

NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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25¢

Marx on the production line



by B. Ann Lastelle

We spend a good part of our nights at Helene Curtis trying to stay awake and waiting—waiting for the machine operator to complete a change-over, waiting for the lab to release the solution, waiting for maintenance to make repairs. Suddenly the machine starts up, spewing out 275 bottles per minute. Six packers are jerked from forced inactivity into frantic movement, putting 12 bottles into each box as fast as we can, at least four boxes per minute, or bottles back up at the end of the line.

Then we come to the end of that order, or the machine breaks down or we run out of bottles or boxes, and we are back to waiting and trying to stay awake. We do this solely in order to pay the rent, buy groceries and put gas in the car.

LABOR IS EXTERNAL, FORCED

Sometimes I feel as though Karl Marx, who never spent a day of his life on a production line, has been sitting right next to us. He described alienated labor in his 1844 *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts* thus:

"First is the fact that labor is external to the laborer—that is, it is not part of his nature—and that the worker does not affirm himself in his work but denies himself, feels miserable and unhappy, develops no free physical and mental energy but mortifies his flesh and ruins his mind....His work, therefore, is not voluntary, but coerced, forced labor. It is not the satisfaction of a need but only a means to satisfy other needs. Its alien character is obvious from the fact that as soon as no physical or other pressure exists, labor is avoided like the plague....Finally....the activity of the worker is not his own spontaneous activity. It belongs to another. It is the loss of his own self."

(continued on page 3)

Black World

Boipatong: whither the ANC?



by Lou Turner

While South Africa's revolutionary calendar commemorates the dates of heroic revolts, it is more often marked by massacre. The June 17 Boipatong massacre enters onto that red list, next to Soweto, June 16, 1976 and Sharpeville, March 21, 1960. Each of the latter marked historic turning points in the Black liberation struggle. What of Boipatong?

In the dead of night, 200 mercenaries were transported to the Vaal Reef shantytown of Boipatong in police vehicles and unleashed on the sleeping residents in the worse orgy of violence by the dreaded Inkatha of Gatsha Buthelezi and government mercenaries, in the 2½ years of F.W. de Klerk's "transition to democracy." In that time, more than 8,000 Black South Africans have been killed in government-sponsored violence. In Boipatong 42 men, women, children and babies were savagely murdered, and scores injured.

So what of Boipatong? Does it become a turning point like the red dates of March 21, 1960 and June 16, 1976? "I have listened carefully to the song you have sung repeatedly: 'You (the ANC) are acting as lambs while the enemy is killing our people,'" lamented Nelson Mandela at the June 21 rally of 25,000 in Evaton, near the scene of the massacre.

Mandela knows there can be no forgetting the rivers of blood that the African masses have sung. He himself had, in 1955, invoked the death masques of Belsen and Buchenwald. Without a shred of illusion about the genocidal nature of the apartheid state he was out to overthrow, Mandela wrote: "...the fascist regime that gov-

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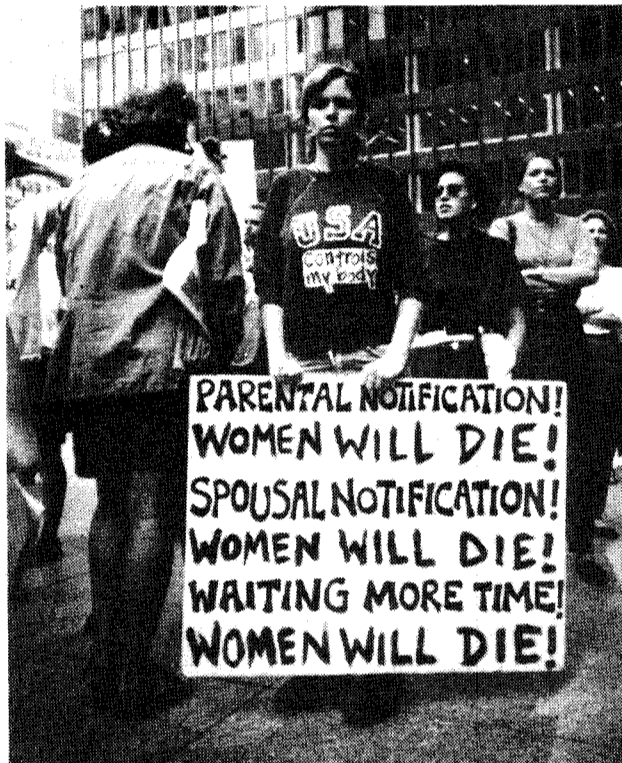
From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya—Philosophy and Organization in the Iranian Revolutionp. 4

On the Inside

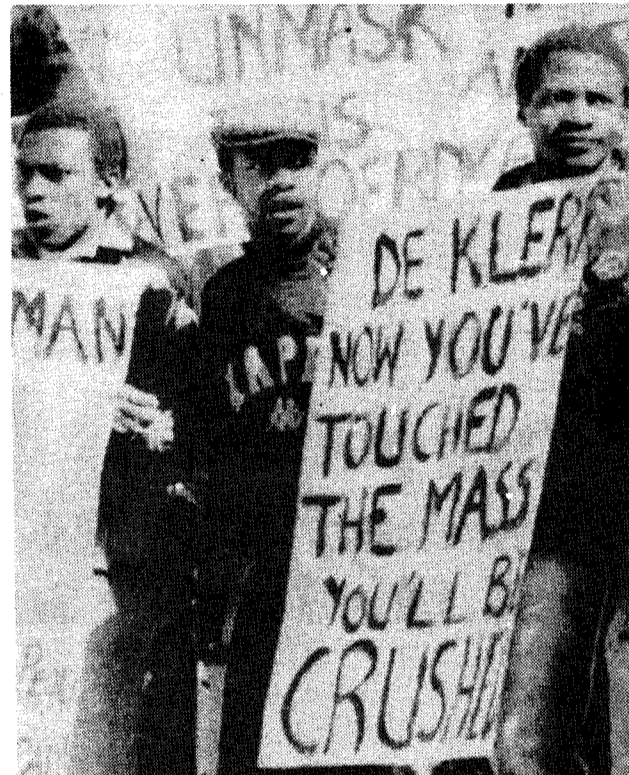
Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1992-93

Spontaneity, Philosophy, Organization: The Test of Today's Crises

News and Letters Committees has broken new ground for the revolutionary movement by publishing the Draft of its Perspectives Thesis each year directly in the pages of N&L. We not only invite, but urge your participation in our pre-Convention discussion around this thesis because our age is in such a total crisis that no revolutionary organization can allow any separation between theory and practice, workers and intellectuals, "inside" and "outside," philosophy and organization. We are not presenting any "pat answers" to the question of how we can re-create Marx's Marxism anew for our age. We are raising the questions that we feel demand answers and ask you to help in working them out.



Chicago demonstration against June 29 Supreme Court decision which further weakened women's right to abortion. Demonstrations took place nationwide.



Students in South Africa denounce President de Klerk after the massacre of 42 people in the Black township of Boipatong, June 17.

"It's Later, Always Later—except when spontaneity upsurges and you realize it is here and now, and you aren't there and ready."
—Raya Dunayevskaya, Perspectives Thesis, 1977

I. Los Angeles is not a place, but a condition

The battle for the minds of humanity was moved to a new stage by the rebellion of the Black and Latino masses that exploded in the three days of fire and fury in South Central Los Angeles (SCLA) from April 29 to May 1. It became a "defining moment" for all the protagonists in the battle for our minds because it revealed the Reason and determination of those masses to uproot a degenerate American "civilization" whose very core has been its racism from the day of its birth.¹

In the speed with which this rebellion—the largest U.S. urban upheaval of this century—at once became national in scope, spreading to cities, North, South, East and West; in the multiracial nature of the protests; and in the urban unrest that has surfaced since the rebellion in cities such as Chicago and New York, we can see that "Los Angeles" is not so much a "place" as a "condition." And most of all it is a condition of the mind.

It came only a little more than a year after George Bush's military victory in his genocidal Gulf War had seemed to open wide his path to single world mastery beginning at home. It came, moreover, when, in the aftermath of the long overdue collapse of the state-capitalist totalitarianism that called itself Communism, "free market" capitalism is being touted as nothing less than the vision of our future. Yet none of this proved capable of holding off the emergence of a new social consciousness among the oppressed as a result of the Los Angeles rebellion. It is not simply that the masses are expressing their disgust at the lack of jobs and at the continuous decline in the standard of living. It is that Youth today knows they have no future in this society.

This makes the Los Angeles rebellion a "defining moment" not just for the masses, but also for the rulers,

who are responding with a new stage of authoritarianism across the land. It is expressed in the veritable military occupation of an American city; in the setting aside of basic civil rights in arrests and searches of homes; and in passing ordinances such as in Chicago which give the police the power to disband or arrest any group of "loiterers" if they believe just one of them is a gang member.

This new stage of authoritarianism is no less expressed in the current election campaign. It is already evident that the call for a "strong hand" to "restore" America's crumbling economic, political and ideological infrastructure is hardly restricted to the candidacy of the "man on a white horse," Ross Perot. It also characterizes the reactionary stances being taken by Bush and Clinton. In fact, just as the neo-fascist David Duke was absorbed by Pat Buchanan, and Buchanan was in turn absorbed by Bush, so Bush and Clinton are now absorbing the reactionary state-capitalist ideology of Perot. This is a perilous moment for entertaining any illusions about bourgeois "democracy."

Nor is it only in the U.S. that we have seen how thin is that veneer when the rulers feel their rule is threatened. We have been witnessing this on a world stage, especially in South Africa, where more Black South Africans have been killed in the two years since de Klerk supposedly ushered in a "new" regime than in the full 30 years since the Sharpeville massacre. The latest atrocity at Boipatong has proved once again that nothing is more dangerous for the freedom forces everywhere than to sow illusions about the rulers who are masters at trying to cover their totalitarianism with "democracy." (See Black World, this page.)

At the same time that the Los Angeles rebellion has revealed the hollowness of such illusions in the U.S., we have this year also witnessed the most massive outpouring of women ever in Washington, D.C., in a March for Women's Lives, which brought not only the demand for

(continued on page 5)

1. See American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard, first published by News & Letters in 1963 and republished in expanded editions in 1970 and in 1983. See also Lead article in June 1992 issue of N&L by Lou Turner, "What is the meaning of the Los Angeles rebellion?" as integral to this Draft Perspectives Thesis.

Woman as Reason

by Terry Moon

Freedom. That is the goal. The battle over women's right to control our bodies, including our right to abortion, is a battle for freedom. Without the ability to control what is to happen within our very bodies, there can be no freedom for women. It is that realization that drives what is called the "pro-choice movement" and brought out the largest demonstration in the history of Washington, D.C., this past April. We want freedom and we want it now and forever!

It is that desire you feel when you stand in the cold from 5:30 a.m. till noon, arms linked with a woman you have never met before, as you protect a clinic from anti-abortion fanatics in Milwaukee, Wis. You feel it from women at the demonstrations that burst forth in cities all over the U.S. after the Supreme Court drove another nail into the *Roe vs. Wade* coffin. I felt it from the woman who took my leaflet announcing a speakout after the Court's decision and said furiously, "They have no right."

U.S. democracy is a lie, propped up by a Supreme Court that knows if it overturned *Roe* outright it would have no legitimacy whatsoever and would be revealed for what it is—a tool of repression. Bush needs that Supreme Court, he needs the police, and he needs the gutless Congress to prop up the lie of U.S. democracy.

MILWAUKEE CLINICS STAY OPEN!

That most people in the U.S. support a woman's right to abortion was seen clearly these past weeks in Milwaukee, where the "Missionaries to the Pre-Born"—a name and concept that are truly absurd—came to terrorize women who chose abortion, and to close down clinics. They failed.

June 27 was when they promised a horde of 2,000 would descend on Milwaukee and close the clinics. Only 600 came, but women determined to keep clinics open numbered well over twice that number—as they have every weekend since the attacks began. And in Milwaukee, a city that seems to have a church on every other corner, almost everyone who drives by these demonstrations honks and raises a fist in solidarity with clinic defenders.

One long-time organizer told me she was "astounded at the support we've had. We constantly have 1,200 to 1,500 people on the lines defending the clinics." She told me of checks of \$5 and \$10 that poured in with notes saying, "I can't be there but I'm glad you are." "Thanks for doing what you're doing." And, "I'm ill (or too old or my job stops me) and can't be there so I'm sending this money to show my support."

WOMEN WILL DECIDE OUR FATE

What's happening in Milwaukee reveals a deepening of the turning point that was reached in the Women's Movement after anti-woman fanatics invaded Wichita. After that fiasco women decided to rely on ourselves, not the state, not the courts, not the police and not this sexist government. In Milwaukee women as well as

Nurses' sympathy strike

Editor's note: As we go to press the strike by Summit Medical Center workers goes into its second full month. Many other workers, trade unionists and supporters have come out in mass rallies to get Summit to negotiate. The strikers are asking supporters to boycott Clorox products because Summit's treasurer is also an executive officer of the Clorox Company. Below is a report from one of the striking nurses.

Oakland, Cal.—We have pretty much shut the Summit Medical Center down. There are 1,700 workers on strike here from five unions: the cooks, the professional office workers, the X-ray technicians, the registered nurses. They all joined with the Licensed Vocational Nurses and housekeepers of SEIU Local 250 whose contract came up.

The company went right up to the end, settling all the issues, and then they threw in a demand for us to take back our right to go out in support of other workers on strike. They want to stagger contract expiration dates. But our position is that with this new hospital ownership all contracts have expired. Owners use that idea when it is convenient for them.

Last year we went down to the wire over health benefits and finally settled. Right after they put us through all that stress we heard about the merger of the two hospitals to form Summit and found out about their agenda to wring concessions from the workers.

There is never a good time for a strike but if we lose this one now we will have to strike in a year when our contract (registered nurses of the California Nurses Association) comes up. Then we won't have the unity from the sympathy strike we need to be effective. The company claims if we keep the sympathy strike we'll have to support a lot of strikes. But Providence, one of the hospitals that merged, had sympathy strike rights and only one strike in 15 years.

Management always played down sympathy strikes as a minor issue. Before, unions didn't take advantage of sympathy strike rights though the language was there. In 1991, nurses at Alta Bates voted to strike in sympathy with X-ray technicians. The strike was settled right away. The next year when the nurses' contract came up, the Alta Bates management put them through a lot of stress to get them to forfeit the right not to cross picket lines. Management went after that issue and won.

—Striking nurse

Abortion rights: the goal is freedom

many men—most of them youth—made lines around clinics, sometimes three deep, to keep anti-abortion fanatics from blocking doors.

New forms of resistance have been created where women "shadow" fanatics, using picket signs to thwart the "antis" (as they are now being called), to stop them



News & Letters photo

The day the U.S. Supreme Court Ruled in the Pennsylvania case 300 women and men came out in a spirited demonstration in downtown Chicago, Ill. The next afternoon over 1,000 women demonstrated against the ruling and for abortion rights. In New York City pro-choice demonstrators shut the Holland Tunnel for several hours.

from shoving their lying signs at clinic defenders and to keep them from yelling and spitting in our faces. New too is the tremendous organization of our protests. It is not only that women in Milwaukee got expert help from women from California and Buffalo, New York, it is that everyone defending the clinics knew—from minute to minute—what to expect, where the antis were (be they praying in church or crossing a certain intersection on their way to a clinic), what to expect when they got to our clinic, and how to fight back.

Woman with headphones and walkie-talkies constantly walked back and forth giving us information and answering all our questions. The spirit in Milwaukee was high and one youth kept making up slogans to both cheer us—like "Cheese, cows and choice!" since Wisconsin is the dairy capital of the U.S.—as well as express what the Women's Liberation Movement has achieved: "Hey hey, ho ho, we kicked you out of Buffalo! Ha ha, hee hee, we'll kick you out of Milwaukee!"

What needs to go along with this new stage of self-organization is the realization of its importance: the Reason embodied in it and its potential for revolutionary development. It is that revolutionary energy that politicians, from presidential wannabe Bill Clinton down to all the women politicians endorsed by the National Organization for Women, want to channel into their narrow political aspirations. Freedom cannot depend on one Supreme Court judge.

But when we realize that our goal is freedom—a new society, new human relations, a new world where all can experience self-development—then we will see that no politician will get us there. Rather it is the everyday clinic defenders, and the women and increasing number of men pouring out in demonstration after demonstration demanding that women have the right—the freedom—to control our own bodies, who are the real shapers of history.

Support Guatemalan women

San Francisco, Cal.—Phillips-Van Heusen, maker of stylish men's shirts, has a dirty secret. Like so many apparel makers, it realizes a healthy profit margin by exploiting Latin American labor. Some 50 people threw up an informational picket line last month in front of Phillips-Van Heusen's San Francisco factory outlet store to expose the apparel maker and bring attention to an important labor struggle.

Women in its Guatemala City shop are trying to organize a union to raise wages above \$2 to \$4 per day, half of that required for the minimum standard of living. A typical family lives in a house with a dirt floor and outside toilet. And this in a country whose government still rewards labor organization with murder.

The Chief Executive Officer, Larry Phillips, countered the union drive with threats to close the plant and move production to another cheap labor, Third World country. No cold-blooded corporate businessman is Phillips; he sits on the board of directors of Oxfam International, a well-known organization devoted to feeding hungry people in underdeveloped countries.

At the picket line rally, Guatemalan activists explained why they had fled their country in the midst of government repression of labor and indigenous struggles over the past decade. And organizers promised to get the word out: Boycott Phillips-Van Heusen! We don't need new age hypocrites claiming to help poor people while stepping on their dreams of a better life.

—Supporter



Women-Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey

More than 200 people rallied at the courthouse in downtown Detroit, Mich., June 9, in a candlelight memorial service for two lesbians murdered by their next door neighbor. Friends of the women say the killer had threatened them, calling them queer, before finally gunning them down outside of their home. "Violence in any form against any person is disgusting and harms us all," said one gay activist. "We need to join together, we need to stay together, we need to stop the violence."

* * *

After four years of underground classes, Israel's Palestinian college closed by military order, Bir Zeit University's Ramallah campus, has at last been allowed to reopen. However, whereas in 1987, before the Intifada gave the Israeli government the excuse to close the campus, the male-female student ratio was almost 50-50, today the number of women enrolled is down by 30%. Women fear this is because of the increasing strength of Islamic fundamentalism.

* * *

Harvard Law School students chanted and waved banners during their June commencement exercises in Cambridge, Mass., demanding the resignation of Law School Dean Robert Clark and the hiring of more women and minorities. The school has six Blacks and five women among 64 professors and has just fired Professor Derrick Bell who had vowed not to return from his unpaid leave unless a Black woman was hired to a tenured position.

SELECTED N&L PUBLICATIONS

—PAMPHLETS—

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard.

Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucasians in the Unions" by Charles Denby.....\$2 per copy

- Constitution of News & Letters Committees 29¢ postage

—BOOKS—

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

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- Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal

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See other ads pages 5, 6, 7, 10.

Oscar Mayer, union close Chicago plant

Chicago, Ill.—The reason they're shutting the Chicago plant down, the true reason, is that this is the oldest work force Oscar Mayer has. One more contract and the majority of the people in this plant would be able to retire, and the company doesn't want to pay the pensions and the insurance. That's why they shut this plant down. Bottom line.

With 30 years of service, no matter what your age, you go out with full benefits. I counted a hundred people with 25 to 29 years. At 55 years of age, they give you a penalty in your pension, but you get full insurance coverage until you die. If you're not 55, you get nothing; you lose your insurance, period. At 55 you can go back and get your pension, but when they get through penalizing, you're down to a hundred and something dollars a month. There are 114 people between 50 and 54.

CIVIL RIGHTS TAKEN

They gave us this waiver, a "general release of all claims against the company and the union," to sign. It takes all of our civil rights away from us, including that old age protection bill. If you don't sign, you give up everything. You don't get the six months of company-paid health insurance, you don't get what they call "stay pay," you don't get your vacation. So they really figure they've got you over a barrel.

All of these jobs now are going down to Missouri and places like that in these \$6 an hour, non-union plants. The United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) could have stopped this in the beginning. They could have worked to organize those plants; they said they were going to do it. What's going to happen is all of us that are making \$11 and \$12 an hour are going to be phased out.

After we're just about all gone, the union will go down there and start talking all their stuff to those people and tell them, "You're only making \$6 an hour. Join the union, and we'll get you \$7 an hour"—when we were making \$12 an hour! Then the union and Oscar Mayer can go to the table and act like they're doing something to give those people a dollar or 50c. Have the UFCW and Oscar Mayer sat down and arranged this already?

I don't want to work at a union place. I don't even want to see any more unions. I feel I can sit down across from a boss and deal much better and much fairer for myself than any union, because I know nothing is

going under the table. There's got to be a better way, I don't know what, but there's got to be a better way, because I just don't think you can revitalize these old people that are running these unions. And all this merging of unions is for one purpose: to keep us simple people from infiltrating those unions.

NO INTEREST IN UNIONS

This country has really lost interest in unions. In a lot of places workers will take their chances with the company rather than take their chances with the union, because they say, "Look at what unions are doing to everybody else. Why should we have one?" And that is really a sad thing.

These union officials are making over \$100,000. How can you even justify making that type of money and the people you are representing are making \$7 and \$8 an hour? You can't even put yourself in their shoes. So how can you represent them? To me, if unions are going to turn this country around or do anything, they're going to have to go back to grass roots, where union officials come out of the plants.

—Black woman worker

Farm worker victory

Oakland, Cal.—Between May 29 and June 10, some 4,000 grape pickers refused, crew by crew, to work at five major ranches in the Coachella Valley where the grapes first begin to ripen and where farm workers haven't seen a wage increase in six years.

By June 13 the farm workers had wrested wages from three ranches, with stoppages and the threat of strikes, wringing settlements out of several other grape growers. Although the state of California has made it impossible for the United Farm Workers to win contracts at the ranches where they are the bargaining agent, the union considers it a victory to win the raises and attention to deplorable working conditions. One ranch, Bluestone, is a subsidiary of the giant Prudential Life Insurance Company.

While state law requires clean, secure portable toilets; safe, cool water to drink; and clean washing water, farm workers believe only direct action will improve conditions since the laws aren't enforced. Promises won from the growers included providing these amenities, a minimum number of hours of work per day, an end to harassment and discrimination, and amnesty for strikers and leaders.

Some 2,000 farm workers celebrated the uprising with a victory march and rally in the city of Mecca, June 18, for the gains won at 12 grape ranches. They hope to carry the momentum north with the grape harvest. And the campaign to stop poisoning farm workers with pesticides continues with a national boycott of table grapes from California.

—Jim Mills

The Harry McShane Collection

Toward a new unity of worker and intellectual

One of the most crucial parts of the Marxist-Humanist tour of East Europe and Britain this spring* was the opportunity to engage in dialogue on the recently donated collection of Harry McShane's 30-year correspondence with Raya Dunayevskaya, the founder of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. Now housed at the National Labour Museum in Manchester and entitled "The Harry McShane Collection, 1959-88: Scottish Marxist-Humanism's Development in Dialogue with Raya Dunayevskaya," this collection was the subject of public forums at the National Labor Museum in Manchester, Ruskin College of Oxford University, the Socialist Forum group in Edinburgh, and the Workers' City group in Glasgow.

In each meeting, the discussion focused on how the new relation between worker and intellectual that comes alive through this correspondence speaks not just to the past, but to the future.

McShane's dialogue with Dunayevskaya began in 1959, several years after he had broken with the Communist Party. He already had five decades of labor activism behind him, ranging from his participation in the mass unemployment demonstrations in Glasgow in 1908, to his work alongside John MacLean in the Clydeside revolt of 1919, to his leading role in the marches of the unemployed in the 1930s. Yet upon obtaining a copy of Raya Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom*, he felt a new world open up for him. As he wrote her in 1960, "I have read nothing like it...I don't know of anyone who has handled Marx in the way it is done in the book."

WORKERS AS THINKERS

In the correspondence that followed, we become witness to Harry's determination to take responsibility for the development of the new ideas he had discovered, by publishing *The Scottish Marxist-Humanist*, forming the Scottish Marxist-Humanist Group, and writing Raya his thoughts on ongoing world events and battles of ideas. And in Raya's voluminous letters to him, we see a continuous effort to encourage Harry to concretize the concept that is so central to Marxist-Humanism—workers not only as activists but also thinkers.

In his letters, Harry often writes of how meeting philosophical demands does not come easy for him, especially because of the way the radical movement in which he was raised treated theory as a province only for intellec-

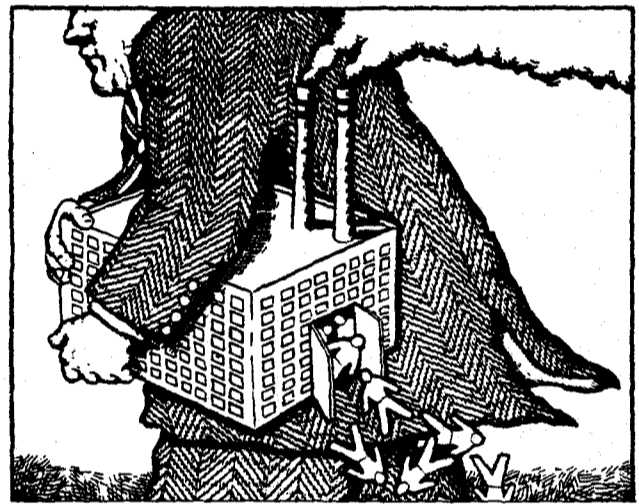
Boycott Stroehmann's!

Editor's note: Taystee bakery workers spoke out at Ebenezer Baptist Church in New York City at a Juneteenth teach-in titled "The relation of joblessness to homelessness," which brought together people from a homeless shelter, Taystee workers and others. The Rev. Timothy Mitchell pointed out, "The majority of workers at Taystee are African-American and Afro-Caribbean. We feel the union didn't give them the support they needed because of who they are, and the company didn't give them the opportunity to transfer to Pennsylvania." We print below comments from three of the workers:

New York, N.Y.—Stroehmann's, which bought Taystee some years ago, is shifting our production to non-union, mostly white plants in Pennsylvania and will ship the bread and donuts into New York City. Our union, Bakery Workers Local 50, told us we couldn't do anything about it. So we organized ourselves and formed the Taystee Workers Fighting for Our Jobs. We are looking into the possibility of starting our own job. We will start a boycott of Taystee and Stroehmann's.

Our union not only won't help us, but is doing as much as the company to stop us. It's hard getting support from other unions, because they look at us like we're rebels, fighting our own union leadership. Teamsters Local 550, which represents our drivers, is also opposing us, because they feel they'll keep their jobs. We have gotten community and church support. The city has agreed to turn over \$780,000 in tax breaks they are taking back from Stroehmann's to help us set up a bakery. Stroehmann's will not sell the plant to us, because they don't want the competition.

Our biggest help has been brothers and sisters in Pittsburgh who have been fighting Wonder Bread and are to open up their own bakery, City Pride. They've been advising us. We want a job that will hire all 510 of us, not just 20. It's not easy to get jobs out there. We are just a pay check away from homelessness.



Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

The "means to satisfy other needs" can be pretty meager, even at a company with more than one billion dollars in sales. The Black woman who packs next to me on the line is a day laborer. She has a five-year-old daughter, but makes only \$30 per shift and cannot afford to pay a baby sitter. She gets free child care from her grown daughter and a niece, but if they have something else to do or if the child is sick, she must miss work.

Another woman who is a single parent with four children asked our supervisor why the company doesn't have a child care center. He answered that the state requires 25 square feet per child and the company just doesn't have the space. The real answer has more to do with the type of "freedom" that exists for workers in capitalist society.

We are "free" of the means of production, that is, we have been separated from the land and from the instruments of production. We are "free" to sell our labor power to the highest bidder, that is, we are not bound to any particular "owner." Helene Curtis has no obligation but to pay for the labor power which we sell.

CREATION OF NEW POWER

The situation within the process of production is in total contrast to this abstract notion of "freedom." Helene Curtis purchases our individual labor powers and brings us together into one productive body. Therefore, as Marx wrote in *Capital*, "...the connection existing between their various labors appears to them, ideally, in the shape of a preconceived plan of the capitalist, and practically in the shape of the authority of the same capitalist, in the shape of the powerful will of another, who subjects their activity to his aims."

The force developed with this cooperative form of labor Marx called "...the creation of a new power, namely, the collective power of the masses." This "new power" has a dual nature. It is a productive power for capital and, because capital brought it into being, it appears, not as a human power, but as an attribute of capital. It is also the source of resistance. Marx wrote: "As the number of co-operating laborers increases, so too does their resistance to the domination of capital..."

Sometimes it is hard to find the resistance. The work force at Helene Curtis is so divided between day laborers and permanent employees, Black and white, Spanish-speaking and English-speaking. Yet the conditions that Marx described—alienated labor, the domination of capital, and the lack of freedom both within and outside the process of production—face us all.

The company keeps pushing: extending the workday beyond the minutes for which we are paid, requiring additional work from each person on the line. Yet the women on my line have managed to limit the line speed to 275 bottles per minute and to arrange the rotation of jobs to suit ourselves. That's a small start.

tuals. He refuses to let this deter him, however, as seen in his authorship of the Preface to the British edition of *Marxism and Freedom*, his articles on theoretical topics in *The Scottish Marxist-Humanist*, and his response to Dunayevskaya's letters.

DUNAYEVSKAYA—McSHANE LETTERS

While there is no way to give even a whiff of this here, the spirit of the correspondence is conveyed in a letter by Raya in 1974: "Because of your proletarian revolutionary past and fluid expressiveness and length of devotion and integrity, everyone is ready to respect you and does. But that is not what is needed. If anything is to prove our Marxist-Humanist principles and originality of practice as well as principle that the proletariat is not only muscle but Reason, it is that you compel them—Stalinists, Trotskyists, ILPers, Scotsmen of the Left, intellectuals as well as workers—to listen to you as philosopher...There is no separation between dialectics in philosophy and that in revolution; liberation that will not be transformed into its opposite, or be aborted before it ever happens, demands that unity which is its truth, its only truth...That is the heritage you must bequeath to us every day of life."

Harry's dialogue with Raya continued until he was in his 90s, as seen from his last letter to her: "I spoke for an hour today to an audience of 150...two days later, I was rushed to the hospital. I emerged in time to hear Mrs. Thatcher's attempt to denigrate Marxism. I am glad I heard it. We must challenge our enemies into the open and confront them with the armory of Marxist-Humanism. I have been reliving the period when my teacher from Detroit came to Glasgow."

At each of the meetings in England and Scotland on this correspondence, we were asked how the concept of a new relation of worker to intellectual can be worked out in the very different circumstances confronting the radical movement in the 1990s. Achieving a new beginning in today's freedom movements so much impinges on this question, that we will be returning to it in the near future, in having further discussions on the McShane-Dunayevskaya correspondence, and in making these pages available to our readers to develop your thoughts and experiences.

—Peter Wermuth

*See our "Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives," p. 6, for a discussion of the East European dimension of this trip.

From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya Marxist-Humanist Archives

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

Editor's note: Out of the 1979 Iranian Revolution, an Iranian Marxist-Humanist organization, Anjoman Azadi, emerged. Its members translated and published many of Dunayevskaya's writings. As early as June, 1979, Dunayevskaya drafted an introduction to an Iranian edition of Marx's 1844 Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts (Humanist Essays) in response to requests from Marxist-Humanists in Tehran. The first text printed here is a later version of the Introduction as written in November, 1980. (It is included in The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, #6034. The Farsi translation is also included in the Collection, #6198.) Throughout this period Dunayevskaya also carried on a dialogue with Iranian Marxist-Humanists on the relationship of philosophy to organization in the Iranian Revolution. In the Fall of 1979 a young Iranian revolutionary, Raha, wrote to her from Tehran on Marx's 1844 Essays and their relevance for the problems they were facing. Dunayevskaya's answer, written Nov. 3, 1979, is the second text printed below. It is included in the Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, #15209.

Introduction to 1844 Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts

Because there is nothing more exciting than addressing revolutionaries in an ongoing revolution, I feel very honored to have this opportunity, in 1980, to introduce Marx's 1844 Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts, which opened an entirely new continent of thought and revolution that Marx named "a new Humanism." The year that I was first able to publish these Humanist Essays as an Appendix to my work, *Marxism and Freedom* a quarter of a century ago, coincided with the Hungarian Revolution against Russian totalitarianism calling itself Communism. Thus, both from below, from an actual proletarian revolution, and from theory, a todayness was shed upon these Essays that had lain on the dusty shelves of archives and had never been practiced.

Because what the contemporary world needs most today is a unity of Marx's philosophy of liberation with an outright revolution, we must reexamine what it is that Marx had meant when, in his greatest theoretical work, *Capital*, he had declared "human power is its own end"; and what, in his very first historical materialist analyses in 1844, he had meant by saying "communism, as such, is not the goal of human development, the form of human society"—what the goal is, is the creation of totally new, class-less, human relations.

WHEN YOU TURN to the Essays on "Private Property and Communism" and the "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic," you will note three things at once. First and foremost is that the analysis of labor—and that is what distinguishes Marx from all other Socialists and Communists of his day and ours—goes much further than the economic structure of society. His analysis goes to the actual human relations. Secondly, it was not only Hegel whom Marx stood on his feet, uniting, instead of separating, thinking from being. It was also the "quite vulgar and unthinking communism that completely negates the personality of man." Thirdly, and above all, is Marx's concept of labor—that it is the creativity of the laborer as the gravedigger of capitalism which uproots all of the old.

Whether capitalism achieves the domination of labor through ownership of or through control over the means of production, what Marx focuses on is this: any "domination over the labor of others" proves not only capitalism's exploitative but perverse nature. To further stress the perverse nature, Marx says that the whole of capitalism could be summed up in a single sentence: "Dead labor dominates living labor." This class relationship transforms the living laborer into "an appendage to the machine." Here is how Marx expresses it in the Humanist Essays:

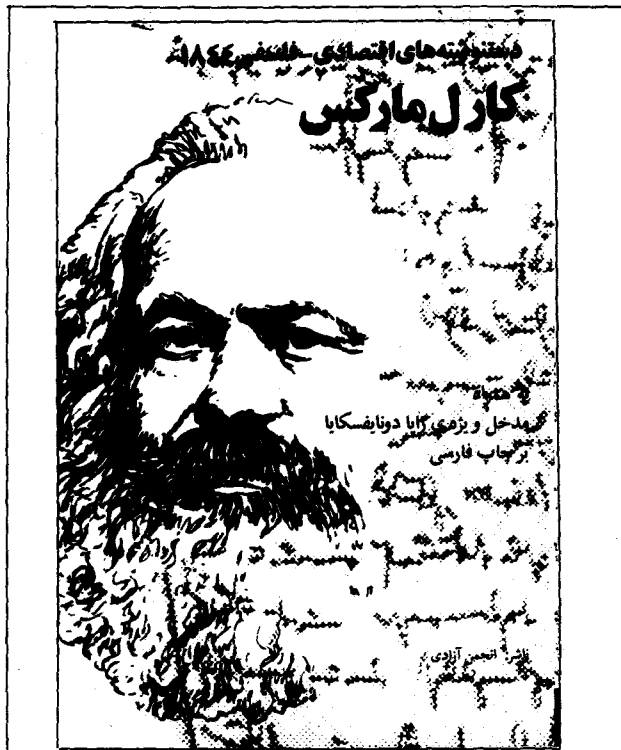
"Private property has made us so stupid and one-sided that... in place of all the physical and spiritual senses there is the sense of possession which is the simple alienation of all these senses... The transcendence of private property is, therefore, the total freeing of all human senses and attributes."

It is here, to make sure that one thereby does not jump to the conclusion that the abolition of private property creates a new society, that Marx rejected the substitution of one form of property—state—for private as any solution to the problem of exploitation. It is why he rejected "vulgar and unthinking communism," focusing instead on two other problems: 1) truly new human relations, the "new Humanism" in place of communism; and 2) the totality of the uprooting of all old relations so that the dual rhythm of social revolution—the abolition of the old and the creation of the new—would run their full course.

IN ORDER TO FULLY grasp Marx's Historical Materialism, the foundation for which was laid by these Humanist Essays, let us turn to the history of Marx's day. What we see, first and foremost, is that Marx, in

laying the foundation of Historical Materialism, was also creating the theory of proletarian revolution, the dialectic of liberation. Marx's greatest discovery—his concept of labor which revealed the laborer to be not just a force of revolution, but its Reason—meant that the proletariat was the "Subject," the Universal Subject that was not just a product of history, but its shaper, negating, i.e., abolishing, the exploitative reality. The exploited proletariat is the transformer of reality. It is here that Marx saw the core of the Hegelian dialectic, naming "the dialectic of negativity as the moving and creating principle."

In actuality, continued Marx, there lies hidden in Hegel's *Phenomenology of Mind* "the movement of history." The mystical veil Hegel threw over it must be removed, but far from turning his back on philosophy, Marx transformed Hegel's revolution in philosophy into a philosophy of revolution. Which is why Marx held that "Humanism distinguishes itself both from Idealism and Materialism, and is, at the same time, the truth uniting



Cover for Farsi edition of Marx's 1844 Manuscripts, published by Anjoman Azadi, 1985. Available from News and Letters.

both...[and] capable of grasping the act of world history."

"Grasping the act of world history" meant that he had to proclaim "revolution in permanence" when he saw that no sooner had the masses helped the bourgeoisie gain victory over feudalism in the 1848 revolutions than the bourgeoisie turned against them. And when he witnessed the greatest revolution in his time, the 1871 Paris Commune, and saw the masses take destiny into their own hands, Marx declared that non-state to be the "political form at last discovered to work out the economic emancipation of the proletariat." As Marx expressed it:

"We should especially avoid re-establishing society as an abstraction, opposed to the individual. The individual is the social entity."

MARX RAISED THE QUESTION of "revolution in permanence" not only for his day but as the way out for all unfinished revolutions. No age can understand that better than our own, plagued both by transformations into opposite after each revolution—such as that which saw the first workers' state that arose from the Russian Revolution turn into the state-capitalist monstrosity that Russia is now—and by the aborting of today's revolutions before ever they come to completion.

The question is: **What happens after the first act of revolution?** Does conquest of power assure a classless society or only a new class bureaucracy? Our age, which has witnessed a whole new Third World emerge from the struggle against Western imperialism (U.S. imperialism most of all) in Latin America as in Africa, in the Middle East as in Asia, needs to demand that "grasping the act of world history" means spelling out total freedom.

Here again, Marx can illuminate our task in the manner in which he spelled out how total must be the uprooting of the old and the creation of the new. He turned to the most fundamental of all human relations—that of man to woman. In it we see why Marx opposed both private property and "vulgar communism":

"The infinite degradation in which man exists for himself is expressed in this relation to the woman as the spoils and handmaid of lust. For the secret of the relationship of man to man finds its unambiguous, definitive, open, obvious expression in the relationship of man to woman, and, in this way, the direct, natural...necessary relationship of man to man is the relationship of man to woman."

Clearly, "each of the human relations to the world—seeing, hearing, smell, taste, feeling, thought, perception, experience, wishing, activity, loving" must transcend mere equality, a needed first achievement but

not yet the needed total reorganization of human relations. Abolition of the old is only the first mediation. "Only by the transcendence of this mediation...does there arise positive Humanism, beginning from itself."

AS ONE FOLLOWS Marx's view of total freedom, one can see how far beyond technology Marx's philosophy of revolution extended. Long before the atom was split and out of it came, not the greatest productive force, but the most destructive A-bomb, H-bomb and N-bomb, Marx wrote in these Essays: "To have one basis for life and another for science is a priori a lie." With Hiroshima, we saw what a holocaust the lie of separating the reason for being from the reason for scientific development can become. Now, with the eruption of the world-wide anti-nuclear movement, we see all over again how urgent it is to study and practice Marx's new continent of thought. As the great English poet, William Blake, expressed it, nothing is more binding than "mind-forged manacles." Let us finish with those manacles once and for all.

It is with the striving for such a manifesto of total freedom that I, as a Marxist-Humanist, express my solidarity with the Iranian revolutionaries as we all aspire to a new internationalism. The struggle continues.

November 1, 1980

Letter to Iranian revolutionary

November 3, 1979

Dear Raha,

It's great to welcome back an Iranian revolutionary who, as quite an original thinker, does not separate theory from organization. Quite the contrary. The result is that even when some of the ideas on form of organization are what I consider quite wrong, the profundity of the theoretical ground and the concentration on form of organization makes even what is "wrong" quite evocative.

Let me concretize these generalizations. You are the first who saw anything about form of organization in Marx's early writings. The opposite is true; the early writings are always quoted as if Marx was both "pre-Marxist" and very nearly dumb on the question of "the Party," so when you quote what Marx said on "communist artisans form associations" and that these "associations [themselves] create a new need—the need for society—and what appeared to be means has become an end," it is clear that you have sensed something that does indeed reconnect with Marx on the question of freely-associated men and women and that you have every right to conclude, "that theoretical result is that we should search for a kind of organization which is, at the same time, in unity with philosophy of the revolution and with the aim of the proletariat as a class."

Where I disagree is that you make too quick a leap to the present with the result, much as you want to do the opposite, you are really once again separating philosophy and organization. For example, we of course are not only emphasizing "new forces" but Reason, and that is absolutely indispensable. So that you cannot possibly jump to the Fedayeen [a Left organization in Iran] where every word you say is correct (both against hierarchic form of organization and guerrilla warfare, that unholy combination of vanguardism and voluntarism) and yet it would appear at the end as if it were only because they were separated from the masses instead of it being both that and completely lacking in philosophy.

I think you ask the right question—"how a theory can be materialized"—but then make that materialization only relate to objective conditions, as if that meant economics, whereas in fact to Marxist-Humanism, objective conditions are both economics and the masses revolting against that economics. It's very dangerous because that's exactly what has been wrong for the whole Second International and with Trotskyism: somehow in the process of the economic analysis, the proletariat itself became object. To Marx, however, material[ism] did not mean just economics. It meant the whole form of life, so that the need naturally was first and foremost food and shelter, but also all that was needed, by no means limited to whether you had a spoon to eat with or you were eating with your fingers, but the need for what Marx called "quest for universality."

I disagree that the proletariat were not the first in the Iranian revolution. Of course, the so-called first—whether it's Father Gapon leading masses with icons to the Tsar's palace [in 1905], or whether it's poets in Iran revealing the horrors of the Shah's prisons, or whether it's the journalist-editor in Nicaragua who was murdered by Somoza—precedes the actual proletarian outburst. But it doesn't become revolution until the proletariat appears, both in strikes and in demonstrations, that is to say, masses in motion...

Of course you're right, when you laugh at Khomeini for thinking that his rulership is "a gift from God," and you show that it has "its base in the profane world." But it isn't true that somehow the fact that the merchants were together with the proletariat in these mass demonstrations made it possible for Khomeini to usurp the power that belongs to the proletariat.

I believe that the really important thing, is when you say: "What appears to be an end is rather a new beginning." It isn't true, however, that that new beginning can be only workers' councils, even when you correctly

(continued on page 11)

Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1992-93

(continued from page 1)

abortion rights (see "Woman as Reason", page 2) but the battles against the deep sexism of this degenerate society to a new height. Yet women are now asking whether their struggles are all to be limited to merely sending a few Democratic and Republican women to Congress this Fall. We have also seen workers across the land, who were ready to support the Caterpillar strikers to a show-down until the union bureaucracy sent them back to the same conditions they had earlier rejected, now asking whether capitalism will succeed in establishing Third World conditions in industry right here at home. And now Youth, looking at the total failure of the Earth Summit in Rio where George Bush's arrogant attitude gutted what little of substance there was in the climate change and biodiversity treaties, are asking whether there is any future for the very earth itself if this society is not fundamentally uprooted. (See article, page 11.)

It is because it brought to such a new point of consciousness the *non-viability* of this degenerate system that the rebellion in SCLA has made the idea of revolution suddenly thinkable again.

At the very moment we have reached this crucial new opening to a revolutionary tomorrow, however, a great contradiction confronts the world. On the one hand, we encounter the new mass revolts; on the other, we find a void in the effort to articulate the concept of a new, human society as the goal of the freedom struggles. There is no question that the rulers have succeeded in harnessing the media and other "prizefighters of capitalism" to try to convince the world that "Marxism is dead." But they are being allowed to succeed in that effort because revolutionaries have not posed any alternative vision of the future that could help move the freedom struggles beyond the first negation and toward the creation of totally new human relations.

We have only to look at how all the old radicals responded to the Los Angeles rebellion, "supporting" it but decrying what one "vanguard" party after another dared to call the absence of a "leadership with the courage to lead and an effective program for action." Naturally, all these old radicals consider that it is their "responsibility" to create such "leadership" and to organize, organize, organize the revolt. It is, however, not only such vanguardists as these who are not meeting the challenge of this historic moment, but also those revolutionaries who decry such vanguardism as the sheer idiocy it is, but act as if the needed vision of the future can come from spontaneity alone.

Both were profoundly described by Raya Dunayevskaya in *American Civilization on Trial* at the very beginning of the Black Revolt in the 1960s, when she wrote: "The truth is old radicals are forever

blind to the positive, the subjective new dimensions of a spontaneous struggle." At the same time, she also warned that "what is needed as you penetrate deeper into both the struggles and the aspirations of the Negroes... is the unifying philosophy of Marxist-Humanism."

It was because history has proved that the projection of a needed vision of the future cannot be left to spontaneous action alone that Dunayevskaya turned to philosophy, to Marx's roots in the Hegelian dialectic, to work out the relationship of "that type of grouping like ours, be it large or small," to the mass movement—as she put it in her "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes" which became the philosophic moment of the birth of Marxist-Humanism in 1953.

She there saw in Hegel's Absolutes what she called a "movement from practice that is itself a form of theory" and called on the movement from theory to meet its challenge. But it took a lifetime of hard labor to fully work out the kind of restatement of Marx's Marxism our age demanded.²

It took Karl Marx 40 years to hew out the body of ideas we call Marx's Marxism: from the philosophic moment of its birth in 1844 when Marx specified his vision of the new society humanity was striving to achieve throughout its entire history as "a new Humanism"; through his labor to work out the law of motion of Capital to its end when the "new passions and forces" would finally "expropriate the expropriators"; to the new moments he was still discovering in his last decade, when he critiqued those who called themselves "Marxists" for separating his philosophy from their organization. What Marxist-Humanism disclosed is that at every point in that 40 year journey, Marx was working out the self-development of the Idea of Freedom as inseparable from all the great movements from below—from the Silesian weavers to the slave revolts, from the struggle for the eight-hour day to the Paris Commune.

The question we have to confront today is whether the great difficulty in articulating a vision of the future can be overcome so long as revolutionaries continue to separate organization from the philosophic labor of restating the Idea of Marx's Humanism for our life and times.

The question is not the need for organization "in general," but the kind of organization that sees itself as

2. The "1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes" were published in book form in 1989 in *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* (Chicago: News and Letters).



taking "responsibility for the Idea of Marxism for our age, with its aim being Marx's goal of no division between mental and manual labor, specifically theory and practice, as a unit."

Precisely because today's crisis has placed new urgency on working out the inseparability of philosophy and organization, we need to explore the new points of departure contained in Dunayevskaya's work of 1986-87, when she was embarking on a new book tentatively titled "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy: the 'Party' and Forms of Organization Born out of Spontaneity." Her work on this reached a new level of articulation in her "Presentation on the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy of June 1, 1987."³ We return to this today, five years later, not because of a mere calendar anniversary, but because the objective situation indicates we may lose the opening to the future if we do not begin to take organizational responsibility for practicing the self-determination of the Idea of Marx's Humanism as a force of revolution. So long as responsibility for that keeps getting passed onto other shoulders, the spontaneous revolts will be left without a vision of a new social reality with which to replace decadent capitalism.

The Los Angeles rebellion makes this the moment to break from any notion that the times are too "conservative" for the ideas of Marxist-Humanism. Now is the time to project them to a new generation of activists and thinkers, as part of our contribution to the theoretic preparation for revolution.

3. The writings of Dunayevskaya's final year, 1986-87, are available as a supplemental Volume 13 to "The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection" at the Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan.

II. State-Capitalism in the 1990s

Far from being "transitory," this decline has become a permanent fact of life in capitalist America. It is seen in how the current recession, at 19 months long (according to government figures), is the lengthiest since the Great Depression. Though the government claims that this quarter's paltry 2.5% growth rate "proves" it is ending, the unemployment rate keeps increasing.

As one Black woman who has worked 25 years in the soon-to-be-closed Oscar Mayer meatpacking plant in Chicago told us, "What happened to Rodney King is just a spark; it's all right here, simmering up. The majority of kids don't have a job. And the poor Black and Spanish kids—it's just like they forget about them. You cannot forget about any race of people because at some point in time they're going to come back to haunt you. At some point they're going to have total chaos in this country. I'm waiting on it."

This economic morass is a result of something far deeper than the "political will" of Ronald Reagan and George Bush. It is a result of global capital's response to the 1974-75 economic recession. That recession revealed so deep a decline in the rate of profit that the capitalists began to worry about the ability of the system to reproduce itself. In response, capital embarked on a new global stage of economic "restructuring." Central to this was the drive to force down wages and living conditions—whether by outright union-busting or swelling the ranks of the unemployed—in order to increase capital's rate of appropriation of surplus value as part of ensuring a renewed cycle of capital accumulation.

Though the U.S. capitalists have succeeded in cutting wages, this has not led to a level of investment in new labor-saving equipment sufficient for competing in the "global marketplace." Instead of investing in new plants and equipment, manufacturers find it far more profitable to ship their plants overseas or to Mexico, where there is an abundance of cheap labor. Nor are they investing in capital-intensive technologies in the service sector, despite all of the talk of entering a "post-industrial" society. The increase in the capital stock in the low-wage service sector actually lags behind that of manufacturing.

As the Economic Policy Institute study put it, "We have permitted a situation where employers are trying to become competitive globally by cheapening wages rather than investing in productivity and quality."

This problem flows from the absolute contradiction of capitalist production. In order to satisfy its "werewolf hunger" for ever-greater rates of surplus value and

profit, capitalism is organically driven to reduce the relative proportion of living labor to dead labor in the process of production, whether through automation or throwing workers into the permanent army of the unemployed. In doing so, however, it deprives itself of the only value-creating substance that can provide the new capital needed to reproduce itself on an ever-expanding scale.

Trapped as they are within the mental confines of their class position, the rulers and their ideologues are now concluding that the way out of this economic morass is to couple the Reagan-Bush restructuring with greater state intervention. As one analyst wrote, since "our companies don't buy the equipment to modernize the productive process which they need to compete, the U.S. needs a coordinating mechanism for economic policy...the government needs to seize the initiative by backing American companies through appropriate industrial policies and technology strategies."¹

Ross Perot puts it more bluntly. He says the economic malaise calls for "a strong hand"—one he is most willing to provide. As he recently said, "In Japan, they have an intelligent, supportive relationship between government and industry. That's what we need."

It will come as no surprise to the residents of Los Angeles that "free market" economic austerity goes hand-in-hand with greater state intervention. They experienced that fact in confronting the Army sent in to stifle the uprising. Far from being only a question of Los Angeles, it is the face of our future.

It may appear we face a different situation when it comes to Yeltsin's Russia. The collapse of the Soviet Union last year was certainly a spectacular event, both in leading to the dissolution of the hated Communist Party and the breakup of one of the world's most oppressive empires. But does this mean the present dismantling of the "planned economy" in favor of the "free market" changes the state-capitalist nature of its economy?

The events in Russia of the past year show what happens when a section of the ruling class decides to change its political allegiances in order to forestall a mass revolt that could lead to the uprooting of its class position. Though the resistance of the masses against Communism was certainly relentless, and showed itself over the last year in strikes of miners, teachers, health workers and others, the old institutions of power and

(continued on page 6)

1. See Kevin Kearns and Gregory Starko, in *The Christian Science Monitor*, June 4, 1992.

The New Forms of Appearance of State-Capitalism

The need for a serious reorganization of thought is called forth not by any single event, but by the objective situation as a whole. This is especially true in light of the new economic and political forms assumed by the present stage of state-capitalism.

Our "post-Cold War" world has so failed to resolve a single one of the endemic problems of capitalism that not even Bush's "victory" in the Gulf War and the collapse of Communism has been able to cover over the growing dissatisfaction with the deteriorating conditions of life and labor in the U.S. The Los Angeles rebellion has highlighted this in human terms.

Take the fact that the poverty rate in South Central Los Angeles today is twice that of Watts during the 1965 rebellion. This is largely due to the erosion of the U.S. industrial base; SCLA alone lost some 70,000 manufacturing jobs in the 1980s. As a result SCLA has become a ghetto of Black and Latino permanent unemployment.

Far from being true only of Los Angeles, this is a fact of life in every major American city. Over the past decade the number of those in poverty grew by 4.5 million. Hardest hit is Black America: unemployment among Blacks is over twice that of whites, while half of Black children nationwide under the age of six live in poverty. Conditions for inner-city Latino youth are hardly better.

The past decade has in fact experienced one of the most dramatic declines in living conditions in U.S. history. According to a study released last month by the Economic Policy Institute, 80% of all Americans suffered an absolute decline in living standards in the 1980s, while the income of the richest 1% increased 80%.

by Raya Dunayevskaya
The 1986 expanded edition from Columbia University Press includes a new introduction, "Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and Marx's World Humanist Concepts."
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(continued from page 5)

repression came through the events of 1991-92 largely untouched and often with the same individuals in control. The transformation of last year's Communist Party bureaucrats into this year's advocates of "free market" economics was achieved without any fundamental change in class relations. This is not only true in Russia, but also in new independent republics, from the Ukraine to Kazakhstan.

This situation defines the limits of Yeltsin's economic reforms. They have so far operated at the epiphenomenal level of raising prices. This has dramatically brought down wages as part of Russian state-capitalism's effort to effect what it sees as an unsatisfactory distribution of "income" between workers' wages and surplus value or profits. As a result, the standard of living has dropped by 50% since last year. According to the International Monetary Fund, it will drop another 20% next year.

Yet far from resolving the crisis in production, as the "democratic" reformers predicted, this has simply allowed the former Communist bureaucrats who maintain control over state farming monopolies and the military-industrial complex to reap large fortunes. This is also the case in such states as Estonia, where the former secret police, the KGB, has become active in banking and joint venture operations. Instead of leading to either an increase in availability of goods or improved productivity, the reforms have thus far led to high priced goods for those who can afford them and high profits for those with power to obtain them.

Yeltsin has meanwhile insisted he will not break up the military-industrial complex, which still accounts for over a third of national output. Like Gorbachev before him, he knows that imposing austerity through "market reforms" requires keeping his hands on the "commanding heights" of state power.

As Zhores Medvedev put it, "So far, the only things that have changed in Russia are the prices. What is taking place is not the creation of a market infrastructure independent of state power, but the formation of a Russian command-administrative system that will, inevitably, strengthen the power of the government."²

This co-existence of "free market reforms" and state intervention is evident throughout the world. It is seen in Asia, where the mass revolt in Thailand against the military this spring unveiled the fascist hand of that "Pacific model" of economic development. It is seen in Africa, where the efforts of countries such as Malawi to "restructure" their economies by raising food prices led to massive strikes and riots in May, which Banda's regime brutally repressed. It is most of all seen in Latin America, where the imposition of economic restructuring, often backed up with the power of the military, is being met by popular resistance from Mexico to Venezuela, and from Argentina to Peru.

The fact that most of Latin America's rulers, as well as Russia's Yeltsin and China's Deng, consider the economic "reforms" introduced by Pinochet's fascist regime in Chile of the 1970s as a model, should give pause to those who think the plunge into the "free market" is the absolute opposite of state-capitalism. In fact, just as the emergence of the monopoly stage of capitalism appeared as its opposite, the dispersion of legal ownership among large numbers of shareholders, so too, today, privatization and "free markets" are forms of appearance of their opposite, the state's increased involvement in the restructuring and maintenance of the capitalist system.³

Today's Ideological Pollution

Why then, have the latest forms of appearance of state-capitalism led so many to conclude we have reached a "new epoch" in which "free market" capitalism defines our future? Why is it that so many are taking this to mean "Marxism is dead," even though the economic crisis makes Marx's critique of capitalism more valid than ever?

The Marxist-Humanist theory of state-capitalism is crucial for illuminating this. First articulated by Raya Dunayevskaya in the 1940s, this theory viewed state-capitalism as a new world stage that emerged from the Great Depression and took on such different forms as the New Deal in the U.S., the Co-Prosperity Sphere in Japan, and the transformation of the Russian Revolution into its opposite under Stalin. This theory penetrated beneath the surface level of society, where the contrast of state vs. private property appears decisive, by probing into the class relations at the point of production. It thereby broke through the illusion that satisfied property made Stalin's Russia a "new" society "unforeseen" by Marx.

Just as the move from private to state property in the 1930s led many to view Stalin's Russia as a "new social order," so many now view the move from state to private property as meaning "free market" capitalism and bourgeois democracy defines our future. By skipping over the theory of state-capitalism, it becomes easy to confuse the latest forms of appearance of capitalism with its essence.

As Dunayevskaya wrote in an essay that now appears in *The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism*, "It isn't Plan, Plan, Plan, but State, State, State that marked the new, the ultimate stage of capitalism.

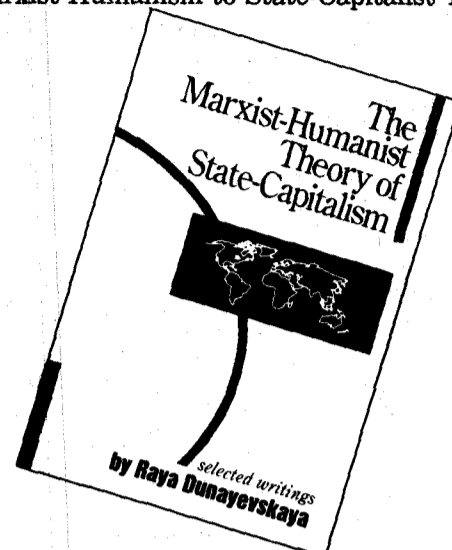
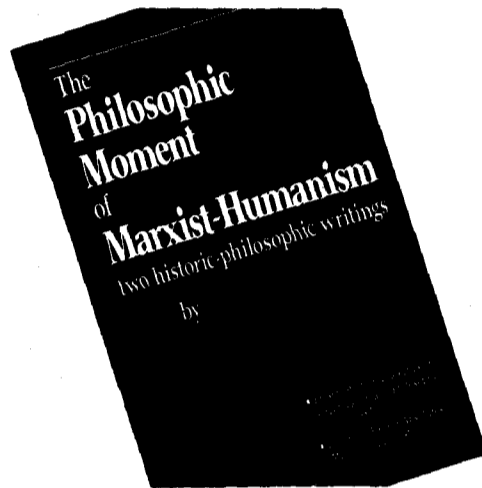
Two essential works of Marxist-Humanism

● The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism

● The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism

Trace the development of Raya Dunayevskaya's thought from the Origin and Development of State-Capitalist Theory through The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism to State-Capitalist Theory within Marxist-Humanism.

Heretofore we criticized the theory of state-capitalism by stressing that, without developing into the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism, it was incomplete. While that is true, it would have been impossible to get to the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism without the theory of state-capitalism. We would certainly have had to find the important missing link in our encounter with state-capitalist society, as is all too obvious from Herbert Marcuse and other Left intellectuals who, without the ground worked out by the state-capitalist theory, had no theory for criticizing "Soviet" regimes and, by no accident whatever, fell into the trap of apologists for these regimes. - from "Not by Practice Alone: The Movement from Theory"



In Hegelian dialectics, the philosophic moment is a determinant; even if the person who was driven to articulate the Idea of that "moment" was very nearly unconscious as to its depth and its ramifications, it remained the element that governed the concretization that follows the laborious birth that poured forth in a torrent nevertheless.

Specifically and concretely, in our case the moment I'm referring to is May 12 and 20, 1953. The Idea is in demystifying the Absolute as either God or the closed ontology, as the unity I singled out, a dual movement, from theory to practice, from practice as well as from theory. - from "Presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy, June 1, 1987"

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By whatever name it went...state intervention was here to stay. It achieved total control in its Russian form—Stalinism—only because it was easier to do it there since the revolution had destroyed Tsarism."⁴

Dunayevskaya's theory is especially critical for today because of its uniqueness—its encounter with Marx's Humanism. Though the Idea of Marxist-Humanism was only implicit in her work of the 1940s, as early as her 1941-42 study of the Russian economy she made Marx's 1844 *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts* (Humanist Essays) and *Capital* integral to her analysis. A concept of taking organizational responsibility for the restatement of Marx's Marxism in the face of new realities was thus present in her work on state-capitalist theory from the start.

This concept has taken on new importance today in light of the grave contradiction confronting the freedom struggles—the effort of the rulers and their epigones to kill off the Idea of Freedom by declaring that "Marxism is dead." What makes this so dangerous, is that when responsibility for concretizing the self-determination of the Idea of Marx's Humanism gets skipped over, one can get pulled by the latest forms of appearance of capitalist production, even when one does adhere to a theory of state-capitalism "in general."

The Apparent Return of the Old

This reality was brought home to us by the recent trip of our national co-organizer, Peter Wermuth, to East Europe, where the historic-philosophic roots of Marxist-Humanism are especially deep. It was the 1956 Hungarian Revolution which first pried Marx's Humanist Essays from the Archives. It was in East Europe where the continuous revolts expressed themselves most luminously in one or another form of Marxist Humanism, from Poland in the 1950s to Czechoslovakia in the 1960s to Yugoslavia in the 1970s. These and other events proved of critical importance in the development of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.

Yet while the persistence and creativity of this four-decade long history of revolt helped, by 1989, bring down the state-capitalist regimes that called themselves Communist, the indigenosity of the Idea of Marx's Humanism is today being subsumed. Far too many are under the illusion that a new revolutionary beginning can be worked out ab novo, as if the history of the Marxist-Humanist Idea can be skipped over for the sake of Practice, Practice, Practice.

Instead of leading to any new beginning, this has only made it easier for the re-emergence of various forms of the old to take advantage of a new mode of existence. It is seen everywhere from Czechoslovakia, where the discredited Communists have now dressed themselves up as the "Left Bloc," to former East Germany, where the "reformed" Communists recently won a third of the

vote in elections in former East Berlin.

The most startling expression of how the old rushes in to take advantage of a new form of existence when the articulation of a genuine alternative is missing is seen in the rise of narrow nationalism, rampant from Russia to former Yugoslavia, which is now consuming itself in a bloody Serbian-induced slaughter. So overpowering is the pull of this narrow nationalism, that even former socialist humanists have taken posts in the genocidal Milosevic regime.

That Bush decided to enter this Balkan imbroglio by pushing for sanctions against Serbia has nothing to do with any concern for the thousands being slaughtered in Sarajevo, and much to do with another form of the return of the old—the re-emergence of all sorts of intra-capitalist rivalries. It was certainly no accident that Bush chose to declare that the U.S. will press for sanctions against Serbia the very day Germany and France announced, to the U.S.'s chagrin, that they will set up a joint military corps outside the auspices of NATO. Bush is more than anxious to show the European rulers who is "in charge" when it comes to "restoring order."

The return of such intra-capitalist rivalries is seen everywhere from China, which detonated its largest nuclear test ever in May while warning that it intends to be taken seriously as "the regional force" in South East Asia; to India, which chose the same week to launch a test flight of its new ICBM. It ranges from Europe, where a replay of the Balkan wars of 1911-14 is now openly discussed as tensions mount between Greece, Albania, Bulgaria and Macedonia; to Central Asia, where Iran and Turkey are maneuvering for influence.

So fragile is the structure of this "post-Cold War world" that as one commentator said, "It would be an enormous irony of history if the Marxist prediction of inevitable conflict among the capitalist nations were to come true as a result of the collapse of the Marxist [sic] political systems."⁵

This return of the old is especially seen here in the U.S., which continues its drive for single world mastery overseas while impoverishing the masses at home. The fact that such a home-grown Nixonite as Perot can be passed off as an "alternative" to Bush and Clinton this election year is a startling indication of how disorienting are the new forms of appearance being assumed by degenerate capitalism.

What none of these contenders to the throne can change is the deep systemic crisis of capitalism. As Dunayevskaya wrote in 1980, "That which Marx, a century back, had called 'the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation'—the unemployed army—unmated capitalism has transformed to such extremity that the unemployed army, far from being a sometime feature of capitalism in crisis, became its permanent state. Even at

(continued on page 7)

2. Zhores A. Medvedev, "Russia: Economic Reform or Catastrophe?", *Dissent*, Spring 1992.

3. This point is developed in great detail in Andrew Kliman's essay, "The Transformation Problem and State-Capitalist Theory in the 1990s," available in *News and Letters Committees' 1992 Pre-Convention Bulletin* No. 1.

4. Raya Dunayevskaya, "Andropov's Ascendancy Reflects Final Stage of State-Capitalist Degeneracy," in *The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalist* (Chicago: News and Letters, 1992).

5. C. Fred Bergsten, "The Primacy of Economics," *Foreign Policy*, Summer 1992, p. 11.

Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1992-93

(continued from page 6)

these [Democratic and Republican] elitist conventions it dominated all questions...and so disrobed capitalism

6. See Raya Dunayevskaya's Perspectives Report to the 1980 Convention of News and Letters Committees, entitled "Today and Tomorrow," available in The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, microfilm #6245.

III. The Path to New Beginnings: Meeting the Challenge from the Self-Determination of the Idea

The depth of today's economic, political and ideological crises and the search for new pathways out of them calls upon us to re-examine the central philosophic and practical questions posed by the freedom struggles of our time. There are signs that some rethinking is occurring, as seen in revolutionaries from Latin America to Europe and from Africa to the U.S. asking what went wrong in the development of post-Marx Marxism that helped lead to the present crisis.

What hems in many of these discussions, however, is the tendency to reduce all the problems of post-Marx Marxism to democracy vs. bureaucracy. This is especially evident when Lenin is the subject of discussion. Intense debates are being waged over the pros and cons of Lenin's elitist concept of the "party to lead" as against the need for pluralism and multi-party democracy.¹ Yet what continues to be skipped over by virtually all parties to the debate is Lenin's philosophic breakthrough of 1914, in which he broke with his vulgar materialist past by diving deeply into Marx's roots in the Hegelian dialectic. Lenin's rediscovery of Hegel proved of critical importance in his concretization of the dialectics of national liberation and revolution from 1914 to 1923.

A critical re-examination of Lenin is certainly called for, especially since he never extended his philosophic reorganization to a break with the elitist concept of the "party to lead." The problem with the present debates, however, is that by ignoring what Lenin did achieve in 1914, the importance of philosophy for a practicing revolutionary Marxist is lost sight of. This only makes it easier to continue to skip over the centrality of philosophy in Marx. Indeed, today's reduction of all questions to democracy vs. bureaucracy is so all-consuming that no one is posing the need for organizational responsibility for Marx's philosophy of revolution, not just "in general," but specifically on the question of what happens after the overthrow of capitalism.

As Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in 1977, "Irrespective of the correctness or 'incorrectness' of what [Lenin's] position on any single issue was, or what later data occurred, shouldn't revolutionary Marxists instead be preoccupied with whether we are headed in the direction Marx thought was the goal—the development of human power which is its own end, the true realm of freedom...?"²

To see why the resistance to working out organizational responsibility for the Idea of freedom is so deep, we have to confront the category of "post-Marx Marxism as pejorative, beginning with Engels," as projected in Raya Dunayevskaya's *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (1982). In measuring the greatest post-Marx Marxists against the totality of Marx's philosophy of "revolution in permanence," this work illuminated the todayness of Rosa Luxemburg, who profoundly speaks to us through her feminist dimension, her deep appreciation of spontaneity, and her crucial insistence on the need for socialist democracy after the revolutionary conquest of power. At the same time, it showed that Luxemburg likewise remained "orthodox" on the question of the Party, in that she criticized Lenin only for overemphasizing centralization, but not for separating organization from Marx's philosophy of revolution.

The fact is that all post-Marx Marxists, Lenin included, failed to build upon Marx's insistence, projected in his 1875 *Critique of the Gotha Program*, not to separate the philosophic principles of the new society one is for from organization.

Why has there been this resistance in even the best revolutionaries to overcoming the separation of philosophy from organization? Why would that be true not only of Luxemburg, but also of Lenin, who did return to the philosophic roots of Marxism in Hegel's dialectic? To dig this out, we need to turn directly to Lenin's 1914 *Philosophic Notebooks* with eyes of Dunayevskaya's 1986 re-examination of Lenin's philosophic ambivalence, which is now part of the Introduction to the 1989 edition of her *Philosophy and Revolution*.³ She there explored the duality contained in Lenin's 1914 *Philosophic Notebooks*: the fact that while he proclaimed "cognition not only reflects the objective world, but creates it," he nevertheless never concretized this when it came to his commentary on the final chapter of Hegel's *Science of Logic*, the "Absolute Idea."

This duality first shows itself in Lenin's commentary on the penultimate chapter of the *Science of Logic*, "The Idea of Cognition." Right after singling out the creativity of cognition Lenin writes, "Absolute Idea = objective truth." In one sense this shows Lenin's greatness, as he refuses to dismiss the Absolute Idea as a "mystical abstraction," as virtually all Marxists have

that it stood stark naked."⁶

If our age has so exposed the emptiness of capitalism, how then can it be that we are nevertheless encountering so deep a crisis in the effort to project an alternative to it? To answer that question, we have to dig deep into the battle of ideas, not just in general, but on the level

done. At the same time, however, though Hegel poses the Absolute Idea as the unity of Theory and Practice, objective and subjective, Lenin showed a marked preference for Hegel's abbreviation of the chapter on the "Idea of Cognition" in his *Smaller Logic*, where Hegel gives the impression that Practice stands higher than Theory. Lenin was "enthralled" at this, because he felt that the objective, the Practical Idea, is the resolution of contradiction. Throughout his commentary on the "Idea of Cognition" Lenin gives priority to the Practical over the Theoretical Idea, even though Hegel warns in the *Science of Logic* that when Practice separates itself from cognition there remains a realm of "unresolved contradiction"—"two worlds" of subjective and objective.

Thus, although Lenin ends his *Philosophic Notebooks* with a lengthy commentary on the chapter on the "Absolute Idea," he still remains on the threshold of the Absolute. That is especially seen when he reaches the turning point in the Absolute Idea, the "negation of the negation," which Marx had called the "moving and creative principle" of Hegel's dialectic. Lenin, however, singles out from the "negation of the negation" not the principle of forward movement, i.e., the self-determination of the Idea, but rather "the apparent return to the old."

From then to the end of his commentary, Lenin emphasizes "objective world connections," materialism, but not the unity of subject and object. He thus dismisses as "unimportant" the final half paragraph of the *Science of Logic*, where Hegel poses the "pure Idea" as "an absolute liberation" in which "the Idea freely releases itself."

This is the critical point. In skipping over the "free release" of the Idea, Lenin lets go of the power of the Idea, its self-determination, as what not only reflects reality, but also transforms it. He thereby fails to reconnect with Marx's concept of organization, which forever held Practice inseparable from the self-determination of the Idea of Freedom.

In a word, Lenin failed to build upon Marx's insistence, projected in his *Critique of the Gotha Program*, about the need not to separate organization from "principle," i.e., the concept of "revolution in permanence," which doesn't end until the full abolition of any division between mental and manual labor. In this way Lenin left the generation that followed unprepared for fully confronting the reality that emerged after the Russian revolution—Stalinism.

As Dunayevskaya wrote in a presentation that now appears in *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism*: "Even the one post-Marx Marxist revolutionary who did reach deeply into philosophy — Lenin—nevertheless did not do so on the question of organization. In truth, he never renounced his position on the vanguard party set out in 1902 in *What is to be Done?* though he often critiqued it himself. He profoundly extended his new breakthrough in philosophy to a concretization of the dialectics of revolution, and yet never changed his position on the need for the 'thin layer of Bolsheviks' as a vanguard party organization. In 1982 in *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, we critiqued Lenin politically. To fully work out the dialectics of organization for our age...that critique must dig deep philosophically."⁴

To do so, we have to ask, what makes it so hard for post-Marx Marxists to work out the practice of philosophy, even when the "creativity of cognition" is singled out?

We ask this, not for Lenin's sake, but for our own. We are the ones facing the challenge of working out new beginnings when there have been so many aborted revolutions and turning the clock back worldwide. We are the ones facing the challenge of working out new beginnings when there is so deep a crisis in thought that the ideologues are getting away with the claim that the collapse of state-capitalism calling itself Communism means that "Marxism is dead." The problems of our age compel us to explore why concretizing the self-determination of the Idea as a force of revolution keeps getting skipped over for the sake of the immediate.

The Pull of Immediacy

This is spoken to in the second letter that forms the 1989 Introduction to *Philosophy and Revolution*,

4. Raya Dunayevskaya, "Presentation on the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy of June 1, 1987," in *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* (Chicago: News and Letters, 1989).

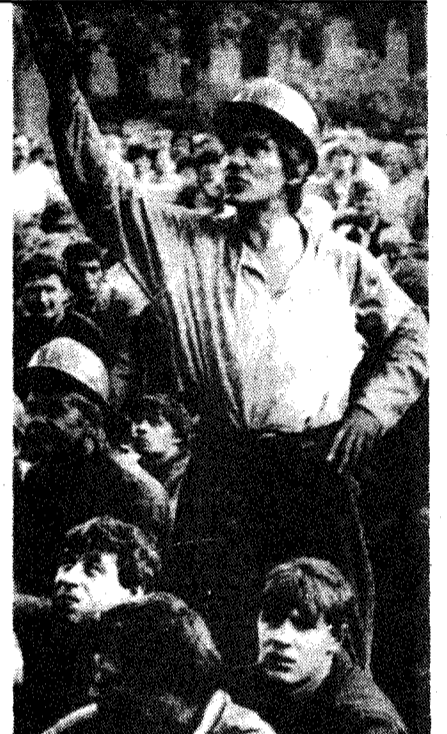
of what has remained an untrodden path in all of post-Marx Marxism—the dialectics of organization and philosophy. For "it isn't history 'as such'; it is dialectics which is the method by which to judge the new."⁷

7. Ibid.

Philosophy and Revolution by Raya Dunayevskaya

"Man does not live by bread alone, but he must have bread to live. This is where the 1970-71 Polish revolt began; this is not where the revolts against state-capitalism will end. Whatever attraction the state plan may have had for anyone during the Depression, it has been clear ever since the Hitler-Stalin Pact opened the floodgates to World War II that there are no fundamental differences between private capitalism and state-capitalism."
(from Ch. 8, "State Capitalism and the East European Revolts")

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Miners on strike in former U.S.S.R.

out an unmediated relation to organization by skipping over the concretization of the principles that must underlie it.

It is hardly an unfamiliar problem. Our age has witnessed the emergence of movements from practice that were so creative as to be themselves a form of theory. A form of theory, however, is not yet philosophy. Its working out cannot be left only to spontaneous action. When revolutionaries abandon their responsibility for philosophy by reducing the role of revolutionary organization to the formulation of tactics and strategies alone, they leave the movement from practice without any vision of the future. That is when the Subject can become impatient, in the course of battling contradictions, with the seemingly endless stages of negation it must suffer through; it can then slide backward into intuition, into an unmediated relation to objectivity.

As Hegel indicates in his critique of the Third Attitude to Objectivity, when "principle" and Organization get separated, retrogression is inescapable. Far from being any philosophic abstraction, this defines the spirit of the present moment.

One place it is seen especially sharply is in Iran. It recently experienced its most massive uprising since the 1979 Revolution, when a march by 300 disabled veterans in Shiraz in April, protesting government policies, was followed in May by widespread riots in Arak, Mashad, and Khorramabad. It holds great promise for working out a new beginning in a land that has a rich history of revolutionary struggles as well as Marxist thought, reaching all the way back to its revolution of 1905-11.

What, then, will be the Left's response? At the moment, groups such as the Tudeh Party claim to have broken with its Stalinist past by supporting "multi-party democracy." But does simply substituting Stalinist monolithism with "liberal democracy" really change the elitist attitudes of such groups towards women's liberation, the peasantry, and rank-and-file labor? Does it really change the Left's hostility to philosophy? Does it really pose a pole of attraction that can combat Islamic fundamentalism?

Throughout the Middle East, from Egypt to Algeria and from the Sudan to the West Bank, Islamic fundamentalism continues to be on the rise precisely because the Left's response has proved so narrow. This retrogression can hardly be reversed when the working out of the inseparability of philosophy and organization continues to get passed over for the sake of other concerns.

Listen to how one Palestinian activist explained the unprecedented growth of Islamic fundamentalism in the Palestinian movement: "All those who are not Islamists but who have questions or doubts about the [PLO-supported] peace process...and want alternatives to the [Arafat's] Fatah, go with the Islamists. If the Left had been

(continued on page 8)

1. These debates can be found in an array of publications, ranging from recent issues of *Against the Current* in the U.S. to *Workers' Liberty* in Britain.

2. Raya Dunayevskaya, "Tony Cliff Reduces Lenin's Theory to 'Uncanny Intuition,'" in *Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis* (Detroit: News and Letters, 1978).

3. See Dunayevskaya's "New Thoughts on the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy," in the 1989 edition of her *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989).

Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1992-93

(continued from page 7)

a real alternative, perhaps the Islamists would not have had so much support."⁵

Precisely because the way out of the Third Attitude to Objectivity lies in working out the inseparability of philosophy and organization, Raya Dunayevskaya's work of 1986-87 on "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy: The 'Party' and Forms of Organization Born out of Spontaneity," directs us to the future. Her work on this showed that whereas it is possible to adhere to the standpoint of Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks* and still maintain ambivalence on the relation of philosophy to organization, this is not possible when it comes to Marxist-Humanism. For with the philosophic moment of Marxist-Humanism, the 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes," Dunayevskaya broke from all post-Marx Marxists in projecting the "free release" of the Idea as the path to the future.

This first shows itself in the Letter of May 12, 1953, which consists of Dunayevskaya's journey through the final chapter of Hegel's *Logic*, the "Absolute Idea." She there took issue philosophically with Lenin over attitudes to the dialectic of negativity. After quoting Hegel's statement that second negativity is the "determinate entity," the principle of forward movement, she detects in Lenin an impatience to get beyond this determinate, as especially seen in his dismissal of the last half paragraph of the *Logic*. In stating that Lenin did not see the concreteness of the Idea's "free release" because "you didn't have Stalinism to overcome, when transitions, revolutions seemed sufficient to bring the new society," she says our age so hungers for "a totally new revolt in which everyone experiences absolute liberation" that it becomes necessary to follow Hegel into

5. This statement, from Ali Jarbani of Bir Zeit University, was quoted by Peter Ford in "Islamic Radicals Gain in West Bank, Gaza," *The Christian Science Monitor*, May 1, 1992.

IV. Our Needed Reorganization of Marxist-Humanist Tasks, 1992-93

Our perspectives for 1992-93 center on the philosophic, journalistic and organizational concretization of the philosophic moment of Marxist-Humanism. It demands rapidly responding to changing world events, as it is impossible to reach philosophy if there is any separation of objective and subjective. It entails taking our ideas out to new audiences whether in the U.S., where the Los Angeles rebellion has underlined the critical importance of outreach in the Black, Latino and labor dimensions especially, or internationally, where our trip to Mexico this past Spring opened new doors for projecting Marxist-Humanism to workers, intellectuals and women's liberationists in Latin America. It involves further developing Marxist-Humanism philosophically so that an aim, a goal, an end that can become the ground for a new beginning can be projected to those hungering for a vision of the future.

To grasp what is new in the challenge facing us in 1992-93, it is necessary to recall what *News and Letters* Committees has achieved in the five years since the death of the founder of Marxist-Humanism forced us to confront how the summation she had been working out in 1986-87 could become our new beginning. The most outstanding achievement was our publication, in 1989, of *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism*, which contains both the "Presentation on the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy" of June 1, 1987, and the 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes." At the same time we created a supplementary Volume 13 to "The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection" housed at Wayne State University to make available to the world her work in 1986-87 on "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy." We followed this with Volume 14, detailing the process of her writing the "trilogy of revolution." We further concretized our perspective of having the founder's last writings be the vantage point for grasping the totality of Marxist-Humanism's development when we succeeded in having expanded editions of the trilogy published, each with a different 1980s writing by the author as a new Introduction.

This work took on a new form in 1991-92, when we published *The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism*, which is likewise structured on Raya Dunayevskaya's philosophic comprehension of Marxist-Humanism in containing her "Not by Practice Alone: The Movement from Theory." Inseparable from this, we insisted that having the trilogy of revolution in print at a moment when the founder's final writings and *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* were also available provided the opportunity for working out that totality as a new beginning. We were attempting to center our perspectives on the need to concretize the self-determination of the Idea.

Merely asserting the challenge, however, to make the founder's philosophic comprehension our new beginning, without specifying what to do to make it a reality, will not keep us from the perils of the "abstract thinking" Hegel warned about in his discussion of the Third Attitude, and that Dunayevskaya warned us about in "Not by Practice Alone":

"The contrast between abstract and concrete—as if one is Universal and the other concrete—does not free you of the danger of transforming the concrete Universal into an abstraction. Thus, to bandy about the expression 'trilogy of revolution' means to act as if, at

the realm where the Idea of absolute negativity is most fully developed—*The Philosophy of Mind*.

This is the subject of her Letter of May 20, 1953. What needs to be singled out from it here is how concretely Dunayevskaya projects the self-determination of the Idea, especially when she reaches the final three paragraphs of *The Philosophy of Mind*, where Hegel sums up his revolution in philosophy.

She there develops Hegel's indication that Practice is "implicitly the Idea" by discerning a dual movement in the Absolute—from practice to theory as well as from theory to practice. She then follows Hegel into the concluding paragraph of *The Philosophy of Mind*, in which he presents the self-determination of the Idea itself as the mediation, the jumping off point to the new society. In catching the power of the Idea itself, she caught the historic link of continuity with Marx's Marxism.

With this 1953 breakthrough, the challenge was not to repeat "Self-Determination of the Idea" as a phrase or conclusion, but to concretize its free release by restating Marx's Humanism for the post-World War II world. This was painstakingly achieved over the course of the next three decades in Dunayevskaya's development of Marxist-Humanism, as seen in her three major works, which she referred to as a "trilogy of revolution." The first of the trilogy, *Marxism and Freedom: from 1776 Until Today* (1958), reestablished the American roots and world humanist concepts of Marx's Humanism; the second, *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* (1973), projected her unique category of "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning" as the determinate to restating Marx's Humanism for today; the third work of the trilogy, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (1982), reexamined the totality of Marx's Marxism as a philosophy of "revolution in permanence" that no post-Marx Marxist fully

one and the same time, 'everybody' knows about it, and all that needs to be done is to assert, as 'conclusion,' that all will need to study it in the manner in which one gets a degree, instead of seeing it as an urgent task to do. That only transforms it into an abstraction."

That is why any effort to work out an immediate relation to the Idea of Marxist-Humanism by skipping over the labor involved in concretizing it in the projection to others—whether in the analysis of world events, our intervention in the battle of ideas, or the transformation of our organizational routines—will mean losing the moment that has been presented to us at this critical historic juncture.

The need to particularize our perspectives in specific areas of our work calls for a sharper reorganization of

concretized.

The summation Dunayevskaya drew from Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, in a paragraph added to the book after it went to press, is that while spontaneity and "party to lead" are opposites, they are not absolute opposites. In posing this, she challenged revolutionaries to work out the absolute opposite to the elitist party—"philosophy's 'labor, patience, seriousness and suffering of the negative,' i.e., experiencing absolute negativity." It was a challenge she kept issuing from then to the end of her life in June 1987.

Where we have had trouble in meeting this challenge is that in correctly opposing the elitist "party to lead" we have too often acted as if the working out of its organizational alternative would come by itself. The problem with such skipping over of organization is that it cuts away the compulsion to concretize philosophy. The Idea thereby gets reduced to an abstract universal that is bowed to but never concretized. That is when we confront "two worlds" of philosophy and reality opposed to one another instead of their interpenetration. Dunayevskaya posed the pathway out of this separation in her final writings in challenging revolutionaries to organizationally and philosophically concretize the "philosophic moment" of Marxist-Humanism; her 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes." Her return to this breakthrough in her final writings signifies that it is not possible to achieve continuity with the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism unless the "free release" of the power of the Idea becomes concretized in one's daily activities. This remains our organizational challenge.

Today's objective-subjective situation provides ample proof of how the effort to work out a new beginning cannot be realized when the concretization of the philosophy of revolution is skipped over. The time is long past when one could just repeat the generalization that spontaneity and party are not absolute opposites. The time has come to act on it.

Eugene Walker's report, "On the Columbus Quincentennial: Marx's Last Decade and Perspectives for Work in the Latino Dimension."

4) No less important is our work as Women's Liberationists and with Youth. At a moment when it has become urgent for Women's Liberationists to recapture their relation to a revolution that, at one and the same time, aims to uproot the old and create totally new human relations, what Dunayevskaya worked out in a trilogy that culminated with *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* becomes crucial to project. Terry Moon will be addressing this question in her report to the Convention.

Similarly, youth's opposition to a state-capitalist world in which they see no future, and how these experiences confront the relationship of spontaneity, organization and philosophy will be the subject of Sheila Fuller's youth report to the national meeting of Marxist-Humanist youth.

5) Within the matrix of all of these specific reports we will be working out our concrete perspectives for Organization, Archives and Paper this year. Thus, while *News & Letters* remains the only journal anywhere in which can be heard the voices from below not separated from the articulation of a philosophy of revolution as it is presented in the central column of the founder's writings as well as in Essays and "Philosophic Dialogue," what is in need of special development this year is the kind of writing which presents the meaning and direction of ongoing events. What we aim to achieve is what we might call a politicalization of philosophy.

6) Of special importance is the number of international editions of Raya Dunayevskaya's writings we will have coming out in the year ahead, both in Mexico and in Europe, which will need follow-through. The most exciting, because it is the newest for us, is the scheduled publication of *Philosophy and Revolution* in Czechoslovakia.

7) What remains truer than ever this year, when we are seeking to overcome any illusion that working out the organizational alternative to the elitist "party to lead" would come by itself, is the way in which finances for Marxist-Humanism are part of breaking down the dichotomy between philosophy and organization. Felix Martin, our Labor Editor, will give our Report on Revolutionary Finances to the Convention, which calls for a minimum of \$35,000 as a Sustaining Fund to assure the continuance of *News & Letters*.

Finally, the only measure of whether we succeed in grasping the new objective and subjective openings to the future we have at this moment—or whether we lose the moment—will be the kind of organizational growth we achieve this year that is made inseparable from the concept of organization Raya Dunayevskaya spelled out in 1987 as "responsibility for the Idea of Marxism for our age, with its aim being Marx's goal of no division between mental and manual labor, specifically theory and practice, as a unit."

The Resident Editorial Board
June 30, 1992

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THE ECONOMY, 1992

It has amazed me how weak the economy is, precisely in an election year. The fairly well-documented fact of a "political business cycle," in which the planners manage to pump up the economy until after the election, isn't happening now—and not because they aren't trying.

**Economist
New York**

I worked at the Caterpillar plant in San Leandro until they closed it. I understand what those people in Peoria are going through, fighting against the company which is out just to get all it can. Caterpillar didn't have any respect for us either. They were making lots of money, then, too. I worked at the Ford plant in Milpitas after that, until it was shut down, too. That was the last really well-paying job I've had.

**Unemployed Black worker
Oakland**

The lie of "enterprise zones" is exposed right here in Chicago with the recently announced closing of Oscar Mayer. Oscar Mayer is in an enterprise zone. It is not closing because it is fleeing the inner city. Nor is it closing because of any lack of productivity. Company officials openly acknowledge that workers here are among its most productive. On the contrary, the stated reason for closing is because of "over-production." Thus enterprise zones as even a temporary staving off of the crisis are doomed by the very structure of capitalism, which "creates its own gravediggers" by eliminating the need for living labor. The problems are, to quote one of today's economists, "baked in the cake."

**Jan Kollwitz
Chicago**



**WOMEN'S
LIBERATION**

Much of the National Organization for Women (NOW) Conference held here in Chicago was geared towards putting women into political office, but with over 1,000 women present that was not all that went on. There were proposals covering topics from breast cancer and women's health, violence against women, to support for the rights of Native Americans. The most exciting to me was the one on African American and other minorities' rights within NOW itself. This proposal demanded that NOW set deadlines on implementing its many past proposals and recommendations on ending racism and achieving racial diversity. It was called "Put up or shut up" and it passed in committee overwhelmingly.

**Women's Liberationist
Chicago**

I'm angry because so many of these so-called right to lifers keep talking about how the abortion rights people are all radicals and want abortion on demand with no questions asked. But no one is ever saying that if the Supreme Court actually ruled that a non-viable fetus had civil rights, that would be absolutely unprecedented and a way of forcing one religion on the rest of the community. Even the Catholic church never considered a fetus a person until the mid-19th Century.

I'm also angry that the media keeps talking of two different sides protesting. I'm not protesting, I'm out here protecting a clinic. I wouldn't even have to be here if it wasn't for these anti-abortion fanatics.

**Kate
Milwaukee**

ENSLAVING THE ENVIRONMENT

To Mr. Bush, who says that control of emissions will hurt the American economy, I want to ask, "What would your reaction be if you were President during slavery and required to take a stand on its abolition?" I feel certain he would say it would hurt the American economy and therefore veto all efforts to abolish the dehumanizing phenomenon. This time Bush is enslaving the whole universe thanks to his commitment to preserve American jobs—first and foremost, his own.

**Environmentalist
Chicago**

Readers' Views

THE LOS ANGELES REBELLION: WHERE TO NOW?

They try to say the riots were Blacks against whites. They don't understand that we are sick of being poor and not having anything. One hundred and twenty three dollars a month in food stamps can't feed me and two kids. I had a job at a canning factory for six years. When I missed work because of a bladder infection that spread to my kidney (because I could never take off to see a doctor) they fired me for being off work too long. I overheard them saying, "It will be cheaper to hire someone new at starting wage, maybe someone with no kids." It made me want to tear that company to shreds. Then I wanted to tear the whole system to shreds.

**Angry mother on welfare
Los Angeles**

When I glanced through my copy of Raya Dunayevskaya's selected writings on state-capitalism and read her two 1986 "Letters on the Changed World," I regretted not having her vision and clarity on the "changed world" today. Russia, Haiti, Perot, are all parts of a rapidly changing world today. N&L did an outstanding job on the Los Angeles rebellion. Keep up your excellent work.

**Gloria Joseph
Virgin Islands**

We belong to a generation which is living through a very complex era. It is the most disturbed era but also the most enlightened one. It is an era in which human beings are subjected to the worst type of humiliation and degradation but also an era which offers human beings a life of dignity and prosperity. It is an era in which humankind has the ability to erase human beings from the face of the earth, but also an era which offers human beings the possibility of developing the freest, most just and human society. The rebellion which was in Los Angeles, Liberia, Algeria, Afghanistan, South Africa, Eastern Europe and the Gulf has proved this. The only thing lacking was the guiding star of knowledge...that sheds light on how to solve the economic, political, social and cultural crises that grip both the capitalist and pseudo-socialist countries. If we are to live as human beings, we must accept the human responsibility.

**African student
Poland**

Tension is very high all over Detroit. I was talking to some social workers at the Settlement House where I work. They felt that a racial incident between the city and suburbs could spark an outburst here. The Black community occupies, but doesn't own, its neighborhoods, and the police are like an army of occupation. Jobs continue to be lost. Youth and arts programs are cut. The only thing not cut by the Mayor and City Council is the police force. The police are waging a major attack on youth all over the city, not just in the neighborhoods where they can point to "gangs." Even the older people talking in the barber shops say there should be a revolt here. I have never heard anything like this before.

I think we should hold some discussions and explain why the unemployment is so high, why conditions are so bad. This would help to shape the direction of any action.

**Black activist
Detroit**

Lou Turner's view of the LA rebellion in the June N&L is the most profound I've seen and I thoroughly agree that it poses a challenge to what is called the Left. What I am worried about is whether it is physically possible for serious organized movements to struggle and grow in the conditions that have been created in the Fourth World which is the Third World of our cities?

The dream of "black capitalism" has come to life as the nightmare of the "free market" of guns and drugs, which like all successful "free markets" is based on government support and control. The phony war on drugs is designed to keep prices high and manage the flow to keep the poor drugged, daz-

zled, dangerous (mainly to each other) or dead.

The problem is that I don't hear socialists dealing with these issues, especially in terms of what it means for those with a community organizing perspective. I raise it in hope others will share their observations.

**College professor
Connecticut**

Rebellions like Los Angeles, which are never as spontaneous as they seem, always raise the political consciousness and expectations of masses of working people, usually well in advance of so-called revolutionary political organizations. It is how revolutionary political organizations relate to such upsurges which determines and proves how politically conscious that organization is and whether it can advance the consciousness of the more militant workers involved in these struggles.

**Radical activist
England**

The first thing that hit me about the Los Angeles rebellion was that, though Black-led and inspired, it was multiracial. It gave me tremendous hope. I remembered how Raya Dunayevskaya had singled out the 1967 Detroit rebellion for just that and said to myself, "25 years later, the LA rebellion starts where the Detroit rebellion left off!"

The media has made a big deal about white truck driver, Reginald Denney, getting beaten so bad. I'm white and I drive a truck, so it could have been me. I know that, but I also know that in any conflict there are innocent victims. Black Americans have been fighting to be free for 400 years. You can't put the beating of Denney and Rodney King in the same boat.

**John Marcotte
New York**

When I looked out of the window of my apartment building during the rebellion and saw people running in and out of the supermarket below with carts of food, I couldn't help feeling: That's what a "free market" should mean!

**Observer
Los Angeles**

Exactly 100 years ago, on the 400th anniversary of Columbus' discovery, Frederick Douglass wrote, in an Introduction for Ida B. Wells' "The Reason Why The Colored American is Not in the World's Columbian Exposition," "We would like to tell our visitors that the moral progress of the American people has kept pace with their material civilization; that 260 years of progress and enlightenment has banished barbarism and race hatred from the United States...." One-hundred years later, we can still not do that.

**Black writer
Oakland, California**

THE PERIL OF PEROT

Perot really scares me. The question I keep asking myself is, what hasn't he been able to do with a billion dollars that he also needs political power to do?

**Black women worker
Chicago**

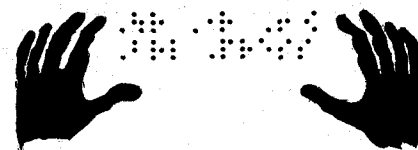
PHILOSOPHY & ORGANIZATION

Reading Adrienne Rich's Foreword in the new edition of Raya Dunayevskaya's *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* you see that her idea of transforming society is not the raw ideology of militant utopianism, as pragmatists would have us believe. The question she asks: "How do we create a philosophy of revolution which itself makes revolution possible?" recognizes that the philosophy of revolution is itself a way to create that new society. That's exciting and points to what we are now discussing about making organization and philosophy a continuous self-development.

**Intellectual
New York**

It seems that the New Right of Christian fundamentalism has a clearer sense of where they're going than does the Left. They have their view of the past, of where they've come from, and their "vision" of the future, as determined by the Bible and "traditional values." But there is an ambiguity among revolutionary thinkers on the question of a philosophy that envisions the future and how we can get there. We have a lot of work to do!

**Young revolutionary
California**



THE MEANING OF BLINDNESS

I have noticed the use of blindness as a metaphor, by various writers in N&L. It is often a phrase in which "blind" is the adjective—blind alley, blind obedience, blind action, etc. or in references such as "blind to the fact." I raise the question because it transcends words and strikes at what I feel is the basis of Marxist-Humanism, the uniting of subject and object. When blindness is made synonymous with incompetence, ignorance, stupidity and incapacity, we blind persons as subject receive the "benefits" through limited opportunity and resistance of employers to hiring blind workers. Discrimination against the blind will continue as long as we equate blindness with incompetence. I ask the editorial board of N&L to use the word "blind" only in relation to vision loss, except in direct quotation from source material. I recognize that I am seeking a change in attitudes—an effort greater than peeling a few words and phrases from the lexicon.

**Kelly
Chicago**

**MARXIST-HUMANIST THEORY
OF STATE-CAPITALISM**

There is a widely held view that Raya Dunayevskaya's state-capitalist theory is hardly developed as compared with that of Tony Cliff. Obviously as *The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism* shows, there's an enormous wealth of empirical data in her analysis of Russia and elsewhere. But data are not what concerns these critics. Rather, they are looking for an "empirical totality," an institutional/structural modeling, and mistake the dialectical, Notional form of Dunayevskaya's analyses for "incompleteness." At a time when the serious academic Left is emphasizing the need for "analysis," what needs to be raised is the question of measuring reality by the Idea.

**A. Anielewicz
New York**

VICTOR SERGE MUSEUM

As the translator of many of Victor Serge's works, I just got an urgent message from Russia that the house where Victor Serge and his family lived when Stalin deported them to Central Asia in 1933-36 is about to be razed to make way for a soccer field. Two years ago, when it was first discovered still standing, we met with the local Orenburg mayor and some historians and all agreed it should be a museum devoted to Serge and all the others Stalin deported there, so magnificently described in Serge's novel, *Midnight in the Century*. Plans were moving ahead but some Western hard currency is needed to make the project work in the present economic chaos and indifference to revolutionary history. I'm sending out this SOS because unless we come up with some additional funds quickly, the house will be razed. Please let your readers know that they can help preserve Serge's legacy by sending whatever contributions they can.

Richard Greeman

Editor's Note: Letters and donations can be sent c/o News & Letters, made out to Orenburg Museum Appeal. They will be forwarded promptly.

Latinos protest INS-LAPD sweeps

Los Angeles, Cal.—In the first week of May, 400 U.S. Border Patrol agents from California and Arizona were deployed to assist L.A. law enforcement to repress the uprising. "Special Order 40," the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) policy prohibiting police from turning suspects over to the INS was blatantly violated during this period, as were city laws protecting the legal rights of immigrants.

"Rather than clog up the court system and knowing how hard it might be to prove that they were looting, we thought, 'Gee, maybe we should just call INS and turn them over,'" Police Lt. Rick Morton said. Many Border Patrol agents acted independently of the LAPD and L.A. Sheriffs in conducting sweeps of immigrant populated areas, accounting for the arrests of hundreds not even suspected of "Riot Crimes."

Most arrested were pressured into signing "voluntary" departure requests, waiving their rights to an immigration hearing. Bonds were sometimes set as high as \$20,000 for even those without criminal records. The L.A. Times of May 6 quotes LAPD Lt. John Dunken as saying, "Suspects turned over to the INS by the city officers tended to be those for whom there was no 'probable cause' of prosecution for riot related offenses."

Martha, an 18-year-old Salvadoran woman, was arrested by the INS while drinking juice on a street corner on the afternoon of April 30. She nearly suffered a miscarriage of her seven-month-old fetus after two weeks of sleeping on cement benches and cots. She and dozens of others were shuttled to and from the downtown Federal Building and the San Pedro INS detention center between 1 and 5 a.m. every night.

She and other women, many pregnant, were fed small meals of "dry meat, old bread...and very few fruits and vegetables... I have lost weight and feel very weak. I believe the food I have been provided has been totally in-

No Justice, No Peace!

San Francisco, Cal.—Some 200 people turned out here June 26 for an "Emergency Demonstration" to defend "The S.F. 105." These are the people who still face charges for protest activities here against the verdict exonerating the L.A. police for beating Rodney King. The flyer put out by the "No Justice, No Peace: Bay Area Political Defense Committee" read:

"In San Francisco, all kinds of people, especially young people of color, mobilized and took our verdict to the streets: LAPD [Los Angeles Police Department] GUILTY! Thousands of people were illegally arrested, thousands of charges were dropped. But now 105 people are being quietly prosecuted on serious felony charges. Eighty percent of them are African American. We're not surprised at this racist attempt to isolate our sisters and brothers—we are outraged!

"In a series of unprecedented legal moves, District Attorney Arlo Smith wiped out their rights to preliminary hearings by getting indictments from a grand jury. He is now seeking state penitentiary time for all those charged, including first-time offenders.

"This is the same kind of injustice that brought people into the streets in the first place. No one charged in this witch-hunt will get a fair trial, regardless of their race. Therefore, we must DEMAND that the district attorney drop all the charges against all the protesters!

"Public outrage and protest forced the city to fire ex-top cop Dick Hongisto [Chief Hongisto oversaw police sweeps of people merely suspected of public assembly in the aftermath of the L.A. rebellion.] Public outrage and protest forced the city to drop nearly 1,500 of the charges from the uprisings. And public pressure and protest is the only thing that can force D.A. Smith to drop the charges against these 105 demonstrators."

The press has already tried to muffle the news of lingering repression of anti-racist protesters by Mayor Frank Jordan. So organizers called on the people to spread the resistance to the prosecutions by word of mouth. One speaker appealed in Spanish to the many youths around Dolores Park to join the resistance. Many different organizations and individuals were invited to take the microphone.

The way Lou Turner concludes the article on the meaning of the L.A. rebellion (See N&L, June 1992) holds true in our defense of the S.F. 105: "The present moment calls on us to defend in the press, at public meetings and in all political forums the ground that can, for now, no longer be held in the streets."

—Participant

adequate for a woman in her seventh month of pregnancy...I had been feeling very feverish and sick, but when another detainee notified the guards, they said I could wait till morning to see a doctor...Finally, after my friends insisted, they took me to the hospital."

On May 3, seven Latino day laborers, mechanics by profession, were arrested near an automotive store where they had congregated daily for years. So far no legitimate motives for the arrests have been forthcoming. Two of the men were released when they showed proof of "legal" residency.

A Mexican family lost touch with their developmentally delayed 14-year-old daughter, who was detained by the National Guard on April 30. No further information is known about this case since the INS broke up the conversation between the family and an attorney, with a threat to charge him with solicitation.

A Salvadoran couple—with the woman four months pregnant—was stopped by INS on the way to a restaurant. She was pushed against a wall, called a prostitute and told she would soon get a free trip home. These and many others have since sought the assistance of legal/social organizations such as Public Council, Chirla, CARECEN, El Rescate, who are maintaining their testimonials on record.

The 1,044 undocumented workers arrested represent 10% of all arrests. The overwhelming majority are Mexican, and most of the rest are Central American. The Central American Refugee Center (CARECEN) interviewed 66 INS detainees or their families, finding 22 cases of improper or illegal cooperation between the LAPD and the INS.

Former Chief of Police Daryl Gates stated: "If you talk about undocumented aliens, somebody here who is illegal, and you say anything untoward, you're immediately marked as an insensitive guy. I've been trying to point out that an awful lot of those individuals are here who are criminals...They were participating in this riot in a very, very significant way."

Politicians such as Representative Dana Rohrabacher are demanding the deportation of undocumented looters saying, "We should kick them out of the country and not let them back in." Latino "leaders" have been responding to this "exterminator" mentality with attitudes such as "He's missing the point. We have to look at rebuilding Los Angeles and surrounding cities."

This is worlds away from the outrage which expresses the economic need of the Latino community.

—Ann Maillon

Boipatong: whither the ANC?

(continued from page 1)

erns this country is...building a mono-party state, the essence of which is the identification of the Nationalist Party with State power. All opposition to the Nationalists has been deemed opposition to the State. Every facet of national life is becoming subordinated to the overriding necessity of the party's retention of power.... Lynchings and pogroms are the logical weapons to be resorted to, should the onward march of the liberation movement continue to manifest itself. The spectre of Belsen and Buchenwald is haunting South Africa."

So why, after 2½ years in which de Klerk and Buthe have turned South Africa into a killing field, has Mandela entertained such illusions about de Klerk's intentions to "turn over state power" to the ANC? Why the illusions of Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary-general of the ANC, that there has been a "fundamental shift" in the National Party's attitude to giving up its power? Why the illusion that de Klerk has "moved closer to the ANC's position" because he has held out the carrot of a "transitional government," the fixed particular of the ANC? Why Ramaphosa's latest illusion, in the wake of Boipatong, that de Klerk is not in control of the South African Police and Defense Forces?

The mass outrage that tore through the tissue of such illusions was irrepressible when de Klerk had the arrogance to try to visit Boipatong only days after the massacre. Then, it wasn't the ANC but the rival PAC (Pan-African Congress) which joined the people in driving de Klerk out of the area. As is its cowardly custom, the South African Defense Force (SADF) didn't lose the opportunity to shoot down more unarmed residents, killing four. So, we have the spectacle of the ANC threatening to call political protests should the government be unwilling to negotiate constitutional reforms, but procrastinating over mounting revolutionary opposition to the government's genocidal attack on the people.

The current impasse of the ANC is not the expression of some deep "strategy of attrition" dictated by the objective situation, but flows from the conservative, old guard politics of the past and the neo-Stalinism of the born-again South African Communist Party. The question in the minds of Black South Africans is, why the ANC's reluctance to deploy the armed wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) as a self-defense force in the townships to ward off Inkatha violence. So far, Inkatha violence has elevated its political significance far beyond its popular support, which is estimated at no more than 3%. Some ANC rank and filers have borrowed the technique used in the Rodney King case and have asked supporters to donate portable video cameras to videotape police and SADF involvement in Inkatha violence.

So disenchanted with the leadership of the ANC are young cadres that, according to Africa Confidential (May 31, 1991), "a group of ANC cadres recently set up a secret society inside the ANC called Abaphantsi, meaning 'ancestor'.... Recruits to the society go through a ritualistic oath-taking ceremony akin to that of the

N.Y. Dominican revolt

Washington Heights, N.Y.—The riots here began Friday night, July 3, when police shot an unarmed Dominican man, Luis Jose Garcia. That night rioting broke out at 162nd St., and it kept spreading all through the night. People were angry because this police precinct has long been known for being repressive against Dominicans.

The riot spread for three nights as far south as 107th and Broadway, where Puerto Ricans and Blacks joined in. It was very spontaneous, with homeless people and youth involved. By July 6, it had spread to 175th St. and beyond.

It was open revolt. People were cleaning out some of the largest supermarkets and stores around here. People felt free for the first time in their lives.

This revolt is a major step against the way unemployment and the migration of the 1980s have led to such awful living conditions for Dominicans. The rulers have used the recent migration to achieve social peace on the island: everytime there is a major strike in the Dominican Republic, they give 50,000 extra immigration visas to the U.S.

The policy of immigration is so far the only thing that has saved the Dominican Republic. After the April 1984 riots there, the number of immigrants increased vastly. Now we find some of the same immigrants taking to the streets against the conditions of this country. This looks just like a Third World situation.

There was a march yesterday for "peace," called by local politicians in the area. They are saying that the police are brutal against our people, but these same "leaders" then call for more police protection to "protect our property."

We don't have people with video cameras who can show you how the police slap people around every time they walk into a pizzeria. They are an occupying army and look at the people as their enemy.

The only difference from Los Angeles is that was a rebellion of Mexicans, Central Americans and African Americans, while here it is Dominicans, Puerto Ricans and African Americans.

The streets have suddenly become very clean. They have all sorts of sanitation crews coming in to make it appear that nothing happened. The media here isn't reporting what happened at all. They are working hard to silence this.

—Dominican activist

Mau Mau resistance in Kenya."

The challenge of embarking on a new revolutionary road, after the disarray of the period of "negotiations," is whether the exhaustion of the Black masses at the present moment precludes a reintensified confrontation with the armed might of the apartheid state. The success of the August 3 general strike, called by COSATU to so immobilize South Africa's troubled economy that de Klerk is forced to surrender power, will be the most significant test of the movement's resolve.

Nevertheless, it is not alone testing its resolve but comprehending its dialectics of liberation which presents the greatest challenge to the movement. That begins by understanding that just as the

liberation movement made the country "ungovernable" by the apartheid state throughout the 1980s, so the state has sanctioned paramilitary violence against the Black population in order to make the townships unlivable, in the 1990s. The political space in civil society that had previously come under the control of the liberation movement and its many organizational structures has become the target of the government which wants to rend it asunder.

According to Pome Nkosi, ANC representative of violence-ravaged Thokoza township, the government's "third force" is carrying out "a campaign so that people are gripped by fear and unable to participate in peace initiatives or politics.... So people lose hope completely and organizations, like ours, which depend on mass action will not be vocal or come out in public. A free political climate is being killed and our organizations cannot work on the ground" (Africa Report, May-June, 1992).

The dialectic of the present moment is such that it is important to recall what Rosa Luxemburg counterposed to the "strategy of attrition" of the reformist leadership of the revolutionary movement of her day, following the counter-revolutionary set-back of the 1905 Russian Revolution:

"It was just because the urban proletariat was already so numerous, concentrated in the great centers, and so strongly moved by class consciousness, just because the genuine modern capitalist contradiction had progressed so far, that the struggle for political freedom could be decisively led by this proletariat alone. But because of this it could be no purely constitutional struggle after the liberal formula, but a genuine modern class struggle in all its breadth and depth, fighting for the economic as well as the political interests of the workers—against capital as well as for...a democratic constitution" (Theory and Practice, News & Letters, 1980, p. 32).



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

By Raya Dunayevskaya

Expanded edition includes new introduction by the author

Published by the University of Chicago Press

Ideological pollution at 'Earth Summit'

by Franklin Dmitryev

The UN Conference on Environment and Development (or Earth Summit) in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, began June 3 with official delegations from 178 countries aiming to subdue worldwide discontent over ecological degradation by promising bold action. When it ended 11 days later, the "world leaders" had only managed to prove their own incapability of doing more than fiddling while Rome burns.

At the alternative meeting, Global Forum, a reported 250,000 people converged to protest, to put pressure on the official conference, to forge 30 treaties of their own, to make sure that at least some voices from below could be heard. They came from 165 countries, telling stories that showed the global scope of both environmental devastation and the opposition to it.

That opposition appeared in diverse forms. Women from North and South joined to demand legal, affordable access to safe, voluntary family planning, including contraception. The World Conference of Indigenous Peoples, hosted by the Intertribal Committee-500 Years of Resistance, questioned the very meaning of development and demanded their own territories, where they, not the national governments, would be recognized as the stewards of the land and ecosystems.

As if to underscore whose voices would not be welcome, 35,000 security troops patrolled the streets. Tanks were posted next to favelas (slums), with helicopters buzzing overhead. Thousands of street children mysteriously disappeared. At the summit itself, when a Canadian youth delegate's microphone was cut off as soon as he started criticizing the U.S., 40 other delegates began protesting and were thrown out.

EMPTINESS OF THE SUMMIT

The authoritarian insularity of the official summit was manifested in the total emptiness of its accomplishments. The treaty on protecting the world's besieged forests was already dead last year. Another treaty was supposed to reduce the threat of catastrophic global warming by limiting carbon dioxide emissions, but the goals and deadlines were removed due to the U.S.

The other treaty, on biodiversity, is supposed to slow the increasingly massive rate of extinctions of living species (which the rulers call "biological resources"). The U.S. was the only country that publicly refused to sign, but in the negotiating process it tried to gut every meaningful provision in the treaty. Undoubtedly Vice President Quayle's Council on Competitiveness correctly stated the foremost consideration as "the President's initiative to speed up biotechnology developments," though no other industrial powers felt the treaty held inordinate obstacles to the commodification of life.

The Indian delegate, speaking for the bourgeoisie of the Third World, showed it was not concerned that genes will become commodities owned by multinationals, but only that it should get its cut: "The value of our genetic resources will be appreciated. Until now it seemed genetic resources were considered free like water and air."

The alternative treaty worked out at Global Forum exhibited a totally different attitude, saying that genes and organisms "shall not be the object of restrictions, or in any way be considered as intellectual property," that "no patenting should be allowed on any living thing or a product derived from it."

Iranian Revolution

(continued from page 4)

add to them the new forces like women's liberation, because one of the real deviations in [Georg] Lukacs was his concentration on totality, but not totality as a new beginning, and that totality also meant more of a summation rather than that Absolute Idea which is both theory and practice, and that as the new beginning. I'm sure the Trotskyists would be for workers' control of production, and I'm sure that they would consider the councils "a socialist institution"—and by no means do I wish to play down [worker's councils] because that definitely is the height of workers' control of production being in their own hands rather than being in a trade union or in a state. But again, unless they, too, do not separate themselves from philosophy, unless they, too, feel as strongly the need for intellectual work as the intellectual feels the strong need for the workers, and unless that "intellectual sediment" (to use a Luxemburgian phrase) has philosophy and organization and revolution and Reason as well as new force, we will once again lose. And, I should add that when Marx writes "revolution is necessary also because it revolutionized the class itself," that's exactly what he meant, the proletariat as Reason as well as force, as objective as well as subjective, as new man/woman.

Now, don't think that my critique means I want you to rewrite this. Quite the contrary. I think that precisely because it is from a youth and is from a vantage point not just of Iran and precisely because the universality of this question we are grappling with—form of organization—is characteristic by no accident of both USA and Iran, that it is extremely important that we see not just "results" but the process....

Yours, Raya

One of the official summit's sticking points was the question of financial aid to the Third World. With the whole world in economic crisis, the most some of the industrialized powers promised was—without committing to any timetable—to keep their unkept 20-year-old promise to raise aid to .7% of gross domestic product. The U.S. wouldn't even go that far. The stated goal of "eradicating poverty" remains an empty promise.

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The biggest accomplishment of the rulers was that they—with a few exceptions, like Bush—adopted the rhetoric of sustainable development (defined as "development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs"). They succeeded in projecting it as something thoroughly capitalistic, even though capitalism has proved itself capable of developing (sustainably or otherwise) only poverty, misery, unemployment—and the revolt against it.

For instance, UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali posed humanity's task as the protection of "ecological capital." This precisely when it is clearer than ever how capital degrades and destroys whatever it subsumes, whether that is trees or workers!

The Earth Summit thus revealed the rulers' powerlessness to resist capitalism's inherent drive to reduce everything, even life itself, to commodities. Global Forum reflected the deep dissatisfaction of the masses in the face of the urgency of halting the despoliation of the planet, and their refusal to trust the rulers to take care of it.



On July 6, thousands of youth protested the Group of Seven Summit in Munich, Germany. Over 9,000 cops sent in from every German state arrested 400 people and beat-up innocent bystanders. A former East German observed, "When I see the militaristic police presence here, I am reminded of old times."

Transcending the alienation of labor

Editor's note: In the June issue of News & Letters we published an essay article by a young feminist activist, Maya Morrison, entitled, "From Alienation to Freedom in Marx's 1844 Manuscripts." Below we print a response from an English literature student at Loyola University. We invite you to continue the dialogue.

Writing about Marx's Critique of the Gotha Program in her essay "Spontaneity, organization, dialectics" in the June issue of N&L, Raya Dunayevskaya states that "the essence of what Marx was aiming for was expressed in that simple word that everyone 'took for granted' they understood—labor." Expressing Marx's view she goes on to say "that labor must not remain alienated, that it must become a total human activity, never separating theory from practice." These words captured my attention in relation to Maya Morrison's essay.

Looking back on my experience as a worker I now realize that I have taken for granted my understanding of labor. I thought I had come to terms with and resigned myself to the way life must be lived given what I had been taught to believe was the "objective reality" of labor in a capitalist society—i.e., the fact that one must work to survive and the work one does must always be a sacrifice (I learned this by watching my father who is a worker in an electronics plant).

What Marxist-Humanism has shown me is that it doesn't have to be this way. In her discussion of Marx's concept of alienated labor, Morrison points out that "the human being does not only live in the world, she/he appropriates and transforms it." What this means to me is that while the face of the world today is one of capitalism it can be transformed and that transformation will stem from the transcendence of alienation.

The idea of freedom as transcendence of alienation is made clear in Morrison's discussion of Marx's 1844 Manuscripts. She states that "it is not the objectivity of labor that needs to be transcended but only the determinate character of this objectivity in class society that must be abolished."

This leads me to the overwhelming conclusion that the "determinate character" is the externality of "work for the worker" inherent in the capitalist mode of pro-

Gay and lesbian power

Chicago, Ill.—One hundred fifteen thousand people attended the 23rd annual Gay and Lesbian Pride Parade in Chicago on June 28, making it the city's largest ever. The Pride Parade, which also took place in other cities across the nation the same day, marks the anniversary of the Stone wall rebellion in New York City on June 27, 1969, which opened up the whole gay rights movement. The theme of the parade this year was Pride=Power.

On the day of the parade, being out as a gay man or lesbian is something to celebrate. For a lot of people this is their only day out. They're in the closet 364 days of the year. It gives people motivation to come out too. I came out to my family on the night after my first parade seven years ago because I was so inspired.

This year was especially important to me because I recently moved into the heart of the gay community from an Irish Catholic neighborhood where I grew up. I was really excited. But then this spring a gay bartender was stabbed to death and another man was shot on my block of Halsted Street.

The Pink Angels have been formed as a street patrol to protect gays and lesbians from street attacks. Last year the Pink Angels had just formed and the contingent at the parade had about 10 people. This year they had about a hundred, and the women's self-defense group was also large. It's a reminder that we can say we're not going to be afraid anymore.

The large turnout at the parade this year was also important because in Illinois only three cities, Evanston, Oak Park and Chicago, have gay rights ordinances. Oregon and Colorado are facing votes on legislation that would incorporate anti-gay discrimination into their constitutions.

People screamed and yelled when the Queer Nation contingent went by. They got a lot of support along the whole parade route because they do a lot of relating to gay empowerment. That's what the whole parade is about—gay power. There was less support for ACT-UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power), from which Queer Nation had broken off to work not only on AIDS issues but more gay rights issues. I support both. One thing I especially like that ACT-UP does is letting Catholics know their church is doing a lot to support the deaths of thousands.

The National Organization for Women had the largest contingent. They had just had their convention in Chicago.

To me the parade is a symbol of liberation. Twenty-four years ago this would never have happened in Chicago. Now, the North Side rocks. Everyone knows it's pride weekend.

—Tom Williamson

duction which necessarily leads to the economic stratification of society. I find myself asking then, at what point does the work cease to be external from the worker? The answer I find in this re-articulation of Marx seems to be at the point that the development of the human being enters into the activity of labor, when there is no longer a division between mental and manual labor, or a separation of theory from practice.

The re-creation of Marx's Marxism found in News & Letters has been for me an awakening to the possibility of the realization of human potential, to the possibility of transcending what I had heretofore believed to be "objective" reality, not only where labor is concerned but where human relations in general are concerned. It is evident why the powers that be would like to keep Marx on the shelf. I'm grateful to those who haven't.

—Greg

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Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

The sweeping proportions by which the ultra-conservative Likud Bloc, in power since 1977, was defeated in Israel's June 23 elections, stunned even those who had predicted a Likud defeat. Likud's share in the new 120-member Knesset (national parliament) will shrink to 32 seats from 41, its worst showing since the 1960s. Labor, the largest opposition party, went from 39 to 44 seats. Its ally, the more leftist Meretz Bloc, went from 10 to 12 seats, while 5 other seats went to leftist and Arab parties. This "arithmetic" gives the Left a theoretical majority of 61 seats, but Labor leader Yitzhak Rabin, hardly a leftist, says he will instead form a "broad" coalition including some of the religious parties, who won a total of 18 seats, or even some far-rightist parties, who went from 7 to 9 seats.

Despite Rabin's attempt to portray it as a personal victory, the yearning of the Israeli masses for peace and for some type of accommodation with the Palestinian Arabs was the key factor. After the election, the embittered Likud leader Yitzhak Shamir stated openly, "I would have conducted negotiations on autonomy for ten

Russian archives opened

An exhibit of 300 documents, carefully selected by President Boris Yeltsin's archivists from the formerly sealed Russian vaults, opened June 17 at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. The exhibit coincided with Yeltsin's visit, during which he reassured the U.S. Congress that Russia under his rule would never retreat from "free market economics" and, therefore, Russia is worthy of receiving substantial sums of U.S. dollars.

The material which seems the most charged, according to news reports, is from the period around and following the 1917 Russian Revolution. Yeltsin clearly has two related aims: to totally discredit Lenin, and to link Stalin to Lenin. In this way, Yeltsin intends to "jog" the Russian people by attacking the consciousness of the Russian Revolution itself.

The old Communist Party/neo-state-capitalist "reformers" are past masters at rewriting history. Few have surpassed the lies that undergirded the infamous Moscow Frame-Up trials of the 1930s. The point, then as now, was cleansing the past in order to establish a new regime. In this atmosphere of the chain of state policy tightening around the Russian archives, it is even less likely that the thousands of pages of Karl Marx's unpublished manuscripts will be any more accessible than they were before.

Czechoslovak elections

In Czechoslovakia's June 5-6 elections, the biggest vote went to right-wing and nationalist parties, with second place going to a slate dominated by ex-Communists, who scored 14% of the vote nationwide. In the Czech lands, population 10 million, the Civic Democratic Party of Economics Minister Vaclav Klaus, a rightist formation committed to Reaganomics, won with 34% of the vote. In Slovakia, population 4.5 million, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia led by Vladimir Meciar won, also with 34%. Meciar uses leftist rhetoric, but is more of a demagogic anti-Czech nationalist.

Groups allied with liberal President Vaclav Havel, the main leader of the 1989 "Velvet Revolution" against Communism, were almost completely marginalized, winning only 4% nationwide. In Slovakia, the Social Democrats, who include in their membership the 1968 Prague Spring leader Alexander Dubcek, won only 6%. Far-right groups who have flirted with fascism scored small but ominous gains. The Republicans, modeled on the neo-fascist German party of the same name, scored 6%. The Slovak National Party, who express nostalgia for Slovakia's "independent" state under the Nazis, scored 9% in Slovakia. The latter have been admitted as coalition partners in Meciar's new Slovak government.

Besides the overall shift to the Right, the major result of the election will likely be the breakup of the country, with Slovakia becoming independent. Meciar says he will press for independence unless Klaus modifies his economic policies, which have driven unemployment to over 10% in Slovakia, or allows Slovakia to have a different economic policy. Klaus has refused any concessions and says he would prefer a breakup of the country to a change in his "free market" policies. Both Klaus and Meciar are appealing to narrow nationalism and ethnic rivalry at a time when both know that they will not be able to improve the living standards of the masses in the near future.

Panamanians oppose Bush

On his way to the Rio Earth Summit, President Bush landed in Panama on a carefully orchestrated stop to congratulate the people on their "democracy," "restored" by the U.S. 1989 military invasion. He was driven from the podium by tear gas fired at anti-Bush demonstrators, whom he later brushed off as a "little tiny left-wing demonstration."

In fact, the demonstrators included a contingent from the Families of Casualties of the 20th [Dec. 20, 1989] Association, as well as residents of the Chorillo neighborhood, leveled during the U.S. invasion. Bush's scorn, ignorance and racism is so ingrained that he later joked, in reference to events surrounding the Los Angeles rebellion, that Panamanian protesters "ought to go to San Francisco and get an idea of what a real protest is."

Israeli voters express yearning for peace

years and in the meantime we would have reached half a million" Jewish settlers on the west Bank, showing the world that his participation in the Bush-orchestrated peace negotiations had been a mere charade.

Labor, although itself hardly a peace party, has moved over the past year further than before toward a pro-peace position. Last November, under the impact of the U.S.-sponsored peace negotiations and the over four-year-long Intifada revolt, Labor adopted a new platform which advocated: 1) a freeze on settlements, 2) trading at least some land for peace, and 3) dropping the ban on negotiations with the PLO.

This was a major factor in the election, since for the first time Labor and Likud were clearly distinguished on

the issue of peace with the Arabs. Another key factor was the severe unemployment which Likud did nothing about, instead channeling all available state funds into settlements on the West Bank. New immigrants from Russia, whose unemployment rate is close to 50%, paid back Likud by voting against it two to one.

Rabin is hardly a peace dove, however. Backed all the way by the Bush administration, he is a former general, who while Prime Minister in the 1970s, did nothing to negotiate peace. In 1988, while Defense Minister in a Likud-Labor coalition government, Rabin shocked the world when he openly promulgated a policy of "force, might, beatings" to contain the largely nonviolent Intifada.

Thus, while the election returns are hardly revolutionary in nature, Israeli masses have, in repudiating Likud and backing Labor and the Left, expressed their strong desire for some type of accommodation with the Palestinians.

At the same time however, reactionary, even fascist, elements have grown strong inside Israel. Some settlers have said they will use force to oppose Palestinian autonomy, while in the days just before the election, pogrom-like mobs attempted to lynch Palestinians in the wake of terrorist incidents. It is this continued brutalization of Israeli society, a product of its colonial-type war of occupation in the territories, which has now been challenged by the election results. But it will take an active struggle, not a mere election poll, to uproot the ideological and practical legacy of fifteen years of ultra-reactionary Likud rule.

Japan's 'peace force'

The ruling Liberal Democratic Party in Japan finally succeeded in passing a bill to set up a "peace force" within the military which could be deployed as a United Nations contingent outside the country. The force is expected to see its first duty in Cambodia.

The legal impediment to Japan deploying its military has been Article 9 of its 1947, U.S.-imposed constitution, which repudiates force as a means of solving conflicts. However, the genuine impediment to actual military revival has been the Japanese peoples' deep-seated revulsion against war.

Polls had shown that more than half the Japanese people were opposed to the new bill. The opposition voiced its disagreement in everything from fist fights in the parliament to repeated public demonstrations. Prime Minister Miyazawa was forced to limit the scope of the act to 2,000 soldiers in non-combat roles. The U.S., which pressured Japan during the Persian Gulf War over its non-military position, privately backed the Miyazawa bill.

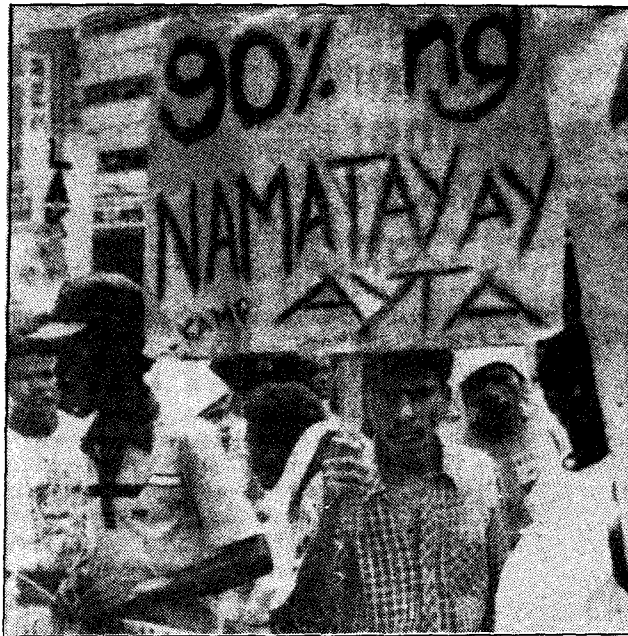
Mass strikes in India

On June 16, 10 to 15 million public sector workers went on a one-day strike in India to protest the austerity and "free market" policies of Congress Party Prime Minister Narasimha Rao. During the strike, banks, post offices, telephones, air lines and railroads, as well as steel, textile and coal industries were all severely disrupted. The strikes were opposed by both the government, whose police arrested 20,000 union activists, as well as by goons on the streets from the ultra-Hindu Bharata Janata Party.

Rao has announced plans to lay off 25% of the nation's 20 million public sector workers over the next two years. His utopian plan for a "free market" economy in one of the world's poorest countries has gained him a large \$3 billion loan from the International Monetary Fund.

"Innovations" include allowing the sale of Coca Cola and Pepsi to villages, including those which don't yet have safe drinking water. Socialist Party leader George Fernandes, who as a former Minister of Industry once kicked Coca Cola out of India, stated a few months ago: "The state has been hijacked by the Indian upper castes, the Western-educated elite. There'll be a tremendous fight back. This whole concept of privatization will be fought by the workers."

Philippines victims rally



Aetas demonstrate at the Presidential Palace.

Manila, Philippines—On June 16, the first anniversary of the volcanic eruption of Mt. Pinatubo, members of the Black aboriginal people of the Philippines, the Aeta, demonstrated on the Mendiola Bridge, which leads to Malacanang president palace. They protested the administration's reneging on commitments it had made to help resettle the tribal peoples from camps where diseases, such as measles, have killed many children to areas further removed from the continuing threat of lava flows, especially during the current rainy season.

The Aetas maintained that though they comprise 90% of Pinatubo's victims they have received only a small share of all the assistance which has come into the area. They demanded an accounting of where the relief aid has gone and disclosed that, instead of the concrete houses and clinics that had been promised, officials were trying to move as many as 20,000 of them, still in camps, into cogan, or grass huts.

Street protests in Iran

At least four major rebellions broke out in Iran during the months of May and June. Thirteen years after the ascendance to power of the counter-revolution in Iran, the discontent has broken into open street protests. Does this signal a new stage of struggle for freedom and a new revolutionary consciousness?

The rebellion in the city of Mashad was the largest and the one that got through the media's barriers internationally. This rebellion was preceded by similar street confrontations in the cities of Arak, Esfahan, Shiraz and Tehran. Most of these rebellions broke out when the government ordered the demolition of homes built by residents in shanty towns on land occupied by squatters.

In Mashad, the protests in one shanty town spread in less than one day to the center of the city. Close to 100 government buildings were burned down, after the demonstrators disarmed the police and took over several armories. One thousand people were arrested.

It is telling that the protests broke out after the Los Angeles rebellion. The government had given full media coverage to the Los Angeles rebellion for its own purposes, but the Iranian people responded by taking on their own government. The streets were taken over for three days before the regime called on its supporters to "protect Islam" and fight the "foreign agents and infidels."

President Rafsanjani came out sounding exactly like George Bush in his declarations against the rebellion. Now the so-called "revolutionary tribunals" have been put to work once again to pass summary sentences on the participants in these rebellions and send them to the firing squads. They are being charged with the infamous "mufsed-fi-arz" (corrupt on Earth) which was used to kill off thousands of revolutionary youth in the post-1981 period of near civil war.

The recent events also undermine the Iranian regime's attempts to gain influence in the newly independent Central Asian Muslim republics. In fact in Azerbaijan, the newly-elected President has declared that he considers the Azeri population inside Iran as an oppressed people and has expressed the view that a greater Azerbaijan is the goal.

—Cyrus Noveen

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