

Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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GM/UAW attack seniority

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

On Jan. 23, by a margin of only eight votes, workers at the GM plant at Van Nuys, Cal. (UAW Local 645), rejected a proposed company/union "solution" to upcoming lay-offs, whereby all workers would alternate working two weeks on, two weeks off. The result of that defeated vote meant indefinite lay-off for the lower-seniority workers, hired in at the Van Nuys plant on or after June 15, 1976.

Both General Motors and the UAW International union leadership were unhappy with the vote results, so they held a second vote, on Feb. 8, right inside the plant, while the workers were working. GM had one of its labor relations specialists, Kathleen Tanner, flown in from its Detroit headquarters to try to convince the workers to accept the two weeks on/two weeks off plan.

On the second vote, the plan passed, 1,915 to 1,668.

WHY A SECOND VOTE AT VAN NUYS?

Why did GM want this vote so bad? The answer is very clear to me: it means a repudiation of the seniority rights that workers have won over the many years through long, hard struggles on the picket lines.

Under capitalism, seniority rights are one of the few scraps of so-called "job security" that workers have. If a worker loses seniority rights, then he or she never knows from one day to the next whether he'll be able to feed, clothe and house his family.

The older seniority workers are now very bitter at being forced into a second vote that lays them off part time and eats away at seniority rights. The younger seniority workers were bitter at the first vote, when it looked like they would lose their jobs altogether. It's General Motors that benefits when workers get bitter at each other like this, rather than angry at this whole damn system that takes away our jobs, our homes, our ability to feed our families.

One worker expressed the torn feelings of the older
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From a Palestinian youth

Editor's Note: We are sharing with our readers this interview with a Palestinian youth, whose identity must remain secret.

No one expected the uprising. The Palestinian National Council meeting in Algeria last year discussed only the peace plan. When it began they expected it only to last a few days. But the youth who were active both inside and abroad knew this was something new that would last, something we had been awaiting for 20 years.

There are over 100,000 who have been on strike for two months now. Those with farms are trying to live off the land and the animals. Those who are in the cities—mostly workers in Israeli factories—are in a difficult situation and in need of support. The orange and apple crops have not been picked this year and the building industry is down. This was a big shock for Israeli farmers. The Histadrut (Israeli labor federation) has refused to join the scabs, even though its executive committee supported the use of high-school students as scabs. Imported scab labor from Lebanon and Egypt was very minor.

Many Christians who used to be outside the struggle have joined in. Even some Druze in the Golan Heights are also now joining. This is not the first time Israel is massacring the Palestinians. It began with Deir Yasin in the 1940s.

EVERYONE PARTICIPATING

As long as this uprising continues, no one has control over the youth because of the desperation we feel and because we know the only way to achieve victory is with everyone participating, not through armies.

I was born and raised in a refugee camp in Syria near Homs. The camp started as a lot of tents between two army garrisons and next to a city trash dump site. There were no paved streets or running water; only mud in the winter and dust in the summer, and periodic floods taking people away.

By the mid-1970s a lot of poor Syrians had moved into the camps and there were many who became radicalized. The Syrian government began putting pressure on, sending in agents, arresting people. After the Syrian invasion of Lebanon they surrounded the camp, came in and arrested all the men and took away those they suspected. My brother was taken away and jailed for 14 months without a trial or any charges. Being a Palestinian in Syria is like walking in a mine-field. We are not free. They would either
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Workers battle Reaganism, companies, union bureaucrats



Auto workers from Kenosha Wisc. Chrysler plant picket against decision to close facility.

by Bob McGuire

This March 21 will mark the first anniversary of International Paper Company locking out 1,200 workers from its mill in Mobile, Ala. bringing in scabs to do their work. Some 2,300 more workers took to the picket lines at International Paper Mills in Wisconsin, Maine and Pennsylvania rather than accept a take-back contract. International Paper is calling the scabs at these mills "permanent replacements."

The difficulty that the International Paper workers are facing, including the very length of this labor battle, nearly a decade after Chrysler and the UAW inaugurated the era of concessions contracts, and after seven years of the Reagan administration's virulent attacks on labor, speaks to the state of organized labor in America today. The demands made by International Paper are the kinds of rollbacks that company after company is trying to extract from its workforce. Thus:

- The highly profitable International Paper, already dominating the paper industry, is demanding expanded sub-contracting of maintenance and other jobs within the mills. If extended far enough, such sub-contracting threatens the very existence of the union, the United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU).

- International Paper is insisting on the spread of the "crew concept," and with it the elimination of most job

In-person report

Sit-in against racism at U. of Mass.

Amherst, Mass.—On Friday, Feb. 12, 100 of us, Afro-Americans, American Indians, Latinos and Asians, started a sit-in at the New Africa House at the University of Massachusetts. We occupied the building because of the racial attacks on this campus, and because the New Africa House is no longer a cultural base for Third World students. No student organization is allowed to have offices here.

On Friday, Feb. 5, there was a racial fight in the Sylvan residential area. After a woman had been harassed, the police picked up several Black men at random and lined them up. The following evening there was a fight near the Sylvan residential area. Two Black men and one white woman were assaulted by six white men. The police delayed investigating this attack. The white men have now been temporarily excluded from school until court hearings are held.

We want the university to deal with racism. We want student space at the New Africa House. And we are asking for classes that would raise university consciousness. Most of us in the sit-in have also been involved in anti-apartheid protests on the campus. We don't even think the university has fully divested from South Africa.

In October of 1986, a Black student at the university was attacked by a group of whites during the World Series. The "penalty" for the white students was this: one was dismissed, and some are actually attending school now. That is another reason why we started our sit-in.

During this past week, those of us in the sit-in have been discussing social issues such as what it means to be a minority on a white campus. There are only 640 Black students on a campus of 24,000. We have been talking about our personal experiences.

Ever since we ended our sit-in on Feb. 17, we have formed a monitoring committee of 13 students from the sit-in to monitor the university chancellor Duffy and the administration and push for our demands. The chancellor has recognized the New Africa House as a multi-cultural Third World Center. More minority faculty and students will be hired and there is a new policy in which anybody found guilty of racism can be ex-

titles and thus the half-century of struggles on the shop floor to determine what and how much each worker must do. The crew concept intensifies company control while reducing the number of workers. At the Jay, Maine, mill on strike, 178 workers' jobs are at stake, 15% of the work force.

- Fearing combined worker action, International Paper is demanding that contracts with different locals expire on different dates. While workers at four International Paper plants are now on strike, workers at 23 other plants are still at work, although workers there have voted to assess themselves \$10 per month for the strikers.

LOCAL-TO-LOCAL SOLIDARITY

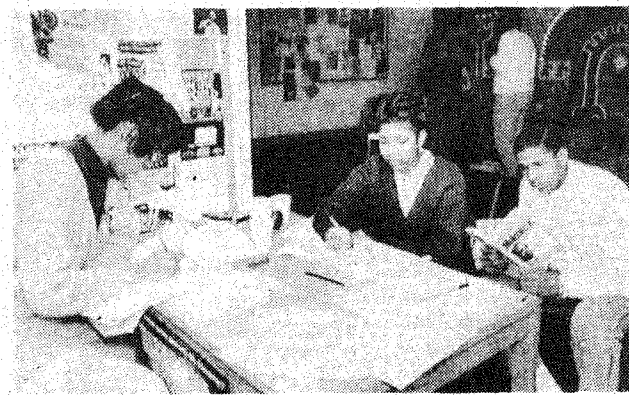
In response to this company onslaught, the striking International Paper workers have been attempting to build a local-to-local and rank-and-file kind of solidarity. They have been organizing car caravans to other paper mills and have staged mass rallies while organizing support committees involving many unions.

But just as the striking workers from Hormel's Austin, Minn., plant, Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) found, while there is a vast reservoir of support among rank-and-file labor throughout the nation, there is also the ideological pollution of Reaganism which has most especially affected the labor bureaucracy in union after union.

Nowhere is this more evident than in the UFCW. It is not only P-9 workers that the union's leadership, especially President William Wynn, abandoned; it is all meat-packing workers. The industry standard wage of \$10.69 an hour has fallen in more and more
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On the Inside

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Students occupying African-American Studies building

pelled. Chancellor Duffy has been presented very positively by the newspapers. He can be called fair. But his regulation for battling the racial attacks only says that the students can be subject to removal. That can mean temporary removal and not expulsion.

Since the sit-in has ended, the racial attacks on this campus have actually increased. Two Black women and one Asian woman were harassed racially and sexually by a group of white men. Three Latino students who were talking in Spanish were harassed by a group of white men who threw ethnic slurs at them and hit them with snowballs. Racial attacks have increased at all times of night and in broad daylight. The minority Resident Assistants have been harassed, and today a Black man was attacked in a stairwell by two white men.

We are now in the midst of a two-day moratorium on classes to hold workshops on racism and sexism. The chancellor refused to approve this but the students have asked professors to cancel classes. We will continue our monitoring committee and will hold more workshops. You can write to us at the following address: Office of Third World Affairs, 308 Student Union Building, Amherst, MA 01002.

— Two sit-in participants

International Women's Day celebrates women worldwide

Women's liberation, organization and philosophy

by Terry Moon

Twenty years ago the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) brought International Women's Day (IWD) out of the obscurity of history and made it a day to celebrate. Since then IWD has been a time when women deepen their fight for freedom.

Because 20 years of the WLM have revealed not only the gains we have made but the contradictions within the movement as well, IWD is a time to discuss how to have a revolution that will get us to total freedom. One of the questions that the WLM has raised that remains to be worked out is the question of organization. In celebrating IWD I want to invite our readers to join a discussion on the direction of today's WLM that we began at our national gathering of News and Letters Committees, Jan. 9 and 10. Below are excerpts of a talk I gave there.*

What is the relationship between the WLM, organization and the philosophic moment of 1953 in the development of Marxist-Humanism that Raya Dunayevskaya was discussing in her last talk to us? (See January-February, 1988, *News & Letters*, "Raya Dunayevskaya's Final Dialogue with Us.") Dunayevskaya singled out what was new in the WLM: we criticized the Left from a revolutionary perspective, demanding an end to sexism and the division between mental and manual labor now, right within the so-called revolutionary Left.

The Women's Liberation Movement raised the question of organization in new and persistent ways. Women critiqued the form of organization of the Left, opposing the vanguard party and coming out for a decentralized form of organization with decisions to be made by consensus. All of that is still with us.

WHAT FORM OF ORGANIZATION?

But... But... But... Isn't what Women's Liberation raised precisely the question of "form of organization"? What form of organization do we need so that women will be able to develop themselves fully?

What Raya was working out was not "form of organization" but dialectics of organization and philosophy, where the absolute opposite of the vanguard party is not committee form, or any form of organization for that matter, but philosophy—specifically Marxist-Humanism. Of course organization has to take some forms but the determinant of the form is the philosophy.

Dunayevskaya posed the question this way in her book, *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution* (WLDR): "Is There an Organizational Answer?" I think many in today's women's movement think they already have the answer—be that the socialist feminist writer Sheila Rowbotham or those who think decentralized committee form, a collective, or even women's liberation as second place behind the

* For the full report plus "News and Letters Committees in the Field" by Peter Wermuth, "Philosophy of the Black Dimension, 1988" by Lou Turner, "The Battle of Ideas and Marxist-Humanism" by Kevin A. Barry and the "Report on Youth" by Sheila Fuller, send \$1 to N&L.

fight for national liberation will solve women's problems.

THE MISSING LINK—PHILOSOPHY

When the WLM asked "What form of organization do we need so that women will be able to develop themselves fully?" I think Dunayevskaya heard a deeper question—and she didn't run to answer. This is what she said in her correspondence with Adrienne Rich (see December, 1986, *News & Letters*):

Where in Part II of that book [WLDR], I speak of 'Sexism, Politics and Revolution' in various parts of the world, I posed the question without answering it: 'Is There an Organizational Answer?' I deliberately didn't answer it there because I feel very strongly that without that missing link—philosophy—there is no answer to the question of organization, which of course means relationship to revolution.

This is exactly what I am in the process of working out in my book-to-be...

Look at even the way she poses the question. It takes nothing for granted: "Is There an Organizational Answer?" Asking the question that way doesn't assume organization is the answer. It puts everything up for examination.

In her last talk to us, Raya wrote that the philosophic moment is a determinant. I think that what can help us overcome this retrogression we are suffering under after seven years of Reaganism, when so many in the WLM really feel at an impasse, is to take a new look at the 20 years of the WLM and, at one and the same time, look at the philosophic moment of Marxist-Humanism and its 35-year development.

That Raya's latest work was so much on organization, and that she was looking over the last 35 years of Marxist-Humanism and seeing what she developed on organization in a new way, is very exciting for the WLM. It is exciting because the question of organization—when it is not separated from a philosophy of total freedom—is really a discussion of what a new society is and how to get there.

India:

'We are sparks'

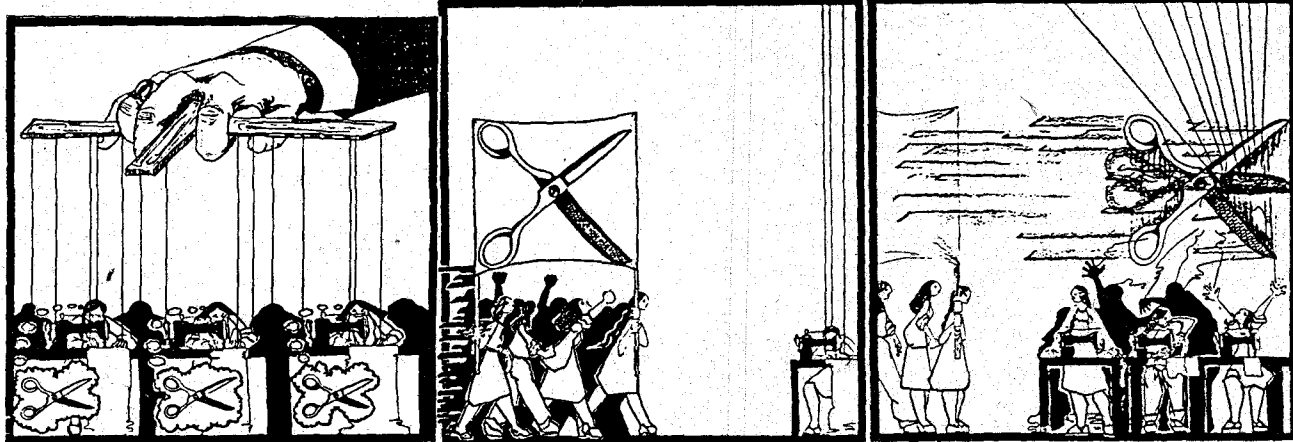
Patna, India—"We Indian women are not flowers, we are sparks." "Whoever clash against us will be broken into pieces." These were some of the slogans that women shouted in the streets of Patna in the last day of the Conference for Women's Liberation Struggles held Feb. 5 through 8. (See November, 1987 *News & Letters*.) This was the third time that women have come together at the national level in India but the first time that rural women participated massively.

Women came from Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Rajasthan, Meghalaya, West Bengal, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Goa, Karnataka and Bihar—from every corner of the country. Many of them traveled for three days to reach Patna, many of them with their banners and without train tickets as in India there is a tradition that if you go to a National Conference you are allowed to travel without tickets, though sometimes you are stopped and harassed by the railway people.

The workshops were on Women and Work; Women and Violence; Women, Health and Ecology; Women, Culture, Religion and Communalism; Women and Patriarchy. Yes, too many topics for a three-day Conference and for 1,000 women who speak many different languages. Sometimes in the same workshop we used five different languages.

Among the 1,000 women who attended the Conference there were differences in their outlook, in their ideas, strategies and approach. The main differences were regarding the issues of autonomy and relation to other movements, why certain Left parties look at the women's movement as a divisive force, and the question of using funds—either foreign or from the government.

The last day there was a huge rally in which about 20,000 women shouted their anger in the streets about the way women are treated in Indian society. We also shouted our aspirations and showed our strength in Patna, one of the cities of India in which male chauvinism is perhaps strongest. —Correspondent, India



In celebration of March 8, International Women's Day, which originated in the struggles of American women garment workers, we print a cartoon from the 19th of September Garment Workers Union in Mexico. (See story below.) It shows women garment workers cutting the strings by which the bosses control them.

Mexico, U.S.: Garment workers organize and win

Mexico City, Mexico—The 19th of September Garment Workers Union celebrated their second anniversary with an historic march of over 50,000 people, mostly members of neighborhood groups that make up the National Urban Poor People's Movement (CONAMUP). The seamstresses of the 19th of September movement led the march carrying signs announcing their demands and the right to free unionization. In the Central Plaza, union and CONAMUP representatives spoke formally and presented demands from the First Conference of Women Wage-Earners, which was held in July.

The Garment Workers Union was born out of the 1985 earthquake when 10,000 women garment workers marched and formed their own union to demand compensation from bosses who "choose to save their machinery, raw materials and safes, but cared nothing for the lives of workers." (See *N&L*, July 1986.) Despite increasing harassment from both industry and the govern-

ment, the union continues to grow. To learn of their activities, subscribe to their *International Bulletin*, \$5/year, to Sindicato 19 de Septiembre, Apartado Postal M-10578, Coreo Central, Mexico D.F., 06000 Mexico.

On Dec. 3, workers at J.P. Stevens' towel manufacturing plant in Drakes Branch, Va., won their struggle to become members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. The unionization campaign began in 1986 when Stevens bought the plant from Burlington and invested \$18 million to "upgrade" it. Workers did not benefit from the investment, but were given increased workloads and rate cuts. One worker with 35 years seniority said, "I've never seen people treated so bad, like we weren't even human beings, running two people's jobs." The workers proved they could beat the textile giant in spite of its intimidation campaign and formation of a management-employee anti-union committee.

England, U.S., Canada: Nurses strike!

Editor's note: On Feb. 2, over 6,000 nurses, members of the Royal College of Nursing union, staged a 24-hour strike, the first nationwide walk-out in British history. They walked picket lines demanding better patient care and yelling "Maggie out!"

Oxford, England—Recently I took some time off work to support the day of action being held by nurses and other health workers. I spent time on picket lines at two of the hospitals here in Oxford.

There were doctors, nurses, catering and cleaning staff taking part. They told me they had been reluctant to take action that might affect patients but they could no longer put up with the low pay, long hours and poor conditions of work. They were very concerned about the length of time which patients have to wait for operations. Many people are kept going on drugs when they should really have surgery, and when they do get their operations sometimes it's too late.

We had a petition opposing cuts and health charges and demanding adequate funding for the National Health Service. There was so much response from hospital workers, ambulance drivers, patients and visitors,

that people were queuing up to sign and I collected about 500 signatures myself in an afternoon.

There is going to be a national demonstration about the Health Service in London on 15 March. I will be there. I'm helping to organize a delegation of workers from my factory, and I'm approaching workers in other industries encouraging them to take part.

—Shop steward at British Leyland, Oxford.

New York, N.Y.—Hundreds of nurses at Bronx Municipal Hospital and Lincoln Medical Center called in sick, Feb. 17, to protest "deplorable working conditions" that prevented adequate patient care.

Calgary, Alberta—Multi-million dollar worldwide coverage of the winter Olympics reported next to nothing of a 19-day strike by the 11,400 members of United Nurses of Alberta that crippled the province's hospitals. In a tentative contract, signed just in time for the opening of the winter games, the union gave up demands for improved working conditions to gain an 8% wage increase over 27 months. "The concerns haven't stopped," said one nurse, "the war has just begun."

Our Right to Know Braille Press

An appeal for help

Help us publish *News & Letters* and other literature on cassette tapes for blind subscribers. Since 1981 we have been able to read *N&L* on special cassettes produced for blind subscribers by the Our Right to Know Braille Press (ORKBP). For the 140 years since the Braille system was invented, publishing for the blind has been controlled by governments and "charitable" agencies. They publish what they think we should read. And they don't think we should read about freedom movements or revolution. We created ORKBP because that is exactly what we want to read.

In the last seven years we have heard from blind people all over the world. A subscriber from Sri Lanka writes: "I have searched my whole life for publications I could read about Marxism and socialism. I have written everywhere, but yours is the only group who would send me this kind of material."

We started out with a treasury of \$100 and one cassette recording. The biggest problem we face is the lack of our own cassette duplicator. This machine produces cassette copies of the original recording much as a Xerox machine copies print. Machines that will produce the kind of 4-track cassettes that blind readers use are very expensive. But using equipment from other organizations and even buying time from a commercial duplicating company meant long delays in getting *N&L* on tape to our readers.

Through fundraising in the blind community, where unemployment is near 70%, we raised \$1,800 and put a down payment on a duplicator of our own, which we now have. But we still owe \$1,100 on the machine, and we must raise it in eight months.

Please help us keep ORKBP alive so that we can keep producing *N&L* on tape for blind readers. Contributions should be sent to: Our Right to Know Braille Press, 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217.

Spanish dockers defend job control

When I was invited to the General Assembly meeting of Barcelona longshoremen last Dec. 28, I was able to see a union which preserves complete autonomy of its locals simultaneously with tremendous inter-port solidarity. The government has been attempting to reorganize Spanish ports without involvement of Coordinadora, the longshoremen's union. Consequently, the union called a one-day port strike and threatened another week-long strike beginning Jan. 4 if the exclusion continued. However, with over 90% of the country's dock work halted, the government quickly reversed itself and agreed to January negotiations.

The current Spanish port struggle, like those for the past 12 years, has centered around the dockers' control of their work through the hiring hall. Dockers are registered with the OTP (Office for Port Labor), a division of the Spanish Labor Ministry. In each port, every docker has a number which is moved to the bottom of the hiring list when he receives a job. This rotation system assures that work is evenly distributed.

RANK AND FILE CONTROL UNION

Since its 1976 origin, Coordinadora has been able to defend itself from numerous employer/government attacks because of the direct control of the union by its members. All delegates and other union officers work on the docks. This means that every agreement is negotiated by members who will experience the consequences of any contract that they propose to the members.

Reaganism isn't dead

by John Marcotte

A cutter I know at Ideal Bedsprad in the Bronx was fired. When he returned from vacation, the office handed him a letter saying he was fired for reporting back one day late. He had eight years on the job. What's the real reason he was fired? The contract is coming up this year and he was one of those involved in the first strike they ever had at Ideal, last contract.

Another friend had ten years as a floor worker in a fur shop when he was laid-off. The boss has since hired new people at a much lower wage. When the case of this and a few other workers came up for arbitration after about eight months, the union cancelled the hearing, telling the workers they were going to lose and it would set a bad precedent. The union president, Foner, told them not to worry, he would get them another job. Now it's been over a year and when this worker went in to see Foner, he just offered to get him into an English class, or to help him apply for welfare!

To me, what's happening to these two friends says a lot about the real state of the union this year. All the Reagan-lies about "prosperity" and "better, higher-paying jobs" can't hide that. That "shining city on a hill" must be on another planet.

What did Reagan have to say about the racist violence that is polluting New York and the U.S.? Not a word! Of course, he's getting what he wanted to create. What of the AIDS epidemic? He's done his best to stall and get in the way and mislead. What of crack and hopelessness, dead-end jobs and no jobs, and alienation among youth? "Just say no."

Twenty years after the assassination of Martin Luther King, the facts more than ever show two nations, separate and unequal, especially in Black unemployment and poverty. How can Left commentators possibly say that Reagan's state of the union address shows Reaganism is dying, and even taking credit for this? No, we are far from the end of Reaganism, with or without Reagan.

As understated as official statistics are, where there were 30 million below poverty when Reagan started his counter-revolution, there are now 38 million. There are nine million counted unemployed. There are three million homeless, and homelessness is one original creation of Reaganism if anything is. Minimum wage is at its lowest in terms of real wages since 1955.

Even Reagan's nuclear treaty with Gorbachev shows two rulers buying time in their struggle for domination over world labor. At issue is who will have 'the right' to extract the ever-increasing unpaid hours of labor. Until we are on the road to ending the relationship of capital/labor, I don't think we can say we're on the road to ending Reaganism—or Gorbachevism.

All Coordinadora officers are subject to immediate recall. This came up after a vote that delegates (shop stewards) should donate to Coordinadora the money which the government pays them for doing union work. At least two delegates who refused to go along with the majority decision were recalled. It needs this money to finance its many zone and national meetings. Coordinadora insists that frequent face-to-face contact between dockers from across the country is essential for building



solidarity between locals. By rotating those who attend the zone and national meetings, Coordinadora ensures that dockers are well acquainted with the concerns of those in other ports.

EFFECTS OF CONTAINERIZATION

By the early 1970s, Spain experienced the worldwide effects of containerization. All cargo is now stored in 20' x 40' x 8' containers that must be moved by forklifts and giant cranes. Valencia dockers pointed out to me that slip-ups can easily result in a crushed leg or death—in contrast to pre-container times when injuries were more frequent but less serious. Containerization opens the door for owners to lay off huge numbers of workers. At its highest levels, Spanish docks provided jobs for over 20,000 workers—now they employ just under 10,000.

Given the technological power in the hands of capital, Spanish dockers have been outstandingly successful in holding onto as much job control as they have. Tentative mid-January agreements to the current conflict call for the government's involving Coordinadora in port reorganization plans. Shipping companies will be required to have some hiring hall dockers on all jobs, but about 10% of longshoring will probably be done by private employees with another 20% by employees hired for times varying from 1 month to 3 years.

If the past tells us anything about the future, we can expect the government and shippers to quickly overstep this toehold in privatization. Coordinadora is clearly counting on solidarity within and between ports as the bulwark against such moves.

—Don Fitz

Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

workers before the first vote: "We have to choose between our family and the brother or sister who stands next to us on the line. This is pitting us against each other. We're putting a razor to each other's throats."

GM'S STRATEGY: DIVIDE WORKERS

Eric Mann, who is a Van Nuys worker and an activist in Local 645, wrote quite a good article in the Los Angeles Times (Feb. 22, 1988) about GM forcing this vote on the workers, and the reason why. He shows that journals for management have recently been emphasizing the breaking of union seniority as a key element for greater corporate "competitiveness."

He points out that GM could have accomplished its stated goal of reducing inventories by the more traditional method of closing down the whole plant for a week or two at a time. That they chose to force their way with a vote that pitted worker against worker demonstrates their goal of eating away at the seniority system, and turning workers against each other in the process.

But something very big is missing from Mann's article. Everything he shows there, from the Van Nuys lay-off plan and the vote, to GM's phony "no plant closings" contract with all its loopholes, is the responsibility not only of GM but also of the UAW International leadership which went along with GM every single step of the way. I agree with Paul Goldener, a former union president of Local 645, who said: "The UAW has turned into a group of corporate pimps whose only reason for existing is to collect dues from workers."

DEGENERACY OF UAW LEADERSHIP

When I was in the plant, it was an "unfair labor practice" to pit worker against worker! We fought that as a grievance many times, and won. And now the union leadership has degenerated to the point of helping the company pit low-seniority workers against high-seniority workers, and taking away the seniority rights that unions fought so hard for all these years!

As the 1956 founding Constitution of News and Letters Committees states: "Just as in 1936-37, the American working people found their own way, through the sitdown strikes, to industrial organization and the CIO, so they are searching today for the new political and social forms to fight the labor bureaucracy...We see the labor bureaucracy as the last barrier to the full emancipation of the working class."

That statement was never more true than in the 1980s of Reagan's America, when working people are struggling to stay alive, with a roof over our heads, and rank-and-file workers are finding they have to fight not only the company, just to retain the benefits hard-won over all these years, but the union leadership as well, which is in solidarity with corporate management, instead of its own rank and file.

New coal miners contract

Morgantown, W.VA.—The United Mine Workers leadership and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association recently negotiated and ratified a new five-year contract. Two contracts have been negotiated in a row by Rich Trumka without an industry-wide strike. Last time the Massey companies held out and there was a strike in southern West Virginia and Kentucky. Now Pittston and a few other companies are holding out but there is no strike.

This time around miners got a copy of an injunction in the mail which all but made strikes illegal. The injunction came as a result of the troubles at Massey and arrived in the mail just as we began hearing about negotiations getting under way. And just as the contract was being agreed to at the highest levels, a court in Ashland, KY. decided against four miners who were strike activists at the Massey mines. The men were found guilty of killing a scab trucker in a shooting incident but evidence indicates that the men are innocent.

The negotiations were done behind closed doors and no one knew what company would get hit with a selective strike. Some big companies, like Island Creek, avoided trouble with the miners by signing a "me too" agreement with the union.

The new contract will go for five years and will allow union miners to take jobs in BCOA non-union mines. This used to be considered scabbing not too long ago. The union leaders hope that this will mean more job security and newly organized mines. The contract also allows for mandatory overtime and leaves sick pay pretty much up to the operators. It also allows companies to subcontract out repairs on mine equipment to non-union companies.

There was a lot of resistance to the contract in Ohio and some resistance in West Virginia. Kentucky miners tended to feel that they didn't have much choice but to accept the contract. Miners returning to work after long lay-offs are usually surprised by what the companies are able to get away with these days. Safety concerns which were taken for granted five years ago now are disregarded or are settled in the company's favor. Morale is at an all-time low in the larger mines in northern West Virginia and so you see a high injury rate.

The film "Matewan" spoke to some of the conditions we are facing today. Before the big uprisings in the southern West Virginia coal fields there were long periods of time when people felt hopeless or were divided and weak. Again, before the strikes of the late '40s came there were periods when people didn't know what to do or where to turn. I believe that the black lung movement will pick up again and that a community movement against the operators' misuse of the land will grow. I also do not think that the new contract will satisfy many miners. From these groups a revitalized movement will grow.

—West Virginia reader

Sick-out at Loeb

New York, NY—ARA food service workers at New York University's Loeb Commons cafeteria called in sick on Wednesday, Feb. 17. What really ticked us off was when last Thursday, our organizer from United Industry Workers Local 424 got our grievances and Ray, the manager, said he didn't have time to see him. Then they said they scheduled a meeting for Tuesday and that never happened, so we called a sick-out Wednesday.

We are underpaid. We have people here 18, 19, 20 years who don't take home \$200. Ray is always trying to put another job on us. Then he has this habit of telling people to go home if they don't do the extra work. They don't talk to people with respect here.

Since we were out sick, we are going to have a meeting now and talk like human beings, like it should be. Hopefully things will be better. They push the people too hard. It's okay to try to save money, but not on other people's backs.

—Workers, Loeb Commons

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From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya Marxist-Humanist Archives

by Raya Dunayevskaya,
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

Editor's note: During 1986-87 Raya corresponded with a number of non-Marxist Hegel scholars on her work in progress, tentatively titled "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy." George Armstrong Kelly (see "In Memoriam," this page) was among them. Below we print a letter Raya Dunayevskaya wrote to him in September, 1986 asking for comments on the differences she saw between Hegel's Science of Logic and Encyclopedic Logic particularly with regard to how Lenin chose to comment on them in his Philosophic Notebooks. For the full texts of their interchange as well as a view of Dunayevskaya's philosophic work of 1986-87, consult Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development, Vol. XIII: 'Raya Dunayevskaya's Last Writings, 1986-87—Toward the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy.'

Sept. 26, 1986

Dear GAK [George Armstrong Kelly]:

Suddenly I remembered way back when your *Idealism, Politics and History* was first published. I was so very impressed with it, specifically with the section on Reconciliation, that I actually had a young colleague of mine, who was going to Germany, search out Reinhart Klemens Maurer because your footnote recommended his "excellent explications of the three concluding syllogisms of the Encyclopedia..." Unfortunately, all he would say was, "I am not married to Hegel!" What I didn't know was whether he really meant Hegel, or a Marxist speaking on Hegel, since he kept asking questions about how it happened that I am interested in his views, when he so sharply attacks Herbert Marcuse. In any case, I have met you. And you know me enough to know that I seem to disagree with Marxists, whether orthodox or dissident; I'm forever chasing the Self-Thinking Idea. At the end of the 1960s, what excited me in your work was the way you ended that section on Reconciliation, first with references to Hegel's *Phenomenology* on 'moments of mind,' and then ending with "Marx, while accepting Hegel's logical procedures, saw very clearly that in terms of the world, of actual life, this mentalized 'diversity of the content of truth' might be the deception or 'ideology' of an inadequate world-historical perspective." Presently, I'm appealing to non-Marxist Hegel scholars like you for help in my departure from Lenin—not Lenin as Lenin, but Lenin as he uses a loophole Hegel created for him with the difference in the way he articulated the Idea of Cognition in the *Science of Logic* and the *Encyclopedia*.

Now then, may I delve into what is presently my problem with Hegel? Along with the battle I'm currently having with myself on the Absolutes (and I've had this battle ever since 1953, when I first "defined" the Absolute as the new society). I am now changing my attitude to Lenin—specifically on Ch. 2 of Section Three of the *Science of Logic*, "The Idea of Cognition." The debate I'm having with myself centers on the different ways Hegel writes on the Idea of Cognition in the *Science of Logic* (hereafter referred to as *Science*), and the way it is expressed in his *Encyclopedia* (smaller *Logic*), para. 225-235, with focus on para. 233-235. The fact that the smaller *Logic* does the same type of abbreviation with the Absolute Idea as it does with the Idea of Cognition, turning that magnificent and most profound chapter of the *Science* into para. 236-244, and that para. 244 in the smaller *Logic* was the one Lenin* preferred to the final paragraph of the Absolute Idea in the *Science*, has had me "debating" Lenin ever since 1953. That year may seem far away, but its essence, without the polemics, was actually given in my paper at the 1974 Hegel Society of America conference.

WHETHER OR NOT LENIN HAD a right to "mis-read" the difference in Hegel's two articulations in the *Science* and in the smaller *Logic*, isn't it true that Hegel, by creating the sub-section, "Volition," which does not appear in the *Science*, left open the door for a future generation of Marxists to become so enthralled with Ch. 2, "The Idea of Cognition"—which ended with the pronouncement that Practice was higher than Theory—that they saw an identity of the two versions? These Marxists weren't Kantians believing that all contradictions will be solved by actions of "men of good will."

There is no reason, I think, for introducing a new sub-heading which lets Marxists think that now that practice is "higher" than theory, and that "Will," not willfulness, but as action, is their province, they do not need to study Hegel further.

Please bear with me as I go through Lenin's interpretation of that chapter with focus on this sub-section, so that we know precisely what is at issue. Indeed, when I began talking to myself in 1953, objecting to Lenin's dismissal of the last half of the final paragraph of the Absolute Idea in the *Science* as "unimportant," preferring para. 244 of the smaller *Logic*—"go forth freely as Nature"—I explained that Lenin could have said that because he hadn't suffered through Stalinism. I was happy that there was one Marxist revolutionary who had dug into Hegel's Absolute Idea.

Now then, when Lenin seemed to have completed his Abstract, and writes "End of the Logic. 12/17/1914." (Vol. 38, p. 233), he doesn't really end. At the end of that he refers you to the fact that he ended his study of the *Science* with para. 244 of the smaller *Logic*—and he means it. Clearly, it wasn't only the last half of a

* All the references to Lenin are to his Abstract of Hegel's *Science of Logic*, as included in Vol. 38 of his *Collected Works*, pp. 87-238. Concretely, the subject under dispute here is "The Idea of Cognition" and the "Absolute Idea."

paragraph of the Absolute Idea in the *Science* that Lenin dismissed. The truth is that Lenin had begun seriously to consult the smaller *Logic* at the section on the Idea, which begins in the smaller *Logic* with para. 213. When Lenin completed Ch. 2, "The Idea of Cognition," he didn't really go to Ch. 3, "The Absolute Idea," but first proceeded for seven pages with his own "translation" (interpretation). This is on pp. 212-219 of Vol. 38 of his *Collected Works*.

Lenin there divided each page into two. One side, he called, "Practice in the Theory of Knowledge"; on the other side, he wrote: "Alias, Man's consciousness not only reflects the objective world, but creates it." I was so enamored with his "Hegelianism" that I never stopped repeating it. Presently, however, I'm paying a



Lenin in his study, 1918

great deal more attention to what he did in that division of the page into two, with these "translations." Thus, 1) "Notion=Man"; 2) "Otherness which is in itself= Nature independent of man"; 3) "Absolute Idea= objective truth." When Lenin reaches the final section of Ch. 2, "The Idea of the Good," he writes, "end of Ch. 2, Transition to Ch. 3, 'The Absolute Idea.'" But I consider that he is still only on the threshold of the Absolute Idea. Indeed, all that follows p. 219 in his Notes shows that to be true, and explains why Lenin proceeded on his own after the end of his Notes on the Absolute Idea, and returned to the smaller *Logic*.

Thus when Lenin writes that he had reached the end of the Absolute Idea and quotes para. 244 as the true end, because it is "objective," he proceeds to the smaller *Logic* and reaches para. 244, to which he had already referred.

In Memoriam: George Armstrong Kelly

The tragic sudden death of the noted Hegel scholar, George Armstrong Kelly, on Dec. 23, 1987, focuses new attention on the correspondence that had developed over nearly a decade between him and Raya Dunayevskaya. It had begun shortly after the appearance of Kelly's work, *Hegel's Retreat from Eleusis*, in which he had sharply critiqued Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution*.

It was in April of 1979 that Kelly wrote to Dunayevskaya: "Two days ago at a meeting, a young friend of yours handed me a copy of *News & Letters* with your very interesting article about Marx and Engels on the subject of the sexes. I found it fascinating and learned a lot from it. Though I am not of your political persuasion, much of my intellectual life is spent with Marxists..."

"I was especially glad to get your letter of the 9th," she replied, "because ever since the publication of your *Idealism, Politics and History* in 1969, I had 'fallen in love' with your thought process, not to mention the lucidity of your style"—adding (after a critique of why he had "spent so much time on Rousseau in a work on the Sources of Hegelian Thought"): "If I as a Marxist-Humanist keep returning to Hegel, why not you, as non-Marxist to Marx. There is no more magnificent person to spend one's 'intellectual life' with."

The correspondence that developed following that exchange was both probing dialogue and fierce controversy.

GEORGE ARMSTRONG KELLY, a visiting Professor of Humanities at the Johns Hopkins University at the time of his death, authored during his 55 years a wide array of scholarly works, ranging in subject from the French Revolution to the French army during the Algerian crisis, and from religion to politics in the U.S. But he was best known as a foremost authority on the works of Hegel, and it was his two books on Hegel that were central to the development of the dialogue between Kelly and Raya.

Kelly was one of the few scholars who caught the centrality of the concept of Absolute in Dunayevskaya's writing. In his *Hegel's Retreat from Eleusis* he argued that "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 baptises 'Absolute Method,' a method that 'becomes irresistible ... because our hunger for theory arises from the totality of the present global crisis.'"

So succinctly did Raya consider that Kelly had summed up the charges of Hegel scholars that she had "subverted Hegel" that she took up the sword directly in her new Introduction to the 1982 edition of *Philosophy and Revolution*: "...absolute negativity is not something I 'baptised' Absolute Method, but Hegel did,

Although he continued his commentaries as he was reading and quoting Absolute Idea from the *Science*, it was not either Absolute Idea or Absolute Method that his 16-point definition of the dialectic ends on: "(15) the struggle of content with form and conversely. The throwing off of the form, the transformation of the content. 16) the transition of quantity into quality and vice-versa. (15 and 16 are examples of 9)." No wonder the preceding point 14 referred to absolute negativity as if it were only "the apparent return to the old (negation of the negation)."

OUTSIDE OF MARX HIMSELF, the whole question of the negation of the negation was ignored by all "orthodox Marxists." Or worse, it was made into a vulgar materialism, as with Stalin, who denied that it was a fundamental law of dialectics. Here, specifically, we see the case of Lenin, who had gone back to Hegel, and had stressed that it was impossible to understand *Capital*, especially its first chapter, without reading the whole of the *Science*, and yet the whole point that Hegel was developing on unresolved contradiction, of "two worlds in opposition, one a realm of subjectivity in the pure regions of transparent thought, the other a realm of objectivity in the element of an externally manifold actuality that is an undisclosed realm of darkness" (Miller translation, p. 820), did not faze Lenin because he felt that the objective, the Practical Idea, is that resolution. Nor was he fazed by the fact that Hegel had said that the "complete elaboration of the unresolved contradiction between the absolute end and the limitation of this actuality that insuperably opposes it has been considered in detail in the *Phenomenology of Mind*." (The reference is to p. 611ff. of the *Phenomenology*, Baillie translation.)

Nothing, in fact led Lenin back to the Idea of Theory and away from dependence on the Practical Idea, not even when Hegel writes: "The practical Idea still lacks the moment of the Theoretical Idea... For the practical Idea, on the contrary, this actuality, which at the same time confronts it as an insuperable limitation, ranks as something intrinsically worthless that must first receive its true determination and sole worth through the end of the good. Hence, it is only the will itself that stands in the way of the attainment of its goal, for it separates itself from cognition, and external reality for the will does not receive the form of a true being; the Idea of the good therefore finds its integration only in the Idea

(continued on page 5)

...Marx's singling out 'negativity as the moving and creative principle' was precisely because of his profound comprehension not only of economics and politics, but of culture and philosophy—and revolution ... What we are disagreeing on is today, and our attitude to philosophy and revolution, when in the contemporary world it becomes philosophy of revolution. Professor Kelly himself calls attention to the fact: 'If Hegel has not literally been to the barricades of strife-ridden cities, or explosive rural foci, he has been in the thick of current ideological combat.'

From then on, Professor Kelly was prominent among the "non-Marxist Hegel scholars" that Raya sought out for a battle of ideas. That search became especially intense during what turned out to be the last year of her life, as she began concentrated work on a new book she had tentatively entitled: "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy." Her September 1986 letter to Kelly concerning her new appraisal of Lenin and of "a loophole Hegel created for him" is reproduced in this issue on this page. The correspondence between them on these questions during this whole period is included in the new donation just made to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection at Wayne State University. (See announcement, p. 5.)

IT WAS IN THE MIDST of this intense kind of discussion that Kelly also wrote a most beautiful letter exploring: "1. How does 'environment' affect one's approach to the existing world, one's 'values,' one's commitment (or lack of it)? 2. How does it affect one's intellectual method—not quite the same thing?" Then, thinking of Raya's life as a child of the Russian Revolution, Kelly wrote: "I can almost picture the mournful winter fields, the bark of cannons, the breath of horses, vagrant and hazardous journeys, one set of clothes, and later all that led to... My own life includes none of those things. I was, as the saying goes, 'born with a silver spoon in my mouth.' Some of my kind feel guilt about this—and become rather comical radicals—but I have always regarded it as both an obstacle and an opportunity..."

In an early letter to Kelly, Raya had written him of her passion for "dialectical deep thought-diving:" "I love your works because I learn a lot from them, and where they differ totally from my views they stimulate, challenge me to 'seriousness, suffering, patience and labor of the negative.'" In his "In Memoriam" to her, he had written: "Raya and I had deep disagreements, she as a Marxist humanist, I as a Christian democrat—and we took friendly pleasure in provoking one another or in conspiring against the bourgeoisie..."

It is for all of this that we deeply mourn the death of George Armstrong Kelly and honor his memory.

—Olga Domanski

New perceptions of Lenin

(continued from page 4)

of the true." (p. 821, Miller translation.)

I cannot blame Hegel for what "orthodox Marxists" have done to his dialectic, but I still want to know a non-Marxist Hegelian's viewpoint on the difference of the two articulations on the Idea of Cognition and the Absolute Idea in the Science and in the smaller Logic. What is your view?

What is most urgent to me now is Philosophy of Mind and the views of non-Marxist Hegel scholars in the 1970s and 1980s on it. In the late 1970s, for example, A.V. Miller wrote me, calling my attention to the fact that he had not corrected an error in Wallace's translation of para. 575 of Philosophy of Mind. He pointed out that Wallace had translated sie as if it were sich, whereas in fact it should have read "sunders" not itself, but them. That, however, was not my problem. The sundering was what was crucial to me; the fact that Nature turns out to be the mediation was certainly no problem to any "materialist"; the form of the transition which was departing from the course of necessity was the exciting part.

IN INTRODUCING THOSE three new syllogisms in 1830, Hegel first (para. 575) poses the structure of the Encyclopedia merely factually—Logic-Nature-Mind. It should have been obvious (but obviously was not) that it is not Logic but Nature which is the mediation.

Paragraph 576 was the real leap as the syllogism was the standpoint of Mind itself. In the early 1950s I had never stopped quoting the end of that paragraph: "philosophy appears as subjective cognition, of which liberty is the aim, and which is itself the way to produce it." It justified my happiness at Hegel's magnificent critique of the concept of One in the Hindu religion which he called both "featureless unity of abstract thought," and its extreme opposite, "long-winded weary story of its particular detail" (para. 573). In the following para. 574 we face Hegel's counter-position of what I consider his most profound historic concept—and by history I mean not only past, or even history-in-the-making, the present, but as future—"SELF-THINKING IDEA."

My "labor, patience, and suffering of the negative" these 33 years hasn't exactly earned me applause from either the post-Marx Marxists, or from the Hegelians, who are busy calling to my attention that the final syllogism (para. 577) speaks about the "eternal Idea," "eternally setting itself to work, engenders and enjoys itself as absolute Mind," fairly disregarding what is just a phrase in that sentence: "it is the nature of the fact, which causes the movement and development, yet this same movement is equally the action of cognition."

It is here that I'm in need of your commentary both on Absolute Idea in the Science of Logic and on Absolute Mind in the Philosophy of Mind. The "eternal Idea" to me is not eternality, but ceaseless motion, the movement itself. Far from me "subverting" Hegel, it is Hegel who made Absolute Method the "self-thinking Idea." Of course, I know your critique of me in Hegel's Retreat from Eleusis, where you write: "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 baptises 'Absolute Method,' a method that 'becomes irresistible... because our hunger for theory arises from the totality of the global crisis'" (p. 239). And I did submit my answer to you, which I used in the 1982 edition of Philosophy and Revolution.

The "eternal Idea" in Philosophy of Mind not only re-inforced my view of Absolute Method in Science of Logic, but now that I am digging into another subject for my new work on "Dialectics of Organization," which will take sharp issue with Lenin, both on the Idea of Cognition and on the Absolute Idea, I hold that Marx's concept of "revolution in permanence" is the "eternal Idea."
Yours, Raya

Editorial

Noriega and Reagan

The U.S.-Panama connection

The newspaper stories on the involvement of General Manuel Antonio Noriega, the army commander of Panama, in drugs, arms and illicit money, trumpet the current U.S. demand for his ouster. This without a word of the previous long U.S. support for Noriega. There is much evidence to indicate that agencies of the Reagan administration, specifically the CIA and the Department of Defense, throughout the Reagan years have helped to keep Noriega in office and stopped attempts to investigate much of his illegal activities which have now led to an indictment for drug trafficking.

REAGAN'S CENTRAL AMERICAN WARS

The Reagan administration's obsession with its Central American wars—attempting to oust the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, propping up the military in Honduras for its support of U.S.-contra operations, defeating the rebels in El Salvador—has meant a "special" relation with strongman General Noriega, and a new role for the presence of the U.S., including the 10,000 troops of the U.S. Southern Command present in Panama.

A Panama Canal Treaty was signed in 1977 during the Carter Presidency. Ronald Reagan, who in those days thundered long and hard against "giving away" the Canal, had the CIA under William Casey using Panama as a base for its full operations in Central America— from gathering intelligence information to supplying arms and material to the contras through Panamanian bases.

Noriega himself, who rose to be army commander after spending the decade of the 1970s as head of intelligence in Panama, evidently helped the U.S. in a wide variety of operations. For 15 years he provided information on Fidel Castro; he was involved with Col. Oliver North in aiding the contras, and he was a partner with the U.S. in a scheme to make it appear as if Nicaragua was funneling arms to the rebels in El Salvador when that was Reagan's excuse for funding his Central American wars in Congress.

In return for Noriega's help in Central America and the Caribbean, the Reagan "Just Say No" administration turned a blind eye to Noriega's involvement in drug trafficking (drugs bound for the U.S.).

We cannot know in full the fantastic web of drug and other illegal activities that Noriega has been involved in during the 1980s. But among them were:

- A drug conspiracy that dates back to at least 1981 and involves millions of dollars in bribes to allow for secure airstrips, safe havens for drug traffickers.
- A drug-related murder of the son of the former commander of Panama's military, General Ruben Paredes.
- The 1985 political murder of Leftist opponent, Dr. Hugo Spadafora. There are reports that the CIA helped to suppress an investigation of this murder.
- The involvement of Honduran military officers with Noriega in drug-smuggling operations. Some of the military officers are the same ones the U.S. is dealing with to be able to use Honduran military bases to help send aid and provide safe haven for the contras.

U.S. 80-YEAR DOMINATION OF PANAMA

But the Reagan administration's long complicity with Noriega and his corruption is not the only issue. What cannot be forgotten is that long history of what has defined U.S.-Panama relations ever since Panama was created as a country at the turn of the century, when the U.S. wanted a water route across Central America—the Panama Canal. The Panamanian people have demonstrated for decades to end the colonialism of "in perpetuity" U.S. control of the Canal.

Today the U.S. still has control over that Canal without the old imperialist language, and with 10,000 troops in Panama. And even in the year 2000, when the Canal officially comes under full Panamanian

control, the U.S. will remain as the guarantor of the Canal's "neutrality."

At present, Noriega is trying to use the justified opposition to continued U.S. presence in Panama to protect his own corrupt position. If now the Reagan administration is willing to see his ouster, it has little to do with wishing to secure democratic rights for the Panamanian people. It is that they no longer trust Noriega to do their bidding in Central America.

The genuine opposition both to U.S. domination of Panama, and to class rule within Panama, can only come from the Panamanian masses themselves, who have time and again opposed foreign domination and homegrown brutality. It is with that genuine Panamanian opposition that we solidarize.

Eyewitness report

El Salvadoran refugees take back their land



I was one of 12 students and teachers who spent this past Christmas break in El Salvador. We were a delegation working on a project focused on aiding a rural re-population community.

On our first day of the trip we met with a group of women who are with the Mothers of the Disappeared, at the same time that 200 women, children and youth were protesting at the Ministry of Justice downtown. They were pleading for the whereabouts of 16 disappeared political prisoners. The military responded by throwing tear gas bombs at the women and beating them with their guns.

We knew about this only after several women came into the office where we were meeting. We saw women vomiting, choking, and some bleeding. Some had their clothes ripped and torn. We were told that this was a sign of the escalating repression the El Salvadoran people are to face in upcoming months.

On the second day of our trip we left for Santa Marta—four busloads of people. We rode a bus with several university students. They sang political songs about the liberation of the people through the struggle of students, women, unions, peasants, workers, etc. They chanted "El pueblo unido jamás será vencido," which means the people united will never be defeated. They are highly politicized students as compared to the students here in the U.S. They were going to Santa Marta to welcome the people back to their home.

Seven years ago the campesinos of the area, along with many others throughout rural El Salvador, fled the country. They walked during the night, for during the day the military gunned down fleeing peasants. When they reached the Honduran border near the Lempa river, the Honduran military awaited and opened fire on men, women and children.

Shortly after, many were taken to a United Nations refugee camp called Mesa Grande. The camp was originally built for 2,000 refugees but presently crowds in 11,000 refugees. They lived there for nearly seven years. In October, 1987, 4,500 refugees decided to leave Mesa Grande and return to El Salvador.

Santa Marta is very poor. There is no electricity or running water. While we were there we bathed and washed our clothes in a nearby stream as the women and children did. We camped out under a very simple shack, with our sleeping bags. We drank boiled water and ate whatever food (mainly rice, beans and tortillas) the campesinos offered us. Although the people here are very poor and everything has to be rebuilt, there is a lot of teamwork and community spirit.

My trip was absolutely overwhelming and full of shock at the realities these people live day after day. Here each day can be their last day alive. I don't feel that as Americans we should feel guilty for our government's policy in Central America or anywhere else, but we should feel responsible. Responsible in the sense that we do what we can to educate and raise consciousness here so that others may know the truth about how our government spends its money and how many people are destroyed by it.

I strongly feel that countries like El Salvador, and others in the world in which people struggle with or without arms, will see liberation. I can't say when, but the people have hope.

If people are interested in knowing more about the project they can receive more information from: Companion School Project/CRTFCA, 59 E. Van Buren #1400, Chicago, IL 60605, (312) 663-4398. —Cristina

Raya Dunayevskaya's Last Writings, 1986-1987 -- Toward the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development

- Section I. Presentations and Notes on "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy: 'the party' and forms of organization born out of spontaneity"
- Section II. "The Changed World": Current Events and the Dialectic Method
- Section III. The Battle of Ideas: Philosophic Correspondence and Reviews
- Section IV. Retrospective/Perspective: "Marxist-Humanism emerging out of Marxist-Humanism"

From the Introductory Note:

In these last writings Dunayevskaya explored new perceptions of Lenin's philosophic ambivalence, precisely at the point of Lenin's greatest philosophic breakthrough—on Hegel's Idea of Cognition and on the threshold of the Absolute Idea. She projected a new view of Hegel's Phenomenology, both in relation to Marx's 1844 Essays and as pivotal to confronting the problems of the dialectics of organization today. She dug into a study of forms of organization—from the International Workingmen's Association to the Soviets and from the Bolsheviks to the Hungarian Revolution. Her final work, the presentation Dunayevskaya wrote for the June 1, 1987 meeting of the Resident Editorial Board of News & Letters, singled out the philosophic point from which the Self-determination of the Idea unfolds, whether in Hegel's 1807 work on the Phenomenology, Marx's 1844 Humanist Essays, or in Dunayevskaya's own 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes. The driving force in all of these studies was Dunayevskaya's re-examination of her own archives, especially these 1953 Letters. She called that process of re-examination "Marxist-Humanism emerging out of Marxist-Humanism."

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ON THE DIALECTICS OF ORGANIZATION AND PHILOSOPHY

When you study the June 1 document by Raya Dunayevskaya in the Special Section of the January-February N&L you can see that "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy" was not just the title of a book-to-be, but the need of our age. What was so good about that whole issue was how everything seemed to show how that "final dialogue" was the core. In one article after another you could see that people everywhere want to see themselves as part of history and are driving to find how not to keep having revolutions transformed into their opposite. Those are the exact questions Dunayevskaya was discussing in her June presentation.

Labor activist
Chicago

As good as was the first part of the January-February N&L lead on the events in the lands occupied by Israel, it is the second part on the "unfinished revolutions" that opens up the needed discussion and becomes an opening to Dunayevskaya's "final dialogue with us." Doesn't the way she took up Marx's critique of a "new unity" of organizations in 1875 speak to youth in the West Bank today, where the PLO is attempting to co-opt all the new youth organizations that have sprung up?

Revolutionary
California

There are many similarities between today's Palestinian revolt and the beginning of our 1979 Iranian Revolution: spontaneity, stone-throwing, youth. In 1979 Khomeini claimed that Iranians revolted for Islam but I remember that in 1978 we in Isfahan might have considered our movement anything but Islamic.

Mathematician
Berkeley

I wish you had given more prominence to the content of Raya Dunayevskaya's 1982 Political-Philosophic Letter, "Begin's Israel Moves Further and Further Backward to His Reactionary, Terrorist Beginnings" in last issue's Lead: "Can Palestinian struggle become a revolutionary new beginning?" Do younger readers know that in the 1940s many Jews wanted to create a socialist, bi-national state with the Arabs? Former Prime Minister Begin then led the terrorist Irgun which helped defeat their goal.

Dunayevskaya also showed how the triumph of religious fundamentalism against the 1979 Iranian revolution helped pave the way for fundamentalism in Israel's imperialism in the 1980s. Today, religious reaction is a major factor in keeping Jews and Palestinians apart and preventing the creation of truly human alternative ways of life in that country.

Supporter
Michigan

Editor's note: Copies of Raya Dunayevskaya's 1982 Political-Philosophic Letter can be ordered for \$1, including postage.

Palestinian youth and their stone throwing have accomplished something no machine gun or liberation theory could do, for no old theory could have anticipated the surprise of those organizations. Orthodox leaders are surprised and want to get hold of the movement, not geographically but conceptually. In the West the media admitted these movements are spontaneous, while the Israeli government is looking for conspirators and leaders to deport, imprison or execute. Others are looking for someone to negotiate with, since they cannot negotiate with "thousands of unknown youth." These so-called "backward" youth have let the whole world know of their struggle for freedom. I believe this "backwardness" and "ignorance" is a hundred times better than all the scientific materialist theories and organizations.

Iranian dissident
Los Angeles

Your banner proclaiming "Raya Dunayevskaya's Final Dialogue With Us" is a terribly undialectical choice of words. Final means end, finality. Dunayevskaya made her archives "living archives" so that the dialogue continues: Didn't her digging into Marx's philosophy blaze a "trail to the 1980s" so

we could hear "Marx think" and speak to us today? Maybe you do not realize the impact N&L has on its readers.

Longtime reader
New York

I appreciate the open publication of "Raya Dunayevskaya's Final Dialogue with Us" directly in News & Letters. Her tracing of the development of Marxist-Humanism was in part an organizational critique that could only serve to deepen her development of the book-to-be, "The Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy." It shows that in her insistence on a true return to Marx's Marxism, she was very much aware of our age and of what the future must be.

Young Marxist-Humanist
Los Angeles

At the rally in support of the Palestinian struggle that took place on the Berkeley campus on Feb. 15, the 300 students who participated formed furious discussion groups outside of the platform. As the featured speakers were speaking to themselves the crowd was involved in a discussion with Marxist-Humanists. We had in hand the lead article from the January-February issue of N&L as well as Raya Dunayevskaya's Political-Philosophic Letter on the Middle East. Through this discussion Arab students were able to address Israeli students and a young Palestinian woman read quotations from N&L pointing to what is new in their struggle.

Asian students from Korea and the Philippines wanted to know what organizational form it takes to energize the movement out of the depression of their "unfinished revolutions." We pointed to our "Appeal" and two subscriptions were sold.

Marxist-Humanist
Bay Area

I think what you are saying is that there is something new in the youth movement in Palestine which the Israeli government consciously refuses to recognize. Israeli students on UC Berkeley campus confuse our movement with previous activities of the PLO. We are not fighting for "homeland" since we live in the "homeland" and the whole world is recognizing that Israel is not capable of controlling Palestine anymore. The point is whether we can determine our destiny after the liberation since our victory is indissoluble.

Young Palestinian woman
Berkeley

N&L's lead article on the uprising in the Israeli-occupied territories was very unusual coming from the Left. It seems to depict the birth of Israel as the result of an anti-colonial struggle against British imperialism, while at the same time making the point that Israel has been transformed into its opposite. I find your views right, though I am in favor of the New Jewish Agenda's two-state solution, if only as a practical beginning.

Jewish student
UC Berkeley

FIGHTING ANTI-SEMITISM

There has been an alarming rate of anti-Semitism and racist vandalism against synagogues and Jewish shops, and cross-burning in the Chicago area as well as other parts of the nation. For 40 years the Mid-West Jewish Council has organized a memorial to mark the anniversary of the heroic Warsaw Ghetto Uprising 45 years ago and celebrate the resistance of the courageous Jewish fighters against the Nazi juggernaut. An integral purpose is to remind our community that we must continue to oppose racism and anti-Semitism. Our commemoration will be held on Sunday, April 17, 1 p.m. at Mather High School 5833 N. Lincoln, Chicago, IL. We hope this year to reach a wider audience and to unite against the boldness of the La-Rouchies, the neo-Nazis, and other bigots who undermine our democratic society. Unfortunately, the saga of man's inhumanity did not end with the Third Reich.

Mid-West Jewish Council
PO Box 59032
Chicago, IL 60659

Readers' Views

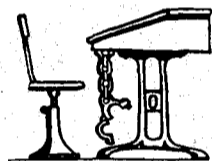
BRITAIN TODAY

"Yuppies" are being blamed for the worsening housing crisis in the South of England. In the East End of London, old dockland areas have been renovated for the benefit of stock brokers, financial analysts, accountants etc., employed in the "City of London," while local working class residents are being driven out by high prices and in some cases physically evicted. But, despite their fancy salaries, the yuppies are not enough to force up the cost of housing all over the South. More fundamental causes are at work. Since 1975 public housing has been cut back savagely. Large numbers of people have left the areas of high unemployment in the North to find jobs in the South. Britain today is a striking case of uneven and combined development; the unemployment in the North and the lack of affordable housing in the South are two sides of the same crisis.

Richard Bunting
Britain

The conservatives have carried out an unrelenting assault on ordinary people and the provision of welfare services, including the privatization of services and severe cutbacks. They have argued such economies were necessary because of the state of the country. The dispute concerning the National Health Service (NHS) has brought about widespread protest actions. The failing nature of the NHS was well-known prior to the election and part of the Labor Party's strategy to run a five-year campaign in the hope of a Labor victory in 1992-3. What is lacking, however, is a campaign that will take up the oppression of working people, and the various attacks on their rights and services.

Health service worker
Oxford

EDUCATION
IN
REAGANLAND

I received a \$32 rebate check from the state of California from what Gov. Deukmejian claims is a one billion dollar state tax "surplus." During the last teachers' strike here, the Board of Education said there weren't enough funds to give them a raise. California is the sixth largest economic power in the world and spends \$3,296 per pupil for education. This puts California 27th in the nation (New York is first, with \$5,219). What all the budget cuts make clear is that even when the funds are "available," our high-tech society can use only so many educated people.

Disgusted
Los Angeles

Isn't it interesting that Reagan supports full rights to the only youth who can't possibly disagree with him or oppose him—the unborn! As soon as they're old enough to think and write—censor them!

Mother of teen-agers
Detroit

STUDYING MARXIST-HUMANISM

I have a problem studying Marxist-Humanist material because it is difficult to understand the terminology. Is there some way you can translate in a way that is clear and concrete without watering down the true meaning?

Student
DeKalb, Illinois

When I first started going to some of the N&L meetings here, I was attracted largely because people would listen to my concerns with problems important to me, and I would learn about other issues I knew nothing about. To be honest, some meetings were too long and I had trouble with the terminology. Then I decided to try to read Raya. Now I find myself using those terms and find it's not easy to use other terms. Some words can't be explained with dictionary definitions. I have such a positive

feeling about changing our world after beginning to read Dunayevskaya's Marxism and Freedom that I know I will be tied to these ideas for the rest of my life. (But meetings are still too long.)

Young student
Los Angeles

NEWS & LETTERS

WHY SUBSCRIBE?

When I look through the publications of the Left, representing their ideas and forms of opposition to the established bureaucracy, I seldom see much that represents that universal goal, Freedom, which is so much more important than any single effort at organization. What I read in N&L's Readers' Views is the exception. In the January-February issue there was correspondence from South Africa, India, and England, as well as throughout the United States. These are responses from people throughout the world dedicated, not to furthering the American Left, but to the goal of a world society that would function for human beings rather than against them. The voices of freedom come through for all humankind, and N&L provides a medium to circulate them. Those who read this paper ought not to make the mistake of taking such international dialogue for granted but should pick up pen and paper and contribute.

Student
Cal State U.-L.A.

I am studying Dunayevskaya's Philosophy and Revolution. She gives you a sense of self. A direction for action comes out of philosophy. In South Africa, our consciousness of ourselves is bred out of us... You have to be underground and all discussion is dangerous. In my community social responsibility has a very different meaning than it does here; it involves my whole people, not just me. I want freedom to think things through, and I will communicate with Marxist-Humanists.

Black South African
Atlanta

The Center for Applied Research and Library Services thanks you for the literature you have shared with us. Reading on the experiences of workers in other countries will be of great help to our members, a great many of whom are workers. We will continue to send you our Labor Bulletin to give you information you may find useful.

CARLS
The Philippines

Enclosed is a check to cover my renewal to N&L and a small contribution to support your international subscriptions. I cannot become a Sustainer-Subscriber, but wish you good luck in the work you are doing.

Supporter
Missouri

Editor's note: Have you sent in your response to our Appeal for help in spreading News & Letters? Sustainer-subscribers send us regular monthly donations. Other supporters help us send N&L to our international readers, or send gift subscriptions to their own friends and shop-mates. Whether large or small, we need your help. Please give as generously as you can.

ARTISTS FOR SURVIVAL

Artists for Survival has been invited to organize a large show at the U. Mass. Medical Center Gallery in Worcester, Mass. The exhibit, to be called "Future Earth," will include work that deals with a broad range of themes from homelessness and other social justice issues to human and planetary survival. Deadline for applications is June 15 and information is available from Carol McMahon, 65 Crest Road, Wellesley, MA 02181. Also, we can always use newly created posters for peace events, parades, demonstrations and probably the election campaigns.

Artists for Survival
144 Moody St.
Waltham, MA 02154

WOMEN'S LIBERATION, IN CHINA, IN THE U.S.

The letter you printed from Mainland China was extraordinary. I just read that The China Daily reported widespread beatings and rapes of Chinese women workers by their employers.

Women's Liberationist Chicago

The piece written by the "Chinese feminist" (January-February, 1988 N&L) reads like an apology for bureaucratic repression. Is the "All-China Women's Federation" an effective organization to address the main problems or is it merely a government-controlled and sponsored front to more effectively control the legitimate and real demands of women?

Allen M. Bronx, N.Y.

What was most exciting in the letter from China on the WL page was the importance to her as a feminist of a philosophy that did not separate "humanism" from "Marxism" and her desire to learn more about it.

Woman writer Illinois

There are so many manifestations of the attacks on Women's Liberation in his last year of Reagan's presidency! Abortion rights are under fire nationally with the new ruling prohibiting "the avord" from being uttered in any family planning clinic receiving federal funds.

on Medicaid-funding goes into effect March 29 unless "pro-choice" gathers the 120,000 or 180,000 signatures needed to put the question on next November's ballot.

And there are so many other ways a climate of sexism is being created—one is the whole approach of the condoms-for-AIDS-but not-for-preventing-teen-pregnancy campaign—which you addressed a year or more ago on the Women's Liberation page.

Women's Liberationist Detroit

BLACK HISTORY AS ONGOING

You get a real lesson in Black history from N&L. My granddaughter recently wanted to know about "the real McCoy"—Elijah, I mean. So I took her to the library for Black History Month work, and they didn't have much.

I remember when Raya came to speak at my local union. She asked a question that really made you think about labor history: "What should man do to make a living?" I think of what that means to workers everyday—the injuries in the plant, the fingers gone, the eyes lost.

Older Black worker Detroit

It is amazing to see how American media transform the meaning of events. In the Bay Area the TV reporters are saying that Black youth in San Francisco have learned from the news that if they throw stones at police cars they will get as much attention as the Palestinians.

Iranian revolutionary California

How insensitive of you to claim that "the verdict" in the Howard Beach trial came and went with less fanfare than expected," (Jan.-Feb. N&L) making it

seem unimportant. Insensitive to Mrs. Griffith, who has been in that courtroom every day to see what "justice" her son is to get out of injustice.

The trial and the verdict let loose whites in Howard Beach and Bensonhurst with faces of racism not seen since the days of Little Rock and the '60s. How often have whites been convicted of killing a Black person in "liberal" New York? People all around the country, will be watching the appeals as closely as they watched the trial and waited for the verdict.

Concerned New York

The South African film, "Shaka Zulu," drew protests at the public TV station on which it was shown in Detroit in November. Since then I have learned from a South African exile some facts about Shaka that help explain why the South African government wanted to make this film.

Anti-apartheid activist Detroit

WORKERS AS REASON

I've been reading American Civilization on Trial and doing some research on Black ex-slaves in the immediate post-Civil War period, the period they call "Presidential Reconstruction," 1865-67. The whole question of the relationship between Black freedom struggles and white labor is powerfully discussed in your pamphlet.

My own work on the "Black codes" shows that they aren't only racial, anti-Black legislation, but codes to control Black labor, which was resisting being dragged back into the plantation system.

Black graduate student Michigan

Lefty Morgan, the Canadian railroad worker for whom you wrote an In Memoriam last year, was described by people as an anarchist or a socialist or a humanist. However he was described, he fought all his life for industrial democracy and workers' rights.

Send donations to: Craig Paterson, Barrister, 1400 Dominion Bldg., 207 W. Hastings St., Vancouver, B.C. Canada.

Support Committee Vancouver, B.C.

When I was visiting the Barcelona office of La Coordinadora Estatal de los Estibadores Portuarios (the dockworkers union in Spain) recently, the longshoremen mentioned that they had reprinted an article from News & Letters last year. I thought you might be interested in using the enclosed article on the Spanish longshoremen, which is based on numerous discussions with them and information I obtained from attending the Barcelona Coordinadora General Assembly meeting where the Dec. 28 strike began, as well as a Barcelona delegates' meeting and a General Assembly and delegates' meeting in Valencia.

Don Fitz St. Louis

Editor's note: "Spanish Longshoremen Defend Job Control" appears on page 3. The article which the Spanish longshoremen reprinted from the April 10, 1987 issue of N&L in their journal, La Estiba (c/o del Mar, 97-08003 Barcelona, Spain), was Mike Connolly's "From IBP to Hormel: Meatpackers Fight Companies, Union Bureaucrats."



SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS

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

- Constitution of News & Letters Committees 20¢ postage
- Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts. Special bulletin on Marxist-Humanism as a body of ideas by Raya Dunayevskaya, Eugene Walker, Michael Connolly and Olga Domanski. \$1.00 per copy

- BOOKS
- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future. 294 pgs. by Raya Dunayevskaya. \$15.95
- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. 234 pgs. by Raya Dunayevskaya. \$10.95 per copy

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Essay Article

by Lou Turner

I. OF CRISES, CAUSES AND CONTRADICTIONS

On the morning of his death, Nov. 25, Chicago Mayor Harold Washington had participated in a ground breaking ceremony for a project sponsored by a Black South Side community organization. That same community organization is also involved with a real estate development corporation in seeking federal subsidies from HUD to demolish 900 units of public housing along prime lakefront property—a land grab which would displace 450 poor Black families.

Unquestionably, the objective context of a near-decade of Reaganism is the only context in which to judge such serious contradictions between Black political reform and the crisis in Black reality. That the patterns of Black and urban development have become exacerbated under Reagan is obvious enough. Still, what the exhilaration of having elected Chicago's first Black mayor relegated to the background is the deep structural crisis in the Black community, a crisis that Black political reform did more to obscure than to change.

Two facts of Black life, on this twentieth anniversary of the Kerner Commission Report, illuminate its utter degradation today—the rates of Black impris-



Detroit in the 1980s

Photo by Bruce Harkness

onment and Black infant mortality. Nationally the U.S. has 219 men in prison per 100,000 population. Yet in 1983 the Black imprisonment rate was 713 per 100,000, compared to 114 for whites. The truth is that U.S. Blacks go to prison more often than Blacks in South Africa! Black infant mortality rates rival the poorest Third World countries. Between 1986 and 1987 Chicago and Detroit contended for first place in the rate of Black infant mortality in the U.S., with rates of between 22.5% and 24.3%.

The racist response of the New York Times to these facts of Black life in its article, "20 years After the Kerner Report" (2-29-88), has been to designate the so-called "underclass" a "black, miserable human residue"! And no doubt Prof. Andrew Hacker and the editors of the New York Review of Books thought that giving his review-essay in the Dec. 3, 1987 issue the sensationalized title, "American Apartheid," would make it seem less racist and male chauvinist. The "fact" that "more than 60 percent of black infants are born outside of wedlock; almost as many black families are headed by women, and the majority of black children live only with their mother," is sobering. Nevertheless, the ideological fact motivating Hacker, which makes him single out the Black woman as the "object" of his study of the "breakdown and crisis" of black domestic life" as if she is its cause, is the retrogressive framework of Reaganism.

The racist social character of the crisis also continues to express itself in the most virulent resurgence of racism—from New York, where the white abduction and rape of young Tawana Brawley has drawn public outrage, to the recent trial in Arkansas of leading white supremacists for conspiracy to overthrow the government. This latest stage of racist resurgence has also been met with Black protest and rebellion—from the Black revolt that erupted in Tampa, Fla., February 1987 following the police murder of a Black man, to the Black student protest at the U. of Massachusetts this February.

This Black reality which presents itself as both a vast inequality of human needs and the persistent denial of practical freedom, also assumes the form of a theoretical crisis, specific to the Reagan era. From the social explosions in Black Miami at the beginning of the decade to the organizational implosion of the revolution in Grenada in 1983, and from the ongoing civil war in South Africa to the uprooting and reappearance of Duvalierism in Haiti—the political and economic crisis at the heart of Black reality has not only been exacerbated worldwide under Reaganism, but finds its corresponding reflection in Black Thought.

Since the beginning of the decade, Black intellectuals have contended that persistent high rates of unemployment among Blacks are supposedly caused by "structural deficiencies" in Black people themselves—e.g. lack of education, lack of job skills, lack of a "work ethic," and lack of a steady employment history. "External" struc-

Crisis in Black Reality/Black Thought

tural factors such as unemployment, racism, and sexism recede into the background. Thus, objective and subjective are joined together in a false dialectic propounded as though it were truth: "structurally deficient" working class people, especially Black women, men and teenagers remain jobless even during periods of so-called "cyclic upturns" in the economy.

We have reached a new point of transition in Black thought where more, much more, separates Black intellectuals and leadership from the Black masses than what W.E.B. DuBois' elitist notion of the "talented tenth" originally signified. The ideological pollution that permeates Black intellectual thought in this decade is of the most retrogressive, counter-revolutionary kind.

II. THE RETROGRESSION OF THE BLACK INTELLECTUAL

To view that retrogression we must begin with the recent popularity of the notion of a Black "underclass." This category has its origins in the 1980s work of such intellectuals as Black sociologist William Julius Wilson and is developed further in his new book, *The Truly Disadvantaged*. Wilson makes the subjectivity of Blacks in poverty into an administrative object of social analysis and public policy.

Let us say it outright. The crisis of the Black petty bourgeois intellectual has created the notion of a Black "underclass," a notion which reduces the future of the Black poor to a choice between social pathology and social dependency. As a solution, the Black petty bourgeois intellectual holds up, in the most moralizing tones, the virtues of bourgeois patriarchy and Christian ethics as the salvation of the Black "underclass."

The ramifications of this retrogressive moralism in Black thought has not gone unnoticed by other Black intellectuals who have criticized the ideological source of the notion of a Black "underclass," critically observing that such a conception allows this society to condone the actions of a Wilson Goode, the Black Mayor of Philadelphia, when he dropped a bomb on one sector of this Black "underclass."

That this conservative positivism has accounted for the current retrogression in Western social theory is as indisputable as the fact that today's Black intellectuals display a greater tendency for academic sociology than for dialectical philosophy. These Black petty bourgeois intellectuals have, in a manner unlike that of any previous generation, created a new Caliban, who, like the Shakespearean character of *The Tempest*, is supposed to represent the "uncivilized" dependency of the Black world on Western culture and values as personified in the character of Prospero.

They have, in short, created a new dependency theory of Black reality. Whether or not the Black bourgeoisie sees itself as the new Prospero, the social engineering by today's Black intellectuals will not be any more successful than past attempts to appease the tempest of ill-resolved contradictions that violently collide at the vortex of Black reality today.

That the Black masses have been perceived more as "administrative objects" than historic subjects by academic and radical Black intellectuals alike, is seen in the work of Harold Cruse, a serious "social critic" who had written the most provocative critique of the Black intellectual in the 1960s, *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* (1967). In the 1980s, attention turned to Cruse in expectation of a new Black social criticism. However, when Cruse's long awaited book appeared, its very self-contradictory title, *Plural But Equal: A Critical Study of Black and Minorities and America's Plural Society* (1987), dispelled any illusions that help had arrived.

In place of the actual historical developments of the Black masses, Cruse's work substitutes the *idée fixe* of his 420-page opus—segregation vs. integration. He sees the present crisis in Black leadership as the logical result of what he categorizes as the "non-economic liberalism" of the NAACP. The historic 1954 Supreme Court decision ordering school desegregation is made by Cruse the "casual factor" behind today's social crisis in the Black community.

Our "social critic" doesn't directly address the crisis under Reaganism, since he would have to answer why Reagan has, nevertheless, systematically rolled back civil rights gains which stem precisely from that 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. Cruse, however, is not in search of "root causes." That is the preoccupation of William Julius Wilson. Cruse, on the contrary, is motivated by the search for ideological ground, an enterprise which sifts through history devoid of any philosophic sense of history, particularly one which would comprehend the nature of the historical facts.

Having set Reaganism aside and rationalized capitalism as a benign problematic which could be solved by merely cutting the Black bourgeoisie in for its share, Cruse's argument for neo-segregationism scarcely hides its class-rootedness in what one writer calls the "Black lumpen-bourgeoisie." It is necessary to pose the class framework that makes this retrogression attractive to some Black intellectuals today. In her 1944 thesis on "Marxism and the Negro Problem," Raya Dunayevskaya pointed to the class basis of this ideology: "The Negro bourgeoisie has no roots in the process of production itself. It can offer nothing to the Negro masses except hot air on the race question. It is not a comprador bourgeoisie. It is a section of the American petty bourgeoisie."* Cruse's thought expresses the economic parasitism of this entrepreneurial stratum of the Black middle class.

Nevertheless, the thought of the Black petty bour-

geois intellectual is not only the expression of precise class forces, nor only a manifestation of the crisis besetting those economic forces. Such ideological imperatives represent the abstract spiriting away of whole epochs of Black struggle and thought. Whether it is the abolitionist and mass movement of the slaves which brought on the Civil War that Cruse abstracts out of historical existence in his dismissal of the Fourteenth Amendment, or the Civil Rights Movement which compelled the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts of the mid-1960s that he dismisses with his polemic against the Brown decision, what is under attack in Harold Cruse's *Plural But Equal* is not the liberalism of the NAACP-type of Black leadership, but rather the revolutionary Black dimension as ongoing.

Cruse misconstrues bourgeois social equality with actual economic inequality. The Black struggle for social and political rights, though set within the prevailing scheme of things, has always threatened that order, not with economic reform, but with social revolution. Which is why Marx concluded that "Political emancipation...may not be the last form of general human emancipation, but it is the last form of human emancipation within the prevailing scheme of things."

III. THE NEEDED BLACK PHILOSOPHIC DIMENSION

Cruse's fantastic retrogressionism, at the moment when Black reality is in such crisis, compels us to return not only to Black mass revolt, but to the Black philosophic dimension. Between the endemic structural poverty of the ghetto and the theoretical poverty of the Black intelligentsia, is there a dialectic of Black reality/Black thought which can release new concepts and methods for the transformation of reality?

When Ralph Bunche noted in his 1940 unpublished memorandum to the Myrdal project on Blacks in America, "Conceptions and Ideologies of the Negro Problem," that it is "not the Negro really, but the conception of the Negro" that is at the core of the "Negro problem," he had a very Marxian notion in mind. Bunche went on to explain: "It is not alleged that issues of economic motivation are behind each aspect of the problem, but only that the broad base of the problem, and therefore the mainspring of the thinking on it, in whatever guise this thinking may appear, is economic..."

From this vantage point, the total crisis that erupted in Black reality in 1983, signaling a "changed world" in actuality and in thought, must not be allowed to subsist alongside the retrogression in Black thought, but must rather be brought into mutual contact.

The year 1983 was the moment when Reagan's racist drive to dominate the Caliban of the Third World expressed itself in his imperialist invasion of the Black, English-speaking island of Grenada. That coincided with Reagan's unprecedented firing of three commissioners of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights who were critical of his attacks on Civil Rights. However, the door to Reagan's invasion was opened by counter-revolution within the Grenadian revolution. The deadly conse-



Frantz Fanon

quences of the organizational crisis within the party of Grenada's New Jewel Movement, which ended in the brutal murder of Maurice Bishop by his co-leaders Coard and Austin, disclosed the deep crisis in revolutionary Black thought. (Since the Black mass revolts of this decade have suffered neither from a lack of daring or initiative, and since the counter-revolution in Grenada raised new questions about the relation of revolutionary organization and revolutionary philosophy, we can now see that much more is involved in Raya Dunayevskaya's question—"How to embark on the path of revolution in your epoch?"—than the revolutionary will of the masses and the leadership.)

Frantz Fanon, whose participation in the African revolutions and labors to work out a philosophy of liberation illuminated the whole post-World War II Black world, pointed to an "absolute reciprocity" which he held persisted at the "foundation of Hegelian dialectics." It is this which in our epoch of Third World revolutions has transformed Hegel's dialectic of self-consciousness into a revolutionary Black dimension that is

(continued on page 10)

* "Marxism and the Negro Problem," written by F. Forest, June 18 1944, is included in the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich., #259.

Black/Red View

by John Alan

Both the Democratic and Republican candidates for the Presidency are conducting their primary campaigns as if the growing white racism in this country along with permanent Black poverty and underemployment are not national, substantive issues. Yet many of these candidates come from states that are currently embroiled in acts of virulent racism.

In Michael Dukakis' state, Massachusetts, Black students at the Amherst campus of the State University barricaded themselves in a building to protest racial beatings and harassment by white students and the campus police. In Texas, George Bush's state, there is state-wide racial tension caused by the beating of a Black man to death by three deputy sheriffs. Jesse Jackson and Paul Simon come from Illinois, a state whose major city, Chicago, is noted for its white racism and Black poverty. These are only a few examples, the tip of the iceberg so to speak, of the current racial situation around the country.

OPPORTUNISM VS. BLACK REALTY

The universal reluctance on the part of these candidates to meet head on the conditions of Black reality does not come from their lack of knowledge about the situation, especially for Jesse Jackson, but from the basic political opportunism that determines the political strategy of all bourgeois politicians. None wants to open Pandora's box revealing the racism and the ugly face of poverty deepened by the Reagan administration.

For a long time both the liberal and conservative wings of both parties have opted for the expediency to "deracialize" their politics, that is, not to appear overtly as partisan of the "Black cause," certainly not after the Civil Rights Movement and the Black revolt of the 1960s.

This has been easier for the Republican Party to do, because it virtually lost all Black voters at the time of the Great Depression. However, the Democrats don't have it that easy. According to the Urban League's *The State of Black America 1986* survey, 20% of the Democratic Party's membership is Black. At the last Congressional election Blacks proved dramatically to be the pivotal force capable of giving the Democratic Party the necessary margin of votes to win the U.S. Senate from the Reaganites.

DEMOCRATS' HISTORIC COMPROMISE

From the very beginning of their massive relationship with the Democratic Party, Black voters were never happy with the inordinate power that the Southern Dixiecrats had in determining the Party's politics. At the 1964 Atlantic City Convention the predominately Black Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), led by Robert Moses and Fannie Lou Hamer, made a bold attempt to weaken the power of the Dixiecrats and ran head on into a collision with President Lyndon Johnson.

The MFDP demanded that they be seated as the Party's delegates from Mississippi simply because they were loyal to the Party's ticket while the white "official delegates" supported Goldwater. Johnson did not follow that logic; he saw the MFDP's demand as a threat that would drive Southern whites from the Democratic Party. Johnson quickly sent his liberal honchos, Hubert Humphrey and Walter Mondale into action to work out a token compromise, giving two at-large delegates to the MFDP and letting the white delegates be seated with-

Editorial

Protest S. Africa banning!

As we go to press the South African government's banning activities of 17 leading anti-apartheid organizations is the latest instance of Hitler's visage in apartheid South Africa. Most ominous is the prohibition of all political action by the major labor federation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), with 800,000 members. The decree prohibited the 17 anti-apartheid groups from "carrying on or performing any acts whatsoever."

In a separate restriction the labor federation was forbidden to campaign for divestment and sanctions by foreign companies or governments, to call for the release of detainees or the legalization of outlawed political organizations, or to call for work stoppages on anniversaries of significant dates in the history of anti-apartheid protest. Work stoppages on June 16, the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising, have been among the most important in South Africa.

The new banning must be protested in the most vigorous way. We need to intensify our solidarity through our protests here in the U.S.

The South African government is attempting to crush the growing power of the trade union movement by trying to gut COSATU with this latest action, as well as with treason trials such as the one involving trade union and community activist Moses Mayekiso. COSATU had begun a fight for women's rights, calling for women to "join the fight for a living wage." That battle too has been "banned."

Many of our own direct reports from South Africa come from the revolutionary activity of trade unionists who refuse to separate trade union work from the uprooting of all of apartheid, from looking for new directions upon which to build a human society.

Support the freedom movement in South Africa!

Presidential politics ignores civil rights

out pledging to support the Party's ticket.

Thus at the "high noon" of the Civil Rights Movement—the very year that Johnson was compelled by the activity of Black masses to push through Congress a Civil Rights Act—he also, at the same time, acted to freeze the ongoing Black revolution within the narrow confines of bourgeois politics by choking off the grassroots voice of Fannie Lou Hamer. Johnson's move to truncate the Black revolution politically has now found its fullest expression, to date, in Reagan's open attacks on all Black rights.

Today, a quarter of a century after 1964, the Black revolution in this country has remained unfinished; it is still on the historic agenda of American civilization; and it is more than obvious that it cannot be resolved by capitalist politics. Black American masses have known this for a long time and have always attempted to push beyond the so-called political solution to a fundamental transformation of American society.

Direct from South Africa Freedom Journal

'Highest strike rate in Cape Town of all the unions'



Meeting of Firefite workers in Capetown.

We've just received the October 1987 issue of "Sparky the Mighty Lighty," a newspaper published by the South African Electrical & Allied Workers Trade Union (EAWTU). Their centerfold proudly announces the EAWTU has the "HIGHEST STRIKE RATE IN CAPETOWN OF ALL UNIONS." These two pages feature pictures and descriptions of 16 strikes they've organized in 1987. The longest strike in the engineering electronics industry in the history of Capetown (at Firefite), led by women, ended September 1987. The strike was won and resulted in the return of all dismissed strikers. The strike also extended into social relations of the workers: "Workers regularly sang songs of hope and struggle. They visited factories, went to the beach, to the cinema, organized fund raising activities, social education programmes, etc. In addition, they worked closely together as a family of strikers expressing concern for each other..." Below we print excerpts from other parts of the paper:

WORKER CONTROL & WORKER DEMOCRACY

WHAT IS WORKER DEMOCRACY?... Worker democracy is the right of workers to decide what is best for them, how their problems should be taken up and WHO should take up their problems. Workers are the highest authority in the union. Workers issue MANDATES (permission) for the fulltime staff, the shop stewards and committee members to act on their behalf—to represent them.

WORKER CONTROL

Workers control is essential if workers are to exercise their true authority to ensure that democratic decisions taken are carried out. Workers must have the POWER to decide what to do IF THEIR INTERESTS ARE THREATENED! their MANDATES BROKEN and their instructions not carried out. ALL FULLTIME STAFF, COMMITTEE MEMBERS AND SHOP STEWARDS ARE SUBJECT TO THE PROGRESSIVE DECISIONS OF WORKERS...

THE FRUITS OF WORKER CONTROL & WORKERS' DEMOCRACY

...We are the FIRST union in the industry nationally to:

- win June 16 [the anniversary of the Soweto Rebellion, 1976] as a paid holiday for workers...
- to win May 1 as a paid holiday for workers.
- to get companies to agree to length of services benefits.
- to conclude an agreement at factory level in the sector for 1987...

WORKERS CHARTER

The union is busy "putting together" ideas from workers regarding a document that will reflect the VIEW OF WORKERS within SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY. WHAT SHOULD THE CHARTER STATE?

To make an accurate analysis (investigation or study) it is important to note the IMPACT OF CAPITALISM (the factory system, why workers do not earn a living wage, why there is poverty, hunger, rich and poor etc.) and APARTHEID (racism, discrimination, inferior education "white superiority" group areas migrant labour system, "Bantustans." etc.) on workers and their families...

Lumbee tribe fights racism

by Shainape Shcapwe

On first hearing the news about the takeover of a newspaper office by Eddie Hatcher and Timothy Jacobs in Lumberton, N.C., on Feb. 1, I felt angered because even in the most detailed media reports, it never sounded like an historical event.

Hatcher and Jacobs—two members of the Lumbee tribe—were protesting the police murders of two Indian men and one Black man. The media reported the takeover as if it were an unplanned activity by "terrorists," and it was a whole day before they told the men's reasons for the takeover, to show that it was more than an emotional response to a "local problem."

I first heard of the Lumbees in 1958 when Robert Burnett, tribal chairman of the Rosebud Sioux Reservation, came to my reservation as part of a committee supporting the Lumbee's request for federal status as an Indian tribe. The Lumbees had to face racist conditions at local hospitals in North Carolina and needed status recognition to be eligible for government health services.

Burnett told us there were from 3,500 to 5,000 Lumbees who were not counted in the census, which is a hell of a lot of people not to "exist." Burnett then told us about the Cherokees who in the 1830s escaped from the "Trail of Tears" when they were being forced to walk from their North Carolina home to small pieces of Oklahoma land "given" to them by Pres. Andrew Jackson.

The Cherokees got away into the Smoky Mountains and later sheltered runaway slaves who escaped there. They did not just co-exist but made a life together. After the Civil War, some people came down from the Smokies and settled in Robeson County, N.C. These are the Lumbees.

Because some of the Lumbees are both Black and Native American, they faced terrible trouble trying to live in the area. The Ku Klux Klan decided to attack the Lumbee community in 1958, in what came to be called the "Lumbee-KKK war." The Lumbees drove out the Klan in one of the most important stands ever taken.* To this day, the Lumbees have not won federal status as an Indian tribe.

When I heard and thought about all this, I decided to call Eddie Hatcher. He told me that they went to the newspaper office to take it over because they wanted everyone to hear what was going on, and that they never intended to hurt any hostages.

He went on to say that when he had visited Indian reservations, he had seen cops haul in Indians on some nights when they "had nothing better to do," but that it's like that every night in Robeson County. It is so bad that the Sheriff's Department had beaten many Indians and killed two men. Eddie said this can't go on, and that we can't let people get beaten and tortured while the outside world doesn't know about us in Robeson County.

*See "Indians defeat KKK" in N&L, Jan. 31, 1958.

'Biggest gang in L.A.'

Los Angeles, Cal.—The racists here seem to have lost their sophistication within this glamour-conscious town of glitter and gutter. Just look at a place such as Westwood, where recently there was the tragic shooting of a young Asian woman, who was an innocent victim of a gangland-style shoot-out between two rival Black gangs.

Right away there was a reward posted by the mostly white business community of Westwood, and without even a demand there was an increase in police patrol of the area. Many Black youth were now looked upon as a "public enemy" in this "all" white-looking neighborhood. Even after the alleged shooter was arrested, the harassment of Black youth continued. One Black youth was stopped while he was window-shopping, and his friend was arrested on an old traffic warrant.

Many in the Black community were insulted by the attention this shooting received, while in the South-Central area of L.A. innocent bystanders are being killed by gang violence. This is commonplace, but not accepted by the Black community. While these killings get very little media attention, there has been a demand by the established Black leadership for more police "protection" within South-Central L.A. and Watts.

I don't see an increase in police as being the answer. Where I live in Watts, we are looked upon or watched as being the criminals. One brother I talked to coined it right when he said that the L.A.P.D. was the "biggest gang in Los Angeles." And they have a lot of innocent deaths of minorities to back their record up!

This racist society of capitalism creates a destructive mentality among the masses of Black and labor. The police are there in the community not to protect life but property, not to serve the Black and Latino inner-city majority, but to serve a white minority of business owners. The police act as a standing army to control and keep the unemployed army concentrated in the ghetto of destruction, where they can jail us, kill us, or put us at each others' throats as a major scheme to divert our revolutionary energy into other avenues, of drug addiction and gang violence.

"Just say No" is not enough and only we can control what happens in our community. The Subjects of revolution, the most oppressed, must break the chains of oppression that keep us from developing our full potential as human beings.

—Gene Ford

Workers battle Reaganism, companies, union bureaucrats

(continued from page 1)

cases to \$8 or even \$6 an hour. The union is often failing to organize newly opened packing plants.

Among retail clerks, who are 70% of the UFCW membership, 70% of the workers are only part-time, and of those, 70% are earning only the minimum wage. As one worker noted when she heard this, "Why do you need a union to make minimum wage?"

And yet it is precisely UFCW President Wynn who may become the next head of the AFL-CIO. As one P-9 striker put it, "The very individual that has promoted the demise of everyone he presumably represents is attempting to become the president of the entire AFL-CIO structure. Anyone who has had first hand experience of Bill Wynn's 'controlled retreat' program can understand the penalties the labor movement will suffer if he is successful. For the future president of the AFL-CIO to endorse a group of individuals who crossed a sanctioned picket line (at the Hormel plant in Austin) as the new union—I don't see much future progress for any workers, only for the union bosses!"

However, the retrogression faced by the labor movement today is deeper than one or another labor bureaucrat.

The ranks of unions have been plummeting throughout the 1980s under the attacks of Reaganomics and global capital. Well over one million industrial jobs have disappeared this decade through automation, through plant closings and through speed-up. But union membership has fallen even more sharply. Close to 30% of the work force was unionized in 1975, but only 17½% is organized today—a lower percentage than in 1920! It is the conditions of life and labor among non-union workers that have become the norm against which conditions of union workers are measured.

FALLING WAGES

The average U.S. worker's wage since 1978 when measured in 1978 dollars has dropped from \$203 to \$179! This is a much more realistic measure of real wages than the inflated \$312 wage of 1987 dollars. So many workers' wages have fallen to the subsistence level, or even farther to the level of the minimum wage, that statistics show the gap between men's and women's wages has narrowed not because women have caught up, but because men's wages have fallen faster. This is approaching wage equality through pauperism.

A century ago the American Federation of Labor was established with the goal of guaranteeing an eight-hour day. General strikes were called for industry by industry and trade by trade to win the demand. But today some AFL-CIO unions have been negotiating a seven-day week with employers! The UFCW at the Davenport, Iowa, Oscar Mayer plant now has a full week of ten hour days, four days a week—any four days. Part-timers work the other three days to make sure that the capital invested in the plant is never idle. Such kinds of contracts are by no means the exception.

In face of the onslaught of Reaganism-inspired companies seeking concession contracts and the timidity of many union bureaucrats, there are still many chances for new beginnings in the ranks of labor.

At the Kenosha, Wisc. Chrysler plant workers have refused to accept the plant closing without a fight. They had said no to new take-backs, and now are taking picket lines and demonstrations to wherever Chrysler officials are meeting, since Chrysler reneged on a promise to keep the plant open for five years after a round of concessions and tax breaks.

At GM's Oklahoma City plant many workers are resisting the team concept of labor-management "partnership" that the UAW is pressing on its workers. An auto worker there told us of the resistance to work rule changes that the union said would add 500 jobs—at the same time the company was prepared to lay off 600 workers! The local agreement passed, but with just 30% of the local voting it in. When the superintendent took workers off the line and asked what they thought of the new partnership system, he was stunned to hear their openly expressed opposition.

Women workers in particular have shown a passion

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and energy in battling at the workplace. Whether it is flight attendants who have fought against wage-slashing

British workers battle Thatcher's 'war on labor'



British auto workers on strike.

Over 32,000 production workers at Ford Motor Company of Britain shut down 22 plants in a two-week strike last month, the first nationwide Ford strike in nearly a decade. During negotiations before the strike, the auto workers rejected their union's recommendation to accept wage increases and other benefits in exchange for a three-year contract and management's right to introduce sweeping work rule changes at the point of production—including increased robotization and "quality circles"—on an industry-wide basis.

Many workers at Ford were bitter over the 1985 contract, which allowed management to eliminate hundreds of job classifications. Ford's European operations have tripled profits since 1986. While the Ford U.S. division was trumpeting profit-sharing checks for its hourly workers—in truth, a mere pittance of its total profits—the British workers were adamant in their demands. They won a two-year contract and the right to decide work rule changes on a plant-by-plant basis.

—Mary Holmes

Oxford, England—One of the haunting images of this winter in Britain is that of unemployed people picking a living from a rubbish tip at Birkenhead on Merseyside. By collecting scrap metal and other saleable items, they find they can earn up to a hundred pounds (\$56.43) a week to augment their dole money.

To do so, they risk life and limb crossing on electrified railway line and dodging the dumper trucks and crushing machines. The danger to health of scrambling about on a rat-infested mountain of domestic garbage is awful to contemplate. The people who work the tip are mainly ashamed of what they do, and try to conceal the fact from family and friends.

Another sign of the times can be seen in Berkshire where a young man was employed as a groom at some stables for the princely wage of 28 pounds (\$15.80) a week, for working often from early morning to late evening. When he complained, he was sacked. The Low Pay Unit awarded the employer in question its "Scrooge of the Year" prize, an illustrated copy of A Christmas Carol.

—Richard Bunting

Crises in Black thought/Black reality

(continued from page 8)

philosophic and ongoing. How can we in 1988, facing the realities of Black life and the retrogressions in Black thought, help that revolutionary dimension develop?

The work of Raya Dunayevskaya, from the 1940s through the 1980s, argues that the "new humanism" of Marx is the fullest articulation of the dialectic for our modern capitalist-imperialist epoch. This is the philosophic foundation for the development of a revolutionary Black dimension that is philosophic and ongoing. Further, Dunayevskaya's articulation of "absolute negativity as new beginning" makes imperative the need to grasp each new stage of the revolutionary movement from both the new vantage points within the movement itself, and from the "objectivity of the drive and summation" of the dialectics of philosophy. This represents the self-determination of the Idea of freedom that Fanon caught when he referred to the self-determination of the Third World as "an original idea propounded as an absolute."

Meeting the challenge of this new stage of cognition begins with having confidence not alone in the revolutionary "will" of the masses, but in their reason. "Confidence," writes Dunayevskaya, "that their movement from practice as a form of theory does, indeed, signify that they can participate in the working out of a new theory. That is exactly what was lacking in the leadership in Grenada as they debated so-called 'leadership methods' instead of the dialectical methodology which flows from a philosophy of revolution. Without that, leaders inevitably fell into the trap of hanging onto one or another state power." **

** Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions, by Raya Dunayevskaya, Introduction to the 1984 edition, p. v.

companies, or nurses who have been on the picket line over impossible workloads and declining patient care, or women meatpackers who have been on the front line in organizing rank-and-file opposition to give-back contracts, these kind of activities open up possibilities for new directions in the labor movement.

A crucial challenge to the labor movement is its relation to civil rights, particularly to Black workers in the South. The AFL-CIO is finally focusing attention on the enthusiasm for organizing among the unorganized as it plans 27 days of demonstrations in the South, beginning April 4, the anniversary of Martin Luther King's murder. Each march will be tied to an ongoing fight for unionization. Black workers across the South have organized themselves against obstacles as harsh as anywhere in the country, and have held out for union recognition.

But for this organizing drive to avoid the stillbirth that the CIO organization drive called "Operation Dixie" was after World War II there must be a very different attitude toward the relationship between Black struggles and labor. Unless the Black worker in the South is the very basis of unionization the drive can not possibly succeed.

One most disturbing trend within organized labor recently has been a unity of union bureaucrats and politicians who have added national chauvinism to racism when it comes to Asian workers. Thus UAW officials have made common cause with politicians seeking quotas, trade sanctions, etc., aimed at Japanese and Korean workers. Contrast this to a Japanese railroad workers' union which recently took out a special ad addressed to American workers in a U.S. newspaper, asking for solidarity, and describing the plight of Japanese workers facing long hours, poor working conditions and low wages. Why, when capitalism is so international, can't pathways be found to have international worker solidarity? Some 120 years ago, the First International Workingmen's Association was built precisely on the basis of international solidarity, concrete aid from the workers of one country to workers in another.

The history of that First International also shows how important it is to go lower and deeper within the working class to build a movement and not rely on the union bureaucrats, who are part of the aristocracy of the labor movement. When in 1871 the Paris Commune burst forth and heralded a new day for humanity, the leadership of some British trade unions who had joined the First Workingmen's International attacked the Paris Commune. Karl Marx answered them with a magnificent analysis showing how the great mass of London workers remained outside that trade union movement while the International showed a direct influence with these working people. He then crossed the names of these unionists off the leadership of the International and inserted the names of the Communards of Paris.

Today many rank-and-filers are writing out of the labor movement the names of the union bureaucrats, from William Wynn to Teamster President Jackie Presser, to many a local official, and adding the names of the unorganized and rank-and-filers whose struggles portend the future.

When the "reasonable and practical" policies of today's self-perpetuating union bureaucrats have succeeded only in diminishing the movement's size and have overseen a growing pauperization of the U.S. working class, then the only truly practical policy is one that sweeps these misleaders off the historical stage and finds new beginnings from deep within the labor movement of organized and unorganized workers.

But confidence in the masses, Dunayevskaya shows us, cannot mean putting all the burdens of Black thought on their shoulders. The "subjective point" to which philosophy has been concentrated through the dialectics of revolution in our epoch is a concrete manifestation of the Hegelian notion of absolute negativity, which entails making a new beginning in the unification of theory and practice. In 1986-87, Dunayevskaya's new studies of Lenin's philosophic ambivalence concentrated on his reading of Hegel's "Idea of Cognition" in the Science of Logic.*** The primacy of practice over theory, that Lenin read in Hegel at the penultimate moment of the dialectical development of the Idea, led Lenin to the mistaken conclusion that theory had been left behind by the "self-certainty which the subject...has in its being in and for itself, as a determinate subject, a certainty of its own actuality and of the non-actuality of the world (i.e., the world does not satisfy man and man decides to change it by his activity.)"

The break between theory and practice, which Dunayevskaya shows could even impact on as great a revolutionary as Lenin, manifests itself at significant turning points in the unfolding of the Idea of freedom. This is due to the subject having assumed that he or she could dispense with the need to recollect the previous stages of the Idea's development. When we do become fully conscious that the turning point is only reached on the basis of the unity of theory/practice, the new appears at one and the same time in the external form of an objective reality, and as a new form of cognition which is at once indigenous to that reality because it has returned to itself out of the Idea of freedom embedded in reality.

*** One aspect of Dunayevskaya's 1986-87 studies of Lenin's philosophic ambivalence on Hegel's Idea of Cognition can be seen in her Sept. 26, 1986 letter to Hegel scholar George Armstrong Kelly. It has been published on p. 4 in this issue of N&L.

Students convention in New Jersey

Editor's note: The following are excerpts from reports given to us by two independent student activists from Northern Illinois University who attended the National Student Convention at Rutgers University in New Jersey Feb. 5-7.

DeKalb, Ill.—About 1,000 people, 600 more than expected, showed up. How to feed, house and fit them into workshops? This is one of the best points of the convention. We conclude to share food and bedspace. People understand the problems, pitch in any money they can.

At the Friday night gripe session, flaws are pointed out in the agenda. Women's struggles, gay issues and the concerns of people of color are not adequately represented. In the gym, many large paper signs are hung up on the walls. They say things like "National Actions April 23-25," "Racism on Campus," "Women's Issues."

Saturday after breakfast we meet in issue workshops. There are guests from Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala. CISPEs introduces their National Day of Action, April 23-25. The Action Caucus adopts a proposal to support CISPEs' action and expand on it. We propose to condemn U.S. imperialism in Central America. Someone from Solidarity wants to replace "imperialism" with "intervention."

Long obvious liberal speeches are made. Catchy phrases induce applause. Many people are very restless. What are we doing? The Third World Caucus proposes that this convention is full of a bunch of white kids. We are not the movement. This motivates rounds of applause. There was not enough outreach to people of color. Not enough attention to women's and gay issues. The room is in an uproar.

The Third World Caucus comes back with a revised proposal—to forget the idea of voting to form a national organization now—instead meet in regional groups and talk about racism and outreach. The midwest is so fragmented. How do we build bridges with people of color when this organization (1) doesn't even really exist and (2) many "members" of it have racist tendencies themselves? Everyone is frustrated and tired. Many are starting to leave. Eventually we all go home. —Marna

Upon first arriving at Rutgers, I became aware that

Truth & justice at DeKalb High School

DeKalb, Ill.—On Feb. 4, 1987, the day after my 17th birthday, I posted some nuclear freeze flyers during my free hour. Mike Wadle, a teacher known throughout the DeKalb school district for his liberal attitudes and progressive stance, saw my poor little flyer and tore it to its death. He then confronted me with several pieces of evidence and asked me if I had permission to put up the posters.

I replied that I did, under the First Amendment of the Constitution, which seemed to perplex Mike "The Thinker" Wadle, who told me to go sit in the cafeteria....

Radicalism doesn't pay at DHS (DeKalb High School) and I soon felt the vice-like grip of Wadle, who told me to follow him to the office. On the way, he asked me my name and I answered, somewhat untruthfully, "Leon Trotsky." This pleased Mike, who said, "OK, Leon, follow me." We went to the office and Wadle began to look up Trotsky in the school files....

It was at this time that my well-laid machinations were blown to bits. A teacher informed Wadle of my real name and thus labeled I was led to the vice-principal's (Steve Greenfield) office.

Mr. Greenfield then led me to the all-day control room. Here he informed me that I would be staying there all day. He then turned to go and I asked him to call my mother. He refused and started to walk away. Since this is a violation of my rights as granted in the student handbook, I followed him to his office. He tried to shut the door in my face and I put my foot against it and again asked him to call my mother.

Faced with an intolerable situation and unmeetable demands, Greenfield appealed to a higher power. A power guaranteed to strike fear in the hearts of freethinking high school students everywhere: Principal Bernie Looney. This man heard both sides of the story and decided that truth, justice, apple pie and A&W root beer demanded that I be suspended for one day out of school and four days in school.

My mother was finally contacted, came to pick me up and dropped me off at the Nuclear Freeze tent on King Commons at NIU. There I ran into Jim Fabris, who suggested I talk to a Star reporter. We did, that day.

The story came out on Monday and the Looney came into the detention room and told me to bring all my belongings to his office. There he pointed to the Star article and began to question me about statements I had made....The Looney decided what I was doing was further insubordination (actually, he had made this decision before he questioned me) and suspended me for ten days out of school....

Several things have happened since then but as it is now we are suing the school district for violating my constitutional rights.

Although I have been somewhat humorous in writing this, the issue is not. My First Amendment rights, as well as my due process rights, have been violated, and this goes on every day in every school in the country....

—Andrew Shankman

—Excerpted from the Victor E. Voice, newspaper of the John Lennon Society at Northern Illinois University.

there was contention over the very nature and role of the convention. Do we need a constitution to tell the student movement what it stands for? Can a relatively small minority of students determine the goals and guidelines of a national student organization and then expect the rest of the students (especially students of color) to join our organization?

The development of an "Independent" caucus within the convention was the most exciting and inspiring development of the weekend. Our common ground was the desire for an un-authoritarian organization based on participatory democracy and an aversion to democratic centralism as it exists both within the two ruling political parties and within the Marxist-Leninist (ML) vanguard parties of the Left.

We shared an orientation of direct action to overthrow the social and economic relations of capitalist society, not just patch them up one issue at a time. We shared the desire for our struggle to be unmediated. In general, we agreed that participating in electoral politics only maintains the myth that people have real power within the system. The nature of the vanguardist structure and its lack of faith in the capability of the masses to move and direct themselves, and the ML tendency of homophobia were exposed and generally accepted as undesirable.

Statements were made about not being a fishing ground for ML groups. One individual made the distinction between the ideas of Marx and the centralist structure of the ML groups. A student from Berkeley proposed that an independent movement needs to define for itself direct democracy in juxtaposition to democratic centralism (ML structure).

It seemed to me that we must strive for new forms of organization, but we must have enough faith in our ideas and ourselves that we can resist the advances of the vanguardists to control our movement. All of these conflicts at Rutgers were good—they were necessary to begin to work out the contradictions within the movement. —Tom

Youth in Revolt

by Franklin Dmitryev



Demanding an end to CIA recruiting at the Univ. of Dayton in Ohio, about 50 students took over the president's office on Feb. 25. Anti-CIA rallies are planned for April 23 on campuses nationwide.

We mourn the death of Godfrey Dhlomo, an 18-year-old revolutionary murdered by the South African police in January. He had spoken on the CBS program "Children of Apartheid" about his experiences under detention. Thousands attended his funeral.

Twenty years ago at South Carolina State College in Orangeburg, state police retaliated against civil rights protests by shooting 30 Black students, killing three (see eyewitness account in March, 1968, N&L). The Orangeburg Massacre was commemorated on the campus Feb. 8 by 200 students, staff, survivors and relatives of the victims.

An appellate court sent draft resister Gillam Kerley's sentence back to the trial judge for reconsideration on Jan. 28. The trial judge had originally socked him with a three-year prison sentence and \$10,000 fine because of his anti-draft and anti-militarist activities. Support for Kerley can be sent to CARD, 731 State St., Madison, WI 53703.

Protesting continuing U.S. Aid to the Nicaraguan contras, 400 people, mostly high school youth, blocked the doors to the Federal Building in Chicago on Feb. 1. Two were arrested.

From a Palestinian youth

(continued from page 1)

arrest you or your family. The government would kill anyone to keep themselves in power.

At every turning point since, there have been splits in the PLO as well as hopes for a new beginning, especially after the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. But nobody in the PLO thinks about the serious theoretic and critical work that is needed. Even when we study other revolutions we only look at action.

Every Palestinian knows the PLO is not the best thing in the world. But the general feeling is that people in the streets by themselves cannot do it alone. We need organization. Everyone thinks of the PLO as a vehicle to get us there and then when we get Israel off our backs we will think of what comes next.

Russian soldiers blast censorship, war

Editor's note: Tatyana Ivitskaya, a Russian writer, recently submitted to a Moscow-based magazine, Yunost, a story based on conversations with a soldier, Andrei Nasedkin, about his experiences in Afghanistan. The following are excerpts from the magazine's letter of rejection and from a response by a group of soliders.

To: Tatyana Ivitskaya

Your stories were read by us with care and interest. It is quite true that the time has come for the publication of the truth about Afghanistan. There are no limits to truth, still truth has another side we need not display—naked, antisocial realism.... Naked realism is always the consequence of an author's inability to handle the material by other, more artistic and creative means. We cannot, therefore, publish your stories in our magazine.

Respectfully, A. Bogoslovsky (literary consultant, Manuscript Dept., Yunost Magazine)

Dear Comrade Literary Consultant,

...It is possible that we misunderstood, but you seem to say that there are two separate truths, or rather that truth has two sides—the social and the anti-social. You were apparently taught this concept while attending journalism classes....

War is not a picnic with beer and girlfriends. War is when half a platoon doesn't return from its mission. War is the wounded and crippled teen-aged soldiers screaming in unbearable pain. It is the 'reptiles'—non-coms who stay under cover and shoot those who can't take it and are running away. It is the psychiatric wards filled with crazed alcoholics and drug addicts. It is the primordial terror when it seems that every shell is coming straight at you. It is also the loose bowels and the unbearable stench....

Our soldiers have been forced to become criminals and murderers, for it is a crime to force another nation to submit to our will, even though the nation is a neighbor of ours.... You admit that the time has come for the truth about Afghanistan and yet you are afraid of this truth....

Let the use of "artistic and creative means" be on the conscience of those who write their "reports from the front" without leaving their Moscow offices. Leave us the "naked antisocial realism": the artificial limbs, the blindness and deafness caused by explosions, the recurring nightmares and the inner emptiness that cannot be filled by your pseudo-patriotic babbling.

Your refusal to bring the stories by T. Ivitskaya to a wide audience changes nothing. They are being read by people who care about our Motherland and our people. You will not succeed in hiding the truth about Afghanistan!

—Signed by soldiers from Andrei Nasedkin's unit

American Jews, Arabs join in Mideast peace campaign

Lexington, Mass.—Recently I have been involved in two Mideast peace campaigns. In one, large numbers of Jewish and Arab children and adults have been creating and exchanging peace posters; in the second, we recruited endorsers for Jewish/Arab ads calling for "an end to the Occupation through an International Peace Conference, with the participation of all parties to the dispute, including the P.L.O."

Over 60 Palestinians have been killed and thousands wounded in their three-month uprising in Gaza and the West Bank (out of a total population of only one and a half million). Many in the Jewish and Arab communities have long been depressed and angered by an occupation which denies the Palestinians their basic human rights, and are outraged by an iron fist which breaks Arab bones while it dehumanizes the Israeli occupier and demoralizes Jews and others throughout the world.

An ad-hoc group of Jews and Arabs in the Boston area decided to recruit support for a peace campaign based on ending the occupation through an International Peace Conference where Israeli and Palestinian negotiators would write a treaty guaranteeing both Israeli and Palestinian national rights, and offering justice and security to both peoples.

We found the climate right: members of both the Jewish and Arab communities took courage from the endorsement process, a form of practical grassroots coexistence and a mini "peace process" in itself.

The ad text was first refused by a local Boston area (right-wing) Jewish newspaper, but later appeared in a Detroit Arab journal, as well as Al Fajr Palestinian paper in Jerusalem, and the International Edition of the Jerusalem Post (Feb. 20). Both posters and advertisements are tangible evidence to maximalists and cynics on both sides that there exists mutual grassroots support for a just and secure peace, one that would both emancipate the Palestinians and guarantee the safety of Israel; the artwork hints, additionally, at the bountiful unfolding of human potentialities which can begin to be released by an end to the incalculable material and human waste of more than half a century of war.

The "shalom-sala'am" posters have been seen by many thousands of people in the Mideast and the U.S.

A cross-section of these encouraging posters can be seen as part of a Middle East Peace Installation at the Ward-Nasse Gallery in N.Y. City, 178 Prince Street, from March 9-27. —Mitch Kamen

Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

By the end of February, over 60 Palestinian civilians had been killed by Israeli troops, yet the wave of protests begun in December continued unabated. Even the reactionary Defense Minister Yitzhak ("force, might, beatings") Rabin had to admit: "There is no calming down in the territories. The riots there come in waves. We are in a stage of things growing more serious."

A week before, it was revealed that Rabin's goons in uniform had gone beyond beatings and shootings to a new horror—they buried alive four Palestinian youth with dirt from a bulldozer, after beating them severely. Then their officer ordered the bulldozer operator to drive over the youths, which even he refused to do. Fortunately, Arab villagers were able to dig out the youths in time to save their lives, once the soldiers left.

On the very same day in mid-February, the PLO's ship, *Sol Phryne*, was blown up in Cyprus. That ship was to bring refugees and foreign observers to the coastline of Israel in a completely nonviolent symbol-

Palestinian protests continue unabated

ic re-enactment of the Jews' own "exodus" from Europe in 1947. Rabin virtually admitted that Israel had blown up the ship and assassinated some of its occupants: "The state of Israel decided it was compelled not to let them achieve their purpose and we will do that by whatever means we find." Nothing better sums up the transformation into opposite of Israel since 1947—from a refuge for Europe's death camp survivors to today's apartheid-type state where Jews oppress Palestinians.

Each day sees new strikes, demonstrations and confrontations led by the Palestinian youth, not only in the Gaza strip where it all started, but also on the West Bank and even in Jerusalem itself, which has been turned into a virtual war zone. A new indigenous underground leadership has emerged which circulates leaflets signed "PLO-National Unified Leadership of the Uprising."

This has temporarily unified the fractured PLO, but sharp differences exist below the surface. New, growing Islamic fundamentalist groups claim ominously that

Arafat is willing to make a "deal" with the Israelis, while "they" intend to have "all" of Palestine, expelling the Jews completely. Will they be able to fill the void created by the failures of the PLO leadership? Or will something still newer, genuinely revolutionary, be able to emerge?

Everywhere the masses' confidence in the old organizations is undermined. "At first the refugees thought that the PLO was everything. Now the PLO is hemmed in by the Arab governments who strangle us. It cannot move without permission. The people have understood that they must help themselves," stated a Palestinian refugee in Jordan to a French reporter (*Le Monde*, Feb. 17, 1988).

His attitude may sum up that of the nearly five million-strong Palestinian diaspora, ready for new types of organization, action and ideas. That is what has all of the reactionary Arab governments, from Syria to Jordan to Egypt—not to mention the superpowers—as worried and frightened by the new upsurge as is the Israeli government itself.

Tyranny in Ireland

British justice in Ireland has once again shown its true nature to the world, outraging Irish and international public opinion.

On Jan. 28, a British court in London upheld the convictions of the Birmingham Six, all of them Irishmen railroaded through coerced confessions and manipulated evidence in a 1975 terrorism trial. This verdict was left unchanged in 1988 despite: (1) testimony by some of the former police interrogators who now admitted having used beatings and coercion to obtain confessions; (2) clear refutation in court by experts of the 1975 physical evidence; and (3) protests by human rights groups, such as Amnesty International, following exposure in the mass media.

Also this year, the Thatcher government has invoked "national security" to block trials of Northern Ireland police who, in a "shoot-to-kill" spree, murdered six unarmed Irishmen in 1982.

As these developments were unfolding, unarmed 24-year-old Aidan McAneaspie was shot to death on Feb. 21, by British soldiers as he walked into a store 300 yards beyond their checkpoint in County Tyrone, Northern Ireland. Despite a long history of disputes between McAneaspie and the local soldiers, it was claimed that this shooting was "accidental."

The same week it was revealed that a British soldier convicted of homicide in the 1983 shooting of an unarmed Belfast man, Thomas Reilly, had been paroled and restored to service after 26 months of prison!

Mexican economic crisis

Outgoing presidents Ronald Reagan of the U.S. and Miguel de la Madrid of Mexico held a 45-minute week-end meeting in Mexico in mid-February. The serious issues of Mexico's \$106 billion foreign debt, the crisis in Central America, and the growing unrest within Mexican society were off the agenda.

Publicly, Ronald Reagan said his trip focused on drug trafficking. "Privately," the U.S. administration is undoubtedly interested in de la Madrid's handpicked successor, Carlos Salinas. Salinas' selection as the PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) candidate for the July elections is tantamount to being declared the next president of Mexico. The PRI has ruled Mexico as a one-party state since 1929.

Salinas has been the Minister of Budget and Planning since 1982, the year the bottom fell out on world oil prices and the Mexican economy began to experience a

deep crisis. He was the architect and overseer of the government's austerity plan that went into effect that year, slashing state spending, including food and transportation subsidies.

Mexicans are burdened by the staggering foreign debt, soaring inflation and, for workers who still have a job, a 50% drop in real wages. The current daily minimum wage is \$3.10, but nearly half of Mexican workers get less. The protests against the austerity measures have been continuous.

Most recently, in January, unrest broke out in the state university system, as students demanding open admissions and "genuine democratization," and workers demanding wage increases, shut down 14 campuses. Ford workers in Chihuahua walked out on strike over wages and working conditions at the same time. Other unions have set spring strike deadlines if their wage demands to catch up with inflation are not met.

Unemployment for workers in the cities is severe; and in the countryside, four million peasants have no land to support themselves. Land invasions and protests by the peasants in cities continue. Government land distribution, dating back to the Mexican Revolution, is dead. Uncounted judgments for peasants who have seized land and claimed title to it have been left unsettled. In this limbo, peasants can't get government services or credits for growing crops. Instead, the state has funnelled resources into "modern" agribusiness farms that produce for export and mass internal markets. More peasants are now landless than at the time of the 1910 Revolution which they sparked.

This brief view of the dissatisfaction within Mexican society hardly touches on relations with the colossus to the North, the U.S. Salinas has said he will proceed with a program of "popular, nationalist modernization." Mexicans have already had a taste of Salinas' programs before he has full one-party state power, and they are saying they want no more.

Ford Taiwan strike

Over 1,700 auto workers at Ford Liao Ho Motor Company in Taiwan halted production in early February in a strike dispute with management over traditional bonuses paid before the Chinese New Year holiday. Other strikes preceded the one at Ford—workers shut down plants of Ta Tung, the biggest electrical manufacturer on Taiwan, and also stopped production at Honda and Nissan plants. In a state where all labor-management confrontations must be arbitrated and strikes are therefore "illegal," the current workers' unrest is unprecedented.

Italian workers' Cobas

Milan, Italy—In Italy a spontaneous worker's movement, called Base Committees (Cobas), has begun to grow and has become a real threat to the unions and to government. The committees principal aim is to protest against the union leadership's refusal to consult the base and the unions' continual compromises with government and industry which means workers' integration into a system where the workers pay always higher taxes and industry earns always higher profits.

The teachers were the first to form Cobas in the 1970s. They decided to leave the traditional unions and form their own unions. By now the Cobas have more



Workers marched in the streets during a nationwide general strike in Italy last November.

power in the schools than the unions. A few years ago the train engine-drivers formed their Cobas and were immediately followed by the airway pilots and air controllers. The unions condemned this saying that these relatively well paid and specialized workers were working only to advance their own personal interests, going against the interests of the lower paid workers. Evidently many workers saw things differently because in the last year or so many Cobas have been formed by the less specialized and lowest paid workers.

The Cobas have been formed only among public employees, while in private industry they have not had success. It seems clear that this is because government employees have contracts that make it extremely difficult to fire people, while in private industry anyone can be fired, especially if they do not have the union behind them.

However, there is no doubt that private industry is worried about this new development. When the Cobas of the bus and streetcar drivers in Turin, a city controlled by the Fiat Auto Co., went on strike, the government, using an old fascist law on national emergency, drafted all of these transport workers into the army for the day of the strike. In other words either you go to work or you will be accused of treason. The Fiat Co. was obviously behind this.

In this chaos, the unions are living between two fires. The government is threatening an anti-strike law for transport workers. The unions proposed the regulation of strikes by the unions. But how can the unions regulate strikes if they cannot regulate the workers? Since these proposals have been made the strikes in transport have notably increased. It seems clear that these workers do not want to be regulated either by government or by unions.

—Margaret Ellingham

Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

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

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

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

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