuals developing all their natural and acquired talents that we first leap from what Marx called the pre-history of humanity into its true history, the "leap from necessity to freedom."
Raya Dunayevskaya
Marxism and Freedom

The class struggle, which is always present to a historian influenced by Marx, is a fight for the crude and material things without which no refined and spiritual things could exist. Nevertheless, it is not in the form of the spoils which fall to the victor that the latter make their presence felt in the class struggle. They manifest themselves in this struggle as courage, humor, cunning and fortitude. They have retroactive force and will constantly call into question every victory, past and present, of the rulers. As flowers turn toward the sun, by dint of a secret heliotropism the past strives to turn toward that sun which is rising in the sky of history. A historical materialist must be aware of this most inconspicuous of all transformations.

Walter Benjamin,
Theses on the Philosophy of History

I. HEGEL'S PHENOMENOLOGY —EXTERNALIZATION AND RECOLLECTION

Francis Fukuyama's essay, "The End of History," was published in the right-wing *National Interest* magazine in 1989. As a "Hegelian" analysis of the collapse of Communism (which was well under way by then), it was widely reproduced and discussed internationally. The essay's title has become something of a buzz-phrase among media pundits, although the Left has taken him less seriously. Christopher Hitchens describes him as the "Dr. Pangloss of the Bush years"—a comparison which ignores Fukuyama's powerful position as a planner for the U.S. State Department and the Rand Corporation. The fact that Fukuyama returned to the opinion pages following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait with nothing less than a call to arms may indicate that he is be-



coming more than just the intellectual flavor of the season.

In the "End of History," Fukuyama concerns himself with "the Hegel who proclaimed history to be at an end in 1806" in the *Phenomenology of Mind*, as interpreted by Alexandre Kojève (whom Fukuyama studied under in Paris in the 1960s).

Fukuyama writes: "Hegel saw in Napoleon's defeat of the Prussian monarchy at the Battle of Jena the victory of the ideas of the French Revolution and the imminent universalization of the state incorporating the principles of liberty and equality. Kojève, far from rejecting Hegel in the light of the turbulent events of the next century and a half, insisted that the latter had been essentially correct. The Battle of Jena marked the end of history because it was at that point that the vanguard of humanity (a term quite familiar to Marxists) actualized the principles of the French Revolution."

Since then, Fukuyama maintains, "attendant revolutions and upheavals" have "simply had the effect of extending these principles spatially" and he makes it clear that he expects a further extension to result from the victory of the U.S.-United Kingdom axis in the Gulf War (something which now seems ludicrously obscene given the "post-war" genocide in the Kurdish regions).¹

Kojève, in his reading of Hegel, observed that "Historical progress, which represents what is truly historical or human in history, is a mediation by knowledge or by comprehending memory."² Kojève is referring to the final section of Hegel's *Phenomenology* in which the dialectic of philosophy and history culminates (as Kojève puts it) in "a present that realizes a progress in relation to the Past." In this Absolute Knowledge, History and the "Science of the ways in which knowledge appears" are jammed up against each other as the Recollection (i.e., internalizing/comprehending memory) and Golgotha of Absolute Spirit.

Kojève sees the central movement in Hegel's philosophy as the dialectic of the *Phenomenology* and the *Science of Logic*: "...the Infinite in question is Man's infinite. And hence the 'Science' that reveals this infinite-being is a Science of Man in two ways: on the one hand, it is the result of History—that is, a product of man; and on the other, it talks about Man: about his temporal or historical becoming (in the *Phenomenology*) and about his eternal

being (in the *Logic*)."³

It is obvious that Kojève owes more to Heidegger than to Marx or ultimately even Hegel. Even in a rational society in which the scarcity of "good things" is abolished, Kojève sees a danger of human regression into an animal-like state unless the subject remains opposed to the object and "pure forms" oppose content. As in Heidegger, alienation is elevated from its specifically capitalist form to a universal human condition for all time.

Whereas Kojève sees Absolute Knowledge as the End of History, the Marxist philosopher Georg Lukacs contends that it "amounts to the self-annulment of history." In Lukacs' *The Young Hegel*, the key concept is "externalization": "The enlightenment, capitalism and the French Revolution formed the climax of the journey toward the abolition of every sort of natural immediacy and the realization of 'externalization.'"⁴

Lukacs contends that "objective society" becomes the real substance "on behalf of the subject." Only by "estranging itself" can the subject "recognize itself in theory and practice to be identical with substance." Although he doesn't object to internalizing recollection as summation of the past, he rejects it as "something which is internal, which is nothing other than the supercession of the forms of objective reality so created and their reintegration into the subject."⁵

What Lukacs is so opposed to here is what Marx praises in his 1844 *Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic*: "The greatness of Hegel's *Phenomenology*, and of its final result—the dialectic of negativity as the moving and creative principle—lies in this, that Hegel comprehends the self-production of man as a process, regards objectification as contra-position, as externalization, and as the transcendence of this externalization; that he, therefore, grasps the essence of labor and conceives objective man, true, actual man as the result of his own labor."⁶

In 1987, Raya Dunayevskaya tackled Lukacs' analysis of the relationship between "Science" and "History as contingency" (i.e., history not yet comprehended). Dunayevskaya had begun a new study on the question of Philosophy and Organization, deepening her 1953 critique of Lenin's 1914 notebooks on Hegel and thereby gaining new insights into the *Phenomenology*.

In Hegel's *Phenomenology*, the pathway to the goal is the recollection of "spiritual forms as they are in themselves and as they accomplish the organization of their spiritual kingdom." The forms are conserved not

only as history but also "from the side of their intellectually comprehended organization," i.e., as "Science." Organization then, is integral both to the recollection/conservation of previous forms as well as to Science as Organization of Thought.

Dunayevskaya contends that Hegel's concept of "Science" represents a new beginning rather than the self-annulment of history or the abolition of objectivity: "Heretofore the expression 'the two together' or both together was taken to mean practice as well as theory. In fact it isn't practice, it is Science as well as philosophy, recollection as well as consummation (that) must undergo the Crucifixion and be 'born anew.'"⁷

In his 1990 Essay-Article in *N&L*, Peter Wermuth gleans from this "the integrality of Thought (Science) with the entire body of Ideas (Philosophy)." He argues that with the last paragraph of the *Phenomenology* we encounter "not so much the unity of theory and practice as the synthesis of the concept of organization with the organization of thought."

II. LENIN AND ORGANIZATION — YESTERDAY AND TODAY

"Solidarity, Portugal and Iran!" shouted Spud; "revolutionaries all in the business of trying to butcher half a horse. Why do they stop at self-determination for the nation? Or for the party leadership? Why not self-determination for the self? After all it's the self that has all the ideas and not the other way around." Satisfied with making his point, he lowered his voice: it was the shipyard anyway that made him raise his voice: they were all going deaf.

Robert Else, *Slipways - a novel*

Lenin, in his 1914 Notebooks of Hegel's *Science of Logic*, saw the economic categories of Marx's *Capital* as rooted in Hegel's *Logic* (as did Lukacs). Just as later in *Imperialism* Lenin saw monopoly imperialism creating the objective conditions for the transition to socialism, the bankruptcy of thought in the Second International, and himself, as the Great Divider of the socialist movement, reaching lower and deeper for new revolutionary subjects whose arrival was heralded by the 1916 Irish Rising, so earlier in 1914 he had insisted that one can't understand *Capital* without Hegel's *Logic*. In the

3. *Ibid.*
4. *The Young Hegel*, part IV (4). Merlin (London), 1974.
5. *Ibid.*

6. "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic," p. 309. Appendix to *Marxism and Freedom*, (1958 edition) by Raya Dunayevskaya.

7. Quoted in "Towards philosophic new beginnings in Marxist-Humanism" by Peter Wermuth, *News & Letters*, June 1988. See also his "Internalizing the Idea of Freedom," *News & Letters*, January-February 1990.

externalisation of the Idea in Nature (which is where Hegel's *Logic* ends), he saw the movement from theory to practice.

Lenin was unaware of Marx's critique which praises the "definite concepts" of Hegel's *Logic* as representing "the necessary result of universal alienation of the human essence and hence, also of the human being," in which having won the battle of ideas, Spirit, in its "infinite boredom," can only become the other of itself, i.e., Nature.

In Hegel's *Philosophy of Nature*, genus divides into species which in turn divide into individuals, who must develop human society before any notion of universality can come about. The individual can only overcome the disparity between finitude and universality by going beyond "abstract objectivity in which its activity has become deadened and ossified and the process of life has become the inertia of habit..."⁸

In Hegel's *Encyclopaedia of the Philosophical Sciences*, Nature, which is preceded by Logic, is then followed by the *Philosophy of Mind*. Here Anthropology is followed by a summary of Hegel's *Phenomenology* (before going on to Psychology) as stages of Subjective Spirit. This is followed by Objective Spirit, which includes Law and Ethics. Then in the final section on Absolute Spirit, religion is emptied of all contingency and chance until only the form of necessity and rational thought remains. The movement from Logic to Nature to Mind is presented as a syllogism: the Universal (*Logic*) expresses its Individuality (Mind) through the mediation of the Particular (Nature).

As Lukacs points out, Lenin in his notes on causality and teleology (in the *Logic*), recognizes Hegel's syllogism as containing the "germs of historical materialism." He refers to Hegel's insistence that since the end is finite, it is the means which, as "the external middle of the syllogism," is the manifestation of reason and the absolute since they are both preserved "in the external other." Thus "the plough is more honourable than those immediate enjoyments which are procured by it.... The instrument is preserved while the immediate enjoyments pass away.... In his tools man possesses power over external nature, even though, as regards his ends nature dominates him."⁹ In the summary at the end of Hegel's *Encyclopaedia*, Nature appears as the "transition point and negative factor and as implicitly the Idea" and standing between Logic and Mind it "sunders them."

Lenin sees Hegel "stretching a hand to materialism" in making Nature the mediating term. Hegel sees Nature as "unconscious spirit" or (as he puts it in the closing sentences of the *Logic* which Lenin ignored) "the externality of space and time existing on its own without the moment of subjectivity."

Nature is presupposed by Mind in the second syllogism (Nature-Mind-Logic). Mind reflects on itself in the Idea and as "subjective cognition" achieves liberty as "the aim, and which is itself the way to produce it."

It isn't because he doesn't think Mind is an honourable enough tool that Hegel isn't content to leave it at the middle term. Rather Hegel had become increasingly concerned in the last years of his life about retrogressive tendencies in subjective idealism such as the irrational intuitionism of Jacobi. Dunayevskaya says: "...Hegel is now saying that by itself, as great as mind is... it's like ordering someone to suddenly walk on his head... I isn't going to help unless it's united with something."¹⁰

In the third syllogism it would be expected that Logic becomes the middle term. However, Logic has already done its job of providing the categories needed to understand reality. Instead we get "self-knowing reason" dividing itself into Mind and Nature and at the same time unifying the two aspects: the "nature of the fact" causes movement and development which are "equally the action of cognition."

Lenin stopped at the "transition point or negative factor" in the movement from theory to practice in the Absolute Idea. But in (historical) actuality the transition results in the annulment of the unity of theory and practice because the vanguard party (under Stalin's leadership) divides the new society along the class line of mental and manual labour.

Latterday Leninists (including the genuine anti-Stalinists) attempt to turn dialectics into an applied science administered as the ideological tool of the Party. They are thus trapped in a false continuity. A genuine continuity must (as Dunayevskaya puts it) be proven in "discontinuity, i.e., working it out anew." As opposed to method as applied science and Fukuyama's "extension of principles," Marx looked to actual revolutions and workers' struggles. Writing of the Paris Communards he wrote, "They have no ideals to realize" except to "set free the elements of the new society." Marx is uncompromising on Hegel's "separation of thinking from subject" and Hegel's refusal to grant the Absolute a real content of real people. Whether or not Enzo Paci is right when he says "the soul is nothing but nature negating itself as negation, i.e., nature reflecting on itself,"¹¹ it is important to stress that for Marx, "...Nature taken in its abstraction, for itself, fixed in its separation from man is nothing for man" and that "history is the true natural history of Man." Absolute negativity "the expression of the movement of history" was not yet the "real history of man as given subject, but only man's act of creation."¹²

8. Quoted in Enzo Paci, "Anthropology, dialectics and phenomenology in Hegel," *Radical America*, 1970.

9. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 189.

10. Dunayevskaya's presentation on "Hegel, Marx, Lenin, Fanon and the Dialectics of Liberation Today," *News and Letters Bulletin*, February 1977.

11. Paci, *op.cit.*

12. Quoted in *The Young Hegel*, p. 560.

1. "Forget Iraq — history is dead" and "The World Against a Family," *Guardian*, London-Manchester, 7 and 13 September 90.

2. Introduction to the Reading of Hegel, Ch 6. Basic Books, 1969.

Spiral of violence and racism in L.A.

by Gene Ford

Los Angeles, Cal.—The crisis in Black thought is reflected in the deadly crises in Black life today. Over the past few weekends in particular, in the Los Angeles area, we have seen the violent deaths of many Black and Latino youth. The last weekend in June 28 died; the fourth of July weekend 38 died in four violent days; and the following weekend about 15 mostly Black youth were shot or injured while attending the movie "Boyz n the Hood" which depicts "how to survive" in South Central Los Angeles.

The message, that Black youth, males in particular, (not also females) are an "endangered species" whose life expectancy is imprisonment or death at the hands of their Black youth, is shocking but nothing new. What is shocking is that the death rate of Black youth is increasing at a drastic rate. The number of victims of drive-by shootings is growing: 690 this year.

Many in the Black community, Black politicians in particular, had campaigned on a law-and-order ticket to increase police "protection" in the Black community. This theory has blown up in their faces with the Rodney King case which exposed the racist abuse and mentality of all within the police force, from Police Chief Daryl Gates to the rank-and-file officer on the street.

In July, the Christopher Commission Report called for the resignation of Daryl Gates, whom they in no way were attempting to investigate. But the trail of racist incitement led to the top of the barrel of rotten apples.

A plague of racist statements was revealed when rank-and-file officers communicated openly and for the record via computers between patrol cars. One stated that to kill a Black was to catch a slave for the "afterlife." That racist mentality shows just how much the Civil War of the 1860s needs to be completed.

The sexist attitude towards women by the macho L.A. Police Department which claims "to protect and serve" was also revealed in these recorded computer communications. One remark was: "Best wife-beating I ever saw. She looked like a whipped slave."

The resignation of Daryl Gates will happen. But this will not solve the problem of police abuse in the Black community. The legal dismantling of past abuse is in any ways self-defeating: this is where the masses have been defeated by the laws of the state in the past. Today the masses are not pouring into the streets behind calls for a Police Citizen Review Board, which reflects a certain rethinking on their part.

The Christopher Commission Report, as with theerner Commission Report following the 1967 Black rebellion in the U.S., will not solve the problems of a young, angry, Black population in Los Angeles, deeply frustrated and seeing no future under capitalism beyond the fast life of get-rich-quick and die young.

The state of law and order in this country is in a high stage of contradiction. Even the highest law-and-order body in this land, namely the Supreme Court, rules against nature. Nothing should be Supreme (not

even God) to masses of people and their march towards freedom. Masses as Reason transformed into a universal concept of Freedom, not a Commission report, can change Black reality.

A revolutionary youth

Los Angeles, Cal.—I'd like to stop all types of discrimination. But most of all, I am concerned with discrimination against youth.

I think adults hated the discrimination and treatment they were subjected to when they were youth. But now they act so unconcerned about our problems and the hell we have to live through day to day. It's almost as if they have forgotten what it's like to be a youth. They've forgotten the problems that bothered them and now bother us.

I went to a Fourth of July "celebration" at the Hollywood Bowl with my mom. During the national anthem I refused to stand, so my mom pulled me up by the back of my jeans. I just stood there, so my mom ordered me to sing. I yelled out: "Bombs bursting in the air." It caused quite a sensation.

It's discouraging, what happened to the anti-war movement. It seems to have disappeared as fast as it appeared. One day we are all united, fighting against U.S. imperialism, the next day: nothing. What happened? One thing that I noticed in the anti-interventionist movement is that you weren't anybody if you weren't in a group. Also it seemed as if the different groups were just there to recruit people, not organize protests.

There was the same problem at the L.A. Student Coalition, with different radical parties trying to take it over. It's always the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade against the Young Socialist Alliance, and the students are caught in the middle.

What's wrong with this picture? It doesn't benefit the students. And it's their organization. It seems to me that these people are just more interested in recruiting for their party than in finding out what the students are doing.

I heard a definition of communism that it is where everyone works according to ability and gets according to need. But what if you have the ability to be both a garbage man and a doctor, and a garbage man is needed, then which do you become?

And who decides what you become anyway? And who decides what your needs are? And if someone else does, then you become the underclass and they become the ruling class. —Lynn, 15-year old

Black World

(continued from page 1)

he would have to be taken out "feet first." Only his own utter disillusionment with the fate of the judicial protections of civil rights can explain his reversal of his oft-stated historic responsibility.

Nor did Thomas's selection merely come out of the blue. Bush already had in hand a list of "ideologically correct" reactionary judges to fill any vacancies on the Court. In fact, Reagan and Bush had long been grooming Thomas for precisely this moment.

What we have learned is that nothing is "irreversible." The two-way road connecting the Black struggle in the U.S. with that in South Africa shows any Black South African looking at the current



DeKlerk and Buthelezi, 1990

crisis in Black civil rights in the U.S., brought to a head by the nomination of Clarence Thomas, that there is nothing "irreversible" about gains negotiated with the ruling class. More importantly, the opening that allows the reversal originates within the Black dimension itself.

So deep a retrogression in civil rights could not have proceeded so far had not the Civil Rights Movement remained unfinished. Any social perception of Black reality which does not comprehend this risks succumbing to the ideological contradictions of the Reagan-Bush era.

The Thomas nomination has already begun to separate the wheat from the chaff in Black leadership. The only thing to match the pusillanimous "neutrality" of the National Urban League is the immobilization of the NAACP over the Thomas nomination, while Jesse Jackson tells us that any struggle against Bush's racism isn't worth the polarization of American society it will cause. Wake up, brother! This country has never been more racially polarized than at this moment. Which is why there must be the strongest opposition to the nomination and ideology of Clarence Thomas.

However, those of us who oppose Thomas and his retrogressive ideology would do well to recall the words of Mary Frances Berry, the one member of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission who immediately protested Thomas's nomination: "The history of civil rights legislation is conservative, not radical. The whole purpose (is) to keep the debate off the streets and off the picket lines and move it to the courts in the interest of public peace." The question is: Will the current crisis in civil rights spill over into the streets?

Left Greens meet

Chicago, Ill.—Several dozen people gathered here July 3-7 for the Left Green Network's Third Continental (meaning Canada and the U.S.) Conference. Panel discussions ranged from "Ecology and Feminism" to "Anti-Racism and Green Justice" to "Ecology and Critical Social Theory." Much of the rest of the discussion centered around adopting a program and amending the network's statement of principles.

The most exciting aspect of the conference was the presence of young people (most participants appeared to be under 30) who, in this counter-revolutionary time, are dedicated to transforming society. They were with the Left Greens, not just the Greens, because they are opposed to capitalism and do not wish to separate questions of ecology from the needed uprooting of alienated human relations, especially sexism and racism.

What was disturbing was that only one of the attendees (a featured speaker) was Black, and that sexism was still present, though it was challenged by a number of young women. They confronted the male decision-makers on why it was that the panel dealing with feminism was the only one held the first night of the conference when most people weren't there yet, and on why the discussions were heavily male-dominated.

One of the most creative ways women fought back was to rewrite the Left Green statement on Women's Liberation. One reason they gave for rejecting it was that it sounded like it was written by a bunch of white men who were going to fight for women, not like it included women fighting for themselves. They also rejected the statement because it was titled "Social feminism" (which they changed to "women's liberation"), and used the phrase "woman's relationship to nature." Implicit in their critique was a rejection of women as object/other; "We also struggle for, support, and learn from autonomous feminist organizing..."

Also disturbing was that reality seemed so far away from the discussion. The meaning of the war against Iraq was never taken up. Very little was said even on what concretely is happening to the environment! At the same time, agonizingly long sessions were held on the proposed program. Some of the youth, mostly women, were upset that the program attempted to give a detailed blueprint of the new society.

Consequently, an abstract conception of the new society was substituted for a vision of the future rooted in the new that is immanent in reality. However, some youth were interested in having a dialogue on philosophical differences. —Marxist-Humanist participants

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Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

In June and July, armed clashes between the Yugoslav army and Slovenian forces killed scores of people as the army tried to force the tiny northern republic of Slovenia to take back its declaration of independence. Despite its heavy-handed use of tanks and aircraft, the army was fought to a stalemate by lightly armed Slovenian forces. This was in large part because the army troops, most of them draftees, were reluctant to fight in a civil war not of their making, while the Slovenian forces enjoyed overwhelming support among the local population.

Another crisis is brewing over Croatia, which has also declared independence. It is likely that Yugoslavia will soon split into three or more parts: Slovenia, Croatia and a greater Serbia, the latter including most of the rest of what was Yugoslavia. There is also a longstanding rebellion in southern Serbia among the mainly ethnic Albanian population of the Kosovo region.

The impending dismemberment of Yugoslavia is occurring along the most narrowly nationalist lines. Serbian nationalists claim that, because Serbs are the largest ethnic group, their "rights" are being undercut by the federal political structure of Yugoslavia, and that they need more power. Slovenian and Croatian nationalists claim that the Serbs "squander" the national wealth supposedly earned mainly in their republics, and that they need to get their "rightful" share of it.

Narrow nationalism, long dormant under the repressive single-party Communist regime, in reality state-capitalist regime, of Josip Broz Tito, first reared its head after the coming to power in Serbia in the late 1980s of Slobodan Milosevic, an opportunistic and ultra-nationalist former Communist. Milosevic liberalized the political situation for Serbs, while cracking down mercilessly on minority Albanians. He has since achieved political domination, as well, over most of those areas populated by Serbs which fall outside the borders of the Serbian republic.

Milosevic does face some opposition at home from other Serbs who are demanding greater democratic liberties. More recently, mainly women protesters came

Chilean miners strike

Over 7,000 Chilean workers at the huge Chuquibambilla open pit copper mine went on strike for two weeks at the beginning of July against COCELCO, the state company which owns the mine. The miners won some pay increases as well as a one-time bonus. Other demands included an increase in the vacation period and greater participation by the miners in promotions and in some aspects of administering the mine.

Strikes at the mine, which produces nearly 13% of Chile's total hard currency earnings, had been outlawed by the Pinochet regime. The government of President Aylwin decided not to intervene. The worsening labor conditions show that workers are the ones paying for Chile's so-called "economic miracle."

From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya

(continued from page 4)

"Self-Thinking Idea" and the "Self-Bringing-Forth of Liberty" as the emergence of a new society. The many paths to get there were left open.

As against Marx's multilinear view which kept Marx from attempting any blueprint for future generations, Engels' unilinear view led him to mechanical positivism. By no accident whatever, such one-dimensionality kept him from seeing either the communal form under "Oriental despotism" or the duality in "primitive communism" in Morgan's *Ancient Society*. No wonder, although Engels had accepted Marx's view of the Asiatic mode of production as fundamental enough to constitute a fourth form of human development, he had left it out altogether from his analysis of primitive communism in the first book he wrote as a "bequest" of Marx—*Origin of the Family*. By then Engels had confined Marx's revolutionary dialectics and historical materialism to hardly more than Morgan's "materialism."

It is no accident that the paragraph that [would be] added to Chapter XII on the Black dimension is the one that at once became urgent to the National Tour [on the Marx Centenary] itself—so much so that I read it out as if it actually were in the book, in my talks on the Black dimension. Nor is it an accident that Charles Denby [Black autoworker and editor of *News & Letters*] suggested it be the center of the new introduction for *American Civilization on Trial*. At the same time, by considering all that Marx had said in a single place rather than separately as they had been expressed in each specific decade you could see the totality, so that it became inseparable from his concept of "revolution in permanence," including his very last work, the *Ethnological Notebooks*.

(The paragraph [would be] added on p. 194 immediately after the paragraph that ends: "...backward lands ahead of the advanced countries.")

With this dialectical circle of circles, Marx's reference in the *Ethnological Notebooks* to the Austra-

Yugoslavia unravels in narrow nationalism

out into the streets by the hundreds in June demanding that their sons not be sacrificed in a fruitless war in Slovenia. Another extremely dangerous factor is the Yugoslav army, dominated by an officer corps of mainly Serbian old-line neo-Stalinist Titoists who oppose all democratic reforms, including even those of Milosevic. They have recently been acting on their own.

These are minority currents, however, and in recent years the Croatian and Slovenian political leaders have responded in kind to Milosevic's aggressive nationalism. By 1991 they were demanding independence. The tragedy is that these narrow nationalist politics have replaced and overshadowed what was once one of the Communist world's vibrant and creative opposition movements.

Since the early 1960s, Yugoslavia's intellectuals and youth, many of them independent Marxists, founded a



Congo in ferment

For years, the "left" military regime of General Denis Sassou-Nguesso ruled this Central African former French colony with an iron hand as a "Marxist-Leninist" state allied to Russia and Cuba. But this regime is today crumbling under pressure from the masses. In a three-month-long national conference, recently concluded, delegates forced a whole series of reforms which have the intention of breaking up the single-party rule which has predominated since independence.

The ferment here is part of undercurrent of revolt which is sweeping much of sub-Saharan Africa, including Togo, the Ivory Coast, Benin and Mali, but one little heralded by Western mass media far more interested in the events in Eastern Europe. In the Congo, mass demonstrations over the past year, which included a very effective general strike, forced the government to the negotiating table.

While sharply criticizing the system and evoking "Western" ideas such as democracy, the 1,500 Congolese conference delegates also relied on some traditional African practices. Instead of voting to decide issues quickly by narrow margins and calling that democracy, they spent an entire three months discussing the issues until a consensus was reached. To some, this evoked the best side of the communalism of the African village.

lian aborigine as "the intelligent black," brought to a conclusion the dialectic he had unchained when he first broke from bourgeois society in the 1840s and objected to the use of the word, "Negro," as if it were synonymous with the word, "slave." By the 1850s, in the *Grundrisse*, he extended that sensitivity to the whole pre-capitalist world. By the 1860s, the Black dimension became, at one and the same time, not only pivotal to the abolition of slavery and victory of the North in the Civil War, but also to the restructuring of Capital itself. In a word, the often-quoted sentence: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black skin it is branded." far from being rhetoric, was the actual reality and the perspective for overcoming that reality. Marx reached, at every historic turning point, for a concluding point, not as an end but as a new jumping off point, a new beginning, a new vision.

Finally, on p. 195 just before the final paragraph of the entire text, please add the following:

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

With this final addition we have come to the question of Organization as likewise inseparable from the concept of "revolution in permanence." August 26, 1983

number of publications and groups, many of which pointed to socialist humanism as an alternative to the authoritarian, neo-Stalinist rule of the single-party regime of Tito. Tito persecuted and repressed these groups.

Today, when there is more freedom of expression than under Tito, nationalism has functioned to derail these debates about a new type of society, replacing them with the narrowest and most immediate type of supposed self-interest. Some Serbian socialist humanists have actually supported Milosevic's government, including its repression of the Albanian minority in Kosovo.

Even more serious is the fact that in Slovenia the government, led by Milan Kucan, a former Communist, has promulgated an amnesty for former Nazi collaborators during World War II, while in Croatia, led by another former Communist apparatchik, Franco Tudjman, there is nostalgia for the wartime home-grown fascist government. The formerly left-oriented democratic opposition, which opposed the system when Milosevic, Kucan and Tudjman were still loyal Communist bureaucrats, has become so disoriented as to let them set the agenda for post-Tito Yugoslavia.

The impending collapse of the system set up by Tito has set in motion political and cultural forces which, while arguing in the name of democracy and national rights, are bringing a multi-ethnic society and region to the brink of a murderous civil war. The net flashpoint is the large Serbian minority inside the borders of the Croatian republic.

Lebanon vs. Palestinians

A major part of Bush's "New World Order" is his attempt to work out a new relationship with Arab leaders in order to put a check on the movement for self-liberation by the masses of the region, especially the Palestinian Intifada. One result of these new relations is the green light given to the Syrian-backed Lebanese Army to crush the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). In recent weeks, Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon have been besieged by the army, and PLO guerrillas have been forced to give up their weapons.

Our media present all of this as the victory of "reason and order" over "terrorism." In fact, it is something far more ominous: the reconstitution of a centralized Lebanese state under the influence of Syria's Hafez Assad, whose record of brutality almost rivals that of Saddam Hussein. According to a report by Ali Jaber written for *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, but not picked up by most U.S. papers, Christian villagers in Mieh Mieh, hardly friends of the Palestinians, stated that in the battle outside the Mieh Mieh Palestinian refugee camp, "the army's special troops mutilated the bodies of their victims, cut off their ears and sexual organs."

The reconstituted Lebanese government has offered nothing to the Palestinians of the refugee camps, who number 350,000. They are still "thinking" about giving them the legal right to employment, something they have even in oppressive lands such as Syria and Kuwait, but first they are to give up their weapons. This will expose them to the tender mercies of the Lebanese Army and the neo-fascist Christian Lebanese groups, whose massacre of unarmed Palestinians touched off the civil war which has been raging since 1975 in Lebanon.

French racism escalates

When the Prime Minister of France, Edith Cresson, proposed a series of steps in mid-July to decrease illegal immigration, she was in reality pandering to the rising tide of virulent racism. Her proposals came only two days after she put forth a plan to charter aircraft for the sole purpose of deporting illegal immigrants.

The "Socialist" Cresson was praised by the neo-fascist National Front for these measures. The ultra-right Gaullist party has also joined in the frenzy, with statements that France has reached an "overdose" of immigrants. The racist mania makes little distinction between undocumented immigrants and long-time residents. It is primarily directed at the Arabs from northern Africa, who make up half of France's four million immigrant population.

Rushdie translator slain

Hitoshi Igarashi, the Japanese translator of the Pakistani-born leftist Salman Rushdie's novel satirizing Islamic culture, *The Satanic Verses*, was assassinated in Tokyo in July. A week earlier, Ettore Capriolo, the book's Italian translator, narrowly missed death in a similar attack in Milan.

These attacks, supported by the full organizational weight of both the worldwide fundamentalist Islamic clergy and states such as Iran, reveal the fascistic, reactionary character of Islamic fundamentalism. That same fundamentalism is vying for power today in Algeria, Saudi Arabia, inside the Palestinian movement and elsewhere. Its main enemies are any form of women's liberation or even secularism, let alone Marxism and other revolutionary ideas.

One of Khomeini's last acts when the book was published in 1989 was the issuing of a religious order to kill the author, an order which evidently still has force. This is not preventing all powers great and small, from the U.S. to Russia, and from Japan to Saudi Arabia, from trying to cozy up to the supposedly "moderate" post-Khomeini Iranian regime of Rafsanjani.