

NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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25¢

Being
"realistic"
today



by John Marcotte

St. Johnsbury Trucking shut down with no warning in June. The workers had rejected a 12% concession, then got forced into a 9% cut, and one week later 3,000 union drivers and dock workers were out of a job. At the Maspeth, New York terminal, they put up a fight. They hadn't gotten their last pay check, and they set up their own picket line unauthorized by the union.

We seem too often to fight when it's too late. Or for so little. Here this company decided to take away these men's jobs, the men who made that company all these years, who with their labor moved that freight. We don't strike or occupy the place to question their right to shut it down—just to get our last pay check and vacation money. Like we're already defeated in our minds. We don't believe we can demand any more than that. We're "realistic."

WHAT CAN WE DO?

My co-workers and I saw that picket line on our way in to work. We're in the same union, the same local, and all we could think to say was that it's a shame these guys are out of work, and to think that it could be us, but for the luck of what company we got hired at 25, ten or two years ago. Realistically, what can we do about it? Leave it to the union.

Here these senior union men sit out of work, and we are so busy with all the St. Johnsbury freight we are picking up, the company leased trucks and had to put on more casuals they push to work hard for 85% pay. Lots of the freight went to nonunion companies, too.

Freidman's express shut down earlier this year; North Penn, before that; PIE, last year. Preston got a 15% concession and might go under. All these were union. There

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Black World

Crisis of 'democracy' in Nigeria



by Lou Turner

The June 12 Nigerian presidential election, followed by Gen. Babangida's June 23 velvet coup annulling the election results, is at once so indicative of old style Nigerian politics that its tragedy, according to Wole Soyinka, "has also been marked by farce" (New York Times, July 1, 1993). It so evinces the new contours of African reality in the post-Cold War world, that it cannot but have far-reaching consequences for the "two-way road" between African and African-American freedom struggles.

The mass protests, especially among workers and youth, over Babangida's authoritarian cancellation of Nigeria's first national election in ten years, was met with murderous military force, leaving dozens dead.

It is the newly restructured global economy and the old de-stabilized political structures that have motivated Babangida's latest attempts to hold onto power. Whereas the previous stage of Nigeria's economic development was based on the West's exploitation of its rich oil resources in the Riverine Delta, Babangida wants to parlay that into a new period of trade-generated capitalist development, especially through bilateral trading agreements with countries like Germany.

The "trade not aid" rhetoric that Babangida espouses is purely for international consumption. For not only does Nigerian state-capitalism continue to be tied to oil but it is moving to drop all barriers to Anglo-American exploitation of Nigeria's remaining reserves. What the West needs, Babangida assures it he's got—stability. "The president told his audience," K. Gyan-Apenteng

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From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya
The revolutionary Trail of Hegel and Marx to our agep. 4

On the Inside

Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1993-94

Philosophy and Reality at a Turning Point

News and Letters Committees publishes the Draft of its Perspectives Thesis each year directly in the pages of N&L. We urge your participation in our 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 raising questions and ask you to help in working out the answers.



Refugees living on the streets of Srebrenica, Bosnia.



Women's Liberationists confront anti-abortion fanatics across the U.S.

"In this result Cognition is reconstructed and united with the Practical Idea...not, however (as in inquiring Cognition) merely as objective world without the subjectivity of the Notion, but as objective world whose inner ground and actual persistence is the Notion. This is the Absolute Idea." —Hegel, Science of Logic

I. An Objective World in Crisis, in Economics, Politics, Ideology

Two major crisis points in today's world compel us to face reality inseparable from philosophy. One is the political crisis disclosed by the impending partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina; the other is the economic crisis disclosed by the recently concluded summit of the major industrial powers in Tokyo. Taken together, they lay bare the degeneracy of western "civilization" and the urgent need to work out a path to a different future.

A. Bosnia-Herzegovina: The Test of World Politics

It is hard to think of a single event which more sharply reveals the nature of today's objective situation than the ongoing crisis in Bosnia. The complicity of the U.S., Russia and the European powers in the genocidal war against the Bosnian people has manifested the essence of the new world reality which has emerged in the aftermath of the collapse of the "Communist" regimes.

Indeed, today's events show we are confronting on a world scale the reemergence of what the post-World War II era never killed off—the visage of Hitlerite barbarism.

This was made explicit in June when the European powers came out in support of the Serbian effort to destroy Bosnia by dividing it into Croatian and Serbian-controlled areas, with a small Muslim enclave. No one doubts that this proposal amounts to the effective destruction of Bosnia. What we pointed to in the June issue of News & Letters as a "distinct possibility"—the annihilation of an entire people, the Muslims of Bosnia—has now become terrifyingly real.¹

Unlike several months ago, when open disagreements erupted between the U.S. and its European allies over whether to take military action against Serbia, the U.S. now supports Bosnia's partition. Clinton has decided that papering over the increasingly deep divisions within the Western alliance is more important than preventing the destruction of an entire people. Indeed, throughout this crisis the U.S. never tried to stand in the way of Serbian "ethnic cleansing," including when it did briefly consider some form of military intervention. It is not

concern with "ethnic cleansing," but rather fear of global instability which dictates U.S. actions.

Clinton's effort to patch up relations with the allies, however, does not change the fact that the events in Bosnia have brought to the surface important changes in U.S.-European relations. It is not only that Europe is increasingly willing to pursue policies independent of the U.S. It is also that the political and military structures which helped define the Western alliance in the post-World War II era have shown themselves to be increasingly irrelevant. NATO has played no role in the Bosnia crisis; neither have any of the other institutions that were supposed to "supplement" it following the collapse of Communism, such as the Conference on Security and Cooperation and the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, which links NATO with the countries of the former Warsaw Pact. The role of the UN has been the most hollow of all: from the Vance-Owen plan to its recent threat to stop delivering food to Sarajevo, it has proved itself more adept at compromising with Serbian aggression than in combatting it.

In a word, the crisis in Bosnia reveals the extent to which the political structures which defined the post-World War II world are now little more than "carcasses of dead policies."² Instead of the emergence of a "new world order," we are witnessing the gradual crumbling to pieces of the edifice of world politics.

Yet the more disordered today's world reality becomes, the more the U.S. seems wedded to the illusion that it alone can impose order upon it. A striking expression of this is the U.S. intervention in Somalia. Initially billed as a "humanitarian" mission, it has degenerated into a shooting match against unarmed civilian protesters and the forces of Gen. Aidid, whom the U.S. had earlier supported. Clinton may think this is the way to show U.S. prowess on the world stage. What it really shows is how threadbare is the U.S. effort to conceal its intervention overseas under the veneer of a "benign imperialism."

The same is true of the sabre rattling against Iraq. Since launching 23 cruise missiles on downtown Baghdad on June 27, Clinton has threatened more attacks should Iraq continue to defy UN mandates. The European allies and Russia expressed support for Clinton on

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1. See our new pamphlet, Bosnia-Herzegovina: Achilles Heel of Western "Civilization" (Chicago: News and Letters, 1993), for our analysis of the present crisis.

2. See James Chace, "Exit NATO," in The New York Times, June 14, 1993.

Balkans anthology shows "women's resistance"

Women for Peace Anthology, published by Women in Black, Belgrade, Pancevo, 1993.

For International Women's Day, March 8, 1993, feminists prepared an anthology of documents about their movement against the war in the Balkans. This document itself is an international event, produced in three languages: Serbo-Croatian, Italian and English. In their own words this anthology was created to "present views, thoughts and reactions of women about the war and actions and protest of women against war, militarism and violence." It covers actions from the beginning of the war in 1991 until March, 1993.

The anthology includes leaflets calling for demonstrations against the war, appeals to all governments in the Balkans, appeals to the international community, serious essays on rape throughout history and internationally, minutes from meetings of women's groups, many letters from different women peace activists and the Belgrade Women's Lobby's denunciation of patriarchal values in text books: "We do not recognize male 'objectivity' in which our lives disappear as if we did not exist at all." We read here Women in Black's statement, "We don't believe in a 'peace' resting on agreements reached by the nationalist leaders who caused the war.... Peace is an absence of fear of being battered, raped, humiliated as women. SOS Telephone for Women and Children Victims of Violence registered a sharp increase in male violence since the war began."

A crucial part of the *Anthology* is a report from the Conference on Women's Solidarity held in Venice, in 1991. Organized by Women in Black from Venice and other Italian cities, it was meant as an expression of solidarity. However, a split developed between women from Serbia and Croatia. There was a contradiction between opposition to narrow nationalism, opposition to war and identification with the government when that government was the victim. The discussion took up what belonging to a nation means—with most women



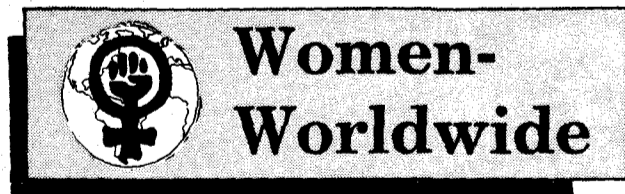
stating they did not want to "belong" to a nationality that oppresses others—what is ethnicity, how sanctions affect women's lives, ethnic cleansing and violence. In the workshop on violence a participant stated, "the worst kind of violence is the dispossession of hope."

There are many more important stories to tell: how "Citizens of Tresnjevac, who rallied around the pizzeria 'Zicer'...announced a 'spiritual republic Zicer' without borders, territories, property, and in which the citizens have 'unlimited rights.' They created a constitution, chose a rotating official...." As citizens of an independent Republic Zicer they refused the Serb draft when their village was surrounded by Serbian tanks. In December 1992 Women in Black Against War and SOS called for 16 Days of Activism Against Violence Against Women to coincide with events planned in Latin America, around the anniversary of the massacre of women at Montreal University, World AIDS Day and International Human Rights Day.

In the words of the Balkan women: "this is not a national tragedy but a human one." "Long term help involves continuing the precious exchange of ideas that we have already begun."

This *Anthology* is not yet available in your local bookstore, nor is the information gathered there part of the daily news. The unearthing and sharing of it is part of the responsibility of those of us who are trying to work out solidarity with the other Yugoslavia. You can order the *Anthology* from Balkan Peace Project, c/o Speak Out!, 2215-R Market Street #520, San Francisco, CA 94114, for \$3.50.

—Urszula Wislanka



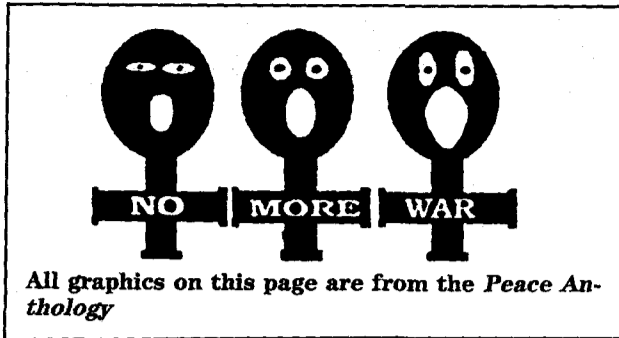
by Mary Jo Grey

A coalition of groups representing domestic workers in Hong Kong is fighting for a complete revision of the contract governing their working conditions: 1) abolishing the rule requiring that workers leave Hong Kong within two weeks after ending their employment, 2) increasing salaries, and 3) improving working conditions, especially establishing a limit on the hours of work each day. Said one worker, "Machines, too, have to be turned off for a rest."

—Information from Asia Link

Political prisoners in Hasharon Prison in Israel have gone on repeated one-day hunger strikes demanding the return of Ataf Alyan, a Palestinian woman prisoner in ill health transferred to the overcrowded Kishon Detention Center last April. Since that time, she has been the object of continuous harassment by her cell mates with the encouragement of the warden. Complaints to prison authorities, the Minister of Police and the Commissioner of Prison Services have so far been ignored.

—Information from Women's Organization for Political Prisoners



Right tries to usurp Black history

by Laurie Cashdan

Carol Moseley-Braun's indignant speech July 22 against Senate support for the United Daughters of the Confederacy's emblem patent represents one of many recent signals heralding a renewal of the ideological battle which was fought on the terrain of African American history during President George Bush's reign.

The fireworks in the Senate over the United Daughters of the Confederacy emblem, however, may indeed mask the full significance for feminism of this renewed ideological warfare, now that the battle has reemerged in the context of Clinton's "new Democratic agenda." That significance begins to unfold when we take a closer look at Moseley-Braun's speech and other recent debates.

Moseley-Braun's speech struck out at a blatant appeal to the legacy of slavery. Approval of the proposal made by the notorious Jesse Helms would have renewed a U.S. patent for an emblem bearing the Confederate flag. "If I have to stand here until this room freezes over...I am going to do so," Moseley-Braun announced after a 52-48 approval of the measure. "It is about racial symbols, the racial past and the single most painful episode in American history." The Senate later reversed its vote.

THE POWER OF BLACK HISTORY

This overwhelming response to a largely symbolic debate tempered disapproval of Moseley-Braun that has surfaced among many Black and feminist critics, especially after she failed to break from Clinton to champion Lani Guinier's cause following Clinton's withdrawal of her nomination.

Earlier that day during Senate Judiciary Committee Supreme Court confirmation hearings for Ruth Bader Ginsburg, notorious reactionary Orrin Hatch compared the *Roe v. Wade* abortion rights decision to the 1857 Dred Scott decision upholding slavery, as examples of the Court "making up rights" not in the Constitution.

Hatch's pretended alliance with the legacy of abolitionism in order to galvanize opposition to women's reproductive rights signals a repulsive ideological phenomenon consistent with Bush and Reagan double-speak. This tack differs from Helms' blatant reactionary plea. Hatch's words echo those of other rabid anti-abortionists who dare to compare themselves to the abolitionists. Moseley-Braun announced it was "difficult to sit here...and quietly listen to a debate that would analogize Dred Scott and *Roe vs. Wade*."

These words in support of Clinton's Supreme Court candidate were important but did not reverse her reluctance to take steps for reproductive rights which challenge Clinton's own double-speak. Indeed, the debate in the House in late June over renewing the infamous Hyde amendment banning the use of federal funding for abortions showed that Clinton's "new Democratic agenda" means paying lip service to poor women's rights to control their reproduction.

RACISM, SEXISM = DEATH

The Hyde Amendment, passed in 1977, was the first post-*Roe v. Wade* bill to restrict abortion rights by denying them to poor women, disproportionately women of color. This has caused the death and maiming of unknown numbers of poor women who have had "back alley" abortions. It has been reapproved every year since.

In the debate in June, Hyde got "confused" and stated, "there are too many of you people and we want to refine...the breed," forgetting to say he means the pro-abortion forces think this way. Cardiss Collins, a Black Chicago Congresswoman, declared, "I am offended by that kind of debate," to which Hyde said he would "direct my friend to a few ministers who will tell her just what goes on in her community." But when Hyde apologized, Collins called him a "gentleman and a scholar."

Hyde's racist and sexist remark exposed his cynical appropriation of an historic concern among African Americans about racist eugenicist beliefs, in order to turn Blacks against women's reproductive freedom. Hyde is well-known for his hatred of women of color: more eye-opening were Collins' quick apology and Clinton's silence throughout despite his supposed opposition to the ban on federally funded abortions.

Aligning anti-abortion and other attacks on the self-determination of women, especially women of color, with the historic legacy of Black liberation worked for Bush. Congressional reactionaries like Helms, Hatch and Hyde clearly hope it will work for them. What makes these attacks more dangerous now is the conservatism of Clinton's "new Democratic agenda" and the alliance with it by Moseley-Braun, Collins and others. This combined ideological pollution makes our critiques crucial to the clearing of our minds for genuine liberation.

OR strikes out!

San Jose, Cal.—The failure of Operation Rescue's (OR) "Cities of Refuge" campaign, July 10-17, was total. Every single clinic in the San Francisco Bay Area was open that week. Boasts of thousands of local people joining OR became in reality no more than 120 harassers on any day. In contrast, the local pro-choice coalitions placed 20-50 defenders at each and every clinic with many more following OR from place to place. The police were no more than bystanders.

The first demonstrations were staged in front of the church where OR was based. Chanting "Pray! You'll need it. Your cause has been defeated!" about 400 of us let OR know they are not welcome in San Jose. People from all over California came, some from rural areas, some from L.A. Without "easy" clinics to blockade, OR picketed in front of doctors' houses.

We didn't just outnumber OR. Several pro-choice coalitions formed in the weeks preceding the OR invasion. The coalitions held training sessions, organized information hotlines, kept everyone informed by posting people with cellular phones in key places, etc. All this organization allowed people to join in the protests spontaneously, at whatever time they could be there.

But we didn't beat OR only with numbers and organization. Many remembered the shooting of Dr. Gunn and the burned out clinics in Redding, Cal., and across the country. OR's terrorism is one reason their rallies drew more protests than support. OR leader Randall Terry stated that he was saddened that Christians in San Jose did not avail themselves of the opportunity to pray with him. Our response was "pray by day, bomb by night..."

Next Saturday, after not being able to stop a single woman from entering the clinic in San Jose, OR tried San Mateo (a city between San Jose and San Francisco.) Again, lines of defenders, three rows deep, with arms and legs locked and ready to prevent even the biggest bully from breaking through our lines, kept OR meandering outside, completely ineffective. My favorite chant was "God has spoken. The clinic stays open."

—Clinic defender

For articles on the battle against Operation Rescue in Minneapolis, Minn., and the questions raised there, see page 11.



Demo for battered women

Chicago, Ill.—On July 15, the Women's Action Coalition (WAC) staged a combined post-card drive and street performance in front of the State of Illinois Center. The action was to protest two bills currently on Gov. Edgar's desk which represent a serious backlash against women.

Senate bill 0460 would allow police to obtain an order of protection for a battered woman without her consent. She would be, in effect, arrested in order to be protected. While giving the police more power to control a given situation, the bill disempowers the woman and usurps her right to self-determination. Punishing the victim of the crime may discourage a woman from contacting the police at all, leaving her even more vulnerable to abuse.

House bill 2139 would create a criminal offense called "Custodial Interference" meaning that criminal charges could be brought against the legal custodian of a child the first time that person refuses to allow visitation. This does not take into account any reasons including the illness of the child or the child's own wishes. While seeking to address actual abuse of visitation laws, this bill could easily be used to harass women and other custodial parents who legitimately fear for the children's safety.

At the performance three women wearing signs on which the shape of Illinois had been painted, led around three other women who were tied to them and gagged so that what they had to say would not be understood. These three were wearing signs on which the symbol for woman was drawn and various statistics concerning battered women were written.

As one who played a bound and gagged woman, my perspective became altered by my inability to do anything but follow my state around. She was quite creatively yelling demeaning statements (pun intended) at me while I mumbled and struggled.

Particularly alarming to me was the level of apathy in many of the passersby. Several dressed-for-success women as much as ran past us, heads down, expressions vacant. A small group of men in suits made a point of stopping in front of me and laughing.

Many people, however, were very positive and appeared relieved as well as pleased to see us there. Around 500 cards were signed there and mailed to the Governor of Illinois and WAC intends to continue working with The Chicago Metropolitan Battered Women's Network.

—Meghan

Staley: striking within the plant

Editor's note: Three workers from A.E. Staley Manufacturing Company, members of Allied Industrial Workers (AIW) Local 837 in Decatur, Ill., met in Chicago with 85 activists on July 17 to form the Staley Workers Solidarity Committee. Below we print brief excerpts from their presentation.

Chicago, Ill.—In 1991 we knew we had negotiations starting in '92. We knew that if we simply went to the streets, we would be permanently replaced. We looked at other alternatives. At that time we were put in contact with Corporate Campaign Inc. and Ray Rogers. Basically Rogers works from the financial end, putting pressure externally on board rooms and banks.

We went into negotiations. We had 17 pages of concepts and proposals thrown down in front of us that were nothing more than stated wages, management rights, etc. In other words, you come to work, we pay, we pay very little, and that's it. I'm the boss, you're the worker. About 98% of the membership voted on the proposal. They turned it down by 96%.

That presented another problem. Here we are without a contract, and we're still working. Some way or another, you have got to apply some kind of pressure on the company. We got hold of Jerry Tucker, who was with the New Directions out of the United Auto Workers. He came in, helped us organize, explained in-plant strategy.

RALLIES, FLAGS, SINGING

In-plant strategy is basically a strike within the plant. It means concerted activities, everything from rallies to tee shirt days, rallies that took place out in front of the plant, rallies that just came out of nowhere in the middle of the day, rallies that all of a sudden happened in the office area, rallies that happened anywhere we wanted them. There were flags at these rallies and people sing-

ing "Solidarity Forever." The whole place would just go down; everybody was at a rally.

Work-to-rule was happening. In other words, you leave your brain outside the plant. You come in, you don't do anything they don't tell you to do. People were very aggressive with that. Production started declining. The company claimed that in February and March they were down in production and quality 30-35%.

There were 12 to 16 discharges during that time; 50 to 60 individuals were suspended. One of the things we talked about was that there is nobody that can't be replaced. We have to have the attitude that we're going to have a lot of leaders.

WALKOUT AND LOCKOUT

On June 17 the company asked an employee to break the rules set out in the safety code book. He refused to do so; he was sent home. Another employee called out on the radio, "We need to assemble at the designated point." That person was reprimanded on the next day by a discharge. There was a walkout at that time.

The next morning we went back unconditionally, and the company refused to let us in. The following morning they let us re-enter the plant, and we went back to work. On June 27 at 3:00 a.m. in the morning, they escorted everybody back out of the plant and put us on lockout.

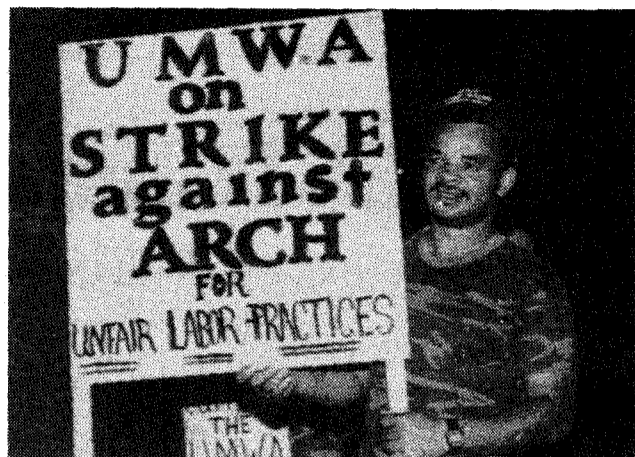
Tate & Lyle (the British corporation which bought Staley in 1988) is a sugar giant. Sugar comes from Third World countries. Tate & Lyle can buy a product for almost nothing, and their attitude doesn't change by the time it gets to us. It's as simple as that. There's no respect for people, no respect for the law, no respect for safety. That's what we're fighting right now.

To contact Staley workers, write or call: AIW Local 837, 2882 North Dineen, Decatur, IL 62526; (217) 876-7006.

Miners' strike spreads

Morgantown, W. Va.—"I'm not surprised at the killing of that strikebreaking scab miner in Logan County," declared an ex-Consolidated Coal Co. miner about the first death arising out of the two-month-long strike of the United Mine Workers union (UMWA) against the Bituminous Coal Operators Association. "As a matter of fact," he added, "you can look for a lot more real trouble the longer the strike goes on."

The July 22 death occurred at the Arch mine in southern West Virginia when a convoy of strikebreakers went past striking union pickets. It reveals the growing resentments of the strikers at the concessions being demanded by the coal operators and the betrayal they feel about the violations of the last contract.



Job security is the major concern of the union miners, who have seen their membership decline and additional mines close each year. This follows a deliberate policy of the coal owners, who are closing union mines, transferring coal reserves to subsidiary companies and then opening them as nonunion operations.

In the 1988 contract this issue was thought to have been resolved in the provision stipulating that, if a union mine was closed and the company opened a new mine, at least three of five miners hired would come from the closed union mine. The companies are not only rejecting this agreement, they are also refusing to provide the union with the true information of real ownership of the many subsidiaries that are being created, thus making a joke out of the contract.

UMWA President Rich Trumka ordered another 1,000 miners out on strike, bringing the total at the end of July to 17,000 out in seven states.

—Andy Phillips

Nurses suffer speedup

Editor's note: Nurses, housekeeping workers, technicians and others at Alta Bates Hospital in Berkeley, Cal. rallied with the community July 14 and 24 to fight takebacks. Five unions at the hospital have been bargaining without a contract for several months. They are also fighting management's attempt to destroy the kind of interunion solidarity that succeeded in the Summit Hospital strike in Oakland last year.

Berkeley, Cal.—Alta Bates management is systematically reducing the number of nurse-hours per patient. This means nurses have larger assignments. This is work speedup. Patients are receiving less care by licensed care providers. Nurses are losing jobs, yet the top-heavy management is hiring non-licensed patient care assistants. All of this is happening at a time when hospital stays are being drastically limited by the insurance industry. Clearly the patient population is much sicker and more in need of qualified, experienced nursing care.

There have been so many cutbacks in the environmental services (housekeeping) department that patients, visitors and staff are all at risk in a much dirtier and less sanitary facility. The stress and work speedups are putting patients and nurses at unnecessary risk of possibly life-threatening medication errors, "dirty sharps" accidents from contaminated needles and the like.

Just when Local 250, California Nurses Association, and other unions have contracts that expire, management has carefully choreographed a regime of layoffs to harass, intimidate and manipulate their employees with fears of job security. This is intended to terrorize the work force into accepting contract offers full of takeaways. Add to this agenda their desire to get rid of, by any means possible, long-term employees who have earned the rights of higher hourly wages, longer vacations, and retirement benefits. Also on management's hit list are workers who are active in their unions and who speak up.

Alta Bates is playing a shell game. The hospital is supposedly non-profit, but they have many other entities. Their board and their funds are intermingled. They are poised to increase their market share, and they have enough money to avoid takeaways. But it isn't saving money on employee benefits so much as having control over the employees and busting the unions out of there.

In maternity care, Alta Bates over the past two years has been going toward something they call "family care." It means that the hospital has added more and more mothers and babies per nurse. Now it's four mothers and four babies per nurse, and if one has twins, it's five babies. A patient ratio of three mothers and three babies you could handle. Four, you really can't. You're having to check the vital signs of mothers and babies, and deal with meals, baths, discharge orders, teaching as well as provide medical care—it's something you simply can't do. With these kinds of speedups, you're at a high risk for making a mistake with drugs or injuries.

—Licensed vocational nurse

Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

are empty terminals everywhere, and we are so busy we can hardly handle it. My company won't hire the union drivers from those companies. They want new guys they can push, push, push and then the slightest accident—which is bound to happen when you rush—and they're fired and replaced.

I think the coal miners are doing the right thing. There are 17,000 union miners now on strike over the big question—getting some of those jobs the mine companies are opening with nonunion subsidiaries. There is the same question in trucking. Consolidated Freightways does that with its Con Way division, and the Teamsters have a campaign against that. What happens with the coal miners' fight will affect all of us down the road more than we know.

REPLACING, CHEAPENING LABOR

The trend is always one way—to do away with labor and to cheapen labor. That's what hobbles the union leaders. They accept "productivity," which is the polite word for just that—replacing and cheapening labor.

Contract talks have opened with the Big 3 (General Motors, Ford and Chrysler), and the United Auto Workers' President Owen Bieber talks out of both sides of his mouth. He says, "Our top priority this year is full job and income security," and in the same breath calls "remarkable achievements" that auto worker productivity is up 27% from 1981 to 1991 and the percentage of labor costs in new vehicles has dropped by nearly one-fourth. With thinking like that, we are in trouble.

IBM is laying off another 35,000. The specialists and big businessmen are forecasting huge permanent job losses in coming years. How long before it's my job? There will come a time—and it's coming fast—when the only way to be "realistic" will be to be "unrealistic."

Dialogue: workers and revolutionary organization

Chicago, Ill.—I have just finished reading Felix Martin's article, "On the unity of workers and intellectuals," in the July issue of *News & Letters*. It is a response to John Yuill's article, "We need no parties," in the June issue. Both writers brought up several points I would like to comment on.

Martin agrees with Yuill's point that "[t]he most effective political movements in history have always been spontaneous and citizen based..." But Martin points out that history has shown us that this is not enough. "To keep that spontaneous movement continuous, it needs to be grounded in a philosophy of Freedom, and that ground needs to be in each human being."

History has shown us, time after time, revolution after revolution, without the movement being complete, that is, with each individual in the movement armed, not just with the idea of immediate change, but with the philosophy of continuous freedom for all. Without this the cycle of failed revolutions will continue.

MARXISM MISUNDERSTOOD

Another point that both writers agree on is that Marxism has been misunderstood by what are called "post-Marx Marxists." Although both agree that Engels may be responsible for this, Martin disagrees with Yuill on the point of using "plain language" to present the philosophy of Marx to the proletariat. Martin goes on to write that he believes that this is what Engels did.

I would like to believe that Mr. Yuill's statement on "plain language" is possible simply for the fact that I have found it difficult at times to understand Marxism and have wondered if there were "an easier way." But I

Whose jobs? Whose future?

Editor's note: The Oscar Mayer plant in Chicago closed permanently last December, laying off over 600 workers. Workers fought the shutdown and afterwards formed the Oscar Mayer Displaced Workers Organization, which has organized picket lines and demonstrations protesting the plant closing, and sought a boycott of Oscar Mayer products. Below two workers speak about a protest at President Clinton's July 26 "Conference on the Future of the American Workplace."

Chicago, Ill.—When we found out that Clinton was having a jobs conference in Chicago, we tried to get tickets through a Congressman, because we are displaced workers. We never could get tickets, so we said, well, let's picket at the conference.

The conference really was a one-sided thing—a luncheon with businessmen and some labor leaders. It is not they, but ourselves, who know what it is like inside the workplace. We are the ones in production; the businessmen are only there for profits.

It is true Clinton inherited this problem, and it can't be cured in six or eight months, but it seems that with Clinton it is still business as usual. Perhaps Clinton really didn't want to hear about what happened at Oscar Mayer: how the company has built nonunion focus (single product) plants in other cities paying much lower wages; how it closed the Chicago plant which had a work force with a high percentage of minorities, a work force where the majority of the workers had 20 and more years, but ended up with no transfer rights or decent pensions.

Now some displaced workers are finding that the Washburne Trade School they had been attending for retraining is likely to be closed in the near future. All this talk about jobs and the future workplace, but no one wants to talk to the displaced workers.

—Out-of-work Oscar Mayer workers

also agree with Mr. Martin's point that if we use plain language, "where is the two-way relationship between the movement from practice and the movement from theory?" This point deserves more discussion.

One other point that caught my attention was Yuill's statement: "We do not see any difference between worker and intellectual if we don't recognize the categories." Martin disagrees with this statement, going on to write: "I do see the difference, because the system created that difference, and this is what has to be dealt with by both workers and revolutionary intellectuals coming together" (my emphasis).

WORKERS AND MANAGEMENT

Although I am not sure that the statement by Yuill has been understood correctly, I agree with Martin that there is a difference. I have seen the difference at the packing houses where I've worked with the workers stuck on the line in the cold, slaving away while management is free to come and go as it pleases.

I see it on my current job with management people walking around with an attitude of superiority over the workers. I had a fine example this morning with the gentrified person (yuppie) across the street thumbing his nose at me as I parked my old car behind his luxury model. These are constant reminders that the ruling class forces on me, which in turn lead me down the revolutionary road.

I am in total agreement with John Yuill's statement that "we should avoid off-the-shelf political forms such as the party." What we need are new ideas. I hope to read more from Mr. Yuill as well as Felix Martin in future issues of *News & Letters*.

—Martin Almora

From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya Marxist-Humanist Archives

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

Editor's note: This letter by Raya Dunayevskaya was written as a "Dear Friends" letter to News and Letters Committees on Oct. 19, 1981. We print excerpts of it here to continue the discussion begun in the special supplement in the May issue of News & Letters on the 40th anniversary of the philosophic moment of Marxist-Humanism, and on the necessity to re-create the revolutionary dialectic of Hegel, Marx and Marxist-Humanism. Footnotes are by the editors.

This is the "letter of the week" and it's an attempt to initiate a dialogue on theory. It is about the underlying philosophy of the classes¹ and its relationship to the crises of the day. It is about the book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, and that trail to the 1980s which is deeply rooted in the 1880s, while at the same time stressing the original contributions we have made. Thus, I want to discuss with you what it is that I have done since the Plenum in writing three types of new Introductions—one to *Marxism and Freedom*, one to *Philosophy and Revolution*, and one to my *Political-Philosophic Letters on Iran*.² The last will be published in the new issue of *News & Letters* now going to press, so I will say the least on that; but I do wish to quote the penultimate paragraph, and ask you to keep in mind all the concrete questions I had been discussing in that Introduction which I have entitled: "The Struggle Continues: What Kind of Revolution Is Needed in the Battle Against the Khomeini-IRP Counter-Revolution?"

Remembering the high points of the Revolution does not mean forgetting that it has now reached a point of retrogression. The impasse in the Iraq-Iran war is not as pivotal as the move backward in freedoms and independence at home. The revolution had its elemental upward surge but lacked a philosophy of revolution and could not disclose the trail to total freedom as well as solidarity with all those the world over who wished to follow its lead. What is needed is the working out of a theory that would never again separate itself from the actuality, any more than the actuality can be separated from theory.

The expression that I consider so important for us that I have often repeated it—"deceptive simplicity"—is applicable to the brief Introduction to the fifth edition of *Marxism and Freedom (M&F)*. The danger of falling into the trap of "deceptive simplicity" is that it may all sound so familiar and we all know the structure of the book so well that we are likely to skim over its methodology, and not realize that it is not just the 1950s that is being analyzed there. In a word, dialectics is a methodology of both theory and practice.

HERE IS HOW that methodology surprised the writer herself. I'm referring to the inclusion of Marx's statement that "Time is the space for human development"³ at the end of the Introduction. It certainly is not a new phrase; we have stressed it ever since we studied Marx's "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844." So I had to ask myself: What ever made me use that phrase in this Introduction? How could I possibly summarize a new stage of cognition with that, especially after I had already—in the 1950s and therefore in *M&F*—called the new stage of cognition by its true name, "a new Humanism" that the workers in 1956 had brought out of the Archives and put on the historic stage? Could the repetition of that phrase on "Time" be because that

1. This refers to classes News and Letters Committees held in the fall of 1981 on the soon-to-be published *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* by Raya Dunayevskaya.
2. See the November, 1981 *News & Letters*. This Political-Philosophic Letter was written as a special introduction to the Farsi edition of the *Political-Philosophic Letters on the Iranian Revolution, 1979-1981*, by Raya Dunayevskaya.
3. See Marx's "Value, Price and Profit" written in 1865; *Collected Works*, Volume 20, p. 142. The original reads "Time is the room of human development."

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The revolutionary trail from Hegel and Marx to our age

expression of Marx, which came out of a discussion of the absolute opposite to the capitalistic socially necessary labor time, was exactly what fits the new 1980 workers' revolt in Poland?

To put it differently, the old is new here because it is the 1980s way of proving that it is absolutely impossible to separate economics from philosophy. In the deepest abstract sense of being the most recognizable aspect of our daily lives, Time here is grounded in philosophy "in

gel's *Philosophy of Right*. He had felt himself compelled to footnote Hegel's expression, "the impending world revolution," to the effect that it was a reference (as indeed it was) to the birth of Christianity. My amazed answer was: Weren't the Christians thrown to the lions? Wasn't the rise of Christianity at that specific time of the despotism of the Roman Empire a revolutionary act? And didn't Hegel consider that specific religion as his jumping off point to philosophy as the

greater Absolute even than religion? I certainly didn't mean that Hegel was a proletarian revolutionary; but neither do I consider that Marx "subverted" Hegel. Rather, Marx took that Absolute Negativity and did, indeed, see in it so unchained a dialectic that he was able to re-create it as "revolution in permanence."

Please restudy Chapter 1 of *P&R*, especially the last five pages (pp. 41-46) which center around the final syllogism of Hegel's *Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences* (para. 577). For the moment, I want to limit myself to the penultimate paragraph of my new Introduction to *P&R*:

This can by no means be limited to a mere "updating" of Marx's Marxism, if one is to find a trail to the 1980s. Finding that trail is the indispensable foundation,

but not the whole. To work out the problematic of our age, Marx's Marxism must be reworked anew both on the basis of the actual freedom struggles in our age and a new stage of cognition. Whether we call it Absolute Idea as new beginning, or a new relationship of theory and practice, the point is that it is only a new unity of objective and subjective that can release vast untapped creative energies.

What you get from studying Hegel "in and for himself," and why it was so absolutely imperative that I start with that, is that every generation of Marxists, in re-creating Marxism for its age, first sees how the dialectic of revolution comes out of the dialectic. Revolution is lodged in the very concept of the Hegelian dialectic. The fact that Hegel tried to limit it to thought does not mean that when Marx re-created it as "revolution in permanence," it didn't "come out of" developing the dialectic of his age—nor that, to the extent that they succeeded or failed, Lenin, Luxemburg and Trotsky hadn't attempted the same thing. What we learned from these revolutionaries, above everything else, is that the trail to your own age is no mere updating. It is as much finding a new stage of cognition as recognizing the reality of your own age. If you consider it a mere "updating"—and that is what Rosa Luxemburg thought her *Accumulation of Capital* was—you can't possibly get to the new stage of cognition, and, with it, a new Subject.

OF COURSE MARX couldn't have seen what wasn't there yet—imperialism at the turn of the 20th century. But we wouldn't have been able to see the new 20th century imperialism and its absolute opposite—the lower and deeper layers of the proletariat as well as the new revolutionary forces that Lenin called a "bacillus of proletarian revolution," i.e., national self-determination—if we had not rooted the "updating" in Marx's new moments, as we re-created it for our age and its new stage of cognition.

It is that which made me understand what was new in the "old" Marxian expression, "Time is the space for human development." It is in that sense—and in that sense alone—that "updating" has dialectical meaning.

Let me return to Kelly again, and to his critique of Marx's Marxism, as if theory couldn't be born out of an unchained dialectic arising out of the totality of crisis. What I tried to prove is that it wasn't only revolution that Kelly was questioning, but, if I may say so, the Absolute Idea as new beginning. Why tell me that "Absolute Idea as new beginning" isn't a Hegelian phrase? It became concrete in our age but it was present in Hegel—lodged in the revolutionary nature of the dialectic. It could not come out except in our age. That unchained dialectic has become much wiser from 150 years of additional experience, especially because 50 years of it—from Hegel's death to Marx's death—were the years when Marx re-created it, and initiated a new trail that led to our age.



Thousands of Iranian women poured into the streets of Tehran on March 8, 1979—International Women's Day—in protest of Khomeini's order for women to wear the veil. Their chant was "At the dawn of freedom, we have no freedom!"

and for itself." In Marx's articulation of Time as "space," we suddenly grasp how unique and extremely specific this is for our age.

It was in that light that I cast the new Introduction also to *Philosophy and Revolution (P&R)*. That is to say, I tried, in a more detailed way, to get the readers and not just the author to single out how deeply rooted in Marx are our original contributions.

IT IS EASY ENOUGH for all of us to understand my references to the New Left's criticism, since we, too, wanted to start with Chapter 9 instead of with Chapter 1.⁴ The fact, however, that I did not follow that structure in *P&R* is why I felt it necessary to detail further my answer to George Armstrong Kelly's critique⁵ (which appeared in the "Two Worlds" column in the March 1979 *N&L*). Let me rearticulate that answer in the context of this new Introduction by concentrating on that single quote from Kelly—which actually reflects the critique made by the whole Hegel scholar milieu. (And which is why I also refer to Louis Dupre's article in *The Journal of the History of Ideas*.⁶) Kelly's main point is contained in the phrase "complex linkage of culture, politics and philosophy within the matrix of the absolute Idea." Kelly's contention is that Marxist revolutionaries (and Dunayevskaya expresses it the most succinctly) propose "to substitute an unchained dialectic, which (Dunayevskaya) baptizes the 'Absolute Method.'" His real anger, it seems to me, arises from the fact that I had said that theory arises from the totality of the present global crisis.

What is beyond the comprehension of the whole Hegel scholar milieu is that there can be a movement from practice, and a theory that can view the objective situation in a creative way, comparable to that which comes from thought-divers who develop philosophy in and for itself. It isn't only that they are wrong, but that revolutionaries have also seen it one-sidedly—even though from the opposite side—very nearly disregarding the movement in thought. It was this, just this, that led Marx to credit idealists instead of materialists for developing "the active side" of the dialectic. (See Marx's *Theses on Feuerbach*.)

Let me give you another example—this time concerning the late Sir T. M. Knox, who was one of the most profound and erudite scholars and who did absolutely the most creative as well as rigorous translations of He-

4. Dunayevskaya is referring to the fact that, as she wrote in the 1981 introduction to *Philosophy and Revolution*, "The young revolutionaries wanted to know why I began with the chapter on Hegel instead of with Chapter 9, 'New Passions and New Forces.' It seemed to them that the latter would have been more correct, both because that chapter is concrete, is 'today,' and because they would definitely find therein a point of affinity, which would make it easier for them to then grapple with Hegel."

5. See George Armstrong Kelly's, *Hegel's Retreat from Eleusis* (Princeton University Press, 1978): "For the complex linkage of culture, politics and philosophy within the matrix of 'absolute Idea,' Mme Dunayevskaya proposes to substitute an unchained dialectic which she baptizes 'Absolute Method,' a method that 'becomes irresistible... because our hunger for theory arises from the totality of the present global crisis'" (p. 239).

6. See Louis Dupre's "Recent Literature on Marx and Marxism," in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, October-December, 1974.

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(continued from page 1)

this, at least in public. Clinton may think this shows that threatening Iraq is the way to maintain U.S. hegemony in world affairs. What it really shows is his continuity with the Reagan-Bush illusion that intervention in the Middle East can improve his precarious domestic and international standing.

What, then, does it mean that the rulers can display unanimity on bombing Iraqi civilians while doing nothing to stop Bosnia's destruction? What does it mean that the UN can hold a world congress in June on its most vaunted slogan—"human rights"—at the same time as it tramples those rights underfoot by attacking civilians in Somalia and threatening to cut off relief shipments to Bosnia? What do these events disclose if not the final seal of bankruptcy on capitalism's thought?

The visage of Hitler which is so central to today's capitalist crises is seen not only in Bosnia, but also in the rise of neo-Nazism in Germany, the spread of the far-Right in Russia, and the growing attacks on immigrants and minorities throughout the West and the Third World. Although hundreds of thousands have marched in protests in Germany against the vicious attacks on "foreigners"—often on Turkish workers who have lived in Germany for decades—the government has passed a new asylum law which sharply restricts future immigration. Similar laws already exist or are being contemplated in France, Italy, Spain and England. Nor is this only a question of Europe, as seen in the horrendous treatment here of Haitian and now Chinese refugees and in how hate crimes against immigrants and minorities have become the fastest growing form of violence in the U.S. According to one study, 22 killings have been perpetrated by white supremacist organizations here over the last three years.

Today's retrogression also shows itself in the electoral field, as seen in the appeal of Ross Perot and in the mayoral election in Los Angeles of a rightist ideologue promising to "restore law and order" in the face of the massive rebellion which swept that city a year ago. It extends to efforts to "legally" deny gays and lesbians their rights, a point spoken to by a resident of a small town in rural Oregon who explained to ABC news why he voted against an anti-gay and lesbian initiative: "What's going on here is sexual cleansing. I fear that if we don't stop

this now, ethnic cleansing will be next."

How can such retrogression define the political landscape when so many creative freedom struggles have arisen in our time, from rank-and-file labor battling automation to the Women's Liberation Movement, and from the Black revolt to innumerable youth movements?

It certainly isn't because the freedom struggles have ground to a halt. New struggles continue to emerge, as

"The visage of Hitler which is so central to today's capitalist crises is seen... in the growing attacks on immigrants throughout the West"



In June over 2,000 protest in Toronto against racist attacks on immigrants

seen in major strike waves in Germany, Poland, South Korea and Uruguay and in new expressions of labor militancy in the U.S. A new social consciousness of revolt has indeed arisen among Blacks and Latinos in the U.S. in the aftermath of the Los Angeles rebellion. Resistance to today's retrogression is also seen in ongoing national liberation struggles, especially the Bosnian people's effort to save their multi-ethnic society from destruction.

Especially crucial is the resurgence of women's liberation activities. The horrors being perpetrated against women became the most notable focus at the UN Human Rights Conference in Vienna in June, but it didn't just "happen": a three-year campaign by 950 different women's organizations forced the assembly to look at such problems. While Amnesty International had good cause to denounce the Conference as "an expensive waste of time and money," the way in which the international Women's Liberation Movement has been the only movement to act against the horrors of Bosnia shows that women have no intention of leaving the question of freedom to the UN or to anyone else.

The near-total absence of the Left from the efforts to oppose genocide in Bosnia, however, reveals a startling feature of today's reality—the collapse of the effort to project an emancipatory alternative to capitalism. As one writer expressed it: "The most important aspect of the explanation of Yugoslavia's collapse is this: Yugoslavia is above all the victim of the lack of a common vision of the future... There must be an authentic, humanist alternative to the collapse of the Communist paradigm. The huge responsibility for that is both ours and yours."³

This speaks not just to the Balkans, but to the reality we all face. The profoundly changed world ushered in by the events of the last several years has increasingly shown the urgency of confronting objectivity with what Hegel called the "Notion," i.e., "the realm of Subjectivity or Freedom." Put differently, the depth of today's retrogression compels us to face reality by assuming responsibility for re-creating a philosophy of freedom. To work out the role that News and Letters Committees can play as a catalyst and propellant in this effort, we must confront the depth of today's crises, central to which is the changing world economy.

3. This statement by Drago Roksanovic is cited in *Bosnia-Herzegovina: Achilles Heel of Western "Civilization,"* p. 5.

B. Today's Changing World Economy As Marx Foresaw It

Few things more sharply reveal the disarray in the world economy than the July summit of the seven major industrial powers (G-7) in Tokyo. Usually used as a photo opportunity to display the "unity" of the Western powers, this year's session was marked by Clinton's effort to strong-arm Japan into agreeing to import a fixed number of U.S. goods as part of reducing its trade surplus with the U.S. He failed, however, to get Japan to agree to any numerical targets.

Clinton nevertheless called the summit a "breakthrough," since the G-7 agreed to eliminate tariffs on an array of manufactured goods, which is expected to unblock the stalled Uruguay Round Talks of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). But as the *Wall Street Journal* noted, "For the most part, [the G-7] simply formalized tariff cuts that the trading partners had previously indicated they would make."

Of far greater importance, the summit called attention to the real problem facing the world economy—massive unemployment. A confidential report of G-7 finance ministers leaked to the press as the summit was getting underway stated that "structural unemployment" has become so endemic as to place into question the survivability of the Western economies.

As one analyst put it, "White House economists are increasingly nervous that something fundamental is under way in the global economy that is achieving high productivity with fewer jobs, and that, like the Europeans, they may have to learn to live with double-digit unemployment."⁴

They have reason to worry. The jobless rate in the G-7 countries is 7.2% and growing, compared to 3% in the 1960s. West Europe's unemployment rate is 10.5%, and is expected to exceed 12% in 1994. While this makes the official U.S. jobless rate of 7% look good by comparison, 25% of U.S. workers now labor at either temporary or part-time jobs, a percentage expected to rise to 50% by the end of the decade. The G-7 admitted that even if the world economy were to grow at a rate of 3% a year—a goal they have ruled out as "unapproachable" for the foreseeable future—unemployment will keep increasing.

The "jobs, jobs, jobs" mantra of the Clinton administration flies in the face of a jobless "recovery" and jobless "free trade" agreements. Since virtually all job growth in U.S. manufacturing from 1986 to 1990 came from increased exports, Clinton touts the removal of trade barriers to U.S. exports as the key to job expansion at home. However, while in the last five years U.S. exports grew by 76%, to \$450 billion, the level of unemployment in the U.S. actually increased.

Something far deeper than tariffs and trade is thus responsible for today's "structural" unemployment. It rather flows from the very organism of capitalist production. As Marx long ago showed, capitalism is driven to accumulate capital on an ever-expanding scale. Because capital can be created only on the basis of living labor, developing the productivity of labor is the most powerful lever of accumulation. The greater the amount of constant capital or means of production thrown into the la-

bor process, the more the productivity of labor tends to rise.

A fundamental contradiction, however, lies at the heart of this accumulation process. Though capital can only be created on the basis of living labor, its accumulation on an expanding scale produces a decline in the proportion of living labor relative to capital. This relative diminution of the only value-creating substance acts as a fetter upon the further accumulation of capital. As Marx wrote in *Capital*, "the true barrier to capitalist production is capital itself."⁵

The more acute this crisis of accumulation becomes, the more capitalism tries to overcome it by reducing the relative magnitude of the variable part of capital, i.e., wages, as compared with its constant part, i.e., means of production. This calls forth a reserve army of labor. Far from being a separate or accidental phenomenon, mass unemployment is the absolute manifestation of the law of motion of capitalist accumulation.

As Marx wrote, the expansion of capitalist production "is impossible...without an increase in the number of workers, which must occur independently of the absolute growth of the population. This increase is effected by the simple process that constantly 'sets free' a part of the working class, by methods which lessen the numbers of workers employed in proportion to the increased production. Modern industry's whole form of motion therefore depends on the constant transformation of a part of the working population into unemployed or semi-employed 'hands.'"⁶

It is hard to think of a period that more accurately reflects this fundamental Marx prediction than our own. Yet capitalist ideologues keep inventing ways to avoid facing the unrelenting laws of capital. They speak of a global "free trade" agreement creating "1.4 million new jobs" in the U.S. alone and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) with Mexico as promising "a new era of development and prosperity."

Such claims are illusory. No border on earth has a higher wage differential than between the U.S. and Mexico: it now stands at 10 to 1. By giving corporations free rein to move to the lowest wage areas of Mexico, NAFTA will accelerate the drive to lower living and working conditions on both sides of the border.

NAFTA, like GATT, is part of an effort to reduce the "variable component of capital" by lowering wages and standards of health, safety, nutrition and the environment to the prevailing average established by the world market. While NAFTA is opposed by some capitalists, such as Perot, for preempting national control over capital, it is being embraced by the multinational corporations as a central ingredient in extending their global reach.

5. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III (New York: Vintage, 1981), p. 386. The re-creation of Marx's analysis of the "law of motion" of capitalist society for the age of state-capitalism can be found in *The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism: Selected Writings* by Raya Dunayevskaya (Chicago: News and Letters, 1992).

6. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I (New York: Vintage, 1977), p. 786.

Moreover, NAFTA is being promoted at the same time as millions of Mexican workers are being "set free" through the elimination of the *ejido*, the indigenous communal farming system, in favor of export-oriented commercial farming. One analyst predicts, "The rapid displacement of the rural population will swell the urban labor market, depressing wage levels even with NAFTA's ratification."⁷

The capitalists forget that while such lowering of wages and working conditions represents a savings on their cost of production, it does nothing to add new value to the process of production. At the same time, the effort to force down wage rates and living conditions through globalized "free competition" creates a new basis for intra-capitalist rivalries, as each pole of capital strives to crowd out the "market share" of the other. This can be seen in the U.S.'s pressure on Japan to open its markets to U.S. imports, in the deepening trade disputes between the U.S. and the European Community, and in growing rifts within Europe itself.

One of these rifts concerns Europe's response to the U.S. drive to get Japan to reduce its massive trade surplus. Germany in particular does not share the U.S. approach to this. Instead of forcing Japan to reduce its trade surplus by consuming more U.S. goods, it wants Japan to use its trade surplus to supply much-needed capital to the rest of the world, especially to Russia and East Europe. It fears that if Japan consumes its surpluses by importing more goods instead of "productively investing" its surpluses overseas, the global shortage of capital will only worsen.

The depth of today's shortage of capital is no secret to the German rulers, who have seen their economy contract in the face of the staggering cost of rebuilding former East Germany. It has forced them to scale back their plans to invest in East Europe and Russia. Yet the shortage of capital is such a global phenomenon that no other country is in the position to offer Russia massive economic assistance.⁸ The shortage of capital, which flows from the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation, erects ever-new barriers to the effort to "integrate" Russia into the world economy.

The intractable nature of today's economic crisis is producing increased fragmentation of world politics overseas alongside decaying living and working conditions at home. This is the material basis for capitalism's disgoring of the oldest forms of racism, anti-immigrant hysteria and nationalist xenophobia. Nowhere is this link between economic crisis and resurgent racism more evident than here in the U.S.

(continued on page 6)

7. See Walter Russell Mead, "An American Grand Strategy: The Quest for Order in a Disordered World," in *World Policy Review*, Spring 1993, p. 33.

8. This is not only a function of the shortage of capital, but also because the capitalists are suspicious that the structure of Russian state-capitalism has not changed enough to absorb the capital which is available. See "Russia's Rough Road to Capitalism," by Shafiqul Islam, in *Foreign Affairs*, Spring 1993.

4. Martin Walker, "The USA Today," in *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, July 11, 1993.

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C. 'American Apartheid' and Its Achilles' Heel

(continued from page 5)

The "structural adjustments" in the U.S. economy have altered its labor markets, deindustrialized its manufacturing base and marginalized its central cities where the Black, Latino and white working class live. The permanent poverty produced by this restructuring is an integral feature of U.S. capital accumulation. With no other stage of accumulation have the local forces that structure American poverty been so immediately reinforced by international pressures, a phenomenon until now restricted to the Third World.

The technological transformations which have drastically altered labor markets, compounded by the budget cuts of the Reagan-Bush years, have so restructured poverty in this country that neither economic growth nor government entitlement programs can resolve the crisis. The majority of the 13% of Americans living in highly concentrated urban poverty census tracts are Black and Latino, while according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics "more than a third of American families have incomes that are too low to help them maintain 'a sense of self-respect and social participation.'"

Not only have the nation's 19.1 million production workers in 1990 been cut down to 17.9 million today, but their average real hourly wage has continued its downward spiral, from \$8.28 to \$8.02. And there is little to distinguish the average wage rate of manufacturing workers from that of the \$7.38 an hour for service workers, except that the drop in wages in the service sector is not as steep as in manufacturing.

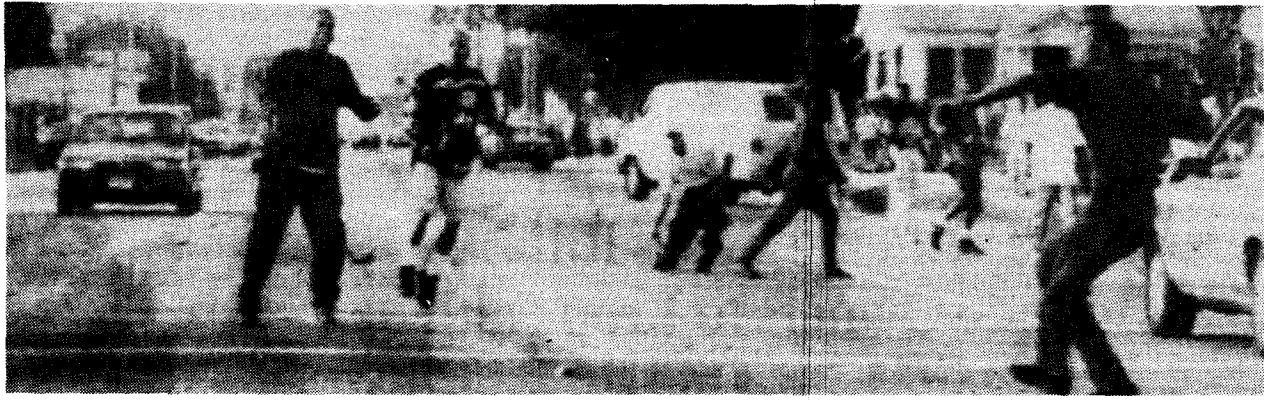
A Black meatpacking worker employed at Oscar Mayer's Chicago plant until it closed last year told us that whereas he once earned more than \$12 an hour, he now faces the prospect of getting a security job with UPS at \$5.37 an hour. Where mine workers, the most militant stratum of the U.S. working class, could command a livable wage (relative to other sectors of the work force), today their union, the UMW, is under the most relentless attack by the coal companies in its history.

Not surprisingly, mine workers see the historical and international context of the present struggle of U.S. labor in its most state-capitalist terms. "The downhill slide of labor began when Reagan broke the PATCO strike in 1981," declared a striking miner in Maudsville, W.Va. "That gave the signal to the corporations that they could stomp on labor as much as they could get away with, and they'd have a friend in the White House."⁹

The deepening class and race divides in U.S. society have even the bourgeoisie sounding the alarm. In an interview with *The New York Times'* Jason DeParle on July 8, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Henry Cisneros criticized Clinton's right-wing "New Democrats" for "failing to acknowledge that the problems [of urban poverty] are as severe as they are." Calling racism "the great Achilles heel of our nation's future," Cisneros departed from the widely held view within the government and among such academic theorists as William Julius Wilson by acknowledging what the Black community has always known, namely that the "spatial separation and isolation" of the Black community is a "deliberate policy" of government planning.

9. For other militant voices of American labor, from the Mississippi Delta to southern Illinois, see the May, June and July issues of *News & Letters*.

"How could the Marxist Left collapse at the very moment when the crisis in capitalism demonstrates the objectivity of Marx's analysis and when the social consciousness of the masses is becoming progressively revolutionized?"



Black youth take to the streets in 1992 Los Angeles rebellion.

As one recent study shows, social isolation created by the hypersegregation of the inner city is more the cause of Black-on-Black homicide than poverty. Massey and Denton argue in *American Apartheid* that "Blacks living in the heart of the ghetto are among the most isolated people on earth," echoing W.E.B. DuBois's Depression-era diagnosis that "It is doubtful if there is another group of 12 million people in the midst of a modern cultural land who are so widely inhibited...as the American Negro."¹⁰

One Black commentator, Michael Dyson, recently provided the following social index of violent indicators measuring the life chances of Black men in the U.S.: "Thirty-two percent of Black men have incomes below the poverty level. Fifty percent of Black men under 21 are unemployed...Suicide is the third leading cause of death among young Black men. And Black-on-Black homicide is the leading cause of death for Black males between the ages of 15 and 34; they have a 1 in 21 lifetime chance of being killed" (*Chicago Tribune*, July 6, 1993).

In the 12 years of Reagan and Bush, bourgeois liberalism has watched in unconscionable silence the utter wastage of this society's poor and unemployed inner city women and children. Can it therefore be characterized as anything other than the visage of genocide in U.S. health care when the government's own National Center for Health Statistics reports that the death rate is linked to the socio-economic status of the inner city poor? "By 1986," the government said, "Americans with family income less than \$9,000 a year had a death rate more than three times that of people with family incomes of \$25,000 or more." Is it any wonder that the city of Chicago's closing of health care clinics in the city's poorest Black communities elicited a spontaneous and mass demonstration of 5,000 Black youth in front of City Hall in May (see *June News & Letters*)?

In South Central Los Angeles, the epicenter of last year's rebellion, 27% of the residents in one area are so poor that they are forced to go at least five days out of

10. See Raya Dunayevskaya's "Marxism and the Negro Problem" (1944), in *The Needed American Revolution: American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard* (Chicago: News and Letters, 1993).

the month without eating, according to a recent study published in the *Los Angeles Times*. Were it possible for health care, education, jobs and judicial due process to assume the same commodity form as food, clothing and pampers, the masses in last year's rebellion would have appropriated them just as immediately as the latter. Therein lies the rebellion's deep social content.

The question is, how could the Marxist Left collapse at the very moment when the crisis in capitalism demonstrates the objectivity of Marx's analysis and when the social consciousness of the masses is becoming progressively revolutionized? "Marxists" who stand in awe of the technological "revolution" of capitalism's "post-industrial information age" stop dead at the material world without grasping the corresponding revolution in the social consciousness of the masses.

Just when many were asking what happened to the new social consciousness brought to the fore in last year's Los Angeles rebellion, 100,000 poured onto Woodward Ave., the main street in Detroit, Mich., to trace the route of the 1963 "March for Freedom" and to indict American "civilization" for its never-ending racism. Although this outpouring was totally ignored by the media, who had already declared this socially depressed Black city dead, clearly the obituary was premature.

And in Los Angeles, where we were treated recently to the FBI's grandstanding media display of its thwarting a neo-Nazi plot to bomb a prominent Black church and to assassinate Rodney King, tensions are boiling high beneath continuing police occupation of the Black and Latino community. Meanwhile, the racist insult of Clinton's withdrawing the nomination of Lani Guinier for Deputy Attorney General for Civil Rights continues to resonate in the Black community.

However, the mass unrest which vanishes virtually at the moment it surfaces raises the question: has the retrogression of the last 12 years become so hegemonic that the projection of a liberating vision of the future is an absolute imperative for any forward progress in the struggle for freedom? The dialectic of the present moment shows how much the past is embedded in the present, insofar as the collapse of today's Left is so total as to bring to mind the first collapse of established Marxism in 1914.

II. The Dialectics of Philosophy and Organization:

The Realm of Subjectivity or Freedom

A. The Left in Collapse: 1914 and 1993

The collapse of established Marxism in 1914 was one of the most startling events to have occurred in this century. Faced with the outbreak of World War I, the German Social Democracy, leader of the world socialist movement with some three million members, unexpectedly voted war credits to the Kaiser, thereby helping to unleash one of the largest holocausts in human history. This great betrayal, which led to the collapse of the Second International, was so sudden and unexpected that the very ground upon which revolutionaries stood gave way beneath them.

In light of the way this collapse undermined the categories upon which all Marxists stood, one revolutionist, Lenin, felt the need to seriously reorganize his own thought. He plunged into an intense study of the Hegelian roots of Marxism, especially of Hegel's *Science of Logic*, throughout 1914-15 as part of reconstituting his own reason. His *Philosophic Notebooks* of 1914 proved of critical importance in preparing him for the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Though we have experienced no single event as momentous as the great betrayal of 1914, the collapse of today's Left is proving to be every bit as serious. Whether we look at the FMLN's abandonment of revolutionary perspectives in El Salvador, the eclipse of the revolutionary Left in South Africa by parliamentarism, or the transformation of Poland's *Solidarnosc* from a movement for worker's self-emanicipation into a vehicle for imposing capitalist economic austerity, the collapse is

unmistakable.

One of its starkest expressions is the Left's virtual absence from ongoing efforts to protest outright genocide in Bosnia. At the same time, some leftists have sunk so low as to support U.S. military intervention in Somalia or Iraq. The shadow of 1914 hangs upon us indeed.

While an array of events over the last decade led to this crisis, the truly critical ones were the collapse of Communism in East Europe in 1989 and in Russia in 1991. The long overdue collapse of the state-capitalist regimes which called themselves "Communist" was a step forward in the struggle for freedom which put each political tendency to the test. Not surprisingly, those tendencies who tied the destiny of socialism to one or another form of state-capitalism masquerading as Communism went under with its collapse. Much more surprisingly, however, the anti-Stalinist tendencies which had long opposed these regimes found themselves in no less of a crisis, as the collapse of established "Communism" led to the resurgence, not of the Left, but of capitalist ideology.

Whereas the rulers used the collapse of Communism to argue that "free market" capitalism defines the horizons of our future, the Left found itself unable to combat this ideological pollution, as it lacked a comprehensive concept of liberation which could spell out a viable alternative. The roots of this lie in the prevailing attitude to philosophy itself. For decades, the question of how to embark on the path of revolution was left to de-

liberations over the "correct" tactics and strategies, as if they could be worked out without a philosophy of liberation. This characterized not only those who adhered to the elitist "vanguard party to lead," but also those who correctly opposed it in favor of spontaneous forms of organization. In posing such spontaneous forms as the absolute opposite of the elitist "party to lead," anti-Stalinists acted as if the working out of a philosophy of liberation could likewise be left to spontaneous action. A comprehensive body of ideas which could speak to the question, what happens after the revolution, was not projected.

The events since 1989 have signaled the death knell of those who hold to this separation of philosophy from organization. The ensuing breakdown of the Left on a world scale has left a void that is increasingly being filled by an assortment of retrogressive tendencies, from narrow nationalism to religious fundamentalism.

Given this situation, it has never been more urgent to work out a new beginning in the revolutionary movement. Seeing the error, however, does not mean you see the new concrete Universal. It is one thing to see that the collapse of the Left points to the need for a new beginning; it is quite another to find the philosophic direction for achieving it.

It is this which makes Raya Dunayevskaya's work of the 1980s so crucial. In the face of what she called, in 1986, a "changed world" of retrogression, she undertook

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a critical reexamination of the relation of philosophy and organization in the course of embarking on a new work entitled, "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy: The 'Party' and Forms of Organization Born out of Spontaneity." A central dimension of this work was her

B. Marxist-Humanism: A New Beginning from the Absolute

Lenin's encounter with Hegel in 1914 remains of critical importance, for it shows the importance of confronting philosophy at a moment of global crisis. But in light of today's changed world, we also need to focus on what sets our age apart from Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks*.

In a series of writings in 1986-87, Dunayevskaya re-examined Lenin's "Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic" with this difference in mind. She showed that while Lenin gained so new an appreciation of Hegel as to write "cognition not only reflects the objective world, but creates it," he did not embrace the dialectic of the final chapter of Hegel's *Logic*, "The Absolute Idea." Lenin in-

changed perception of Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks* of 1914, part of which appeared in a special supplement to the May, 1993 issue of *News & Letters*.¹ We need to continue the dialogue on it here, not for the sake of returning to the problematic of 1914, but rather in order to discover the philosophic ground provided by our age

which offers direction for working out a new beginning.

1. See Dunayevskaya's "Letters to non-Marxist Hegel scholars" of July, 1986 and December, 1986 in the special supplement in the May, 1993 issue of *News & Letters*. These letters also serve as the Introduction to the 1989 edition of her *Philosophy and Revolution, from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* (New York: Columbia University Press).

er/intellectual, mental/manual in the very course of revolution, so as to ensure against a new bureaucracy emerging after the conquest of power.

As Dunayevskaya wrote in 1987, "It is the generation that followed, our age that suffered through those three decades of Stalinism, that had to face the reality of what happens after. It is this point, this objectivity, this concreteness that emboldened me not to stop where Lenin stopped at the approach to the Absolute Idea, but to follow Hegel to the *Philosophy of Mind*."²

In doing so, she focused not so much on the transition to the Idea of Freedom as much as the "free release" of the Idea itself. As she wrote in her letter of May 12, 1953, "You see, Vladimir Ilyitch, you didn't have Stalinism to overcome, when transitions, revolutions seemed sufficient to bring the new society. Now everyone looks at the totalitarian one-party state, that is the new that must be overcome by a totally new revolt in which everyone experiences 'absolute liberation.'"

She concluded the letter saying: "It appears to me that when objective and subjective are so interpenetrated that the preoccupation of the theoreticians [as] of the man on the street is can we be free when what has arisen is the one-party state, the assertion of freedom, 'personal and free,' and full liberation takes precedence over economics, politics, philosophy, or rather refuses to be rent asunder into three and wants to be one, the knowledge that you can be free."³

With her 1953 breakthrough, Dunayevskaya viewed Hegel's Absolutes as neither an abstraction nor some closed ontology, but rather as the expression of the contemporary quest for freedom. The new was seeing in the Absolute a dual movement, i.e., not only a movement from theory but also one from practice.

The 1953 Letters thus led to viewing Hegel in a new way. But no less important, they also led to looking at Marx in a new way. For as the breakthrough on Hegel's Absolutes was concretized over the next three decades, it led to the rediscovery of what Marxism was to Marx—a philosophy of "revolution-in-permanence." We need to review this journey of discovery here, as part of finding direction for working out a new beginning today.

The first book-length expression of this breakthrough was *Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 Until Today* (1958). In her analysis of Marx's *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, which she was the first to translate into English, Dunayevskaya argued that Marx's concept of revolution went deeper than the uprooting of property forms. He focused instead on transcending the alienation involved in the very activity of laboring. Unless the revolution went so deep as to transform the underlying human relations, it would prove impossible to escape the pull of capitalist society. Marx therefore called for the negation not only of capitalism, but also of its negation, "vulgar communism," which "completely negates the personality of the human being."

One of *Marxism and Freedom's* most important achievements was showing that this humanist dimension is as central to Capital as to Marx's early writings. In tracing out the process whereby the myriad forms of concrete labor are pounded into abstract labor through the instrumentality of socially necessary labor time, Marx deepened his concentration on the need to put an end to the fragmentation of the individual. As *Marxism and Freedom* put it, the key is "the vision of the future which Hegel called the Absolute and which Marx first called 'real Humanism' and then later 'communism.' The road to both is by way of 'the negation of the negation'" (p.66).

This humanist dimension of Marx took on new meaning in light of the freedom struggles of the post-World War II era. In struggles such as the wildcat strikes against automation of the late 1940s and 1950s, the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, and the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1956-57, a quest for totally new human relations emerged. The emergence of this new movement from practice challenged theoreticians to work out a new stage of cognition rooted in the restatement of Marx's Humanism.

Though the creative freedom movements of the 1960s deepened this challenge, by the mid-1960s it became increasingly clear that such a new relation of theory and practice was not emerging. New forms of appearance of state-capitalism in China, Cuba and elsewhere pulled at the allegiances of the new generation of revolutionaries, while the New Left's disdain for theory made it all the easier to skip over Marx's Humanism. The working out of the integrality of practice with a philosophy rooted in second negativity remained undone.

In light of this situation, Dunayevskaya embarked on a new return to Hegel with her second major work, *Philosophy and Revolution, from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* (1973). Whereas *Marxism and*

Freedom focused on how the emergence of a new movement from practice brought Hegel's Absolutes to life, what now needed detailing was not only the movement from practice, but also that from theory. *Philosophy and Revolution* therefore challenged the movement from theory to directly confront the dialectic of Absolute negativity.

What resulted from this return to Hegel "in and for himself" was the development of a new category—"Absolute Negativity as New Beginning." This category is both the unique contribution of Marxist-Humanism and its link of continuity with Marx's Humanism.

As Dunayevskaya put it in 1987, "As new beginning" has no precedent. I don't think I thought of it until after rereading Absolute Idea in the *Science of Logic*, and that was after [rereading] the three final syllogisms in the *Philosophy of Mind*, that I suddenly said to myself: it is not only a new beginning, it is as new beginning, that Marx clung to Hegel after he discovered his own new continent of thought—that was the new beginning. Why did no one see it?"⁴

To see how this category of "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning" opened a new door to grasping the totality of Marx, we need to turn to Dunayevskaya's third major work, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (1982).

In analyzing such heretofore ignored dimensions of Marx's last decade (1875-83) as his *Ethnological Notebooks* of 1880-81, she showed that Marx deepened his critique of existing society in studying pre-capitalist societies. Though he singled out indigenous societies as in many respects in advance of the West, he pointed to forms of oppression which existed long before the rise of class society, especially insofar as the treatment of women was concerned.

She wrote, "Marx showed that even in communal society there was 'slavery'—slavery for women—and it was there because we already had division of labor....Marx's point was that somewhere in the 'pre-history' of humanity, the division between mental and manual labor, necessary or otherwise, produced the break-up of the total

"There is no single event which more sharply reveals the nature of today's objective situation than the ongoing crisis in Bosnia."

Questions for the freedom movement

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA
ACHILLES HEEL OF
WESTERN "CIVILIZATION"

Articles from *News & Letters* on the crisis in Bosnia

and

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being, and its reunification would first end Man/Woman in prehistory and start a new humanity. So, both revolution and totality as new beginnings would start, not just a new continent of thought, but a new kind of person."⁵

Viewing Marx's body of work from the vantage point of his final writings reveals that his focus on alienated labor was no barrier to posing the transformation of man/woman relations. On the contrary, his concern with the human factors in production was part of so deep a critique of existing society that in his *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* he singled out the

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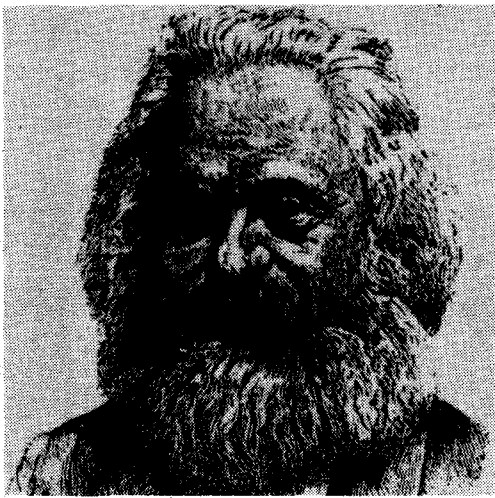
2. Raya Dunayevskaya, "Talking to Myself" of Jan. 21, 1987, in Supplement to the *Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, Vol. 13, microfilm #10848.

3. "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes" (1953) in *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* (Chicago: News and Letters, 1989), pp. 37, 40.

4. "What is Marxist-Humanism? How to Project it at Momentous Historic Moments?" (March, 1987), in Supplement to the *Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, Vol. 13, microfilm #10869.

5. This is from a letter to Harry McShane of June 30, 1978. For the full text, see *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half Century of its World Development*, microfilm #6432.

"Modern industry's whole form of motion therefore depends on the constant transformation of a part of the working population into unemployed or semi-employed 'hands.' It is hard to think of a period that more accurately reflects this fundamental Marx prediction than our own."



stead showed a marked preference for the preceding section, "The Idea of the Good," where Hegel indicates that the Practical Idea stands "higher" than Theory.

Lenin became quite enamored with this section, as he interpreted it to mean that Practice is what resolves contradiction. In doing so, he acted as if the goal can be reached without concretizing the dialectic of the Absolute Idea, whose central concept, the "negation of the negation," or Absolute negativity, spells out not only the destruction of the old but the creation of the new.

Thus, Lenin's insistence that "there is no revolutionary movement without revolutionary theory" did not extend to seeing that to work out a new beginning in Marxism, theory must reach to philosophy, specifically a philosophy rooted in the Absolute, in second negativity, in a vision of the future that could help answer the question, "what happens after the revolution?"

Since Lenin never published his *Philosophic Notebooks*, his journey into Hegel remained private. Nor did he ever relate his study of dialectics to questions of organization; he held instead to the elitist concept of the "party to lead" which he formulated long before 1914. As crucial as his *Philosophic Notebooks* proved to be for much of his work, it did not lead him to work out a new relation between philosophy and organization.

The new explorations of Hegel's dialectic initiated by independent Marxists in the following decades did not transcend this stopping point. Though Georg Lukács and Karl Korsch, and later Antonio Gramsci and Herbert Marcuse, made important contributions in returning to Marx's roots in Hegel, they too shied away from probing into Hegel's Absolutes. The relationship of philosophy to organization likewise remained unworked out, whether on the part of Lukács, who held to the elitist "party to lead," or Korsch, who broke from it without returning to philosophy.

Dunayevskaya's 1986 reexamination of Lenin shows that with her "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes" of May, 1953, she went beyond. For in these letters she probed into the dialectic of Hegel's Absolute Idea with the question of organization very much in mind. This reexamination culminated in a journey into the realm which post-Marx Marxists have shied away from—Hegel's *Philosophy of Mind*, the work in which his concept of Absolute negativity, "the negation of the negation," is most fully developed.

What helped propel her journey was the effort to respond to the new reality of the age of state-capitalism—the emergence of counter-revolution from within revolution. This new reality showed that revolutionaries needed a concept and practice of liberation that went deeper than the mere negation of the economic and political structures of capitalism. It now became imperative to reach for a philosophy which projects the breaking down of the separation of theory/practice, work-

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man/woman relation as the most fundamental one of all.

Reexamining the whole of Marx from the vantage point of his last decade in fact showed that instead of being a mere theory of class struggle, Marx's four-decade-long process of development represented the concretization of a philosophy of "revolution-in-permanence."

The tragedy, however, is that post-Marx Marxists did not make a new beginning from this totality. This was true even of Marx's closest follower and collaborator, Frederick Engels, whose *Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, written shortly after Marx's death, uncritically glorified "primitive communism," as if the mere absence of private property rendered it free of contradiction. Engels thereby set the ground for Marxists who followed, by muting the dialectical depth of Marx's call for a total uprooting. The inner core of Marx—his transformation of Hegel's concept of "absolute negativity" into a philosophy of "revolution-in-permanence"—dropped out of sight.

By measuring post-Marx Marxists against "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning," Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* projected a new category—post-Marx Marxism, beginning with Engels, as a pejorative.

As against the legacy of post-Marx Marxism, Dunayevskaya's breakthrough on the Absolute led to a new concrete Universal. Louis Dupre, noted Hegel scholar and philosopher, wrote, "A notable difference separates Dunayevskaya from the earlier positions of [Lukács and Korsch]. Their interpretation had limited the revolutionary impact of Hegel's philosophy to the socio-political order. Dunayevskaya aims at a total liberation of the human person—not only from the ills of a capitalist society but also from the equally oppressive State capitalism of established communist governments. She assumes within her theory of class struggle issues as diverse as feminism, black liberation, and even the new nationalism of the third world countries. The theory turned into praxis in a movement that came to be named, 'Marxist-Humanism.'"⁶

The importance of further re-creating this breakthrough is underlined by today's changed world. Though it is hard to conceive of any period when Marx's analysis of the crisis of capitalism more accurately reflected reality than ours, the collapse of the Left is nevertheless so total as to bring to mind the collapse of established Marxism in 1914. We are thus living through the ramifications of the failure of post-Marx Marxist as well as non-Marxist alternatives to project a comprehensive concept of liberation. This failure to project a concept of liberation that masses of people could see as their own

6. This is from Dupre's Introduction to the 1989 edition of *Philosophy and Revolution*.

flows from the tendency to separate what history has joined together: Marx's beginnings as a "new humanism" and the culmination of the Hegelian philosophy in the Absolute Idea. The tendency to act as if the goal can be reached without absorbing a philosophy of revolution rooted in the dialectic of absolute negativity has brought us to one of the sharpest crisis points in the history of the revolutionary movement.

This crisis has not freed this generation from its responsibility to restate what Marx's Marxism means for today. That task will be with us for as long as the crises of capitalism persist. But this cannot be achieved without transcending the stopping point of "post-Marx Marxism as pejorative." Though the viability of Marx's Marxism remains, the path to its re-creation is by no means assured.

This makes Raya Dunayevskaya's work of the 1980s, in which she wrote a series of reexaminations of Marxist-Humanism, of special importance. Some of these "retrospective/perspectives" are now available as "Introduction/Overviews" to new editions of her work.⁷ These writings were not mere "updates" of Marxist-Humanism. Because they came after the creation of the new

7. Several of Dunayevskaya's reexaminations of her body of work now serve as Introductions to new editions of her "trilogy of revolution" — *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution, and Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, as well as the *Introduction/Overview to Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*. They also include her "Presentation on the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy of June 1, 1987," which introduces her 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes" in *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism*, and her "Not by Practice Alone: The Movement from Theory" (1984) which introduces *The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism*.



Haitian refugees incarcerated at Guantanamo Naval base in Cuba

category, "post-Marx Marxism as pejorative," they became totally new projections. In projecting how Marxist-Humanism went beyond the stopping point of post-Marx Marxism, Dunayevskaya showed the category of "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning" to be the philosophic point upon which the re-creation of Marx's Marxism turns. She thereby provided crucial direction for working out the new beginning so needed for today.

Further developing Marxist-Humanism on the basis of the new illumination provided by these final writings defines our organizational task. We are not a "party," and we make no pretense to being a "vanguard." However, we do have a role to play—that of a "catalyst and propellant" in the effort to restate the Idea of Freedom. The historic-philosophic uniqueness of Marxist-Humanism provides the ground for this, precisely because of its deep-rootedness in the dialectic of absolute negativity. This needs to be projected anew.

This does not simply mean repeating Marxist-Humanist conclusions. Dunayevskaya pinpointed the essence of the individual and collective responsibility that is needed as far back as 1964, in "The Turning Point": "As Hegel had long ago seen, the generation that has not participated in the elaboration of theory, and has therefore not returned to the process of its becoming, but satisfied itself with beginning and ending with the results previously achieved—whether that be Kantianism or Hegelianism (or, we may add, Marxist-Humanism)—only succeeds in turning past accomplishments into nothing more than 'a pillow for intellectual sloth.'"⁸

8. "The Turning Point," by Raya Dunayevskaya. See *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, #3577.



German Steelworkers march. Placard reads "German and foreign workers, one class, one united fight."

C. From Phenomenology to Philosophy: The Task of Becoming Continuators

The responsibility of returning to the "process of becoming" of a philosophy of revolution, instead of satisfying oneself with its "results," is both the historical task of the age and the philosophical task of becoming continuators of Marxist-Humanism. That Raya Dunayevskaya provided crucial direction for this can especially be seen in her return to Hegel's most creative work, his *Phenomenology of Mind*, in working on her unfinished work, "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy," in 1986-87.

In this period she thought it imperative to publish in a widely circulated form her 1960 "Notes on Hegel's Phenomenology" at the same time as she examined Marx's 1844 "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic." It was a study she called, "Why Hegel's Phenomenology? Why Now?"⁹

The challenge of our becoming continuators cannot help but mobilize our own return to Hegel's *Phenomenology* inasmuch as it is the dialectic through which "history and its process" divests the idea of freedom of its false appearances and alternatives. For Marx, as for Dunayevskaya, Hegel's *Phenomenology* was the source of this negative dialectic inherent in the history of the "experiences of the consciousness" of freedom.

One of the highpoints of Hegel's *Phenomenology* is its focus on how, in the struggle for freedom, one "gains a mind of one's own." However, upon achieving this one is compelled to see that there is more to freedom than having a mind of one's own. As Hegel put it, having a "mind of one's own" does not necessarily get one beyond an attitude of bondage.

To transcend the various stages of alienation which continue to pull at the individual, one must develop through objectivity, history, and the organization of thought. Only then does one reach what Hegel called in his *Philosophy of Mind* an "individualism purified of all that interferes with its universalism, i.e., freedom itself" (para. 481).

The struggle for freedom from under subjugation and inequality represents the phenomenal side of social and political life. However, what one gains as a mind of one's own is, Hegel says in the *Philosophy of Mind*, "only a phenomenology (not a philosophy) of mind" (para. 415; see also para. 433).

Dunayevskaya argues that in his "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic" of 1844, Marx is holding the principle of

Hegel's philosophy as a whole up to no less sharp a measure of scrutiny, when she says that Marx found "the limitations of abstract thought inescapably allow for the reduction of transcendence to mere appearance."

However, it is precisely at this "fork in the road of philosophy 'as such,'" that Dunayevskaya finds that Marx turns to praise Hegel's phenomenological dialectic for its "insight, expressed within alienation, of the appropriation of objective essence through the transcendence of its alienation."¹⁰ In Marx's view, no philosophical work more than the *Phenomenology* so profoundly comprehends humanity's "destruction of the alienated determination of the objective world, through its transcendence in its alienated existence." In other words, the notion as well as the actual struggles for freedom are what give the objective world its phenomenological appearance, because together they constitute its "inner ground and actual subsistence."

Marx's genius, according to Dunayevskaya, is that this comprehension of Hegel's phenomenological insight into the transcendence of the forms of alienation of the objective world becomes the philosophic point of departure for Marx's elaboration of his new concept of humanism, both in its theoretical and practical form.

There is no mistaking the centrality of Hegel's *Phenomenology* in that rare moment of philosophic creation of Marx's "new humanism." From the sheer expanse of her writings on the *Phenomenology* in developing Marxist-Humanism, and especially in the course of her work on "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy," there is also no mistaking that Dunayevskaya viewed Hegel's *Phenomenology* as central to rethinking Marx and re-creating his dialectic of "revolution-in-permanence."

Because these writings speak so powerfully to what it means to assume the responsibility for becoming continuators of Marxist-Humanism, our return to Dunayevskaya's writings on Hegel's *Phenomenology* serves as a central theme of our 1993 Plenum.

There are five immediate tasks we will undertake to concretize in the year ahead:

1) This year marked the 40th anniversary of the 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes," which proved to be the philosophic moment from which the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism flowed. Our discussions on this breakthrough, especially in the May, June and July issues of *News & Letters*, were aimed at "returning to the process of its becoming" as part of developing a dialogue on how to work out a new beginning in the revolutionary movement. In the coming year we see it as urgent to fur-

ther this dialogue. Toward that end we will focus special attention on Dunayevskaya's work on Hegel's *Phenomenology*.

2) This is inseparable from deepening our work toward the needed American revolution with the forces of revolution, especially the Black dimension. In response to the challenge of the Los Angeles rebellion, we published a special bulletin of presentations on *American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard (ACOT)*, the concretization of Marxist-Humanism's "trilogy of revolution" on the American scene and for the Black dimension. We propose to place new concentration on this work in the year ahead, through new outreach in the Black community and new forms of projection of ACOT.

3) The new activity within the Women's Liberation Movement, both in thought and in practice, has included rethinking which has shown new interest in the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism. Because Dunayevskaya's book *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution* is very nearly out of print, we will begin the search for a publisher for a new edition, as part of laying the basis for a new type of entrance into the battle of ideas in the Women's Liberation Movement.

4) This year marks the 20th anniversary of *Philosophy and Revolution*. There can be no better way to celebrate it than with the two new international editions that will be off the press this year—a Slovak edition, and a Russian edition. Our internationalization also includes work with the Latino dimension on both sides of the border, now that all of our major works are available in Spanish.

5) The crucial importance of developing our revolutionary journalism is seen in the way in which the imperative questions facing revolutionaries in response to the holocaust in Bosnia-Herzegovina were worked out in our analyses in *News & Letters*. At the same time, therefore, that we propose a minimum goal of \$35,000 for a Sustaining Fund to assure the continuance of *News & Letters*, the objective-subjective situation makes it urgent to expand our readership by increasing our subscribers, whom we seek to have become active participants with us in working out anew the philosophy of revolution of the age.

—The Resident Editorial Board

July 19, 1993

9. For Dunayevskaya's reproduction of her 1960 "Notes on Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind" with a new Introduction in 1987, see the May 8, 1987 issue of *News & Letters*. For her essay "Why Hegel's Phenomenology? Why Now? What is the Relationship either to Organization, or to Philosophy, not Party, 1984-87?" see Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, Vol. 13, #10883.

10. See *Philosophy and Revolution* pg. 57, 59.

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IS BOSNIA THE IMAGE OF OUR FUTURE?

I am sick of hearing how getting arms to the Bosnia Muslims will "only invite retaliation against the UN peacekeeping forces." How is it that all these leftists who always supported "national liberation" and "armed struggle" for Palestinians or Salvadorans refuse to do so now for the Bosnians? It's like refusing to arm the Jews in the Warsaw ghetto.

Teamster
New York

* * *

I agree with the analyses News & Letters has been putting out on Bosnia, but I wish you would trace the origin of today's events not just to the collapse of Communism, but to the whole period of Titoism and what that represented to get the full picture.

Subscriber
California

* * *

I disagree with the term you use to characterize the fall of the USSR as the collapse of Communism, as if Russia was Communist. I think it was a collapse of a form of state-capitalism.

Revolutionary Black thinker
Los Angeles

* * *

It's already clear that the holocaust in Bosnia will now set the standard for a whole new series of wars and disasters to come. Look at Israel's invasion of South Lebanon—it's intentionally aimed at driving half a million people from their homes, turning the whole area into an uninhabitable zone. Would they have dared to do this if the West had done anything to help Bosnia?

Student of the Middle East
Chicago



THE GUINIER FIASCO

The Lani Guinier scenario has a double identity for me—gender as well as race. Lani Guinier is a woman. Interesting that Leonard Jeffries' right of speech was protected and had free air time, while hers was not. I experienced her as depersonalized and with an image of her lips moving; a voice-over describing what she was supposed to have written, what she was supposed to be. Her statements over the years in the law journals were ignored in the debates about who she is and what she means.

In a way it's more damning than the Clarence Thomas-Anita Hill hearings. No surprise to us that the White House never tried to set the record straight. Her credibility was further compromised by White House insistence that she not talk to the press (that was right after she was on Nightline). It is reputed that Senator Joseph Biden was furious at them for putting the Senate in the position of "having to trash yet another Black woman."

Sheila G.
New York

CHINA: CONDITIONS OF LABOR AND REVOLT

The conditions and struggles of the Chinese worker and peasant within the so-called modern day industrial "miracle" makes Bob McGuire's lead on China (July N&L) not only "timely" but of great importance in giving meaning (to this world) in revolutionary terms.

An astonishing film on China was presented on Public Access cable TV. It was narrated in Chinese with English subtitles. It was recent; it was pure propaganda; it appears to have been put on TV by a so-called leftist. This film is a diatribe against Chinese peasants. The "line" is: because there are so many peasants and because they live in the countryside they are poor and dumb; their "dumbness," their inability to think and to learn how to work in factories, has impeded progress and "the change over to a market economy"!

McGuire's discussion of worker and peasant revolts underscores what must be the vast undercurrent of revolt taking place that frightens the Chinese leaders.

Angela Terrano
New York

Readers' Views

SUMMER 1993 - - THE CITIES SIMMER

It appears that Detroit is being treated to a carefully orchestrated propaganda offensive by the media on the trial of Malice Green (the Black man beaten to death by four white police officers last November). Before the trial began, pictures and stories of the Detroit Police Department undergoing riot training, and purchasing riot control equipment, were published, then denied by police officials. Now as the verdict approaches, it is front-page news that besides the usual spectrum of law enforcement personnel, 2,800 National Guard troops are ready to "protect" Detroit (or will they be ready to protect the suburbs?).

Watching
Detroit

* * *

I was amazed to hear about the march in Detroit of over 100,000 last month. Though I was in Michigan at the time, no paper I came across covered the event. It is as if Detroit has just dropped off the map for white America. Or maybe it's that the rulers are that scared of the legacy of the Los Angeles rebellion and intentionally decided to not report the anger and militancy so many showed on that march.

Civil rights activist
Chicago

* * *

"L.A. moves to the right with the election"? What about the repression suffered by the Black and Latino masses during their uprising in 1992? Wasn't the Right already established in L.A. long before this last election? What did Gene Ford, in his article in the July issue of N&L expect from the "so-called Democrat (Liberal-Conservative-CAPITALIST) Bill Clinton" regarding Lani Guinier? How did Bradley, Riordan, Dinkins and Clinton get into power?

The N&L editorial in the same issue was clearer when it stated that "...the liberals and Black politicians within the Democratic Party, including Guinier herself, and the Congressional Black Caucus, do not want to break with Clinton... never!" and that "The rebellion in South Central last year was not a cry for political representation, but revolutionary liberation from the poverty and racism of the existing system, in both its reactionary and liberal forms." Capitalism, in different historical moments, shows us its different forms (faces, masks) but its essence and foundation is inhuman and alienating.

Carlos Varela
New York

* * *

A New York state report was released last week on events in Crown Heights, Brooklyn, nearly two years ago, when a young Black child was killed by a speeding motorcade and a Hasidic Jewish student was stabbed to death in the following three days of upheaval. The report made the front pages of all the city newspapers for at least a week. Dennis Rivera, head of hospital workers' union Local 1199, commenting on the possible negative impact of the report on the campaign to re-elect David Dinkins as mayor, stated it showed that Dinkins had not been a "hands on" manager and implied he should have made better use of the police.

These comments are interesting in the context of Rivera's recent agreements with employers, including his promise of cooperation by the union in managing hospitals and the workers in exchange for limited increases in benefits, such as free health care at Beth Israel Hospital for all union workers employed there. This might indicate that the union believes that the "model" of labor/management cooperation might fruitfully be extended to entire neighborhoods, with "community activists" deployed to work "cooperatively" with the police. All this points to state-capitalism's continuing search for a more efficient relation of the political and economic.

Subscriber
New York

* * *

I notice that in Lou Turner's column in the July issue, he calls race the "dominant organizing principle" of American social relations. In the same issue, a

book review by Ron Brokmeyer referred to the commodity form as the organizing principle of capitalism. Aren't these rather different views?

Teacher
Long Island, NY

* * *

Children today feel that no one gives a damn about them. They are full of tension and take that tension out on other kids at school. I see this tension in gang fights in the neighborhood I live in. It has made me think that we have really reached the point of total regression in this society.

Latina activist
Chicago

* * *

At two conferences in Detroit July 18-21, African-American women and Latinas insisted that women's issues be unseparated from broader social movements. Six hundred women addressed the "health of Black women as the primary agenda" at the 7th Annual Conference of the National Black Women's Health Project, citing "lack of education and poverty" as the most important factors that determine death rate (life expectancy for Black women is 73 years as compared to 79 for white women).

At the 25th Annual National Council of La Raza (NCLR) Convention 7,500 people, most from the Detroit area, discussed everything from education and health care to police abuse, farm workers to electoral politics and business development. At a panel on "Latina Empowerment" speakers from agencies specializing in women's issues asked, "How do you deal with the cultural barriers we face?" Many women in the large audience gave moving testimony of their personal struggles for independence.

Activist
Detroit

* * *

I almost feel sorry for Clinton. I think he thought he was going to make some changes. And he can't! The reason is that Reaganism set the limits of the future for these capitalists. If there is no revolution, the holocaust is our future.

Office worker
New York

LATIN AMERICAN STATE CAPITALISM



Yesterday, the native bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie in Latin America, were the defenders of protectionism in the economy. Today, they are the defenders of a free market economy. However, the state, their more precious weapon of domination, is still the supreme god that increases the economic distance between them and the masses. Brazil, for example, an economic power in Latin America, has the world's widest gap between rich and poor. In Sao Paulo alone, 1.2 million people are unemployed. Brazil along with Mexico and Argentina (the most industrialized countries in Latin America) are the most extreme examples of International Monetary Fund-dictated neo-liberal economic policies which mandate curbing inflation, firing workers and privatizing state-owned industry. They are suffering today one of the most profound recessions in their histories.

Student
from Latin America

CALIFORNIA RALLY

On July 12, a rally and march on the steps of the California Medical Association (CMA) in San Francisco was held to oppose the practice of routine circumcision. About 50 attended, not bad for a Monday noontime event. At the close of the rally, three of us attempted to enter the building to make an appointment to talk with the CMA president, or anyone else, about our concerns. We were met at the door by seven armed San Francisco policemen. We were told by a spokesman that we could not enter the building and

that there was no one who could see us at any time—very interesting!

A number of people have reacted very violently to the anti-circumcision movement, and some of our members have received death threats. It is a pro-choice issue, the right to control one's own body. This is just the beginning of the movement to end this brutal practice.

Rally participants
San Francisco

RECREATING THE DIALECTIC

I was intrigued by the article on "Spontaneity, organization, philosophy" (May N&L) which I believe identifies a crucial problem of vision on the Left. I think that to be an activist you must have some form of faith that liberation and a free society is possible, even if you can't fully articulate the meaning of that faith. But I guess the details are worked out in struggle and in dialogue with others who are trying to transform the world. The article does bring to mind a question about the content of Dunayevskaya's faith. Wermuth writes that she believed "we are viewing the realm of freedom" when looking at Hegel's concept of full-blown liberty, and I would like to hear more about Dunayevskaya's reasons for this conclusion. Also, Wermuth writes that Dunayevskaya viewed mass struggles for freedom as reason itself, and I would like to hear more about how we can discriminate among the various mass movements that spring up. Are they all embodiments of reason? What counts as a proper struggle for freedom? I fear that Dunayevskaya may be following Hegel in attributing a necessary logic to history which pushes us toward Reason and freedom.

Philosophy student
North Carolina

* * *

The important point in the document by Dunayevskaya in the July issue was her insistence that the revolutionary origins of the dialectic emerge from reality. Because the dialectic comes from reality, it cannot be applied as can something constructed out of thought alone; this is why the dialectic can only be re-created anew. The application of a concept to reality implies the absolute separation of thought and being.

A.K.
New York

THE GREAT FLOOD OF 1993

The Mississippi and Missouri rivers have been flooding for two months now. Volunteers worked around the clock filling sandbags to reinforce the levees and staffing food kitchens and disaster relief centers. The government bureaucrats didn't help—and as of my writing this, Congress still hasn't voted any money for relief.

In times of disaster, each person seems to place him or herself in the service of helping others, reaching what the philosopher Hegel called "Individualism that lets nothing interfere with its Universalism." When I see people coming together in these disasters, I see this great leap that people can make. It shows me how wrong it is to say that "human nature" is only about "each man for himself."

Felix Martin
Los Angeles

* * *

There seems to be a strange idea which capitalism inculcates—the notion that at some point humans no longer are subject to the whims of nature. But no amount of technology or expertise can prevent a Hurricane Andrew or the flood in the Midwest. We'd be less shocked by these events if we had a more realistic view of humanity's place within nature.

Environmentalist
California

* * *

It makes me sick the way the "experts" in the media talk of how wrong it is for all these people to have moved onto those flood plains. Since when do poor and working people have a choice as to where they're going to live? They go where the land is cheaper—and as always, they're the first to suffer from a disaster.

Feminist
Illinois

Black/Red View

by John Alan

"I heard the singing of the Mississippi when Abe Lincoln went down to New Orleans, and I've seen its muddy bosom turn all golden in the sunset."

—Langston Hughes

"Well, you should a been on the river in nineteen-ten, Yeah, when they was drivin' the women like they drive those men."

—Levee camp 'Holler'

The Mississippi River has broken through hundreds of miles of levees, flood walls and dikes, built and maintained for almost three quarters of a century by the Army Corps of Engineers, destroying billions of dollars worth of crops, fertile farm lands and industries. It stopped river traffic and created a wasteland of stinking agriculture and industrial debris, which now has to be cleaned from the towns and cities along its banks.

The farmers, businessmen and bankers in the Mississippi Valley have estimated that the cost will be more than \$10 billion and are pressing the federal government to pick up the tab. President Clinton is sticking to the federal policy of only paying 20% of the cost and Congress has been slow in authorizing emergency relief.

In other words, nature's destruction has become an issue of capitalist political economy, as the government, bankers, businessmen and economists estimate the losses on crops, property and future production, how it will impact upon prices, the gross domestic product and the current debate on the national budget. When profits, losses and the market dominate thought, it can hardly be expected that there will be any fundamental change in the practice of abusing and polluting nature in the Mississippi Valley in order to accumulate capital.

FLOOD IN HISTORIC MIRROR

Now, what is the connection between this flood and African Americans? The connection is both historical and ongoing. It was Black labor, exploited absolutely as slave labor, which opened the Mississippi Valley in the 1830s to the boundless exploitation of nature by cotton planters after President Andrew Jackson had driven the Cherokee Nation out of the Valley. This expropriation of Native American land and the introduction of slave labor into the Mississippi Valley was an original moment in the American "primitive" accumulation of capital; it made cotton king and at the same time it degraded African Americans to a subhuman level, thus creating the foundation for the practice of an ideology of racism.

It was in defiance of the inhuman condition of slave labor that African Americans created an original American

'Ole Man River' 1993

culture in music, dance, folklore and literature to express the depth and uniqueness of their humanity. Jazz music and Louis Armstrong, as well as Richard Wright, along with countless other Black migrants came up the Mississippi Valley to Chicago; they changed the meaning of culture in the U.S.

FLOOD OF '37

There have been few reports of overt racism during the present flood. But neither has the national press or the television networks carried many stories of African-American volunteers filling sandbags to raise and repair levees. We have seen a lot of white people doing this, and we have heard the stories of their fears, frustrations and their determination to hold the river back. Most of these stories originally came from the upper Mississippi Valley where the Black population is small. But when the river crested at St. Louis, Cairo, and Memphis, there still were no African Americans filling sandbags and working on the levees. What has happened?

In 1937 things were different. The majority of the people on the levees were Black and many were convicts working under the guns of deputy sheriffs. Roy Wilkins, then editor of the *Crisis*, went to Memphis and discovered that "...the Memphis police dragged Negro men...with threats and intimidation and made them work day and night in mud and rain carrying sandbags to save the threatened industrial plants in South Memphis."

Things like this don't happen today. The old tradition of Black labor building and maintaining levees has passed into history, along with the Mississippi levee camps. Now the supervision and the organization of flood control is in the hands of the Army Corps of Engineers. But has the so-called "primitive" stage of capital accumulation passed into history, i.e., the absolute need of capitalism to accumulate capital, regardless of how it abuses humanity and nature? Hardly not.

While there appears to be a universal belief that it was the heavy rains that caused the Mississippi River to flood the Valley, ecologists have pointed out that the fundamental cause for the flooding was the decades of expropriating the River's flood plains for farming and industrial development by building levees, dikes, flood walls, etc. To expect this practice to cease would be naive. What we can only expect, in this prevailing system of production and consumption, is that the economic needs of capitalism will devise "new methods" to continue the exploitation of the Mississippi Valley.

Neo-Nazis plot race war

by Gene Ford

Los Angeles, Cal.—Eight white supremacists were arrested here recently by the FBI for conspiracy and other charges in a plot to spark a race war. Their plan included blowing up the First African Methodist Episcopal Church and gunning down the congregation of some 2,000 people. Their plot included the assassination of Rodney King, as well as Black and Jewish leaders, in a racist attempt to exploit the 1992 L.A. rebellion.

What was shocking was the amount of weapons these skinhead youths and two adults had stockpiled. The discovery of dozens of machine guns, silencers and conversion devices to make the weapons fully automatic, was just the tip of the iceberg.

Those arrested were nothing but racist foot-soldiers who must have the outside support of powerful and financially secure individuals who are politically motivated to wreak havoc in Southern California, which they see as ripe for a race war. The mood of the country created by 12 years of Reagan and Bush gave new ground to the white supremacy movement of today, who see the KKK of 40 years ago as outdated.

These "skins" are neo-Nazis who have shed their white sheets and hoods and live "normal" lives as U.S. citizens, legitimized by the state. The neo-Nazi married couple that were arrested are a cockpit flight engineer for Continental Airlines and an accounting manager for a regional office of the Century 21 real estate chain. They are an upper-middle-class couple that owned a private plane which sported a swastika.

These racists today are an accepted part of American civilization and are attracting a lot of white workers, especially youth, who see the ethnic diversity of Southern California as part and parcel of the economic depression of the region.

The L.A. Times (7-25-93) characterized Southern California as "a flash point for loose-knit supremacist" groups. The flash point that the police and government fear is another rebellion of the likes that struck Los Angeles in 1992. Since then, the news media and the state have been out to destroy all the positive organizational beginnings that came from the flames of the revolt.

The white supremacists' theory that they can spark a race war will blow up in their ignorant faces, racist white faces that fear anything different. Their fear is of the Black threat to their state-capitalist society that can never completely return to a past like Hitler's which saw the extermination of millions.

The racist "skins" attempt to exploit the historic rebellion of a year ago should not be taken lightly. For the problem is that the L.A. rebellion has yet to be completely understood by the revolutionary Left, who must build upon that high point with new theory.

"I do not carry innocence to the point of believing that appeals to reason or respect for human dignity can alter reality," wrote Frantz Fanon. But the fight we wage cannot merely be the rage of the slave. Our fight must have a consciousness of self, a new humanism, which, when realized in the world, will wipe these racists from the very face of the earth.

Black World

(continued from page 1)

reports of Babangida's speech before the German Society for Foreign Policy, "that having created an enabling environment for investment in Nigeria, it was up to the business community to take advantage of it, and he reminded his audience that returns on investment were higher in Africa than anywhere else in the world" (West Africa, March 9-15, 1992).

It is in the "enabling environment" at home that we find the contradictions in the present political crisis which go beyond the appearances of the old political farce. Three seemingly independent developments disclose the new.

The first occurred in 1991 at the height of the democracy movement sweeping Africa. Having imposed IMF-World Bank structural adjustment policies (SAPs) on the life and labor of the Nigerian masses, the military regime was hit by a firestorm of protest, with opposition organizations springing up overnight.

Babangida's response to the protests was to attempt to coopt the movement that was coalescing against his regime by making a big show of democracy, calling for a national debate on, the SAPs. Then, in a move that is by now typical of Nigeria's state-capitalist rulers, he summarily dismissed the national consensus against SAPs by declaring them "African" rather than Western in origin!

The logic of this phony indigenization of IMF-World Bank policies is the one followed in the present political crisis over the transition to civilian rule. After calling for elections in which the government sanctions what political parties and candidates are eligible, Babangida summarily annuls the results. Then, to appease the mass outrage over his actions, he coopts the bourgeois opposition leadership by telling them to form a "coalition government" to rule until a new election is called. The denouement comes when the opportunist opposition politicians fall out among themselves, allowing Babangida to carry out his velvet coup d'etat.

However, it is the meaning of the third political development that portends far-reaching consequences for the political direction of Black America. The electoral victory of Nigerian millionaire publisher Moshood Abiola cannot be dismissed with an all too knowing glance.

It is true that Abiola is a bourgeois politician with ties to earlier authoritarian regimes; it is true that he ran in a political party, the Social Democratic Party (SDP), which was created by the government; and it is true that there is no reason to expect that the conditions of life

and labor of the Nigerian masses would be appreciably transformed under his presidency anymore than under any past regime.

However, the question remains: what explains his upset victory after his late entry into the race? It cannot be ignored that mass opposition to northern emir domination made Abiola's Yoruba-Muslim origin a factor. Moreover, the so-called left-of-center SDP made Abiola seem the lesser of two banalities to choose from. But most importantly, Abiola outflanked the opposition with a "pan-Africanist" call for reparations from the West for centuries of the slave trade and colonialism in the form of debt restructuring.

The call for reparations has, however, evoked more than a little critical comment from some Africans. As one African emigre living in the U.S. wrote recently to West Africa: "Gradually and steadily, the clarion call for reparations is gathering momentum. So far, the focus of attention has been on the Western industrialized world. [However,] there are three key players in the slave trade that devastated our continent. They were Christian Europe, Muslim Arabs and our ancestors. To the best of my knowledge, except for the initial raids by Europeans that ushered in the trans-Atlantic trade, most of the killings and rape accompanying this heinous trade were perpetrated by our own ancestors. It was their greed that blinded them to exchange the virile members of our race for liquor, gun powder, trinkets and mirrors. Should we demand reparations from them also? I am not sure."

Black leaders in the U.S. are more sure. The May 24-28 African and African-American Summit, held under the auspices of the dictatorship of Gabon President Omar Bongo, shows African-American leaders embarking on a new neo-colonial partnership with their African counterparts. That so important a conference of Black leaders—as prominent as Coretta Scott King, Virginia Governor Douglas Wilder, Jesse Jackson, Louis Farrakhan and the conference convenor, Philadelphia minister Leon Sullivan—should escape the notice of the Western media, is curious. That this pan-African capitalism is a prelude to a new ideological campaign to sell reparations to Black America is not.

A new transformation into opposite of pan-Africanism is afoot, with the illusory appearance of "free market" (sic) capitalism substituting for what had historically been the Black liberatory alternative to imperialist-capitalism. African and African-American leadership reveal the depth of their bankruptcy in their shameless embrace of the capitalist beast historically responsible for the devastation of Black life at this moment when we witness its present genocidal wastage of Black life.



Rethinking Marable

Los Angeles, Cal.—I was interested to read what Manning Marable, a major African-American left intellectual, had to say, at "The Future of the Left, the Future of Socialism" conference held here in July. But I was disappointed with his "A New American Socialism," published in *The Progressive*, February 1993.

Early on in the article, he suggests "we must rethink the character of capitalism and the means by which the corporate-dominated economy can become more egalitarian and democratic. Our economic system is based on private greed and public pain, but it is also much more flexible, dynamic and creative than earlier generations of Marxists, including Marx himself, ever imagined."

The tone of the article is reasonable and dispassionate, but the cool, "reasonable" tone in the service of lukewarm "realistic" proposals does not allow Marable to address the deep emotive revulsion against the capitalist monster that exists in the streets and is prepared to erupt at any minute. Historically, the spontaneous revolutionary fervor of the people has never waited for "reasonable strategies" to be implemented.

In talking about the "big picture"—which to him means working with sell-out liberals—Marable never mentions (except as a bland generality) new developing forms of grass-roots organization, and he never suggests that socialists have a responsibility for aiding the self-development of the revolutionary elements inherent in many of these organizations.

This cautious article carries the statement that "The idea of seizing state power by violence in a computerized technologically advanced society is simply a recipe for disaster." Why? We know the state has extensive resources but does he believe that computers have transformed the rulers into unassailable supermen?

By adopting the present technocratic mind-set and telling us that "for the foreseeable future the essential debate will not be about 'capitalism versus socialism' but about the character and content of the capitalist social order," Marable demonstrates the totality of his surrender and complete lack of feeling for the pulse of the people.

His acceptance of limiting frames of reference renders Marable incapable of understanding that capitalism is standing in the way of, in Raya Dunayevskaya's words, "The next stage in the development of humanity."

—Gabriel

Youth

Always Running exposes our inhuman society

by Jim Guthrie

Always Running, La Vida Loca; Gang Days in L.A. (Willimantic: Curbstone Press, 1993), is the autobiography of Luis J. Rodriguez, the Mexican-American poet and former steelworker, in which he tells his story of coming of age amid the gangs and the Chicano Power Movement of East Los Angeles in the 1960s and early '70s.

It is in the same genre as the books that inspired Rodriguez's own passion for literature and radical ideas: *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, and *Down These Mean Streets* by Piri Thomas. And like those two works *Always Running* demonstrates how consciousness of and oppression in our society comes from the bottom up.

Rodriguez frames this narrative of his life with a preface and an epilogue that puts his story in the context of today's reality and expresses his intention to write "an indictment against the use of deadly force...[as] the principal means this society uses against those it cannot accommodate." The powerful description in the preface of how he felt compelled to write the book in 1991 when his son Ramiro confided in him that he had joined a gang in Chicago makes this book current and alive.

"WE WERE CONSTANT PREY"

The image of homeboys and homegirls being animalized and forced to run in an inhuman society pulsates through the book: "We were constant prey, and the hunters soon became big blurs: the police, the gangs, the junkies.... Sometimes they were teachers who jumped on us Mexicans as if we were born with a hideous stain."

His life unfolds as brief, impressionistic memories that often read like passages of prose-poetry. Each story he relates draws an ever more total picture of the alienation experienced by Mexican children growing up in East L.A.; from the time he and his brother were pulverized for daring to step over the invisible line that separated their neighborhood from an all white one, to going to the school that made no effort to teach them English but beat them if they let a word in Spanish slip out.

Constantly confronted with this segregation and brutality, the kids, innocently at first, begin forming clubs with romantic sounding names for their own survival. One day a group of tough lowriders, known as Thee Mystics, attacked Luis's school. "I wanted this power," he relates, "I wanted to be able to bring a school to its knees and even make teachers squirm.... I was a broken boy shy and fearful. I wanted the power to hurt somebody."

From this point on we are shown how these clubs metamorphose into something much more deadly. The Chicano youth set up a system of segregation of their own in the form of a deadly feud between two major Mexican barrios: Los Lomas and Sangra. Although there is plenty of out-right racial conflict in the book, Rodriguez demonstrates how the youth of the barrio internalize the violence directed against them. So when they kill,

they usually murder their "mirror reflections."

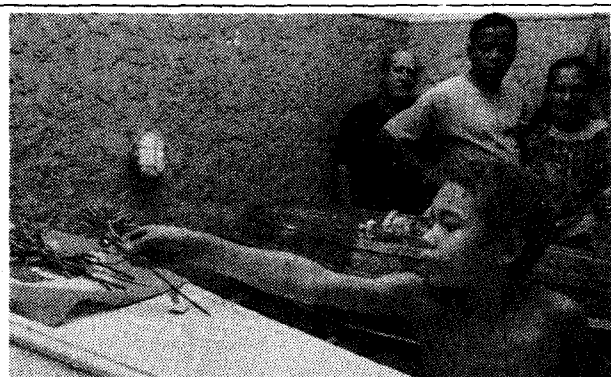
This process of being so dehumanized by an exploitative racist society, according to Rodriguez, leads to an overwhelming sense of suicide: "We yelled: You can't touch this! but Come kill me! was the inner cry."

TRANSCENDING THE ALIENATION

A major turning point is when Luis participates in the 1970 Chicano Moratorium Against the War; a protest of 30,000 people against the Vietnam War in East L.A. that turned into an urban revolt when the police attacked the crowd. Following this he becomes serious about studying revolutionary theory, returns to his high school to help build a student movement, and helps negotiate a short lived truce between the two major Mexican gangs.

Yet I believe his "argument for the reorganization of American society" he promises in the preface exposes a weakness in the book. He concludes the epilogue by arguing that gang members and low-level dope dealers "would quit today if they had a productive livable-wage job."

This suggests a vision of the needed social change that is quite a bit narrower than the revolutionary aspirations of the Chicano Power Movement he describes. I believe this narrowing of vision flows from the fact that though his text thoroughly maps out the alienation that urban youth experience, he only projects the possibility for a rare individual to transcend that alienation. The potential for a revolutionary transcendence which was present in the spontaneous mass revolts gets subsumed under the weight of their eventual defeat.



A homeless boy places a flower on a coffin at the funeral for seven homeless children murdered by a death squad in the heart of the financial district of Rio De Janeiro, Brazil on July 23. On July 26, 500 protesters rallied to demand justice. According to Amnesty International 4,611 homeless youth were killed by squads of off-duty cops hired by shopkeepers. 82% of the victims were Black.

"Don't ask, don't tell" is a homophobic sellout

Chicago, Ill.—Following President Clinton's acceptance of the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy regarding gays and lesbians in the military, 800 people protested at the Federal Building in San Francisco. Seventy-five of the demonstrators were arrested for civil disobedience when they occupied the Federal Building and staged a sit-down strike. Some of the groups at the rally were the Lesbian Avengers, Lesbians and Gays Against Intervention, the National Committee for Lesbian Rights, and Lambda Legal Defense. Lambda Legal Defense has filed suit against the military in the name of seven service members, stating that the policy violates First and Fifth Amendment rights.

In Chicago, though there was no reported response immediately following Clinton's decision, 150 people protested against the President while he was here addressing a conference of corporate and labor leaders on July 26. Many of the protesters were gays and lesbians.

To me, Clinton's decision is appalling on many different levels. On a personal level, some had been led to believe that Clinton would have been the person to change society's views of gay and lesbian people. This was important, especially in light of the recent dramatic rise in violent assaults against gay people. It's difficult for me to hear gays defending Clinton as the "hero" who got our issues on the table. We'll be tabled all right, for another 3½ years of discrimination from this homophobic government, for another 3½ years of being told we should stay silent and invisible while more attacks on us and more deaths occur.

On a national level, the military will still be spending millions of dollars on witch hunts to follow up on investigations of alleged homosexual "conduct."

And on a humanitarian level, gays are being force fed self-hatred and shame, as the policy states, "The military will discharge members who engage in homosexual conduct, which is defined as a homosexual act, a statement that the member is homosexual or bisexual, or a marriage or attempted marriage to someone of the same gender."

Another example of how disgusting this policy is: "Bodily contact between service members of the same sex that a reasonable person would understand to demonstrate a propensity or intent to engage in homosexual acts will be sufficient to initiate separation." And I don't think that means separation of the bodies in contact!

Who the hell is to define a "reasonable person," when the human race is full of diverse and vast ideas and

forms. If the U.S. military is to define reasonable, I'm outta here!

Why did Clinton approve this policy? Some would say he's boxed in by Congress. Get over it! He's the President of the United States of America with 3½ years left in office. How boxed in could he be? Maybe this is all just public relations to distract us from his pathetic foreign policy skills, i.e., China and Bosnia! Obviously human rights are not the priority for him that he would have us believe.

Finally, the policy closes with "All service members will be treated with dignity and respect." Where is the dignity in this whole thing? Is it in Clinton's promise to let gays serve in the military? For a minute, I thought he was talking about gay and lesbian liberation. He has lost the confidence of the people who put him in office.

Gays are angered and terrified. But we will not give up; our anger is turning to rage and our fear only makes us stronger, as we are fighting for our lives.

—Tom Williamson

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Always Running reads as if a voice from the urban unrest of the late 1960s/early '70s was speaking to our generation from the heart. The inhuman society it reveals demands that we work out a vision that is the absolute opposite of this reality that keeps us running.

How do we fight anti-abortion fanatics?

Chicago, Ill.—In July Operation Rescue (OR) targeted seven cities for seven days of abortion clinic attacks, demonstrations and "training camps" for clinic attackers. Minneapolis was one of the cities targeted; I went there from Chicago as much to defend the city against OR as to find out why the city needed to be defended. I went to find out what pro-choice means today; I wasn't prepared for the answer.

Our minivan held 15; we were a microcosm of the current radical movement for Choice: M.E., 40, with three Caesarian scars—the result of Choice; M. and E., 27 year old fledgling members of the Women's Action Coalition; R., a "leader" among the young anarchists Collective Chaos; A.P., K. and H., 19 through 21, who'd already had to make a choice; D., C. and M., 20 something members of Queer Nation; K., a Sister Serpent; T. at 24, a veteran of the struggle; and F., 22, who seemed to be along for the ride.

On Saturday, at five a.m. before McDonalds had brewed its first pot, we traveled to Robbinsdale to defend a family health clinic where abortions are performed. An army of women, uniformed in tee-shirts reading "Keep Minnesota Nice," were the designated clinic defenders. They were intent on keeping the doors open and the radicals, of both sides, out. We came to defend Minnesotans who kept us muzzled and behind sawhorses. Choice "won" that day: OR, sufficiently cowed by our raucous numbers, restrained themselves to heckling and unceasing prayer. On Saturday night the Pro-Choice Coalition met to assess and plan. The dissenting voice in the alliance was the National Women's Rights Organizing Committee (NWROC), a group, which systematically undermined the coalition's efforts at unity and effective action, jeopardizing the coalition's credibility by circulating inflammatory fliers, by urging people to aggressively repel OR instead of awaiting a police response, as the coalition had agreed; and by interrupting meetings.

The purpose of Sunday's demonstration in front of an OR religious service/political rally was to discomfit and annoy the participants. The coalition had agreed that, to project an image of aimless violence and vandalism, would be seriously counterproductive. But this is the image that the police and the media—hungry for a story—were eager to portray. And so, on the pretext that bullhorns were illegal, the police rushed the group, which quickly rushed back. NWROC incited people to take arrests, lobbied that the demonstration be moved to the police station, and hurried out of harm's way. Media cameras clicked eagerly. Amidst mace, plastic handcuffs and billy clubs, five people were arrested; after over 24 hours, their bail was set at prohibitive levels to keep outsiders out of Minnesota. The police and OR "won" on Sunday.

We had been hopeful during the drive to Minneapolis that the energy and youth of this new revolution would lead to a meaningful victory for Choice. On the drive back, though, we realized that the unwillingness of some of the parties involved to compromise on their particular agendas, could systematically undermine the consensus for Choice. I thought I'd take a weekend road trip to the Twin Cities and find an easy answer to an easy question: what is pro-choice today; I was wrong.

—Eileen

My desire to become more involved in clinic defense motivated me to go to Minneapolis from Chicago during OR's seven "cities of refuge" siege. During the eight hour ride up there, I remember feeling emboldened by the notion that this weekend I would act and realize the results of our collective action, immediately. I was looking forward to a clear-cut one-act drama, that would pit me face to face with the people who are so frighteningly efficient in spreading hate throughout our country.

After experiencing the action in front of OR's Sunday meeting (see story above), I stood there watching people who all supposedly believe in the same cause, rip at each other, while accomplishing nothing.

Our strength is that we do not have an authoritarian religion to answer our questions and to settle our differences. Paradoxically, this also seems to be the essence of our troubles.

It would be easy to decide that NWROC caused all the trouble on Sunday, and that the pro-choice movement, and the gay liberation movement, and other struggles for freedom do not have huge cracks in their foundations. But I worry that this is not the case. I wonder why we are so vulnerable to division, to infiltrators, to detractors within our own ranks. I worry that our fierce dedication to our own individual ideas and our passion for advancing them oftentimes overrides our willingness to defer to each other—whether in the meeting hall, at the action, or in the planning meeting. I certainly don't have the macro-answer to these worries.

Personally, all I could glean from this is a new-found dedication to patience. Patience with those I'm working with and with whom I disagree. The only thing I'm sure of is that I don't want to wake up and realize that the scene in front of the church is happening all around me.

—Kathleen

Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

The new rightist French government has moved quickly to pass a series of racist laws aimed at stopping all immigration and expelling many of the country's several million immigrants. In a shocking interview some weeks ago, Interior Minister Charles Pasqua stated: "The objective which we have proposed, taking account of the seriousness of the economic situation, is to reach toward zero immigration...France has been a country of immigration. It no longer wants to be one" (*Le Monde*, June 2, 1993).

The policy of tightened repression has three prongs: 1) severe restrictions on marriages between citizens

Who is Sheik Omar?

To most Americans, Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman is the Egyptian Muslim fundamentalist preacher whose followers have been linked to the World Trade Center bombing. In Egypt, his followers continue to wage a campaign of terrorism, including not only the well publicized attacks on Egyptian state institutions and Coptic Christians, but also less publicized ones on left, feminist, student, trade union and secular organizations. One notorious example was the assassination of the secular left writer Farag Foda some months ago.

Sheik Omar was first imprisoned briefly in 1970 for giving a sermon saying it was not necessary to pray for the soul of modern Egypt's founder, Gamal Abdel Nasser, who had just died. The Sheik termed Nasser an "enemy of Islam" for his secular nationalist policies. Anwar Sadat, Nasser's successor, soon released the Sheik as part of his effort to undercut the Left at a time when he was moving Egypt closer to the United States.

Tried but acquitted for complicity in Sadat's assassination in 1981, Sheik Rahman soon left Egypt for Pakistan, where he worked closely with Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's ultra-fundamentalist Afghan rebel group, the one which received the most aid from the U.S., Pakistan and Saudi Arabia.

By 1990, the Sheik found himself in the Sudan. There, on a recommendation from the fundamentalist Muslim Brotherhood, the U.S. Embassy issued him a visa. After the World Trade Center bombing, the U.S. government first said this was due to a computer error, and, after that caused ridicule, they then said that it was because of "mistakes" by CIA officers who reviewed his visa application.

To readers of N&L the biggest shocker is not that the U.S. government works with murderous fanatics like Sheik Omar, so long as they oppose the Left and especially Marxism. The real shocker is that some Left groups in the U.S., such as the Socialist Workers Party, are leaping to his defense. These are the very type of people whom the Sheik's followers in Egypt are targeting for assassination. There, the Left has labeled him not a martyr, but a CIA agent.

and non-citizens, 2) onerous obstacles to prevent legal immigrants from being joined by family members, and 3) more rapid deportations of immigrants found to be in violation of immigration laws.

These new laws have sailed through a parliament which has the largest rightist majority of any since 1815. Their first fruit was the deportation to Algeria in June of Djemaa Boussetine, a 41-year-old woman who had lived in France for 35 years. The mother of a 13-year-old girl who is a French citizen, Boussetine was arrested when she went to renew her ten-year residence permit. Given the choice of jail or expulsion, she was on the plane the next day.

The established Left has offered only token opposition. The Socialists, in power for over a decade, have begun to splinter, while the Communists have been reaping the fruits of their Stalinist policies. There have been new revelations from Russian archives about Communist collaboration during the first 14 months of the Nazi Occupation, in 1940-41, while the Hitler-Stalin Pact was still in effect.

More shocking were the revelations in July of a more recent collaboration with fascism. Evidently inspired by current alliances between Stalinists and fascists in Russia and Serbia, a number of prominent French Communists have been exposed for flirting with the extreme Right. They have held discussions at the Institute for Marxist Research with Alain de Benoist, a notorious racist, where, despite disagreements on other issues, they have "shared" opposition to U.S. hegemony, to "international Zionism," and to the untrammelled free market. Several prominent Communists have also written

Fundamentalism in Turkey

On July 8, more than 100,000 people participated in a funeral demonstration in Istanbul for the literary critic Asim Bezirci and the poet Nesimi Cimen, both of them among the 36 people killed a week earlier in an attack by Muslim fundamentalists in the rural town of Sivas. Slogans shouted by the crowd of mourners included: "Down with fundamentalism" and "Turkey will not become Iran."

In the Sivas attack, a crowd of 10,000 fundamentalists, incited by a speech by the local mayor, besieged and then set fire to a hotel where a convention of leftist writers was being held. In addition to the 36 deaths, 145 people were injured. Among the latter was the 78-year-old writer and journalist Aziz Nesin, who in May announced his intention to translate and publish excerpts from Salman Rushdie's *Satanic Verses* in the leftist daily newspaper *Aydinlik*. Currently, the novel is banned under Turkish law. Since then, both the newspaper and Nesin have been subjected to attacks and death threats.

As a legacy of the Ataturk reforms of the 1920s, Turkey remains the most secular Islamic country, but fundamentalism has been growing in recent years.

for or served on the editorial boards of rightist journals, including ones linked to the neo-fascist National Front.

After these facts hit the front page of *Le Monde*, an "appeal for vigilance" against the extreme Right was published on July 13 by 40 leftist intellectuals, including prominent figures such as Jacques Derrida, Pierre Bourdieu, K.S. Karol and Rossena Rossanda. A few days later, the Communist press found it necessary to issue a self-critique and to warn against the practice of Communists holding "dialogues" with the far Right.

Israel bombs Lebanon

Since July 26, when Israel launched a new series of attacks across the border into Lebanon, more than 130 people have been killed and up to 500,000 have fled northward toward Beirut. The Lebanese government



A Shi'ite Muslim family in Lebanon hides underground from Israeli bombs.

called it "worse than an invasion since it aims at emptying South Lebanon of its population."

Despite Israel's occupation for years of a five to ten-mile-wide self-declared "security zone" in South Lebanon, rockets from Lebanese-based Muslim fundamentalist militias occasionally reach Israeli territory. The present massive bombings and ground attacks seem aimed at depopulating a whole area comprising about one third of the entire territory of Lebanon, and thus ending the rocket attacks.

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, elected on a peace platform last year, has seen his popularity sag as peace talks are stalled and Arab unrest continues despite his severe crackdown. This attack has only exacerbated his long-term problem: reaching a settlement with the Palestinians. The crisis also tests the left-wing Meretz group, part of the governing coalition. Will they remain in Rabin's government, thus taking responsibility for his aggression?

Slovakia: IMF noose

Prague, Czech Republic—While not long ago leading Slovak politicians declared the existing restrictive measures of the government budget as too severe, they now have to face even more stringent demands of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) whose mission just left Bratislava after a fact-finding stay. If Slovakia is to be granted credit from the IMF and according to Slovak President Kovac, who himself is an economist, the economy of his country can not "renew its performance" without an injection of foreign capital—it has to accept the Fund's conditions. The credit could amount to \$90 million U.S.

One of the conditions is a strict limitation of state outlays for social purposes. According to the mission's findings these expenses represent up to 83% of the budget if every kind of "social" expense is included. The restrictions proposed concern first of all pensioners, second, family assistance. It is also necessary to reconsider how "economically justified" is the assistance to parents of newly born children. Moreover, the government is committed to limit wage rises. Bills proposed by the labor ministry have therefore to be revised to comply with the severe conditions of the IMF.

—Stephen Steiger

Italy approaches bankruptcy

Milan, Italy—As you know, there is a card reshuffle of the political representatives of big capital in Italy. The political representatives of big capital, instead of coordinating the interests of all the sectors of capital, have considered themselves above capital itself, and have looked after their parties' interests like an independent body of the capitalist society. To obtain this aim they have linked their interests with a few major Italian companies. The reaction of those who did not participate has corroded the system and now there is a big change, of which the principle victims are the Christian Democrats and the Socialist Party.

But the proletarians are absent and are only watching. In fact, the economic crisis is affecting their survival, and the number of unemployed is increasing. The national debt is nearing astronomical numbers. Slowly and constantly, this government marches toward bankruptcy.

—Italian correspondent

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