

# NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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25¢

## Woman: sex object or human being?



by B. Ann Lastelle

The testimony of Anita Hill in October before the Senate Judiciary Committee about the sexual harassment she suffered while working with Clarence Thomas, as well as the degrading questions and accusations and the complete lack of comprehension she faced during the hearings, made me both angry and sad. It also brought back bitter memories of my own experiences on the job.

One incident in particular sticks in my mind. As the result of a layoff at the meatpacking plant where I worked several years ago, I was transferred to a processing department, where I was the only woman. Some of the men ignored me, others made good-natured fun of my comparative lack of strength, and still others showed me easier ways to do the job.

A few of the men tried to do my job for me or told me: "This job is not for a woman. A woman can't do this job"—even though I was doing it. I also received some very unwelcome attention from a few men, even after I had made it clear that I was not interested in that kind of conversation.

### WHAT KIND OF WOMAN?

The machine operator whose helper I was for 12 hours a day did not believe that women should be independent or work outside the home, and he was determined to control my every movement. Whenever I protested or became angry or despondent over my situation, he attributed my "problem" to the fact that I didn't "have a man."

After nearly four months of this, he offered to stop by my apartment on his way home from work to have sex with me. When I turned him down, he became absolutely vindictive, telling me that he had never wanted to go to bed with me, that it was just a test to "see what kind of woman" I was.

The company had begun calling people back from lay-off. I went to the union steward and to personnel and demanded a transfer back to the packaging department. I didn't tell them all of the reasons why, because I didn't want to involve management in my dispute with another worker.

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## Southern Africa in the crucible of western-backed barbarism

by Lou Turner

Despite the deepening world crisis which once again puts the Black struggle in South Africa on the political back burner, the spiral of violence in that apartheid land has assumed unprecedented proportions, and so have the contradictions within the liberation movement. State-sponsored terrorism has left hundreds injured and nearly 200 dead just since the September signing of the "peace accords" between the de Klerk government, Gatscha Buthelezi's right-wing Inkatha and Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC). It has also brought South Africa to the brink of civil war.

Despite fresh revelations in the New Nation and the Weekly Mail of the government's "hidden hand" in bolstering Inkatha and in unleashing an outside "third force" of mercenary death squads, the atrocities continue to mount. In investigating the assassination of Sam Ntuli, general secretary of the Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal, in early October, the New Nation discovered a government "hit list" containing the names of Black "civics" leaders. Ntuli's murder brings to more than 60 the number of anti-apartheid activists killed in the last 15 months.

### PRETORIA'S 'THIRD FORCE'

The collapse of the "peace accords" is total. Black commuters continue to be massacred in surprise attacks on trains and at train stations during rush hour. Townships have become the scenes of grisly mass murders by rampaging mercenaries and Inkatha *impis*. One gang, the "Saddam 5," told a mass meeting at a squatters' camp near Bloemfontein that they were "registered" at the nearby Batho police station. Not surprisingly, the South African Police (SAP) have yet to bring a single perpetrator to trial.

Active within the South African Defense Forces' Special Forces are members of the Namibian mercenary Koevoets and the "Buffalo Battalion," made up of Angolans recruited from Holden Roberto's FNLA (Front for National Liberation of Angola). This battalion is instrumental in carrying out the government's terrorist campaign in South Africa's townships, and in Mozambique, supporting the bestial mercenary army of Renamo (Resistencia Nacional Mocambicana).



Woman in Soweto is comforted when a relative is one of ten people murdered by gunmen, Oct. 13.

"The most disturbing evidence of what this would turn into comes from Mozambique," writes Africa Confidential (Sept. 27, 1991), "where Renamo is an example of a (terrorist) unit which ran out of control. It is now proving almost impossible for the Mozambican government to negotiate peace with Renamo precisely because it is not a movement of political origin and cannot easily be dealt with by political means. The same could one day happen in South Africa."

A look at the devastation in Mozambique and the political destabilization in Angola, signalled by the return of that U.S.-sponsored butcher, Jonas Savimbi, reveals this barbarous vision of South Africa's future.

### ANGOLA: SAVIMBI, IMF, DESTABILIZATION

Some 50,000 supporters turned out to greet the Angolan mercenary leader Jonas Savimbi on his return to the Angolan capital of Luanda in early October, after 16 years of carrying out his U.S./South Africa backed counter-revolutionary war against the Angolan people and the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) government. Addressing the crowd, Savimbi had the temerity to declare that "We should be ashamed to have fought among ourselves all these years"! This cynical rhetoric was in preparation for the September, 1992 elections called for in the U.S.-Soviet Union sponsored "peace accords."

Beneath the Bush administration's rhetoric about bolstering democracy in the Third World, "The thuggish character of America's Third World clients reveals American ambivalence toward Third World democracy," contends Stephen Van Evera, writing in the *Journal of Strategic Studies* (June, 1990). "In Angola," Van Evera continues, "the Bush Administration backs an extremely violent rebellion by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi preaches democracy and capitalism to credulous conservative audiences in America, but he runs a brutal quasi-Stalinist autocracy in the territory he controls in Angola. He has murdered UNITA dissidents, and once burned an entire family at a public bonfire as 'witches.'"

Meanwhile, the dos Santos MPLA government has entered squarely onto the road of capitalist development,

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## Thomas/Hill hearings: Black women speak out on the need for a total uprooting

As a Black woman, I am appalled at the way so many men and women in the Black community capitulated to George Bush's drive to get conservative Judge Clarence Thomas on the Supreme Court and turned against the Black woman, Professor Anita Hill, who levied charges of sexual harassment against him.

I have a question for those in the Black community who have supported Thomas: How can anyone ignore the long, documented record of his attitude to women, Blacks, workers, the elderly—to any idea of Freedom?

In all these phoney Judiciary Committee hearings into Thomas' fitness for the Supreme Court, why did no one remind the world of the scurrilous way he opposed a national holiday for Martin Luther King, Jr., when it was proposed during Ronald Reagan's first presidential term? This is what Thomas said then:

"The reason I oppose the designation of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday as a national holiday is that I believe the jury is still out as to whether he was a hero or a villain. I have not forgotten that while Americans were fighting and dying in Vietnam, Martin Luther King, Jr., gave his full support to the North Vietnamese Communists. Is this really the kind of man you and I should honor with a national holiday?"

### WOMEN SPEAK AGAINST THOMAS

The real question is: Is Clarence Thomas really the kind of man Bush should honor by appointing him to the Supreme Court? As a Black mother in Inglewood, Cal. put it:

"Clarence Thomas stopped being Black a long time ago, and all his emotional appeals about racism during the hearings were as phony as a \$4 bill. He showed his contempt for Black women a long time ago in his remarks about his sister on welfare. But relationships between Black men and Black women are so tenuous that I can understand how some Blacks felt it was wrong that the hearings were so open, on nationwide TV.

"Then we had the racist Republicans all of a sudden screaming about racism, turning the tables on the Democrats. Meanwhile the Democrats never did what they should have done in the first place, that

is, investigate Thomas' philosophy. It came down to appealing to people's emotions, not their minds. As women I think we've learned that we have to start organizing ourselves. We have no friends in the Senate or on the Supreme Court."

Another Black woman, in Chicago, told me, "Clarence Thomas' proclamation that the hearings were a 'high-tech lynching' was the button that Bush pushed to garner support in the Black community. It was a very clever ploy."

### DEEP U.S. RACISM AND SEXISM

That cynical ploy worked because of the deep racism and sexism in this country which is represented by the whole Senate. That was seen in the unprecedented, vicious attack on Anita Hill by the Republicans, acting wholeheartedly under Bush's orders; and from the mealy-mouthed Democrats, stung by the charges of racism and thereby contributing to putting not Thomas, but Anita Hill, on trial. Although Hill was questioned by all white men—the men who are part of an old boys' club—she took on each question with thought and dignity. What happened to Anita Hill is no different from what happens at any rape or sexual harassment trial. The woman is prosecuted.

Bush's reactionary drive for a "new world order" is coming home to roost as he exploits the divisions in the Black movement. What has now arisen starkly and needs especially to be confronted is the division among Black women.

A white women's liberationist and long time activist wrote me saying, "We cannot allow ourselves illusions. The polls indicating Black and women's—Black and white—support for Thomas show Bush's ideological hegemony and the deep retrogression in thought. This shows the continuing ability of the rulers to use whatever comes their way to their own advantage. How is it possible? What can we do? The challenge to Women's Liberation, and all the freedom movements, is very deep for the difficult period ahead."

Black women opposing sexual harassment have a his- (continued on page 2)

### On the Inside

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## Woman as Reason

Austin, Texas—About 250 scholars and activists, most of them women, came together here Oct. 18-20 for what proved to be an exciting and important interdisciplinary conference on "Women and War." Speakers included graduate students, professors and activists in struggles on and off campus—especially from the Chicano and Black ghetto of East Austin.

The conference was organized by women graduate students at the University of Texas (UT) who, when confronted with the prospect of war in the Persian Gulf a year ago, decided on a conference as a way to discuss how George Bush's ideological assault has escalated the war on women and obscured our "everyday wars" against Bush's and other rulers' retrogression. They were determined that any meaningful discussion of what to do had to break down the division between UT

### Stop abusive cops!

Berkeley, Cal.—Three women here are spearheading a campaign to have an officer fired from the University of California (UC) police department. In a press conference in October, the women announced three separate complaints against officer Alex Takaoka for sexual harassment and sexual assault occurring while each was held in detention. A flyer was released with a photograph of the officer warning, "Alex Takaoka is Armed and Dangerous. No one is safe until he is fired. It's up to us to get him off of the UC Force."

Kathleen Russell, accused Takaoka of sexually intimidating behavior. "He leered at me, suggestively telling me to 'just relax,' and 'trust me.' His last words were, 'Kathleen, I hope we can meet again someday...under different circumstances.'" Russell, a UC student, was charged with trespassing while on campus during a protest against the Persian Gulf War.

Carol Denney was arrested at Peoples Park, a disputed plot of land which the University owns the title to, but is claimed by homeless people and community activists who have occupied it for 20 years. For kicking a volleyball, Denney was booked on trespassing charges. She complained that while in the holding cell, Takaoka "bashed my head against the concrete wall repeatedly after I objected to his searching of another female arrestee." She was then hog-tied with leather restraints.

Max Ventura was also arrested at Peoples Park and charged with trespassing. She accused Takaoka of digital rape. She told supporters, "While I was handcuffed with my hands behind my back, he grabbed my crotch and jammed his finger up my vagina...his face was waxen and expressionless as he stared beyond me."

Against the backdrop of Professor Anita Hill's charges against Judge Clarence Thomas, the cases of these three Berkeley women, along with that of an Oakland, Cal., woman who was raped in her home by an on-duty Oakland police officer, are nurturing a local movement to confront the issue of sexual abuse of women by cops and government bureaucrats.

The women are planning three law suits against UC. Officer Takaoka has been assigned to desk duty for an unspecified length of time. For more information call Community Defense, Inc. at (510) 644-2606.

—Berkeley radical

# Texas 'Women and War' conference shows opposition to Bush's wars

and the rest of Austin.

Reality was always a part of the conference and made the urgency of fighting retrogression tangible. We were all talking of the hearings on Professor Anita Hill's charges of sexual harassment against

now Justice Clarence Thomas, and the horrible massacre of 14 women and eight men just a few miles away by a man who wrote vitriolically of women as "vipers." Indeed, a woman with two children, a friend of one of the conference participants, had been murdered in the massacre.

One workshop, "Chicanas and Mexicanas Working for Social Environmental Justice," showed the multidimensional nature of people's freedom struggles as the Chicanas discussed how to fight the polluting of East Austin, gave information on differing rates of cancer and are demanding environmental and community accountability from companies even before they build in East Austin. (To read about the "youth at risk" panel held the next day, see the story on page 11.)



## Thomas/Hill hearings

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story that can help us. In the 1960s it was one of the leaders of the Civil Rights Movement (CRM), Stokely Carmichael, who said, "The only position for women in the movement is prone." This was the attitude of many men in the CRM.

Time and again Black women have fought these attitudes. In 1973 the National Black Feminist Organization issued a statement that rings just as true today:

"We are often asked the ugly question, 'Where are your loyalties? To the Black movement or the Feminist movement?' Well, it would be nice if we were oppressed as women Monday through Thursday, then oppressed as Blacks the rest of the week. We could combat one or the other on those days—but we have to fight both every day of the week. We will encourage the Black community to stop falling into the trap of the white male left, utilizing women in terms of domestic or servile needs. We will remind the Black Liberation Movement that there can't be liberation for a half a race."

Enormous damage has been done to the struggle for Women's Liberation. It is doubtful—after witnessing the hell that Anita Hill endured—that many women will take legal action against their harassers. Yet what has emerged and was totally unexpected by Bush and his sexist degenerate cronies is the kind of self-organization that appears to be emerging among Black Women.

### WOMEN IN DEFENSE OF OURSELVES

It can be seen in the mailing from Black women to Black women that has just been sent out widely, asking for donations to put a full page ad in the New York Times and African American papers countrywide to protest Thomas' official seating on the Supreme Court. The draft of the statement is titled, "African American Women in Defense of Ourselves." In the body of the draft they write:

"[W]e were outraged by the racist and sexist treatment of Professor Anita Hill, an African American woman who was maligned, castigated, and slandered for daring to come forward and tell her experience of sexual abuse. Such malicious slander was an insult to all African American women and sent a dangerous message to any woman who might be contemplating a sexual harassment complaint...."

The letter requesting funds for the ad also has a place to indicate that, "I would like to have my name included on a mailing list of African American women to explore the possibility of establishing an African American women's network to more effectively respond to this type of issue in the future."

Professor Hill's bold act threw a spotlight on the whole question of human relationships. Totally new human relations are what the Women's Liberation Movement is all about; that's what gives our movement the opportunity to work out its affinity to Marx's humanism. There simply is no other way to achieve the needed total uprooting of the deeply degenerate state of those human relations today. That need was made agonizingly clear in the reaction to Hill's testimony, and the humiliating abuse heaped on her by the senators. Will this new organization being formed by Black women encourage the kind of deep thought needed to fight the ideological attack that Bush has launched against Black women and all those who fight for freedom?

—Diane Lee

\* To get in touch with these women and/or send money, write to African American Women in Defense of Ourselves, 317 S. Division St., Suite 199, Ann Arbor, MI 48104.

### 'A TIME FOR THINKING'

Passionate discussion poured out after the keynote addresses, one on "Rape and the New World Order" by writer Susan Jeffords. The other, "What Can We Learn from the Anti-War Movement?" was by Chicana author Elizabeth Martinez, an activist since the 1960s. Martinez began by saying she was "still reeling from the past week's events, the hearings on Clarence Thomas and the massacre in Texas," and emphasized that "it feels like a time for thinking."

What characterized the outpouring of comments after her talk was an urgency to work out where do we go from here. So determined were women to do something about the present oppressive reality that suggestions for another conference, or for a meeting specifically on what to do next, kept coming up.

This questioning spilled over into the session, "Witnesses to War: South Africa and the Middle East." There Nour-Eldin, an Egyptian, who with women peace activists visited Baghdad after the war, recounted how the Iraqi sponsors silenced all attempts to criticize Hussein's invasion of Kuwait and the repression of the Shi'ite and Kurdish revolts that followed. Her comments—along with those of Barbara Lubin, who spoke on support for Palestinian self-determination, and Sebitso Matabane, a South African who spoke on her government's attempts to "divert a dream"—unleashed a heated discussion that continued into the dinner hour.

### LET THE DIALOGUE CONTINUE

We spoke on the panel "Anti-War, Anti-Imperialism: Women in Resistance" where we explored, from two different vantage points, Raya Dunayevskaya's work *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* and raised questions on the need for theory and practice to be grounded in the re-creation of Marx's philosophy to be able to fight Bush's attack on the idea of freedom and revolution. Frances Payne Adler, an activist poet, challenged the "silences" academia fosters in women and Carolyn Warmbold spoke passionately of women journalists reporting on revolutionary movements.

While the conference may have been small, it was very objective because it was part of the very thing that Bush fears most: our determination to control our own lives and to create a new society. Women who planned and attended this conference didn't act as if their ideas had been rendered meaningless or as if they had no control over their future. Rather they were fighting against Bush's ideological assault, as well as his actual wars, and therefore manifested the category Raya Dunayevskaya created, "Women as Revolutionary Force and Reason."

For this exciting development to become a new beginning it has to establish continuity with the historic course of human development—with both the history of people fighting for freedom and the development of the Idea of freedom. The "Women and War" conference was one of the most important openings to emerge recently in fighting Bush's degenerate plans for our future. Let's continue the dialogue and the reports of our activities and ideas through News & Letters. Our pages are open.

—Laurie G. and Terry Moon



## Women-Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey

Five thousand nurses in Paris, France staged a sit-in in front of the government Health Ministry, Oct. 10, demanding more staff, higher wages and better working conditions. As we go to press they remain on strike.

Over 10,000 people poured into the streets of San Francisco, Cal., Oct. 5, to demonstrate support for women's right to choose, and opposition to the gag rule, parental consent laws and the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court. The march was organized by over 50 groups and drew very young women and older women who recounted their experiences with illegal butcher abortions. Some signs read: "U.S. out of my uterus!" and "Not every ejaculation deserves a name."

Child tobacco workers in the Jember province of Indonesia have formed their own organization, Paguyuban ("solidarity in the community"), to protect their rights and improve their working conditions. The children, mainly young girls, meet regularly to discuss their problems including: long hours; less than minimum wage; loss of wages if production standards are not met; loss of two days wages for missing one day's work, and sexual harassment which often leads to prostitution.

—Information: Asian Women Workers Newsletter

Overturing 250 years of "sexual slavery," Britain's highest court ruled, Oct. 23, that marital rape is a crime. Supporters of Women Against Rape called the ruling—which denied the appeal of a man convicted of assaulting his estranged wife—a "fantastic day for women everywhere." The women were evicted from the gallery when they "dare" applaud the decision.

Discover the todayness of:  
**Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution**  
by Raya Dunayevskaya

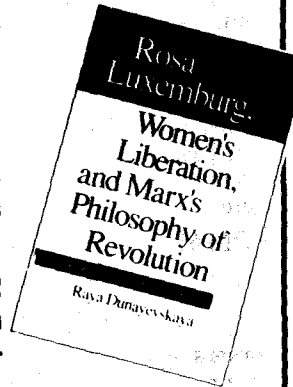
● In Adrienne Rich's discussion of Nadine Gordimer in relationship to Raya Dunayevskaya's philosophy of Marxist-Humanism in Rich's 1991 Foreword.

● In the challenge to all post-Marx Marxists in our age of state-capitalism:

● In Black women's demand that all learn "a new language—the language of thought"—against those who would put any limitation to freedom.

Don't miss this new expanded 1991 edition with previously unpublished writings by Raya Dunayevskaya.

Send \$12.95 plus \$1.05 for postage to:  
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## Columbia U. clerical union in disarray

New York, N.Y.—After working three months without a contract, clerical workers at Columbia University voted (627 to 26) to take strike action. The University has refused to move on its position demanding give-backs in health benefits and seniority rights on layoffs and offering a 3% wage rise to an already underpaid staff, the majority of whom are women and minorities.

The administration, which denies that it pays Black and other minorities on average \$1100 less than white workers for the same job, has made it clear that long-time workers have no place at Columbia and that they can and will be replaced. Ironically it is the union, UAW Local 65, not the University, that continues to remind us of the threat of unemployment.

### "NEW STRATEGIES"

The union, which won recognition after a three-day strike in 1985, has led us on a series of "new strategies"—two one-day strikes. Nearly the whole membership of close to 1,000 came out for the first one-day strike, and many called for a full strike starting then, which took the union leadership by surprise.

The second one-day strike on a Friday, the slowest day of the week, drew less support. The leadership used that to justify its limited action, but some members felt that it was the other way around. Campus life went on virtually uninterrupted; few knew that we were on strike; and the net effect was that the University saved a day's pay.

Demoralization is setting in among the staff who feel that the union is more concerned with not "alienating"

## OCAW: democratic union?

Carson, Cal.—At this month's meeting of the ARCO unit of OCAW (Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers) Local 1-128 we voted to get out of the company's Partners In Change (PIC) committee. More commonly referred to as Partners In Crime, PIC was set up by ARCO and the union as a version of "team concept." PIC has done little over the past two years but organize a canned goods drive for families of those sent to fight in the Persian Gulf and publish a newsletter.

After our vote we were told by an International Rep that the vote was out of order. We're not allowed to vote ourselves out! Why not? He says it's because he signed the agreement with ARCO to found PIC and, therefore, the whole Local (representing workers at over 15 different companies) has to vote on our participation.

At the next Local meeting a week later the International Rep's only words to us were that he knows our fight for parity with wages at other local refineries is important, but there are two things more important: (1) electing pro-labor Democrats and (2) working with the bosses to fight new environmental regulations. Discussion was ruled out of order as he said this under "Good and Welfare," but there's sure been some discussion since then.

Right after the meeting, discussion centered around what the good was of electing Democrats and around the OCAW Secretary-Treasurer's new Labor Party Advocates group. A few weeks later people are still talking about environmental regulations, questioning why we should line up with the bosses. As one worker said, "Any rules that really stop putting this crap into the atmosphere not only protect the environment, they protect us!"

The OCAW prides itself on being a democratic union. Now that our votes are ruled out of order because they interfere with an International Rep's dreams of glory, some people are questioning what "democratic union" really means. —Member, OCAW Local 1-128

## Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

Throughout this whole period of time I felt so confused, isolated and hurt. Even though I "know all about" sexism, deep down I could not understand why anyone, especially someone who knew me and worked with me every day, would treat me, a human being, in this way. This incident so affected me that, when I was offered a good paying job this summer where I would have been the first and only woman in my job, I turned it down, unwilling to put myself into such a situation again.

### WOMAN—OR CO-WORKER?

One woman commentator I heard on the radio discussing sexual harassment in the workplace said that we must remember that we are first and foremost co-workers, and the fact that we are men and women must remain far in the background. Isn't this just the other side of the coin? Just as capitalism fragments workers, using our hands and our backs, denying our minds, so this commentator and the men who see only my sexual side want to divide me up into pieces. Who I am, the way I think and act, is based on the experience of being a woman worker in this sexist, capitalist society. I don't want to have to choose between being a woman and a co-worker. I can't.

Karl Marx wrote that, in response to capitalism's fragmentation, workers experience "...the need for universality, the tendency towards an integral development of the individual..." This "quest for universality" is a rejection of the compartmentalization that capitalism imposes and a striving to bring together all aspects of life and labor, of ideas and experience. Isn't this the basis for developing new, human relations between women and men?

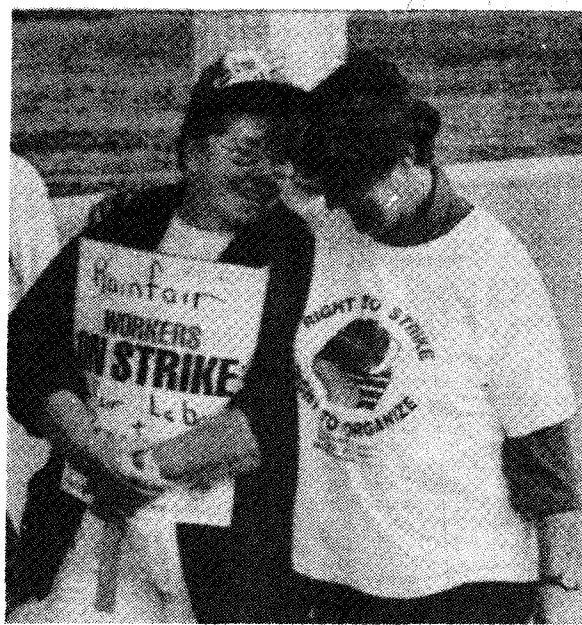
the faculty and students than with listening to rank-and-file voices. This has meant consulting with faculty and even management before the membership. One worker heard of the "surprise" second one-day strike from her supervisor, who gave her extra work to finish up that would have been done on the strike day!

The union waited three months after the contract expired before it threatened a strike, because students and faculty were on vacation. It made no attempt during that time to have meetings, discuss issues and develop rank-and-file involvement. It is as if they can turn us on and off (just as they did in 1988 when they fired us up for a strike and then pushed a compromise contract on us), and then blame us for lack of commitment.

### TOO COSTLY TO ACT?

Whenever militant tactics are argued, the union responds with lowest common denominator arguments, i.e., that some don't support an all-out strike. The failure of the one-day strike to have any perceivable effect has encouraged a feeling that it is too costly to take any action. However, many still feel that the only way to gain momentum and pressure Columbia is to go out on indefinite strike. There are plenty of "new tactics" that could be employed then.

Certainly everyone recognizes that a prolonged strike might not win and could cripple us. Most of us live pay check to pay check. One picket line chant might be "3% won't pay the rent," repeated up to 10%. Perhaps 10% would pay the rent, but the union is asking for only 6%! Closing the University down, reaching out to other workers and to the students from the picket line is surely the only real power we have as a union. That was how we got the union in the first place. —Shelley



Members of International Ladies Garment Workers Union Local 187 have been on strike against Rainfair Inc. in Racine, Wisc. for over four months. The 136 workers, 80% women, many Black or Latina, received only one 25¢ raise in the last 12 years.

### Working Women for Freedom

Why [does the company] always go to the men when they want to raise the standards? Could it be they know a lot of the women feel, "Why build all these extra tires for the company?"

—from a woman worker at Uniroyal

To order this pamphlet, see literature ad on page 7

## U.S. worker to Russians: this is not paradise either

Chicago, Ill.—Last week several co-workers were discussing the Soviet situation. They were talking about how Communism didn't work and now the people are going to have a "democratic" government over there. They were saying it like it was a great thing that was happening. So I got into the discussion.

I said, "Yeah, now they can have a democratic form of government with all the benefits that go along with it, just like we have here." Two of the older workers looked at each other and laughed. They didn't buy this. There was one younger worker there, and his attitude was different. He insisted that it's going to be great over there, just like it is here.

This younger guy said that Russians are always living under the threat of being stopped by the police and asked to show their ID papers. I told him that we have something like that here; it's "show me your license" or your state ID. When I was a kid, I was stopped twice in one block one Friday evening because there was a gang of Puerto Ricans running around ripping off purses. It didn't matter to the police that I wasn't Puerto Rican. It was right at rush hour on a busy intersection, and it made me feel real good to be frisked in front of hundreds of people.

Then this guy said that the Soviet people have the KGB watching them. I said we don't have the KGB here, but we have the FBI and these credit agencies. They know everything about you. Then he said they

## Upholsterers' strike

Emeryville, Cal.—The workers at National Upholstery Co. need your support! They've been at their picket line at 40th and Adeline (near Oakland) since Oct. 11 to put a stop to the owner's attempts to take away benefits and break their union, Local 3 of the Upholsterers' International. This factory employs 50 mostly Latino workers who make 300 pieces of expensive furniture a month, each of which sells for up to \$10,000.

Said one striker: "We get orders in from the White House, United Nations, Oprah Winfrey. This stuff is so expensive they have dozens of supervisors standing over us constantly so that everything is perfect. If something is off by a fraction of an inch it gets torn down and rebuilt. It's inhuman the way they treat us in there, yet they won't give us a fair contract."

The workers I talked to say the scabs are being considered "permanent replacements" by the boss, yet they're confident of victory. One had this to say: "We don't say can we win, we say we have to win, because there are three other union factories across the Bay in San Francisco on strike, too, and the other owners are watching this one to see if he can break us. If we go down, we'd all lose the union and our jobs."

Help stop a scab company! Come to the picket line 6:30 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. Monday through Friday.

—Strike supporter

## Terminated by bank

Los Angeles, Cal.—I will always remember Sept. 26 as a very difficult date when several other workers and myself were laid off from First Interstate Bank. After working for this institution for five years of hard mental and physical labor, stress, bitterness and harassment from the managers, I was notified in ten minutes that my position had been terminated. In other words, my work load was placed on the backs of other workers for the sake of capitalist profit and restructuring.

Many of my co-workers, when they received the news, took this action as the end of their lives and felt hopeless. Many of these people worked for this institution for 10, 15 or 20 years. A friend, a person who used to invest ten hours a day, working under constant pressure, and who was receiving psychological treatment due to job stress, had a nervous breakdown. Others were worried about being able to support their families, to pay their debts and to find another job.

In this time of economic crisis the banking industry and many service sector businesses are suffering great losses. It is a very difficult time for labor. There are no jobs, and the competition among the workers is increasing constantly, which means that our wages are being lowered. Labor is a commodity that has to be sold to the capitalists without any bargaining or negotiation. We are at their mercy.

The majority of the workers at First Interstate Bank are people from the Third World, mainly Asian. Black people are very few. The consensus of many managers is that Black people and Latinos are lazy, but the reality is that Latino and Black people are always fighting back. We are the last hired and the first to be fired.

Women are treated in a very chauvinistic way. All workers are overloaded. Many workers are scared of the future, because even the ones that stayed are under the danger of being fired, especially with the introduction of more automation to compete with other banks.

The tendency of the capitalists is not only to control our freedom, it is also to control our minds and our wills. That is why they want to make workers believe that the company is our family and that we work as a team for our benefits. In reality we all work to be able to survive and for the sake of the capitalist investor. Workers must transform their minds to also transform the world, to build a society without unemployment.

—Manolo Tavares

treat their workers bad over there. I told him that I have to work overtime because my daughter and I have been sick this summer. I owe three different hospitals money, and the company's insurance won't pay for it.

This same guy thinks that minorities are inferior, as do the police in our neighborhood. They call us tamale-rollers, raisinheads, spics, and tell us "Go back to Mexico," "Go back to Puerto Rico," "Go back to the res." It doesn't matter to them that we're Puerto Rican, we're Mexican, we're Native American. We're all the same to them. This is paradise? This is the way it's supposed to be all over the world?

If the people in the Soviet Union knew what is going on here, I think the situation would be a whole lot different. I've been reading a lot this summer, and I think it would be different if the Russian people could read what Raya Dunayevskaya wrote, because I know it's changed my life. One thing that I wish they could read especially is about the dual rhythm of revolution:

"...not just the overthrow of the old, but the creation of the new; not just the reorganization of the objective, material foundations but the release of subjective personal freedom, creativity, and talents. In a word, there must be such appreciation of the movement from below, from practice, that we never again let theory and practice get separated. That is the corner stone" (Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, p. 108).

—Martin Almora

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

by Raya Dunayevskaya  
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

*Editor's note: After completing Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution in 1982, Raya Dunayevskaya wrote a number of letters to friends and colleagues concerning the methodology of projecting Marxist-Humanism as a body of ideas. The availability this year of all three of her major theoretic works in new editions makes especially timely the following critique written to the youth of News and Letters Committees. The document appears in excerpted form; it can be studied in full in The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, microfilm #8185.*

Dear Youth:

June 5, 1984

Please note that the three quotations below are all from our own writings and cover the whole of the 30 years of the existence of Marxist-Humanism. This is done not in chronological order. Rather it skips from the first period of the 1950s, which extends to the 1960s, and then skips to the 1980s. The 1970s, moreover, are quoted not from *Philosophy and Revolution* but from a talk about that work, given to a scholarly, non-Marxist organization, the Hegel Society of America. Each historic period, as it relates to Youth, has its own reason for being where it is, as you will see.

"We feel that the youth are a most precious source of our development. We recognize that even though the youth are not directly involved in production, they are the ones whose idealism in the finest sense of the word combines with opposition to existing adult society in so unique a way that it literally brings them alongside the workers as builders of the new society."

—1958 Amendment to Constitution of News and Letters Committees, adopted 1956

"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... it is on this basis that we are asking those who agree with our principles to join us and take organizational responsibility for projecting Marxist-Humanism because, in truth, philosophy itself does not reach its full articulation until it has discovered the right organizational form."

—Combination of paragraphs added to p. 195 of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* and the 1982 Perspectives of News and Letters Committees

"Far from the unity of the Theoretical and Practical Idea being an ultimate, or pinnacle, or a hierarchy, the Absolute Idea is a new beginning... This is not exactly a summons to the barricades, but Hegel is asking us to have our ears as well as our categories so attuned to the 'Spirit's urgency'... that we rise to the challenge of working out... a totally new relationship of philosophy to actuality and action as befits a 'birth-time of history.' This is what makes Hegel a contemporary."

—My 1974 Paper to the Hegel Society of America, included in *Art and Logic in Hegel's Philosophy*

The reason for taking up a whole page with quotations arises, not because I'm trying to have quotations supply the answer which only a comprehensive outlook can provide, nor because I'm looking for some single "root cause." Rather, the reason is that each must be considered as reflecting the whole body of ideas. What I do then is to single out what needs concretization for the specific time and the particular problem. The methodology, the dialectics of development in both philosophy (Self-Determination of the Idea) and praxis, is what must meet the historic test. The 30 years of hard labor it took to answer the call of each specific decade, as it both summed up and was rooted in the continent of thought and of revolution that the founder of all of us, Marx, discovered, created the ground for anticipating the future. It is this, when measured against the

# On listening to Marx think as challengers to post-Marx Marxists

objective situation, that reveals the future, not "prophetically" but as the future implicit in the present, that is to say, as it logically, dialectically flows from the present.

## I. THE 'WHY' BEHIND THE SINGLING OUT OF YOUTH AS REVOLUTIONARY FORCE IN THE MID-1950s TO THE MID-1960s

The first quotation from the News and Letters Constitution, which singled out youth as a special category in our first decade of unique, philosophically-independent existence that was to become organizational in the mid-1950s, led to the merging of two very, very different periods—one from the reactionary McCarthy period that was designated by the tired radicals as "end of ideology"; and the other initiating the turbulent, revolutionary period of the 1960s. Hold in mind, also, that it was precisely when the so-called "beat generation" with "no ideology" reigned that it was not only the tired radicals, but the scholar-revolutionaries like Herbert Marcuse, who also declared the age to be one of "One-Dimensional Man." We, on the other hand, hit out against such a fantastic and totally pessimistic concept. Instead, we declared that it was Marcuse's thought that was one-dimensional. The new generation that rejected the world they did not make, on the contrary, signaled a new age of revolution.<sup>1</sup> It is necessary never to separate internationalism from nationalism. Had Marcuse (who certainly considered himself an internationalist) practiced internationalism, instead of considering the 1956 Hungarian Revolution just a nationalist opposition to Russia, he could have seen what was in those totalitarian countries of East Europe—the youth initiating the revolution in Hungary. Indeed, some were mere children—only 11- and 12-year-olds—who threw the Molotov cocktails at the very rulers who had taught them in the Communist schools how to make them.

Now reread that paragraph from the Constitution and tarry at the following words—"source," "idealism," "combined with opposition." Here I must stop to explain the history, the ongoing history, as well as the philosophy needed to fully understand "language." As against the political-economic use of the word "source" as something just material, Amilcar Cabral<sup>2</sup> used it in a unique way. He refused to separate it from the live Subject—revolutionaries; he merged source with Subject; he stressed that the youth—children, actually—had passed out leaflets to the Portuguese soldiers asking why they were fighting African freedom fighters instead of fighting their fascist oppressors. Remember also that both Cabral and Eduardo Mondlane singled out women as well as youth. (See Mondlane's *The Struggle for Mozambique*, Penguin Books, 1969, which has a beautiful picture of the women's delegation at the FRELIMO Congress.) It's in that unique way that I used the word "source" in our Constitution when I wrote "the youth are a most precious source" of our development.

As for the word "idealism," it is all too often used as if it meant only bourgeois ideological thought, and as if it were the absolute opposite of "materialism." We, however, added to that word, idealism, "combined with opposition to existing adult society...brings them alongside the workers as builders of a new society." Again, bear in mind the historic period in which this was said—the Korean War, McCarthyism. It was the period also when Marx's Humanism first appeared and that period "objectively" was hardly a propitious period for our birth. Marcuse, for example, was then working on what became his *One-Dimensional Man*, which at first he called "the new technological reality." He was rejecting our interpretation both of the youth and the proletariat, specifically *Workers Battle Automation* [News and Letters Committees, 1960]. So it wasn't only the category of youth as revolutionary force but the youth and the proletariat, and we were singling out youth at a very specific, historic period, showing that the future was inherent in the present. The future, indeed, came very soon, as the 1960s came to be, for which we had the philosophic ground in *Marxism and Freedom*.

The whole question of the late 1950s extending all the way to 1968 is the duality within the revolutionary movement, especially the youth who wanted just activity. We, on the contrary, showed that what is needed is to not be isolated from past as history and as thought. This first has to be rearticulated, not as super-original as Existentialism or Beatism or even just as Hegel describes alienation, but as Marx and only Marx restated alienation as that which characterizes capitalism. Second negativity, on the other hand, is the revolutionary element in the dialectic which he spelled out and saw in the praxis of the masses.

The greatness of our early youth, tiny as it was, was

1. Read my review of *One-Dimensional Man* in the Oberlin College student publication, *The Activist*, Fall 1964. Substantial excerpts were reprinted in *News & Letters*, March 1980.

2. "When the 'return to the source' goes beyond the individual and is expressed through 'groups' or 'movements,' the contradiction is transformed into struggle (secret or overt), and is a prelude to the pre-independence movement or of the struggle for liberation from the foreign yoke. So the 'return to the source' is of no historical importance unless it brings not only real involvement in the struggle for independence, but also complete and absolute identification with the hopes of the mass of the people" (Amilcar Cabral in *Return to the Source*, Monthly Review Press, 1973, p. 63).

the proof of this dialectic methodology that led to the singling out of youth as a revolutionary category. It wrote the brightest chapter then because the newness of Marxist-Humanism was spelled out as a challenge to all others. This led to the issuance of *The Young Marxist Humanist*. It was issued on the most reactionary campus, University of California, Los Angeles, and at once produced a battle of ideas, not only with the Administration, but with bourgeois thought as a whole. For example, it led *The Humanist* to claim that they had the right to the title, "proving" it by their "copyright." Eugene Walker illuminated the uniqueness of our title, stressing it was Marxist-Humanist, and insisting that two very different worlds, indeed, existed in each country.... That was the type of pride our youth had at a time when our body of ideas existed only in *Marxism and Freedom: From 1776 Until Today*, which traced through 200 years of history and showed how it all began in the age of revolutions—the industrial, the American, the French, and the intellectual revolution in philosophy, i.e., the Hegelian dialectic—all of



which laid the ground for the new revolutionary philosophy of Marx's Humanism.

## II. WHAT IS NEW IN THE 1980s THAT CREATED THE CATEGORY OF POST-MARX MARXISM?

Now jump to the 1980s quotation. The essence there—and for us now that we have completed the trilogy of revolution with *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which emboldened us to use the formulation "body of ideas" and "trilogy of revolution"—is this: Not only have the objective and subjective merged, and not only have both been existing in the organizational form called News and Letters Committees, but this organizational form is now directly related to Marx's philosophy of "revolution in permanence" as its ground. The youth especially must realize (that is, practice) what we quote from the 1982 Perspectives: "philosophy itself does not reach its full articulation until it has discovered the right organizational form."

It is that organizational form, News and Letters Committees, which is the test of whether you fully understand what the "body of ideas" called Marxist-Humanism is. To discuss this year's expression of it is surely not an administrative matter (for example, who will do the [Youth] column?). Rather, it is a question of: What ideas, what challenges are to be projected in the column? How will our work in Latin American support committees or the anti-nuke movement be expressed differently from other years when the uniqueness of Marxist-Humanism got subordinated to activity sans philosophy? Why can the critique of the committees we work with, which we express at our own meetings, not be expressed directly to those committees, not in an elitist manner but as ideas for them to consider? In a word, how could the body of ideas be expressed so challengingly by the early youth, when just one book expressed Marxist-Humanism, and we find it so difficult now, when we have the whole trilogy of revolution in our hands? And, above all, how could self-development become so separated from the Universal, or what is even worse, made the equivalent of the Universal? Isn't it because the organizational form of Marxist-Humanism, of philosophy of revolution in permanence, isn't made primary in our own minds? Why should there be any hesitation in asking for subs to N&L?

...Permit me to quote the final paragraph of my letter of Aug. 13, 1983: "When we talk about 'thought-divers' we can see that Marx was the greatest of all. That's what I'm really appealing to the youth to do. Becoming a thought diver and an activist in this period demands nothing short of practicing the challenge to all post-Marx Marxists, and thereby creating such new ground for organization, such concretization of Marx's revolution in permanence, as to find a new way to let the actual revolution be."

## III. THE 1970s: RETURN TO THE PHILOSOPHIC SOURCE

In large measure, the compulsion I felt to return to the philosophic source explains not only the reason for the non-chronological way I presented the quotations at the beginning of this letter, but also the reason I felt the same compulsion to do that at the last class on the

(continued on page 11)

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## Editorial

# U.S./Russia arms proposals seek to disorient masses

George Bush's dramatic offer, on Sept. 27, to cut tactical nuclear weapons, followed by Mikhail Gorbachev's equally dramatic counter-proposal of Oct. 5 calling for even deeper cuts in the nuclear arsenals of Russia and the U.S., is hardly the "race to nuclear disarmament" some are claiming. It instead represents an effort to use "arms control" to get the eyes of humanity off the actions of the masses on the street, who in Russia forced the hated Communist Party from power, and back onto the machinations of the rulers, who are as determined as ever to maintain their deadly hold on power.

## BUSH'S UNILATERAL CUTS AND GORBACHEV'S ONE-UPMANSHIP

Bush's announcement of unilateral cuts in the now-obsolete U.S. short-range nuclear weapons force was welcomed by Gorbachev, largely because it makes it easier for him to obtain control over the nuclear missiles stationed in increasingly independent republics like the Ukraine and Kazakhstan. At the same time, Gorbachev's response represented a remarkable piece of one-upmanship, in that he also called for negotiations to cut long-range nuclear missiles by 50% within seven years, something not envisioned in Bush's proposal.

While that caught Bush off balance, the truly new factor in Gorbachev's response was that for the first time he indicated Russia will give the green light to the U.S.'s further development of "Star Wars." Whether or not that had anything to do with Secretary of Defense Cheney's statement that Russia shouldn't expect massive economic aid from the West unless it agrees to its arms agenda, it is one indication that the present stage of "arms control" maneuvering is opening the door to the development of a whole new stage of deadly nuclear weaponry.

That is also reflected in Bush's Sept. 27 proposal that Russia and the U.S. eliminate their ground-based multiple-warhead ICBMs. The appearance of cutting back on nuclear missiles is belied by the fact that Bush insists this will not prevent the U.S. from deploying a new generation of highly accurate, single-warhead ICBMs, modeled on the Minuteman missile.

Gorbachev has not yet responded to Bush's proposal on the multiple-warhead ICBMs. Whether or not this is due to pressure from the Russian military, it, too, has made it clear it will let nothing get in the way of developing a new generation of deadly nuclear weapons.

Not even the "momentous" events of Aug. 18-20 managed to slow that down, as seen in the announcement, on Aug. 27, that Russia had completed work on the Kur'yev program, which involves the creation of a new ballistic missile similar to that of the Minuteman. According to the Christian Science Monitor of Oct. 7,

Gorbachev has "promised to draw up plans for production of a small mobile strategic missile, as well as other [nuclear] modernization."

This is certainly not the first time the rulers have draped themselves in the mantle of "arms control" while pursuing a new stage of "nuclear modernization." What is new is how they have used these arms control proposals to convey the impression that it is they, and not the masses, who have the historic initiative, even though but a month before the Russian masses helped defeat the reactionary coup.

What has enabled the rulers to achieve this is the unfinished nature of the freedom struggles, not only in Russia, but right here in the U.S. What remains most unfinished of all is the battle to fill the philosophic void within the freedom movements.

Though Gorbachev sought to take advantage of that by using arms control to subsume all discussion of the crises within Russia, he is not exactly the one calling all the shots. Though the Oct. 21 meeting of the Supreme Soviet was originally intended as a forum in which to showcase his arms proposals, its deliberations were drowned out by the refusal of key republics like the Ukraine to participate in it as well as by the emergence of new mass protests within Russia.

## THE NEW PROTESTS IN RUSSIA

The protests are now directed, not at the discredited Stalinist "hardliners," but at their "democratic" progeny, such as Mayors Popov of Moscow and Sobchak of St. Petersburg, as well as Russian President Yeltsin. Popov is being criticized for trying to reestablish an "administrative control system" in the capital; Sobchak is under attack for moving his headquarters into the offices formerly occupied by the Communist Party; and Yeltsin is under fire (as one official, Sergei Stankevich put it) "for relying completely on the old Communist Party apparatchiks." With winter approaching, the Russian masses have clearly not yet had their last say.

Nor, for that matter, have the masses within the U.S. Though Bush certainly expected his dramatic Sept. 27 speech to grab all the headlines, he now has to share them with reports of the deteriorating economy. Which doesn't mean he won't try to issue some new arms control proposal to regain those headlines, especially now that he has convened the Middle East "peace" conference.

Whatever the rulers do, we must not, under any circumstances, allow our thinking to be hemmed in by the horizons of their maneuvering. That requires separating ourselves from any illusions that either the long overdue collapse of Communism in Russia, or the effort of U.S. imperialism to establish single world mastery, in any way makes the world a safer place in which to live.

# Mexico City: Ecological disaster

Mexico City, Mexico—Living in the biggest city in the world, on the periphery of capitalism, is not easy; you have to survive a whole series of extreme situations. Without mentioning the extremely low wages, the high number of unemployed and the daily violence, let's just say that one of the most serious problems is the pollution: Mexico City is a veritable ecological disaster zone.

Mexico City was founded by the Aztecs on Lake Texcoco; furrowed with streets of water, and with floating gardens which moved about at their owners' desire, surrounded by an abundant fauna and artificial forests created by its inhabitants, the beauty of Tenochtitlan astonished its discoverer-conquerors, the Spaniards.

Several decades of intensive and highly concentrated industrial development were sufficient to make of this region an apocalyptic monster, a place hostile to life...Of course, today too there is fauna, but it's composed of an infinity of salmonellas and amoebas which teem in the air as part of the 600 tons of human waste which are daily thrown up in the air as fecal dust ("Confidential United Nations Study 1988"). And this is not the worst of it, as, after all, lead and benzene are even more noxious.

Actually, the complete menu consists of sulphur dioxide, ozone, hydrocarbons, carbon monoxide, nitrogen dioxide, etc. Also, suspended particulates of dust, ashes, metals, cement...But why continue? The point is that there is now no air, if by that you mean what permits the development of human existence; what there is is a toxic mass in which we slowly die amid real mutations.

## CAPITALISM IN THE PERIPHERY

All of this is a typically capitalist product; it is plunderous capitalism in its peripheral version, because if Mexico is an attractive place for the investment of capital, that is not only due to the very low price of labor power, but also due to the "excellent" opportunities offered here to produce savagely, without having to take into account the survival of nature nor of human beings. The devastation of Brazil's Amazon forests, one of the world's principal producers of oxygen, offers a parallel example of the characteristics the accumulation of capital assumes in the marginalized regions of the world market.

The City of Mexico is like a great factory, an enormous swarm in which co-exists twenty million human beings, three million vehicles and half the industrial plants of the country, that is, between 30,000 and 36,000 factories, of which between 1,000 and 4,000 are highly polluting, principally paper mills, chemical plants and rubber processors. Result: the life we inhabitants live is sad, that is, a corporal sadness; we are prone to depression, to sickness (our immune systems are deteriorated), we live—or rather survive—in a continual state of headaches, irritability, listlessness, irritated eyes, dizziness, nausea, respiratory and cardiac insufficiencies...

And meanwhile, the government limits itself to warning us to avoid exercising outdoors, and if possible to avoid going outside. Listen to Mr. Chirinos, Secretary of Ecology: "The level of pollution in Mexico City does not pose any danger; it is true there is an increase in respiratory illnesses, but we do not know whether or not this is due to the pollution." To see is to believe. What is certain is that living in Mexico City is equivalent to smoking two packs of cigarettes a day and that in the past four years the level of pollution has completely passed the limits set by world health organizations.

The generalized corruption in and outside of the government apparatus also plays an important role: the auto pollution inspection stations pass the cars in exchange for a seven to ten dollar bribe. Only nine inspectors without funds or specialized equipment oversee over 30,000 polluting factories. (It seems there's a concern not to "bother" the polluting "industrialists.") Finally, information about the pollution is systematically manipulated: the levels of lead and benzene are not reported, and reports are done on arbitrarily limited zones, which deforms the information. A big pro-government propaganda apparatus has been put into gear to make us believe they are taking effective measures.

## ECOCIDAL BARBARISM

The alarming levels of contamination reached in Mexico City now threaten the conditions for reproduction of capital itself; as in other parts of the world, the augmentation of value is itself threatened by the advance of the destruction of the very planet. The proletariat suffers from afflictions which reduce its productivity. A state of permanent illness increased the cost of reproduction of the working class. That's why it's not surprising that the organs for managing social capital have shown an urgent necessity to contain the ecocidal barbarism. International organisms such as the World Bank are now pressuring Third World governments, who in turn try to discipline the voracity of the private capitals.

However, we are conscious that as long as humanity remains imprisoned and extorted by the principle of the maximizing of profit, the only real option we have, faced with the decadence and degradation of the species and of nature, is a mass movement which fights for radical change in which the "ecologization" of all social and productive life is included, now more than ever, as an essential part of the traditional communist banner of "socialization of the means of production."

—Two Mexican students

# The Black Dimension as Revolutionary and Ongoing Is Under Attack

Explore the Black Dimension's relation to a philosophy of revolution

## Marxism and Freedom by Raya Dunayevskaya

When Clarence Thomas can replace Thurgood Marshall on the Supreme Court...Isn't it time to recover American Black history in the context of an ongoing philosophy of liberation—Marxist-Humanism?

### Read about Wendell Phillips and the Abolitionist movement:

"And by the South I mean likewise a principle, and a locality, an element of civil life...the aristocracy of the skin which considers the Declaration of Independence a sham and democracy a snare—which believes that one third of the race is born booted and spurred, and the other two thirds already saddled for that third to ride...That South is to be annihilated." —page 280

### Trace the relationship of national and international in the Black Dimension:

"We had singled out what characterized Marxist-Humanism from the start—the two-way road between the United States and South Africa. That is to say, the Black Dimension represents the kind of nationalism that is inseparable from internationalism, which in our age is the focal point for both national revolutions and the needed world revolution." —page 4.

### Discover the Montgomery Bus Boycott as Marxist-Humanism expressed it:

"Because the spontaneity of the walkout and the organization of their forces to keep up the boycott was a simultaneous action, it is here that we can see what is truly historic and contains our future...the greatest thing of all in this Montgomery, Alabama, spontaneous organization was its own working existence." —page 281

### Follow Marx's reorganization of Capital under the impact of the Civil War in the U.S.:

"Marx separated himself from self-styled American Marxists who evaded the whole issue of the Civil War by saying they were opposed to 'all slavery, wage and chattel.' His analysis of the struggle for the shortening of the working day comes to a climax when he writes of the relationship of the end of slavery to the struggle for the eight-hour day." —page 84

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## PERSISTENCE OF THE OLD VS. CREATION OF THE NEW

Showing that there has been no fundamental change in what was the Soviet Union, the Lead-Editorial in the October N&L shows the theory of state-capitalism in action. What we see here is an ominous situation. The centralized state is re-asserting and reconstituting itself in a new form without going through even the limited type of dismantling that occurred in East Europe. And it is still a nuclear power.

But the main point that comes across in the article is what happens in the absence of a revolutionary response and a revolutionary philosophy. Look at East Germany and Czechoslovakia, with neo-Nazism on the rise. Private capitalism has not been able to solve any problems and there is massive unemployment. We can see what may be in store in the Soviet Union, where the crisis is even deeper and the Left is totally disarmed, politically as well as philosophically.

Professor  
Illinois

What I appreciate most about the October Lead-Editorial on the "Mass revolt, deep crisis and pull of the old" in Russia today is that it is a "living" document. It is not only a comprehensive political analysis of the recent events. Because those events are explored in a global and historical context, one is able to read one's own place in that history. The only way to truly and totally oppose is to take the responsibility to fill the philosophic void in the freedom movements that gives the rulers their boldness. The challenge is to become the polarizing force for humanity's freedom struggles. But, will we accept that challenge? In reading this Lead-Editorial, I was reminded of a Gramsci quote Raya Dunayevskaya often singled out: "...the philosopher himself...not merely grasps the contradictions, but posits himself as an element of the contradictions and elevates this element to a principle of knowledge and therefore of action."

Cynthia  
Bay Area

Women in the USSR see clearly now that socio-economic, political and cultural discrimination against them exists. Many thousands of women's groups have sprung up around the country. Their organizers are no longer afraid of being arrested as they were ten years ago when I was exiled for this kind of activity. During the coup in Moscow, although they didn't become "national heroes" like Yeltsin or Gorbachev, women took responsibility for their actions at Red Square. We saw hundreds of them holding hands in a long chain against the Soviet military and KGB forces. We saw not only young students putting flowers in the tanks, but older women talking angrily to the soldiers as if they were their sons. It was an impressive picture! It is a great victory for us, who started the process in the 1960s in Russia. Thank you for News & Letters!

Tatyana Mamonova  
New York

The bottom line is that the people in Russia are still not free and in that sense nothing has changed.

Student  
Illinois

Our family was challenged to write to you, collectively, by the opening quote from Dunayevskaya's "Why Hegel's Phenomenology? Why Now?" with which you began your Marxist-Humanist Perspectives printed in the August/September N&L. The "two types of twilight"—one plunging us all "into utter darkness," and the other reaching the "end of a long night"—could both apply today. The strange thing is that the forces of capitalism don't understand the magnitude of the changes taking place within the former Soviet Union and her satellite socialisms! They see it as vindication of capitalism, while it is the opposite, the beginnings of the ultimate collapse of the capitalist world order.

Your use of the important word "retrogression" describes what has happened economically with the "First World" states, where the standard of living goes down and the middle class dwindles leaving the poor and the su-

per-rich. The emphasis of the Bush administration on foreign policy to the negligence of any domestic policy is the sign of the further retrogression.

Certainly what is needed is a humanist philosophy which combines the economic vision of socialist thought with the most sensitive thought on democratic rights and freedom: an economic democracy.

Family for freedom  
Portland, Maine

The October Lead posed the need for Marxist-Humanism to become a "pole of attraction." It made me think of the question often posed to us "but what is your purpose?" We can't just leave it as a need. When you look around and see David Duke, East Germany and the immigrants, women singled out for murder in Texas, bosses demanding that people making \$12,000 a year pay for their own health insurance, you know Raya Dunayevskaya's 40 years of labor to create Marxist-Humanism demands that we have to be out there contending in the world.

Angela Terrano  
New York

## THREAT OF DAVID DUKE

Why has there been no attention given to the incredible happenings in Louisiana, where a supposedly "former" Nazi and Ku Klux Klan leader like David Duke won fully one-third of the votes in the primary and has a good chance of becoming the next Governor? Nothing more shows the terrible retrogression in thought today than what two "Leftists" said when I raised it: One said it's not a bad sign, because it will expose the Republican Party Duke says he represents for what it really is; the other said it was good because it shows the "discontent of the masses"! David Duke himself left no doubt about what he is—he called himself a "white Clarence Thomas" and an "American Boris Yeltsin."

Every day it becomes clearer that we have to find the absolute opposite to what all this represents. You can't do away with the horrors of this society partially. It has to be absolute.

Fred  
Chicago

## WOMEN'S LIBERATION STRUGGLES



At the rally here that was attended by 10,000 in support of pro-choice, I met a young German couple who said that old people in Germany did not participate in public protests such as this one. They asked me why so many elders were protesting here. My first reaction was the Bay Area has a very liberal tradition; but my second reaction is this: I'm 72 years old, and when I was a young woman in my late teens and early 20s Hitler held sway in Germany. Were those who are the elders in Germany today so indoctrinated by the climate at that time that they may still be afraid to protest? When I was one year old my 21 year old mother died of an illegal abortion. When I was 41 I had to go to Tijuana to get an abortion, as I had three children and a terminally ill husband. I am, naturally, in the camp of pro-choice. How could I be otherwise?

Hazel Rogers  
San Francisco

When I heard about George Hennard smashing his truck through a cafeteria window and then gunning down 22 people and wounding 23 more, I thought of the Montreal Massacre. Fourteen women died each time. Marc Lepine killed 14 women engineering students, screaming "You're all just a bunch of feminists!" as he executed them. Hennard, took with him eight men and 14 women. His letter denouncing "those mostly white treacherous female vipers," leaves no doubt that he, too, hated women.

But what are we to make of these "experts" on mass murderers who are "intrigued" by the suggestion that it was Anita Hill's testimony against Clar-

# Readers' Views

ence Thomas' abuse of her that pushed Hennard into his killing spree? What is the message here? Women! If you dare to fight back, if you dare to try to do what only men were allowed to do before, you may die. And if you aren't the one who is killed, the very act of your fighting back will cause the death of others—so outrageous is it to question what is. We have to destroy this rotten death-dealing society and create a new one!

Terry Moon  
Chicago

## ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

I never had considered myself part of the environmental movement. What struck me at the Common Ground Conference in Boulder, Colo., was a discussion with Julia from News and Letters Committees about the whole notion of the environment linking with social issues. At times I've asked, what does the environmental movement have to do with me? The thing is... these capitalists are killing people. That has everything to do with me. The environmental movement needs to come up with a theoretic outlook. On some real basic issues we need to have more discussion.

Black student  
Missouri

## CONTENDING THEORIES OF STATE-CAPITALISM

A. Anielewicz was right that the question of "firstedness" in how Raya Dunayevskaya worked out her theory of state-capitalism long before Tony Cliff's is not what is important—but rather what impelled her to work it out, and what impelled it on to the development of a full philosophy, Marxist-Humanism. But I consider his critique (October N&L) of Callinicos' dishonesty in his book Trotskyism was far too mild. It is clearly not that Callinicos did not "know" about Dunayevskaya's work—but that he was deliberately writing her out of history. Considering that academia is so insistent that it is in "search for truth" Callinicos' work which is a blatant subversion of any such search needs to be discredited in the academic world.

Andy Phillips  
Detroit

I very much appreciated A. Anielewicz's sharp critique of Callinicos' new book on Trotskyism. To a world of reified forms, in which human relations appear as relations between things because that is what they are, it is useless to oppose the abstract, formal Marxism of a Tony Cliff, etc.

Supporter  
Chicago

## WHOSE RIGHTS?

The main "contribution" of Ronald Coase, the new Nobel Prize winner in economics, is the notion that the cost to "society"—in the case of pollution, for instance—is the same whether the perpetrator is fined to cover the cost of the damage he does or whether his potential victims bribe him not to inflict the damage! Sadly, even many environmentalists now accept this twisted logic. At its root lies the denial that human beings' right to a healthful environment takes precedence over capitalists' "right" to make a buck by fouling it. At a time when the rights of women, Blacks, workers, and other are being attacked and taken away, it is not surprising that Coase's attack on the very idea that we have any rights at all has won him a Nobel prize.

Economist  
New York

I recently attended a conference on "The Crisis in Civil Rights" at the Chicago Carter G. Woodson Regional Library. At the panel on "Civil Rights and the Black Community" one of the panelists recommended the following 9 points as a formula for change: Coalition, Congressional Elections, Consumer

Power, Court Systems, Media, Education, International Affairs, Direct Action and Black Leadership.

Trying to reform this capitalistic system whereby each person receives their share is an impossibility and will never happen. The point is: are you with the people struggling for a totally new way of life, or with capitalism fighting to perpetuate itself, although it has long outlived its usefulness? Unless you begin with a change in production relations, nothing else changes either.

Conference participant  
Chicago



## UNDERSTANDING HISTORY

At the Teach-in at Lewis University on "Patriotism and Refugees: The Holocaust," I heard Peter Wermuth speak as a Marxist-Humanist on the historical relationship between the Kurds and the rulers. He showed that the treatment of the Kurds is part of the effort to convince us we have no control over our destiny. The constantly raging battle for the minds of humanity he discussed was so vivid that a student who had served in the Gulf war exclaimed, "Now I know why we patrolled those borders like we did!" Once people start to question the essence of the world which they experience, we are all closer to a truly human society. What it all taught me was that a philosophic perspective is needed for a true understanding of history.

Student for a human society  
Illinois

To be studying working-class history at a university in Arkansas may seem strange because our political leadership is so conservative at the present, but even a surface glance at Arkansas' past shows pockets of time when people tried to take control of their own futures. You see it in the history of Dan Hogan, a Debsian in the mines of the northwest where Debs and Mother Jones made speeches, and in our greatest example of a radical culture, the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. I was very excited to learn that Raya Dunayevskaya was involved in support work for the sharecroppers in the 1930s. Did she do any writing on that movement? If so, how can I get some of it?

Student  
Arkansas

Editor's Note: Dunayevskaya discussed this period in a column called "Two forgotten pages of Ralph Bunche's life story" printed in N&L in March, 1972. It is available in the "Raya Dunayevskaya Collection" of the WSU Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, page 7.

## LABOR TODAY

At a recent meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, mine union leaders from the U.S., Great Britain, Germany, South Africa and Australia pledged greater cooperation to support each other. These five nations account for 72% of the coal traded in the world and represent over 1.2 million miners. I'd like to believe it will lead to a heightened sense of international working class solidarity as well as lay the ground for possible international strike action.

Ex-miner  
Detroit

The Chicago Committee on Occupational Health and Safety held a demonstration at a Labor Department office to protest OSHA's inaction against the plant owner of that horrible fire in the North Carolina poultry plant that you reported on in your last issue. The demands were to jail the plant owner and totally revamp the Occupational Health and Safety Agency. Your article was important in showing the context of that tragedy: a non-union, low wage South where the majority who died were Black women. The problem is revamping that agency under Bush won't work. It will take a new labor movement to win any real changes in health and safety.

Marcher  
Chicago



**WHO AND WHAT WAS ON TRIAL IN THE SENATE HEARINGS?**

A Black man on TV said there are class differences in the Black community and that poor Black people don't worry about sexual harassment. I want him to know I am worried about the aftermath of the Thomas/Hill hearings. Does it mean that if I'm sexually harassed, I'll be powerless and unprotected?

**Angry Black woman**  
Chicago

I was born in 1954, the same year Thurgood Marshall was chief NAACP counsel on the landmark "Brown vs. the Board of Education" case. Since I once entertained thoughts of being a lawyer, Justice Marshall, as the first Afro-American to serve on the Supreme Court, became an extremely positive role model to me and every African-American. Although I admire the fact that Clarence Thomas was able to escape from poverty, he represents someone who has advanced but now would be very insensitive to those less fortunate than himself.

Thomas has expressed that he's not in favor of affirmative action and racial quotas. As a minister on the news said, "He is a quota." Affirmative action, quotas, and welfare are not panaceas for the myriad problems we face, although I have certainly benefitted from affirmative action. The allegations of sexual harassment regarding Thomas shows the low regard that the Bush administration, as well as Clarence Thomas, have for women. As a private citizen, one has the right to not voice an opinion on abortion, but not when running for a position that he can hold for life.

**Joseph Lee**  
California

Bush is one tricky SOB. He managed to find himself a Black man more Republican than he is!

**Black working woman**  
California

When they can't discredit you any other way, they call you crazy. What they did to Anita Hill reminded of what I read in Raya Dunayevskaya's article in

Praxis about how in 1858 an author named Lady Bulwer-Lytton, not only dared to differ with her conservative husband but dared to "go public" and rent a hall for a lecture on her views. Whereupon her husband and son had her thrown into a lunatic asylum! Marx not only defended her, but attacked both the Tory and the Radical press for their sexism. (So much for those who keep insisting Marx only cared about "class questions.")

**Psychology student**  
Chicago

It makes me angry that people wouldn't believe Anita Hill's charges against Thomas. Even my women co-workers don't all realize how much sexual harassment goes on. Both of my daughters have experienced it at work, and one was even fired for bringing up charges.

**Secretary**  
Long Island

The FBI was entrusted to investigate Anita Hill's allegation? Is there any agency that has done more to demonstrate its thorough-going hostility to civil rights? This is the agency that brought us the McCarthy era, wire-tapped everyone from Kennedy to King, did everything possible to disrupt the Civil Rights Movement, infiltrated every Left organization in the country, and just this year was forced to settle an EEO complaint from one of its own agents after he was repeatedly subjected to the most overtly racist attacks from co-workers in both Omaha and Chicago. Yet these fools want us to believe they are serious about "improving the process." What do they have in mind? Using the KGB?

**Jan Kollwitz**  
Illinois

We had better not overlook Clarence Thomas' charge that the Senate was being "used by interest groups and hate mongers" and this is "far beyond McCarthyism." It is a continuation of Bush's attack on "political correctness"

and it's preparation for the 1992 campaign. The "interest groups" Bush attacked right after the confirmation are the civil rights and feminist groups who opposed him. Thomas said what Bush put in his mouth—that they are worse than the KKK, worse than McCarthyism. And this man is now on the Supreme Court! The attack is total, on any dimension of the struggle for freedom.

**Women's Liberationist**  
Los Angeles

Why does "Blackness" give Clarence Thomas the right to do what he did to Anita Hill? Why do you have to be Black before you're anything else, including being a woman?

**Black woman**  
Chicago

In her last year, Raya wrote about the "darkness before the dawn"—and when Clarence Thomas was confirmed, I certainly felt that dark cloud. It hit me like a ton of bricks, especially seeing the polls, that 50% of women, and over 50% of Blacks, supported Thomas. There has been a real retrogression in thinking. I can see how such retrogression gives fuel to the concept of the need for the "vanguard party to lead," but the vanguard party is not the absolute opposite of this retrogression. And what we are searching for has to be the absolute opposite.

**Gene Ford**  
Los Angeles



**THE MEXICAN SCENE**

When Mexican President Salinas de Gortari spoke to his supporters at one of those \$1,000 per plate dinners during his visit here what was clear was that the integration with the U.S. is well under way. He says that the state-run telephones and the airlines have already been sold to foreign companies, and 800 other enterprises at least partially sub-

dized by the state are to follow. Negotiations over selling off the steel industry are underway now. Salinas says this is all for purposes of "disciplining public finance" but the real reason for it is what the economics student from the University of Mexico reported in your July N&L: It's a consolidation of the plan begun in 1982 that sacrifices Mexico's sovereignty, appropriates national resources by U.S. capital, maintains excessively low wages, and pits U.S. workers against Mexican workers.

**Activist**  
San Francisco

Greetings from the "19th of September" Garment Workers Union in Mexico. At our sixth Ordinary Union Congress in September the rank-and-file brought democratic decision-making and participation back to our union and are once again working toward the construction of our destiny. At the same time, we want to ratify our commitment to establishing new and maintaining our old relationships with democratic organizations in the U.S. We look forward to correspondence with workers there.

**Garment workers**  
Mexico

**THE BRITISH SCENE**

N&L knows the crisis in the English National Health Service didn't start yesterday. Some five years ago, some of you picketed the British Consulate in Chicago to support a protest against the victimization of protesters that is still going on. The Labour Party is attempting to score some points over the Conservatives on the current crisis, but are integrally involved. The anti-labour laws and the cuts have protesters hamstringed while people are suffering. The junior doctors work an average of 85 hours a week. Nurses can't stand the strain—about a quarter have departed. Morale is at an all time low. New ideas and new ways of organizing are needed. N&L does its part to help that process. I'm always pleased when an issue arrives.

**Health care worker**  
London

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# Review essay: Uchida misreads Marx's debt to Hegel

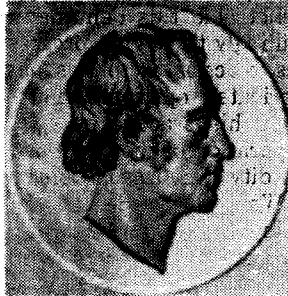
by Ron Brokmeyer

Marx's *Grundrisse* and Hegel's *Logic*, by Hiroshi Uchida (Rutledge, London and New York, 1988) is a serious attempt to address the deep interconnection between the draft of Marx's *Capital* and Hegel's *Smaller Logic (Logic)*—a relation, he points out, post-Marx Marxists have yet to come to grips with. As he shows in the preface, earlier commentators on Marx's *Grundrisse*, like Rosdolsky and the translator Martin Nicolaus, only let the secret out about the mature Marx's unquestionable and deeply organic relation to Hegel. What Uchida does that they did not is to show how the categories Marx used to develop his concept of capital in the *Grundrisse* relate directly to the categories in Hegel's *Logic*.

The strength of this work is its projection of Marx's vision of freedom in a new society as going beyond capitalist relations based on the value form and achieving an end to the division between mental and manual labor. To see the limits of this work it is necessary to grasp how Marx's own idea of uniting mental and manual labor was inseparable from his concept of uniting materialism and idealism—a unity which was bound up with his concept of nature and his encounter with the Hegelian dialectic.

## RECOVERING THE PAST OR VISION OF THE FUTURE?

Marx's tremendous vision cannot be reduced, as Uchida does, to a difference about what comes "naturally." Hegel, according to Uchida, "thinks that the separation of mental activity from physical activity is natural" (p. 12), and the opposition to Hegel that is ascribed to Marx is that "the human mind and body ...[are] naturally united" (p. 13). For Uchida, Marx's vision of the future was merely to "recover" (p. 126) a unity of mental and manual labor that occurred naturally. The only difference between then and now would be a fully developed "scientific system of production" (p. 126).



Uchida's gaping omission is any separate commentary on Marx's startling section on "Forms which precede capitalist production." That's where Marx reveals that in many ways he felt pre-capitalist forms were more advanced than capitalism. However, he also criticizes those forms and those who pose them as alternatives to the capitalist epoch. Each time Marx spelled out his vision of the future it encompassed a break not only from capitalism but from all past forms of human development. Thus, in Marx's discussion of pre-capitalist forms what Uchida ignores is the most strictly Hegelian formulation that is, at the same time, Marx's vision of a future when humanity "does not seek to remain something formed by the past, but is in the absolute movement of becoming."

Uchida needs this omission to impose his idea of the Marx/Hegel relation on the *Grundrisse*. Thus Marx supposedly undertook a "critique of Hegel in the form of a critique of political economy even though Hegel does not appear by name" (p. 14). Uchida demonstrates extensively Marx's reliance on the categories of Hegel's *Logic* to unfold his category of capital. While Hegel's categories helped Marx reveal the limits of political economy, Uchida wholly identifies these categories with political economy. The whole work is peppered with "unconscious" views Hegel held and "implicit" arguments Marx had with Hegel as he critiqued political economy.

The attempt to obscure the Marx/Hegel relation is most serious in the one section where Marx does write directly on Hegel's method. There Uchida writes that Marx "evidently follows Hegel" (p. 19) on what Marx calls "method of rising from the abstract to the concrete." At issue is what Uchida makes of Marx's "critical assessment" of Hegel when Marx writes:

*The concrete is concrete because it is the concentration of many determinations, hence unity of the diverse. It appears in the process of thinking, therefore, as a process of concentration, as a result, not as a point of departure, even though it is the point of departure in reality and hence also the point of departure for observation and conception...the abstract determinations lead towards a reproduction of the concrete by way of thought. In this way Hegel fell into the illusion of conceiving the real as the product of thought concentrating itself, probing its own depths, and unfolding itself out of itself" (Grundrisse, p. 101).*

The meaning Uchida grafts on to this is that Marx created a new separation between the idea and reality as though Marx's critique was only in opposition to "Hegelian idealism" which "accepts a reversal of ideas and reality" (p. 22). What Uchida misses in projecting onto Marx his materialism vs. idealism is that Marx, far from driving a wedge between the idea and reality, was reaching for a new integrality that is against treating concrete totality, just because that is the only way it is reached by thought, "as a result" instead of the "point of departure in reality" and "for...conception."

So fixed is Uchida on casting Marx singularly as an opponent of idealism, he misconstrues Marx's concept of fetishism even as it is introduced in the *Grundrisse*. There Marx calls the view of "economists, who regard social relations of production among people...as natural

properties of things," "crude materialism" which is "likewise a crude idealism, even fetishism." Uchida identifies this "crude idealism" with Hegel (p. 23) and idealism in general (p. 115). He reduces Marx's "naturalism" of his 1844 *Humanist Essays* to an indication "that humans have a substantial dependence on nature or matter" (p. 115).

That refers to Marx's naming his philosophy a "thorough-going Naturalism, or Humanism, [that] distinguishes itself both from Idealism and Materialism and is...the truth uniting both." Uchida poses his idea of materialism, which he attributes to Marx, as the opposite of "the alienated mediations of the power of thought" (p. 114). What Uchida forgets is that it is precisely the "power of abstraction," Marx warns, in the preface to *Capital*, that is his weapon against the commodity which "the human mind has sought in vain for more than 2,000 years to get to the bottom of" (*Capital*, Fowkes edition p. 90).

When Marx honed in on the way bourgeois thought takes purely social forms as natural, he didn't diminish but amplified the power of ideas to have concrete historical consequences.

Marx's 1844 drive to unite "actual history" with Hegel's "dialectic of negativity" compelled him to begin *Capital* "ab novo" after the *Grundrisse*. Then Marx's theoretical categories, whether that is absolute surplus value—the extraction of more value through extending the working day—or relative surplus value—the drive to extract more value in a working day of given length through technological innovation—were not points of debate between theoreticians but were in the life and death struggle of workers. Marx worked out a whole new concept of theory that is one with the self-development of the freedom idea in workers' own struggles. The concrete idea embodied in the fight for the normal working day, when does a worker's time become his/her own, was hailed by Marx as greater than the abstract notions of freedom that came out of the bourgeois revolutions.

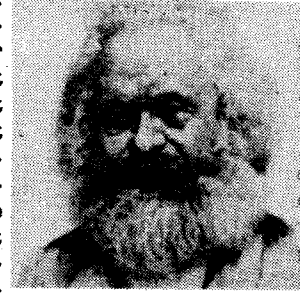
## CAN TECHNOLOGY END DIVISION OF MENTAL AND MANUAL?

Especially concrete for today's world of robotics, "factory of despair" and structural unemployment is Marx tracing the struggle of workers against technological innovation introduced to more completely dominate and fragment the worker. What Uchida forgets is that the *Grundrisse* is a draft that Marx specifically discarded when it came to his discussion of machinery "as such." Even then when Marx posed the development of the forces of production under capitalism, the greatest force of all was the live human being. Uchida's materialism takes the development of freedom for granted, making it a residue of the development of the forces of production: "collective scientific labour"...arises through technologi-

cal innovation...the law of value ceases to operate, because the labour objectified in the product decreases to a minimum. Then capital-value consciousness loses ground and begins to vanish, leaving behind proletarian consciousness. Eventually this develops into a free society" (pp. 26-7).

Uchida's effort to reduce Marx's vision of ending the division between mental and manual labor to some kind of natural residue of capitalist development misses both Marx's continuity with Hegel as well as the uniqueness of Marx's own view. Uchida grafts on to Marx his own view of the Marx/Hegel relation in his assertion that Marx attempts to reform Hegel's philosophy using materialist aspects of Aristotle's philosophy... (p. 4). This flies in the face of Marx's own discussion of Aristotle in Chapter One of *Capital*.

There Marx writes that Aristotle met his historic barrier as he posed, and could not answer, the question of what makes two totally distinct commodities commensurable. Far from wanting to return to the barrier of a slave society where the greatest genius could not even imagine equal units of human labor as the element that makes commodities commensurable, Marx was working out concretely the new integrality of philosophy and history that he posed in his 1844 "Critique."



Uchida's substitution reaches back to this very foundation of the Marx/Hegel relation in Marx's 1844 "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic." Marx's reference in his 1844 "Critique" to Hegel's smaller "Logic as the money of Spirit" is the basis of Uchida's identity between political economy and Hegel and his assertion "that the genesis of value and its development into capital are described in the Logic" (p. 6). Marx called the Logic the "money of Spirit" not because he was identifying the ideas of political economy with Hegel but because Hegel's greatest achievement, the negation of the negation, was abstract, i.e., "not yet" the "actual history of man as presupposed subject." Nature to Marx is not material but the "subjectivity of objective essential capacities." The topic of the whole 1844 "Critique" and what Marx is transforming and recreating in Hegel is the greatest human capacity of all—the self-development of thought which Marx called the "dialectic of negativity as the moving and creating principle" and which informs all activity. This unity of mental and manual is yet to be a fully realized and recognized process of development. Making it so is the philosophic and historic task.

## Philosophic Dialogue

Dave Black's critique of Francis Fukuyama's thesis of the "end of history" in the August-September N&L "Philosophic Dialogue" was illuminating in showing that Fukuyama's "ludicrously obscene" views were based upon the ideas of his teacher, Alexander Kojève, an important interpreter of Hegel in France in the 1930s and 1940s.

Though Kojève tried to pin on Hegel a concept of the "end of history" on the basis of his interpretation of the chapter "Absolute Knowledge" in Hegel's *Phenomenology of Mind*, Black shows Kojève owes more to Heidegger than to Marx or Hegel. "As in Heidegger, alienation is elevated from its specifically capitalist form to a universal human condition for all time."

This critique brought to mind Marx's concept of the fetishism of commodities in *Capital*, where he said, "Man's reflection on the forms of social life, and, consequently, also his scientific analysis of those forms take a course directly opposite to that of their actual historical development. He begins *post festum*, with the results of the process ready to hand before him. The characters that stamp products as commodities, and whose establishment is a necessary preliminary to the circulation of commodities, have already acquired the stability of natural, self-understood forms of social life, before man seeks to decipher, not their historical character, for in his eyes they are immutable, but their meaning."

In commenting on this section in *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (RLWLMPR), Raya Dunayevskaya writes (p. 189), "...neither 'Appearance' nor even 'Essence' summed up all Marx had to say. With 'fetishism' Marx recreated 'Notion'—the sphere of the Hegelian Absolute that Marx broke in two, for the only way to transcend the Absolute of the fetishism was with its absolute opposite, 'freely associated labor.' Marx never stopped working out anew the live forces of revolution and Reason, whether it be the freely associated labor here, in Chapter One, volume 1; or whether it be in the very last part of volume 3, where he concluded, 'human power is its own end.'"

This makes me wonder if the "power of abstraction" that Marx talks about in his preface to *Capital* isn't the thought that is equivalent to the revolutionary organization. As thought, in its negativity, uncovers the historical character of capital, the connection between conditions of production and mode of production, and so

## 'End of history' or Marx's critique and vision

forth, so the proletariat works out the subjective and objective paths to freedom on that basis. (Marx, in a footnote to that same preface, disassociates himself from Ferdinand Lassalle on just those points—historical character of capital and conditions/mode of production.)

I see this, then, as an Absolute in which, as Black says, real people are the real content. The breakthrough to a completely new concept of theory, which is not based upon debates with other theoreticians, is at the same time the beginning of the end to the division between mental and manual labor.

To me, this seems like (and is) such an integrated vision that it is hard to see where the vanguard party—the Party of Lenin's What Is To Be Done?—fits in at all. Of course, Dunayevskaya in RLWLMPR makes clear that the vanguard party is Lassallean. When Marx in his preface footnote in *Capital*, disassociates himself from Lassalle's use of his ideas, he says further: "I am here, of course, not speaking of his detailed working out and application of these propositions, with which I have nothing to do."

It is easy then to see where the Lassallean vanguard party could only represent a false continuity, as Black points out. But it is harder to see why Dunayevskaya would say that Lenin, despite his return to Hegel in 1914 and all his great new insights, didn't succeed in working out a philosophic new beginning. Does this mean that Lenin, in order to have achieved such a new beginning, would have had to see the need to break with the Lassallean party on the basis of a philosophy of revolution, of dialectics and organization, as Marx had in the "Critique of the Gotha Programme?" (Marx sent the same "Critique" to the leaders of the German party with a note directing them toward the French edition of *Capital* with its new material on commodity fetishism.)

Only in a world in which history gives the appearance of having stopped could ideas like those of Fukuyama gain a hearing. This appearance is, in essence, the product of the ongoing default of established Marxism which is now totally disoriented in light of the collapse of a called "Communism."

Because the relation between capital and labor is human relation, even though degraded into relations between things, what supersedes it can only be a new and higher form of human relation. As Dunayevskaya said, "Marx envisioned a totally new man, a totally new woman, a totally new life form (and by no means only for marriage)—in a word, a totally new society."

—Gerard Emm



# Haiti: military terror and mass resistance

At least 600 killed by the U.S.-armed military, thousands wounded or arrested, and no end to the brutality and murder. This is the result of the military coup led by Gen. Raoul Cédras against the only popularly-elected government in recent Haitian history.

At home and abroad, the voices of the masses have been so deafening, so unanimous in support of the legitimately elected leftist government of liberation theology proponent Jean-Bertrand Aristide, that even the U.S. government has had to go through at least the motions of supporting Aristide, all the while "privately" saying that the democratically elected Aristide is really "undemocratic."

## HAITIAN MASSES RESIST

According to the leftist paper, *Haiti-Progres*, when the coup began, the masses poured into the streets to defend the Aristide regime. In the slums of Port-au-Prince, they erected street barricades, barricades over which the military drove in heavy vehicles, killing many. In Gonaives, thousands took to the streets, burning the houses of prominent local reactionaries. In Cap-Haitien, burning barricades blocked off the entrance to the city. In Cayes, the revolutionary crowds caught and executed the collaborationist politician Sylvio Claude, after they found documents in his possession indicating that he was working actively to support the coup.

Perhaps the greatest resistance was in Jeremie, where the streets were blocked by burning tires. In the first days of the coup, thousands demonstrated, chanting "Burn the Macoutes" or "Dechoukez [uproot] the Macoutes." Homes of several wealthy and reactionary politicians were looted. Ditches were dug across major streets to slow down the military. As elsewhere in the country, a total general strike was in effect.

By the second week after the coup, rumors circulated in Jeremie that Aristide was about to land there with an armed band to take up the fight against the military. While fanciful, the rumors illustrated the state of mind of the masses. The military has responded with shootings, house-to-house searches and arrests and a total curfew. Sixty-year-old Bishop Willy Romelus of Jeremie, one of the few popular leaders whom even the military has so far not dared to arrest, proclaimed to a *New York Times* reporter: "The massacres will continue because the people will never accept to live under a dictatorship."

## U.S. IMPERIALIST DUPLICITY

While they seemed initially to support Aristide, the U.S. government and establishment media have been moving away from him in the weeks since. They now suggest that he work out a "compromise" with the corrupt, pro-military politicians who dominate the legislature, many of whom have voted to support the military. The story is promoted that Aristide was "undemocratic" because he allowed the masses to "intimidate" some

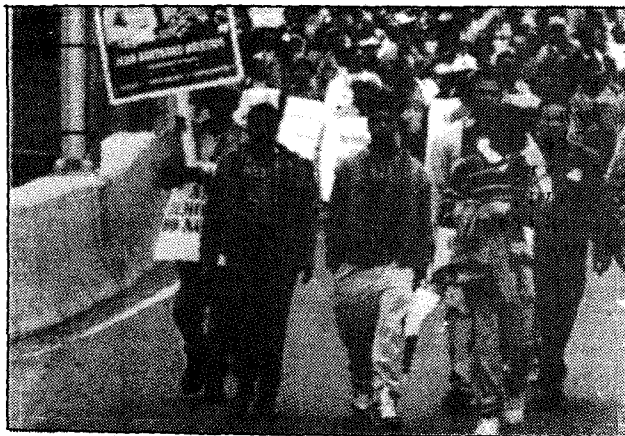
of the wealthy and powerful elite politicians.

The reverse is true. If Aristide made any errors, it was in failing to move more quickly against the military and the old guard politicians, in not arming the masses, and in not really putting into effect the radical economic and social policies which he verbally advocated. He apparently restrained himself in order to placate the U.S. and the military. Will he now accede to even further demands for "moderation" by the U.S.?

While Aristide is called undemocratic and said to have dictatorial tendencies, it is the military, with its U.S.-supplied modern weapons and its supporters among the political elite, who has on its hands the blood of over 600 Haitians, most of them poor and working-class.

The lie by the U.S. was revealed by leftist Mayor Evans Paul of Port-au-Prince, himself an Aristide critic who Aristide was supposedly persecuting (*New York Times*). According to *Haiti-Progres*, far from supporting either the coup or any rotten compromise with the military, Evans Paul immediately called a meeting of political, union and community leaders to denounce the coup and to call for Aristide's return. The meeting was prevented, and his house was attacked by the military. Finally, he was beaten up by the military and then arrested at the airport while attempting to leave for Venezuela to meet with Aristide. —Kevin A. Barry

## 'No Aristide, No Peace!'



**New York, N.Y.**—Tens of thousands of Haitians here have participated in continuous demonstrations since Haitian President Aristide was overthrown Sept. 30. Hundreds, sometimes thousands, appear at the U.N. every evening, and they vow to remain there until Aristide is restored to power.

On Oct. 11 a huge demonstration tied up traffic in two boroughs for the entire day. The police estimate of 60,000 participants was low. The march began in Brooklyn, where most of the 300,000 Haitians in New York live, and crossed the Brooklyn Bridge. Without a parade permit, the demonstrators carved out routes spontaneously, winding around lower Manhattan's financial and government districts, then around corporate midtown and the U.N. The police were helpless.

The demonstration was made up of diverse groups and individuals, including religious organizations, Aristide's party and revolutionary groups. Signs saying "No Aristide, No Peace" evoked the slogan of many Black U.S. demonstrations: "No Justice, No Peace." Expressive hand-made signs were everywhere: "Democracy is not a word but a deed," "Mr. Bush, everyone in the world understands but you," "We are already poor—leave us alone," "Democracy is life-support, cutting its roots is death," "The new world order stinks," "The Third World is rising," "Democracy by people yes, democracy by guns no," and "Democracy or death."

We talked with many demonstrators whose determination was palpable. Most people believe the coup would not have been possible without U.S. complicity. They demand the U.S. make good on its claim of supporting democracy by restoring their democratically elected president. Some contrasted their situation to that of Kuwait, complaining that Bush will not arm or fight for the Haitians because they do not have anything he wants, like oil. —N&L Committee

## Black/Red View

# Clarence Thomas: not an individual but a class

by John Alan

Now that Clarence Thomas is the brand new conservative justice on an already conservative Supreme Court, there are dire speculations about the constitutional future of minorities and women in this so-called democracy. There is a real fear that equal opportunity in employment and education will be curtailed and women's right to an abortion will suffer a constitutional *coup de main*.

However, the crucial concern now should not be just this constitutional issue, but where will the Black and women's movements go conceptually, that is, will these movements focus solely upon the "constitutional issue" and hope for freedom in a hypothetical tomorrow or will they be courageous enough to ask the question: can human freedom and dignity be obtained in this existing society where life is dehumanized in production and social relationships as well as culture?

## THOMAS' SELF-ALIENATION

The lengthy testimony that Thomas gave to the Senate's judiciary committee showed how pervasive and impenetrable this dehumanization can be. Thomas went willingly through a process of self-alienation, separating his reactionary philosophy of "natural law" and his "private" opinions about abortion and Roe vs. Wade from his practice as a Reagan/Bush bureaucrat. Such separation of thought from practice is the acceptable absurdity of bourgeois politics.

When Anita Hill gives her credible testimony about being sexually harassed by Thomas, she is confronted with a wall of arrogant male skepticism. When Thomas accuses the judiciary committee of "high tech lynching," in the same breath he makes Anita Hill, a Black woman, an object of this "lynching." The onus of stereotyping Black male sexuality is never placed on Bush, where it belongs, for using the Willie Horton case to polarize the country racially.

Although we sharply criticize Thomas for his reactionary ideology, we should not focus on him as an individual because he only reflects the impervious nature of racism and sexism in this society, how it continues to be a potent element in American politics after two decades of mass struggle.

At this moment, the ideology of Reagan/Bush racism is disguised as middle-class virtue and security. This has had an ideological pull strong enough to attract a considerable section of Black middle-class professionals, many of whom were born during or just prior to the Civil Rights Movement. They were able to go to the best universities and now hold jobs in major law firms or are working in the upper echelons of the government. In other words, this new Black conservatism is born out of the unfinished Civil Rights Movement, when they ignore their own history and honestly believe that their success comes only from their own efforts.

Thus they fail to understand that their conservative ideology, along with their middle class success, does not escape the objectivity of American racism. Indeed, as a class, they perpetuate American racism by presenting themselves as a "model" for the millions of Blacks caught in the dire poverty of the urban ghettos. The "model" they present is the "other," the fictionalized white middle class, a false universal that measures Black poverty as a self-imposed depravity.

## BLACK TURN TO THE 'OTHER'

Frantz Fanon said that this turn to the "other" is the abandonment of a mind of one's own, "the source of liberation." Lou Turner has shown that the new conservatism of the Black middle class is also an ideological return to the past. Thus we find the re-emergence in Black thought of Booker T. Washington's solution to the "race problem" based upon "a gospel of wealth and racial accommodation." This form of Black Darwinist philosophy was hardly original when Washington propounded it at the turn of the century, in an era of aggressive racism and brutal subversion of constitutional rights granted to Blacks during Reconstruction.

While American racist society helps to shape the character of this crisis in Black thought, its critical origins are in Black thought itself. It is not that Black intellectuals and leaders don't think. There is no shortage of ideas. In fact, we're suffocated by ideas while we drift in a sea of facts. The crisis exists because Black thought never broke sharply with American pragmatism to understand the dialectic of liberation as it was created out of the long mass struggles for freedom.

Essentially, the leaders never saw the Black masses as subject, as Reason, as well as the force of change. They never developed a theory, much less a philosophy of revolution, to see the quest for a new human society at the high points of the movement. Our leaders and thinkers were frightened and dismayed by the Black urban revolts of the '60s. But now, as the cities fall apart and cease to be viable centers of employment, and the "underclass" grows, these same thinkers see it not in the original reasoning of the masses but in the formal thinking of sociology and welfare.

The birth of a new society, new social relations, has always been the aim of the Black movement. Here it should be noted that the crisis in Black thought is not an abstract question when it becomes an objective political force in the hands of reactionaries.

## LAPD terror continues

**Los Angeles, Cal.**—The "law makers" for the city and County of Los Angeles, from U.S. District Judge Terry Hatter and Mayor Tom Bradley to the Christopher Commission which investigated the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), have lost control of their enforcers of the law.

The recommendations of the Christopher Commission for reform within the LAPD, in their Report issued recently, have been all but ignored by Police Chief Daryl Gates, who had been asked by the Commission to resign. Gates now says that he may stay past his own promised resignation date of April 1992, because of the continuing criticism by the Commission.

The Commission documented the use of excessive force by the LAPD, and racist and sexist practices in thousands of cases that exposed a savage police force on a rampage against the Black community. The videotaped beating of Rodney King illuminated the tip of a pending white chauvinist iceberg of racist practice. The LAPD "Protect and Serve" policy equals "for whites only." Most whites are not feeling the billy club blows.

Meanwhile in Lynwood, in L.A. County, Judge Hatter concluded that L.A. County Sheriff's deputies routinely violate civil rights, are motivated by "racial hostility," and use "terrorist-type tactics" with the knowledge of their superiors. Hatter has openly confirmed that a neo-Nazi white supremacist gang of deputies, the Vikings, exists at the Lynwood Station, while the department officials have characterized the Vikings as a harmless social group or softball team.

In September, over 70 Lynwood residents filed a civil rights lawsuit charging that deputies engaged "in systematic acts of shooting, killing, brutality, terrorism, abuse, trashing and other acts of lawlessness and wanton abuse of power."

Judge Hatter, in ordering the Sheriff's Department to stop by its own use-of-force policies, stated that the Sheriff's Department had to send him every brutality complaint lodged against it. The head of the Sheriff's Department, Sherman Block, has gotten a temporary reprieve on Hatter's rulings.

The reality of the law and its enforcers, the police, is beyond a question of the civil rights of individual Blacks and Latinos. Third World poverty conditions plague the Black and Latino community, while the standing army of police are concerned more with property rights of the state over the rights of people.

The demand is to go beyond capitalist law to a movement of Black and Latino people to create a new world. Battle lines are being drawn and the police are only the barriers to freedom we face. —Gene Ford

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# Southern Africa in the crucible of Western barbarism

(continued from page 1)

complete with privatization, IMF austerity plans, and renunciation of any vestiges of its former socialist vision. With an estimated 2 million Angolans displaced by the 16-year war, rural peasants are unable to return to their homes, fields and villages until some one million land mines are cleared from the countryside. In the industrial sector, workers have used strikes to demand improvements in housing, transportation and food, essentials that their meager wages cannot provide.

## MOZAMBIQUE: PEASANTS FIGHT 2 WARS

In Mozambique, the 16-year war goes on, plunging that poorest country in the world beyond the crisis of political destabilization into the utter depths of social devastation. According to the World Food Program, 90% of the harvest in Sofala and Manica provinces was destroyed by irregular rains this year. An estimated 37% of the country's children are malnourished, and in Manica there are two malnutrition deaths a day. In areas like Sofala the destabilization wrought by Renamo prevents emergency food aid from reaching starving people, while in the northern province of Cabo Delgado some 332,000 people are at risk of starvation. Mozambique gets 80% of its food from international donors.

Mozambican peasants thus fight two wars, one against Renamo and the other against the absolute poverty created by imperialism. Around the city of Nampulas peasant farmers have organized into 39 cooperatives and peasant organizations as part of the General Union of Agricultural Cooperatives. In a war that has cost 600,000 Mozambican lives and turned over one million into refugees, the Mozambican masses have not succumbed to the barbarism of Western imperialism and its Black surrogates. They have mobilized into traditional militias armed only with spears and knives.

The second front of the struggle reaches the deepest strata of Mozambican society—women. According to Ruth Ansah Ayisi, writing in *Africa Report* (July-August, 1991): "While 80% of Mozambican women are peasant farmers, only 1% are organized into agricultural cooperatives." Ayisi goes on to report that "Besides the mammoth obstacles caused by war and poverty, women have to survive in a society where chauvinistic attitudes often prevent advancement."

These conditions make it all the more barbarous that the UN report on the Five Year Recovery Program for Africa was liquidated by the Western powers, the IMF and the World Bank, after 11 days of protracted debate in September. Gorbachevism had earlier shown to what extent it was willing to capitulate to this new Western barbarism when Leonid L. Fituni, head of the Department of International Crisis Management Studies of the Institute for African Studies, assured the West that "Aware of Western economic involvement in southern Africa and of its reliance on the region's raw materials, the USSR has no intention of undermining industrialized countries' historic trade links with this part of the world" (*Africa Report*, July-August, 1989, p. 64).

Those "historic trade links" show the global nature of the South African crisis and the meaning of George

Bush's rush to lift sanctions against apartheid South Africa this past July. With the lifting of sanctions, Western multinational corporations and their Third World client states will resume the imperialist linkages with apartheid South Africa they enjoyed previously or maintained covertly during the period of sanctions.

## SOUTH AFRICA: LABOR SHARPENS CONTRADICTIONS

However, it is the internal economic crisis that has sharpened the political contradictions at the present moment. On Oct. 1, the de Klerk government implemented its own IMF-inspired austerity measures in the form of a value added tax (VAT). The political implication of the VAT was to pressure political organizations to participate in the government's multi-party conference rather than the ANC's All-Party Conference, by alleging that only the government-sponsored conference could discuss tax policy and abolish the VAT.

The VAT follows Finance Minister Barend DuPlessis' secret talks with the IMF. While food and services, formerly not taxed, will be taxed at 10-12%, millions of Rand will accrue to big business, particularly for new capital investments exempted from the VAT. In the words of Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU):

"The IMF gave no consideration to the fact that, because of apartheid, the majority of black people live in poverty, that the massive unemployment affects mainly the black community and that the areas that have to be addressed in terms of social and economic needs are in the black community. IMF structural adjustment programs all over Africa hurt the poor" (*New Nation*, Oct. 4-10).

COSATU had participated in the government's National Manpower Commission, the state's main labor board. It pulled out in October and refused de Klerk's invitation to join the state president's Economic Advisory Council and the Unemployment Insurance Board. It went on to convene a labor summit with the Black Consciousness-oriented National Congress of Trade Unions to organize a November anti-VAT general strike.

The political resurgence of COSATU from the shadow of the ANC stems from workers' disillusionment with the ANC's engagement in fruitless talks about talks with the government. The new leadership of COSATU, elected after its July congress, is not associated with the failed negotiations and initiatives with the government. The question is whether the new political resurgence of COSATU also signifies the determination of labor to reforge the mass-based politics of the last decade.

## SELF-LIMITING REVOLUTION

The current weakness of the ANC in reorienting itself to the mass struggle and the needs of the people has more to do with the autonomy of the democratic structures created by the Black South African masses over the last two decades. The question is: after the experience of two decades of mass struggle and self-organization, why the present disorientation?

The mass movement has achieved more through its spontaneity, autonomous local self-organization and shop-floor struggles than has been accomplished politi-



cally through the so-called "program of action" of the political parties. Which is why we must take a second look at those autonomous community organization within the context of the present historic moment.

What is underway at the township level is the movement of civic organizations to negotiate new "social contracts" with local government structures. But even as some civics have taken on the operations of township authorities, as in Soweto and Alexandra, through interim agreements with the government, there is also a simultaneous movement to depoliticize these autonomous grassroots structures.

Cyril Ramaphosa and Moses Mayekiso, prominent leaders in the ANC, SACP (South African Communist Party) and COSATU, are also leaders of the Soweto and Alexandra civics. Mayekiso expresses the new retreat into depoliticization of the mass-based organizations most strikingly. He now sees the civics, which had been considered alternative structures of peoples' power, pursuing a role outside politics as social service agencies in civil society.

Writing in the South African Left journal *Work-In-Progress*, Jo-Anne Collings concludes that "Mayekiso's description of the new 'civil' civic association—as development agent, and as moving force behind community controlled housing trusts and utility companies—sounds like a retreat from politics. But, by attending to people's concrete needs, the civics might deliver to political parties judged worthy of support enviable popular clout" (*WIP*, January-February, 1991, p. 26).

Despite Mayekiso's criticism that "the working class in Eastern Europe is confused" and his worry that Polish Solidarity is "reversing all the revolutionary gains" (*New York Times*, May 6, 1991), referring to its retreat from socialism, his own depoliticization of the role of the civics (and the trade unions) follows the same course Solidarity took when Left ideologues like Jacek Kuron, now Poland's labor minister, espoused the retrogressive notion of "self-limiting revolution."

When militant trade union leaders like Ramaphosa and Mayekiso want to limit the role of the trade union and civics to shop-floor issues and "social contract" questions, while the sphere of state power is relinquished to political elites and to the ambitions of the SACP, then the liberation movement has truly entered onto the path of "self-limiting revolution."

While the masses may in fact support the ANC, or what grounds is it mandated that the mass organizations created by the people to challenge the apartheid state over the last two decades should now satisfy themselves with playing a passive supporting role in the face of the terrorist onslaught by the state and its surrogates?

Which is why it is imperative, at this crucial juncture in the South African struggle, not to ignore the critical question Raya Dunayevskaya challenged the revolutionary movement in the Third World to face: "...all those national revolutions, the rise of a Third World and the endless continuing struggle, and nowhere in sight, no even telescopic sight, is there an answer to the questions, what happens after 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?" (*The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection* #10955).

Given the unprecedented atrocities against the masses of Southern Africa—why indeed?

## Protest toxic incinerator

**Kettleman City, Cal.**—On Oct. 12 over 1,000 people came here to protest Chem Waste's proposed toxic waste incinerator. The Kettleman City residents who organized the event, mostly migrant farmworkers and farmers, have been fighting chemical waste for over three years and already bear the effects of the largest toxic waste dump west of the Mississippi.

A few days before the rally, two van loads of Mexican and Mexican-Americans were randomly picked up by Immigration (many of them had papers but weren't allowed to go home to get them) in attempts to intimidate residents from attending the rally. Despite this, the crowd was dominated by Mexican-Americans and Mexicans from Kettleman City. Over 65 organizations sponsored the event, including predominantly Black community organizations from L.A. and environment, community, student, and social justice organizations.

Mary Lou Mares, an organizer of the event, stated "Chem Waste and the government think they can dump toxic poisons on us because we are migrant and farmworkers who speak Spanish, but with our friends and supporters from around the country, we will fight to protect our community."

In the rally, held in both Spanish and English, learned that at one of the public hearings about the proposed incinerator—which was held in English, despite the fact that a majority of residents speak Spanish—Spanish speakers were told to go to the back of the hall for translation. They refused and "in the spirit of Rosa Parks" marched to the front.

After the rally one Mexican-American man said "They tell us that this incinerator will create jobs, but say what's the point of getting 100 jobs when the town will die because of it?"

—Julia J

## Civil rights conference

**Chicago, Ill.**—A conference on the "Crisis in Civil Rights" was held in Chicago's Woodson Regional Library, Oct. 5. It was convened by Abdul Alkalimat and Lou Turner in response to the deep ideological divisions within the African American community opened by Bush's nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court.

The first of the three panel presentations at the conference began with the objective conditions of racism and the state of Black civil rights before the law. This dealt with everything from the siege mentality created by pervasive police brutality, to the Black education crisis, to the notion that the Black struggle against the myriad crises continues to put "American civilization on trial."

The second panel on "The unfinished state of civil rights in the Reagan-Bush era" took stock of the present political limitations in civil rights vis-a-vis the historic vision of the mass movement that swept Harold Washington into the Chicago mayor's office in 1983.

Finally, the third panel on "The ideological crisis in civil rights" focused on and became an ideological struggle over the meaning of the crisis. The debate, particularly between Aldon Morris, author of *The Origin of the Civil Rights Movement*, and Abdul Alkalimat, coauthor of *Harold Washington and the Crisis of Black Power in Chicago*, centered on the nature of class relations in the Black community.

Throughout the conference the predominantly Black audience of 180 vigorously engaged the panelists in dialogue and debate. In fact, it was from the floor that the call was made to convene another conference on the class question. While it is the intention of the convenors to organize such a conference in the coming year, the fact that the discussion of sexism at the conference was muted, particularly in the wake of controversy over sexism and nationalism created by the Thomas-Hill affair, it is clear that any future conference on class would also have to focus on nationalism and sexism in the Black community.

—Lou Turner

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## Youth

## Environmental movement debates its direction

by Tom Parsons

Members of the Marxist-Humanist Youth Committees joined over 1,000 students and others from the U.S. and around the world to participate in the third annual Student Environmental Action Coalition's (SEAC) national conference in Boulder, Colo., on the weekend of Oct. 16. The conference was titled "Common Ground: The Environment and Social Justice."

What was so exciting was to see youth trying to work out the connectedness of the "environmental movement" with all freedom movements. The conference featured speakers and over 150 workshops on the environment and labor, feminism, the Third World, the U.S.-Mexico Free Trade Agreement, and Black, Latino and Native American struggles against their communities being the historic dumping grounds of toxic waste.

In the session on Toxic Racism, Pat Bryant from the Gulf Coast Tenants Organization told of Black tenant organizations in the South organizing against pollution as well as for a "new society."

Speaking about racism, sexism and classism within the environmental movement, Dana Alston from the Pecos Institute told the crowd, "We don't only demand justice from the government. We demand justice from the environmental movement."

In the Women's Caucus women struck out against SEAC for subsuming women's concerns, including putting all the Women's Liberation workshops in one 90-minute session.

## QUEST FOR UNIVERSALITY

The multidimensionality of the conference theme reflects the desire of people to go beyond personal responsibility (recycling, etc.) to a total transformation of society involving all the freedom movements. The breadth

of participation by those movements shows that their involvement in the "environmental movement" need not be "linked" externally by environmentalists.

The internal link is what Marx called the "quest for universality." Long before the term environmentalism was invented, workers were battling what Marx called the "Hell-hole of the factory." Workers battling dangerous and poisonous conditions at production is an organic expression of their historic struggle against capital.

But how can that drive for total transformation coexist with SEAC's official campaign to participate in the United Nations conference on "environmental development?" On the first night of the conference, many students spoke out against tailending the UN.

Following a speech by the director of the UN Environmental Program, one student said: "If George Bush just got the UN to go along with his war that killed hundreds of thousands and destroyed whole ecosystems, and we know that Bush and the governments are the ones destroying the planet, why should we have anything to do with the UN?"

## PHILOSOPHIC QUESTIONS POSED

The attempt to absorb the genuine desire for an international movement into the UN is the continuation of the refusal to take a position against the impending war at last year's conference. Both are manifestations of what Marxist-Humanists call the "militarization of the mind." It is the language of Bush's "new world order": that only the rulers can decide the fate of humanity.

The most exciting and challenging element of the conference was to try to develop with all those we met what it means to project a vision of a totally new society that can break through the pollution in thought. We were battling the concept that this can

come through any sort of plan—whether vanguardist or decentralized "federated communities."

People at the conference were raising philosophical questions such as how can we have a unity of all the struggles that doesn't suppress individuality, how to break down the divisions between workers and intellectuals, and the question of Women's Liberation within the movement. However, solutions being projected did not flow organically from the philosophic nature of the questions, as if new human relations could be administered, whether by a mechanism or by a "process."

The new kinds of questioning and searching seen at the conference demand the most serious discussion.

## Texas youth speak out

Editor's note—The "Women and War" conference (see story p. 2) at the University of Texas at Austin Oct. 18-20 included a panel on "Everyday Wars: Working with 'Youth at Risk.'" Three coordinators and two youth discussed a program for high school students who might otherwise drop out of school or join gangs. Below we print excerpts from the comments of the two youth panelists, a Black man and Chicana woman, both 15.

**Allen:** Youth join gangs because if you don't get treated right at home, you want to join the first group where people treat you like a human being. When you join a gang, you get to do what you want. What's out there is yours for the taking. But it can also get rough and dangerous.

**Patty:** A lot of people in my family, all my girl cousins, are in gangs. Only the youngest ones are trying to stay in school. No one in my family has ever graduated from high school. My parents are from Mexico and didn't even get to go to school. The only jobs they could get were scrubbing floors and cleaning up after people. They would work two or three jobs just so we could have something to eat.

People join gangs to have a sense of belonging and because they have the money and drugs. Also, you can get beat up if you don't join. The gang leaders want the young ones, the little dudes, because they do things for them. A lot of people don't think there are girls in gangs but it's not true. They want girls because the girls drive the cars and carry drugs for the guys. The girls get treated like dogs in gangs.

**Allen:** As part of the summer program we had discussions on Fridays called "New Bridges." I felt I could express my ideas openly without fear of persecution. I really liked being able to say what was on my mind without being told it was wrong. And it was good to have topics that everyone can relate to, like racism or sexism. We also started a newsletter and wrote about topics like the Persian Gulf War.

**Patty:** The part I liked was when we got to tell what we don't like about adults. A lot of us don't like that adults don't think we're capable of doing things. We're just as capable as anyone else, if you give us a chance. A lot of adults tell me I'm just going to wind up a typical Mexican girl, drop out of school, get pregnant, work in a fast food restaurant. They want to plan my life for me. That's not what I want to do with my life.

## Protesters fight veto of California gay rights bill

Los Angeles, Cal.—On Sept. 29 Governor Pete Wilson vetoed AB101, a bill which would have extended certain minimum rights to Lesbians and Gays against discrimination, saying that proponents of the bill should understand the need for fairness to innocent employers.... Wilson's callous veto, an abrupt about-face from a position supporting gay rights, immediately denied civil rights to at least 10% of California's population and has been met by constant protests.

Beginning the day of the veto, demonstrations burst

to day. As he caved in to religious fundamentalists, he showed again what I've always thought of him. He's a political opportunist.

—Person With AIDS

Stanford, Cal.—People have been upset for a long time. The veto of the bill (AB101) was only a spark. We feel our very lives are in danger—from AIDS as well as from physical violence on the streets, which is on the rise. The statistics show that teenage suicides are increasing alarmingly among gay youth. The veto of this legislation encourages gay-bashing.

There is a self-organization in the gay community, partly as a result of the AIDS crisis. Lesbians are widening the meaning of the fledgling health care movement by asking what about women with breast cancer? And organization around AIDS is more than just survival help—like shopping for people too sick to do it themselves—but people getting together to get research funding, faster approval process of new drugs, etc. There are "pink patrols" trying to keep the streets safe.

But people are not looking far enough ahead. Health is important, but is not enough. We need to address all questions.

—Woman demonstrator

## From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya

(continued from page 4)

trilogy of revolution, and all over again, concentrate on Chapter One of Philosophy and Revolution, from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao. Note one other peculiarity of my quotations, and that is that, instead of quoting from the magnificent Philosophy and Revolution, I quoted from a talk I gave about that work, specifically on the first chapter, particularly on Hegel's final chapter of Science of Logic, the Absolute Idea—a talk in which I went through the whole 27 paragraphs without leaving out a single one, while adding not only the three final syllogisms (para. 575, 576, 577) from the Philosophy of Mind, but engaging great contemporary Hegel scholars in the battle of ideas.

This talk was delivered to a scholarly, specialized, very non-Marxist organization like the Hegel Society of America (HSA). In order here to show how to project Marxist-Humanism, even to a hostile audience on a non-Marxist topic such as Hegel's Absolute Idea, I there stressed my view that Hegel's abstraction, "Spirit's urgency," gains concreteness by his deep historic sense, making it equivalent to "the birth-time of history," and to me the birth-time of history was revolutionary. The reason I emphasize that it was a non-Marxist audience that I was addressing was not, as you see, in order to have an excuse to keep far away from revolutionary language. Quite the contrary. I was most concrete in referring both to our age and to Lenin, who, I stressed, was "the most revolutionary of all materialists," showing how, nevertheless, "Absolute Negativity became Lenin's philosophic preparation for revolution" (p. 167 in Art and Logic in Hegel's Philosophy). I dived into the challenge to those Hegel scholars even more directly when it came to speaking of our own age: "To this writer, Hegel's genius is lodged in the fact that his 'voyage of discovery' became one endless process of discovery for us. The 'us' includes both Marx's new continent of thought of materialist dialectics, and Hegel scholars, as well as the movement from practice... This writer has followed very closely this movement of revolt ever since

June 17, 1953, and saw in it a quest for universality... a new point of departure in the Idea and in the movement from practice" (p. 172).

As I faced both the president of the HSA, Prof. Louis Dupre, and the most well-known of today's Hegel scholars, Prof. J.N. Findlay, I took to task also the most erudite intellectual dialectician, Theodore Adorno: "...the real tragedy of Adorno (and the Frankfurt School) is the tragedy of a one-dimensionality of thought which results when you give up Subject, when one does not listen to the voices from below... (when) one returns to the ivory tower and reduces his purpose to 'the purpose of discussing key concepts of philosophic disciplines and centrally intervening in those disciplines.' The next step was irresistible, the substitution of a permanent critique not alone for absolute negativity, but also of permanent revolution itself" (p. 173).

Please also reread (and very slowly) the new 1982 Introduction I wrote for Philosophy and Revolution, where I answered George Armstrong Kelly, who in his Retreat from Eleusis challenged me on Absolute Method. The reason, I must repeat, that I cite all these references, is to stress that there are many fundamentals that just cannot be "taken for granted" just because one knows the Marxist-Humanist conclusion.... It's the only way the future can be grasped when it is still in the present. Indeed, it is only when one has total confidence that the future is in the present that one can project Marxist-Humanism's challenge—and not only to post-Marx Marxists but to those, both proletarian and intellectual, youth as well as adult, who never were Marxists and still are terribly weighted down by "Anglo-Saxon" pragmatism.

To swim with history's "Self-Thinking Idea" and experience the "suffering, patience and labor of the negative" needed for the "Self-Bringing-Forth of Liberty," it is necessary to feel Self not as Ego but as self-movement of the masses, their self-development and historic self-transcendence....

Yours, RAYA



it spontaneously, taking over the streets first in Century City, then in West Hollywood. These demonstrations, while begun by members of the militant AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACTUP) and Queer Nation, were brought out mainly new people never before active.

With no warning Gays and Lesbians pour into the streets, forcing people to recognize that they will not continue under the old rules. As the Queer Nation chant went, "Liberate, don't assimilate!"

In the first weeks demonstrations were planned by participants at actions the night before with discussion lining the streets. When asked by police to present their leaders they said, "We have no leaders." At one action, march down Alvarado and then Sunset Boulevard to Hollywood, marchers were proud of such self-organization and self-discipline that they did not need monitors.

On Oct. 12, some 12,000 Gays and Lesbians and their supporters gathered for what was described as the loudest, largest, and liveliest rally in Sacramento since the 1960s.

While some have counselled caution and asked that the rage be transferred to a ballot initiative, that seems unlikely today. New people have come out in the streets expressing their anger at Wilson, discrimination and the growing number of gay-bashings. One marcher said, "I won't be satisfied now with a watered-down law son would sign. We want recognition, acceptance and equality."

—Stu Quinn and Ana Maillon

San Francisco, Cal.—Since Wilson's veto the streets have been filled with angry Gays and Lesbians. Anyone who is not bed-ridden has demonstrated. The demonstrations have wound through the Castro district have led to assaults on city and federal office build-

Wilson's statement that his veto won't lead to new attacks on gays just isn't true, as we can see day

## Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

In October a wave of racist attacks and anti-“foreigner” feeling, on a scale not seen since the 1930s, gripped Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia. In Germany at least 500 attacks on “foreigners” have been reported since summer’s end. The most sickening was in the small town of Hoyerswerda in the former East Germany, where a mob of hundreds of neo-fascist skinheads besieged a hostel for foreign workers for eight days.

Throwing firebombs, the attackers were not effectively stopped by police. Nor was a counter-demonstration by 3,500 leftists able to dislodge the skinheads, especially since the police separated them from the fascists. Finally, the government bused the 230 terrified foreign workers and family members out of Hoyerswerda and to a military base. The skinheads are hardly an isolated group in Hoyerswerda. As the buses left, cheering crowds of residents gathered, chanting “good riddance” and that their town was now “foreigner free.”

During the attacks in Hoyerswerda, similar but smaller attacks spread throughout Germany. A local election in the Social Democratic stronghold of Bremerhaven, an industrial and maritime center where there have not been major attacks on “foreigners” to date, showed surprising levels of support for a neo-fascist party, the German Peoples Union. This party wants to expel “foreigners” from Germany. One of their leaflets opposed those “who want to destroy all cultures by mixing.”

The ruling Christian Democrats have appealed for the racist vote by calling for a constitutional amendment to

### Sweden's election defeat

The defeat of the Social Democrats in Sweden's September elections by conservative parties should not pass without comment, especially since this is only the second time they have been voted out of power since the 1930s. This electoral defeat has been portrayed by our bourgeois press as an inherent failure of socialist and leftist ideas. But the facts do not bear out such an interpretation.

Voters' repudiation of the Swedish Social Democrats has much to do with their own turn to the Right in the 1980s, with their failure to come to grips with new issues raised by the youth of the 1970s, and with the inherent non-viability, not of socialism, but of the so-called “mixed economy,” a system which claims to move toward socialism while operating within the capitalist world market.

Their first big crisis came in 1976, when they refused to reconsider their plan to keep building dozens of nuclear power plants as Sweden's main source of energy, resulting in their being voted out of power for the first time in 44 years. The Social Democrats were re-elected narrowly in 1982, but they never did more than make vague promises of phasing out nuclear power.

The second big crisis came when, in response to the worldwide economic stagnation of the 1980s, they moved closer to Reagan-type “free market” policies, paring down the welfare state's health, education and unemployment benefits. This backward step cost them many of their traditional supporters, especially among workers.

## Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

Raya Dunayevskaya (1910-87), founder of the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism, became Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees from its founding to 1987. Charles Denby (1907-83), a Black production worker, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper from 1955 to 1983. Dunayevskaya's works *Marxism and Freedom...from 1776 until Today* (1958); *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* (1973), and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (1982) spell out the philosophical ground of Marx's Humanism internationally, as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa. These works challenge post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism.

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

# Racist attacks spread across Central Europe

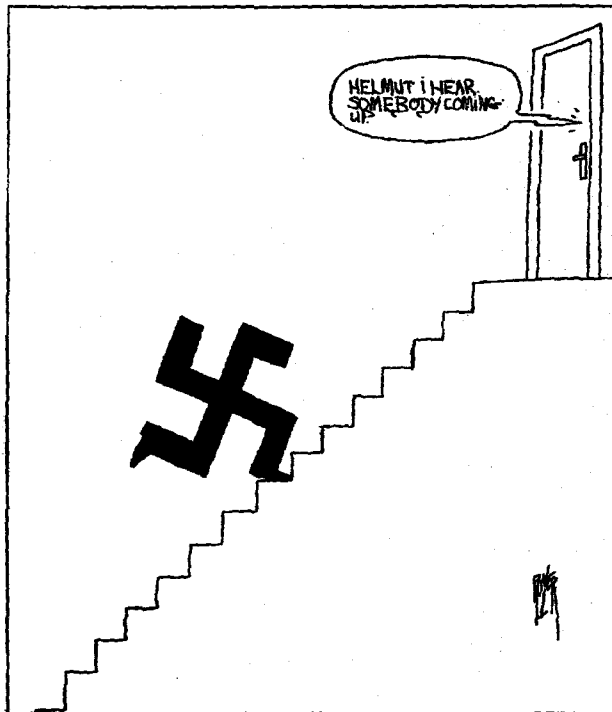
enact sharp curbs on the right to asylum, while the Social Democrats have fought back only half-heartedly, essentially conceding the issue to the conservatives.

While Austria has not yet seen violent attacks on “foreigners” as in Germany, the far-right Freedom Party has gained considerably in the polls, on a platform of ridding the country of foreigners.

The case of Czechoslovakia shows that the nascent xenophobia and racism is not only a problem of German-speaking peoples. In October, in the town of Teplice, hundreds of skinheads, chanting “Sieg heil” and “Czech lands for the Czechs,” attacked a group of gypsies, wounding several. There have also been attacks

on Vietnamese and other “foreigners.”

In eastern Germany and Czechoslovakia, the collapse of Communism and the failure of the independent Left to pose a real alternative have left the door open not only to the brutal economics of “free market” capitalism, but also to the most retrogressive forms of racism. Two years after the self-liberating power of the masses toppled Communism, little has improved in the daily lives of the masses, and it is fascist groups, not the Left, who are gaining ground during this period of soaring unemployment and shattered dreams. The future looks ominous indeed, especially when one considers the even deeper economic crisis which looms in the former Russian empire.



### Electoral wins in Canada

The electoral victory by the New Democratic Party (NDP) in the Saskatchewan provincial elections on Oct. 21 comes after the party's victory in British Columbia the week before, and in Ontario last year. The NDP won in three-way races against the Liberals and incumbent conservative parties in both B.C. and Saskatchewan.

While the elections are not a resounding endorsement of the NDP's social democratic policies, they do underline the discontent on many levels in Canada. This came out in the recent unprecedented strike by federal employees.

Federal elections are scheduled for 1993. (Is this why Prime Minister Mulroney is flirting with becoming U.N. Secretary General this year?) Among the looming questions is “national unity.” In the nearly year-and-a-half since a Cree representative vetoed the Meech Lake accords, there has been a growing movement among aboriginal peoples to make sure any new constitution recognizes their right to self-determination.

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

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

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

### Burma: repression continues

The awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Aung San Suu Kyi, the popular Burmese opposition leader who has been under house arrest and in forced isolation since 1989, was at least a token of support for the movement toward self-liberation by the people of Myanmar (Burma) from almost three decades of the authoritarian military regime of Ne Win. Aung San Suu Kyi is the daughter of the leftist and nationalist leader Aung San, who was tragically assassinated in 1947 on the eve of independence from Britain.

Aung San advocated a policy of democracy, socialism and self-determination for the country's numerous national minorities. Ne Win reversed most of these policies, setting up a reclusive, totalitarian society which claimed to be a unique form of socialism.

In 1988 a massive uprising lasting several months, in which Aung San Suu Kyi became a major leader, was drowned in blood. Since then, the military has carried on a policy of repression, but did allow a tightly controlled election in 1990. When the opposition National League for Democracy swept to a landslide victory despite all of the obstacles put in its way by the military, the regime simply ignored the election.

The main base of support of the regime is the army, which numbers 220,000 people. So far there have been no signs of its breaking apart, but neither have there been any signs that mass hostility toward the regime has lessened.

### Canadian worker strikes

**Toronto, Ontario**—To its long list of assaults on working people and social programs, the Mulroney Tory government has now added a direct attack on its own civil servants. At the same time as it was discovered that huge Christmas bonuses were in the works for senior management, the federal government ordered over 100,000 striking members of the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) back to work with the most draconian legislation in Canadian Labour history.

Workers who refused to comply faced fines of \$1,000 a day and the union itself was threatened with fines of \$50,000 a day if it resisted. PSAC had called its members out on strike when the government, in lieu of good faith bargaining, made a “take it or leave it” offer from which it would not budge. The offer was for a three-year contract that contained no increase in the first year and increases of 3% in years two and three. Most of PSAC's members are clerical workers who earn less than \$20,000 a year.

Canadian postal workers are facing the same intransigence from Canada Post Management in spite of a successful round of rotating strikes across the country in September. Issues of job security and the use of part-time workers to replace permanent jobs are in the forefront of the union's concerns.

All this is occurring in a climate of government policy that is causing increasing militancy among Canadian workers. The so-called “Free Trade” deal with the U.S. has seen over a half million industrialized jobs head south of the border, and the impending deal with Mexico will only deepen the government's strategy to roll back a century's worth of gains by Canadian labour. This, coupled with decreases in unemployment insurance benefits and other vital national health and social programs, is leading to an accelerated process of pauperization of the work force. Women, seniors, youth and immigrants are hurt the most, as usual.

To add insult to injury, in unveiling their proposals for constitutional debate, the Tories have included the notion that “property rights” should be enshrined in the constitution! It is becoming clear that nothing less than fundamental restructuring of the social and economic order will be enough to humanize social relations in this country.

—Correspondent

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