

Theory/
Practice

NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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25¢

ON THE INSIDE

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Workers Pick of Reaganism



by John Marcotte

The mood of the workers in my shop is near the breaking point. When they were told they now had to ask permission to go to the toilet, one worker tore up a written warning in the boss' face and told him to get away before he really got mad. Another worker almost hit his foreman over the head and would have if a company man hadn't got between them. The workers have been meeting and discussing how to fight the injustice and discrimination at work and how to force the union to back them instead of backing the boss like it always does.

You can feel that all over the country working people are getting sick and tired of Reaganism in all its forms. The Massey coal miners in Kentucky have been on strike for something like eight months now to force Massey to recognize the union, and they've been shooting at the scab coal trucks. Newspaper reports claim those drivers get between \$1200 and \$1800 a week to work in that scab coal.

ROWING LABOR OPPOSITION

The United Airlines pilots' strike showed a new high point of solidarity in the deregulated, union-busting airline industry. Though the pilots reportedly settled the economic issues after the first week, they stayed out three more weeks over the principles of union solidarity, demanding United hire the 570 trainee pilots who had supported their picket lines, attendants who

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Black World

Review Essay

Garvey Papers, Vol. III



by Lou Turner

Different ages in the history of mankind have been labeled with a peculiar brand...The age in which we are living is also acquiring an individuality of its own. It is the age of unrest, the age of dissatisfaction. Never before in the history of the world has the spirit of unrest swept over as it has during the past two years.

—Marcus Garvey, 1920

...the self-certainty which the subject (here suddenly instead of 'Notion') has in its being in and for itself, as a determinate subject, is a certainty of its own actuality and of the non-actuality of the world." (i.e., that the world does not satisfy man and man decides to change it by his activity.)

—Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks, 1914

The eagerly awaited publication of volume III of the Marcus Garvey Papers,* under the editorship of Prof. Robert Hill, nevertheless carries some disappointments. While it does, as a whole, attempt to have Garvey speak for himself, we actually do not get to hear how the philosophy of Garveyism developed since a great part of the documents are government attacks portraying Garvey and the movement.

The events of the pivotal year covered by the more than 800 pages of volume III, Sept. 1920 to Aug. 1921, extend from Garvey's continuing relationship to the British national struggle to the Tulsa, Oklahoma race riot,

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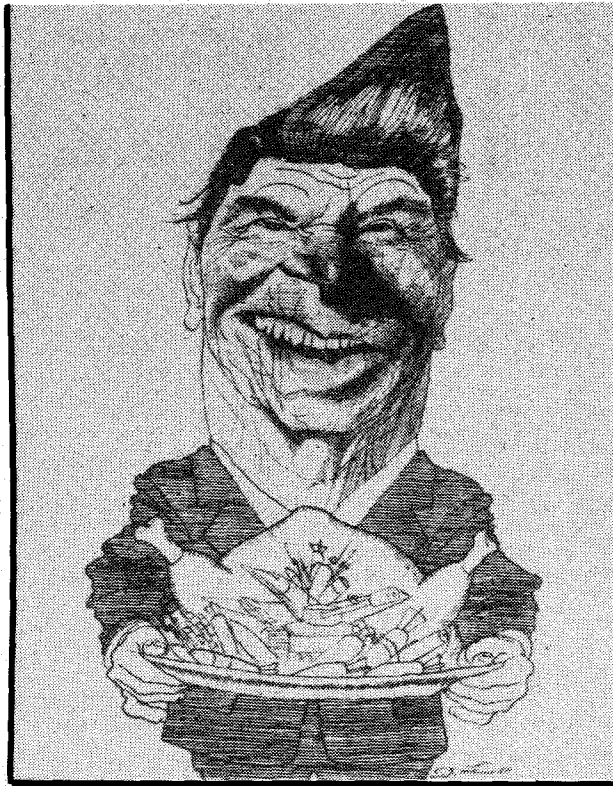
The Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Volume III, edited by Robert Hill, U. of California Press, 1984.

From Star Wars to Nicaragua

40 years after Hiroshima, Reagan's military madness threatens humanity

by Michael Connolly

With a burst of public relations salvos, remarkable even for this most glib, forked-tongue President, Ronald Reagan has managed to convince the Democratic "opposition" and the media that he is willing to be "pragmatic" about his military program. Thus, on June 10 he announced that he would continue to abide by the 1979 SALT II treaty until the end of 1985, proclaiming: "I am prepared to go the extra mile to seek an interim framework of truly mutual restraint." Thus, on June 3, he offered to "compromise" with the House of Representatives to "hold down" the growth in defense spending, even though Defense Secretary Weinberger bitterly opposed reductions. Thus, on June 11, he promised to "search for avenues" to open negotiations with the Ni-



caraguan revolutionary government and pledged that any aid sent to the murderous right-wing "contras" would be "humanitarian" only.

In fact, Reagan hasn't given in on anything. On the contrary, the opening of his second term has inaugurated the most dangerous period in our post-World War II world, a period in which Reagan is determined to prepare for either world war or world domination—while Gorbachev strives to match him, missile for missile, in Russia; a period in which he is determined to overthrow at least the Nicaraguan government, by force if necessary.

No sooner had Reagan supposedly upheld the SALT II treaty he had always denounced, than, on the very issue which prompted his decision—the dismantling of a Poseidon nuclear missile submarine to make way for an even more deadly Trident sub—he quietly "reserved the right to reconfigure" the Poseidon to outfit it with cruise missiles. As for the current negotiations in Geneva for a new strategic arms treaty, Reagan has instructed the U.S. delegation not to give an inch unless Russia alters its position first.

THE OTHER SUPERPOWER: RUSSIA

Reportedly, U.S. inflexibility is influenced by the view that Russia's leadership—preparing for the 27th Congress of the Communist Party in February, 1986, where its latest Five-Year Plan will be drafted—is so anxious to modernize its economy that they will be ready to reduce the military budget's drain on the economy, regardless of what happens at Geneva.

Even so conservative an analyst as Marshall Shulman finds such illusions alarming. Writing in the NY Times (6/2/85), he warned: "By no conceivable logic can we expect the Russians to agree to reduce their offensive missiles while we are moving to gain military control of space, in addition to the new bombers, missiles and submarines we are building under a nearly doubled military budget—which will continue to increase for the next several years, even if Congress were to grant no new spending authority."

The fact is that the Russian leadership knows very well how to tighten its belts at the expense of the

(continued on page 5)

Chicago Coke workers strike, urge boycott

Chicago, Ill.—We have been on strike against Coca-Cola Bottling Company of Chicago since May 13. We drive routes with two-man crews—driver and helper. Coke wants to cut the helpers and go to one-man trucks, to cut our base salary and to shorten the routes, which would cut into our commission. They want the "inside workers" (warehouse and production workers) to accept a two-tier system. The rest of the industry—Pepsi, 7-Up, RC, Canfield's—got a good package. It would be stupid for us to go back for half of what they got.

Coca-Cola is using scabs to try to break our strike. Teamsters bring Coke in from Wisconsin to a drop-off point, then scabs—truck drivers laid off from other companies—get in and take it to the warehouse. When they go out on the routes, they have three on each truck, one management and two scabs. And us they want one on a truck! Yesterday nine trucks went out of here with Coke. Usually 35 trucks go out. Trucks broke down, and the scabs came back exhausted. It was great. It couldn't happen to nicer people.

Before the strike the company was hiring 30 to 40 extra helpers for ten days each month, then laying them off to avoid paying the health and welfare due on the eleventh day. These workers have no seniority, no union benefits, although they take union dues out of their checks. The company tried to get them to come in, but most didn't cross the picket lines.

In strikes now you get scabs everywhere. They give you the finger, call you names and tell you,

"We're getting a paycheck and you're not." If no one crossed the picket line, the company would settle quickly. The ironworkers' strike in Chicago was settled in three days because no one crossed the picket line.

The company tried to intimidate us by taking applications before the strike started. Eight thousand lined up for jobs right here while we were working, and the TV didn't touch it. But if I broke a window down the street, the TV would be all over. There is something every day on TV about the United strike, but nothing about us.

The United Airlines pilots came to our picket line and invited us to come to a rally at O'Hare Airport and bring our signs. I went to give my support. I wear the button I got from them, "Our family is united." We're out here just like the rest, because the company wants us to do the same job with less pay and fewer benefits. We're not going back for what they're offering. Our day will come.

—Members, Teamsters Local 744

Editors Note: As many as 1,000 workers rallied on June 12 to kick off Teamsters Local 744's boycott of Coca-Cola products in the Chicago area. Spirit and morale were high. Among the speakers was a United Airlines pilot, who spoke on labor solidarity: "If it's a restaurant that's on strike, you don't eat in it. If it's a hotel, you don't sleep in it...If it's an airline, you don't fly it. And if it's a soft drink, you don't drink it."

NWSA Conference

Seattle, Wash.—Over 1,000 women came to the 7th annual National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) Conference, June 19-23, and attended 244 workshops that tried to take up questions as diverse as "Women of Ideas (And What Men Have Done to Them)" to "Working Class Women," to the obscure, "Feminist Utopias and Detective Novels."

The subject of the first plenary, "Work, Race and Class: Making the Links in Theory and Practice," made it clear that women who came to NWSA wanted to know about the relationship between theory and practice. However, the inability to work out what is revolutionary theory and what is its relation to the objective situation could be seen in the very form of this panel which showed that, at least to the planners of the NWSA Conference, theory and practice forever remain apart—with theory being developed by two academic speakers and practice by a union organizer and the co-directors of the Women's Economic Agenda.

Each of these women gave her own very separate talk and each accepted the idea that the relationship between theory and practice meant that theory was always in one realm, practice in another, and sometimes one could make a "link," such as the union organizer suggesting to her academic audience that we "theorize" about pay equity making sure we bring in the question of racism; or Nancy Hartsock saying that some of the best theory is not done by academics, but never telling us what it was or who was doing it.

What we in Women's Liberation—News & Letters talked to women about, both at our literature table and in the workshops themselves, was how that relationship of theory to practice was not two separate worlds. This became most concrete in our discussion around Raya Dunayevskaya's newest book, *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future*, where we discussed the new revolutionary category she had created: that the movement from practice is itself a form of theory, and how she, as a serious theorist, was compelled to meet this movement from practice by creating the theoretic-philosophic ground of Marxist-Humanism.

I would like to expand my ideas in the next issue of N&L and would like those of you who attended the conference to write me your thoughts. —Terry Moon

Hotel strikers fight cutbacks in N.Y., Mich

Editor's Note: For 14 months, the Hotel Association of New York City engaged in "surface bargaining" with the Hotel and Motel Trades Council, representing 14,000 bellhops, maids, clerks, cooks and waiters. The talks prepared the Association (representing hotel-owning multinational corporations, such as Sheraton-ITT, Hilton International, Westin-United Airlines, Helmsley and Marriott) for an all-out effort to break the union, by demanding cut-backs in work rules and benefits won during more than 40 years of struggle. A determined strike—the first among hotel workers here in over 40 years—began June 1 and has surprised many with its self-organization and militancy, as seen on the picket lines at 50 Manhattan hotels. Below is a report from the picket line:

Marriott's Essex House—Today (the 12th day of the strike) we each received a letter from management, asking us to come back to work. Nobody will. The letter said that if we do, it won't affect the negotiations. It also says that we have received our last paycheck, and all the rallies and demonstrations in the world won't replace that! They and the union are very close on the wage issue—5%-6¼%.

But the main thing is the point about job classification. They want to be able to put someone in housekeeping in the kitchen, for example, just on their say-so. This would eventually mean lay-offs and increased work loads. For us in housekeeping, there is a 13-rooms-a-day quota. They want to raise the quotas and eliminate overtime pay for exceeding the 13. We cannot accept this. Some older women may not be able to do more. This damn Reagan is trying to get the unions. I tell you, he is against the poor people...

This is the only unionized Marriott hotel in the country. I worked in a non-union Marriott in Philadelphia. It was very hard; everything was different. You had to "work on" even when your shift was finished. I worked there four months. I wore size 11 when I began and size 7 when I left. That's what they want here. They'll kill you, if we go back in...

Management should never have allowed this strike. Six hundred work here. We didn't know each other before. You didn't know the others working in different departments. We got a chance to know each other out here. It's become "all for one, one for all." People have signed up for four hours on the line and end up staying all day...

When someone comes out to empty the garbage, we say "Hey, Scab!" He answers, "I'm not a scab, I'm management!" We say, "You went to college, got a degree, to empty garbage? Scab!"

—Black women workers, Housekeeping Dept.

Somerset Inn—Michigan

Detroit, Mich.—"Contrary to what you may have heard, we're not out here for the money. We want our benefits left alone—the owner gave us a 20¢ an hour raise, but the paid lunch he took is worth \$3.00! He owns Somerset shopping mall, those new Somerset homes, but he knows we are a precedent; he's a union-buster. If he can break us, all his hotels will go non-union, and he's building two more in this area."

The speaker was one of the pickets at the luxurious Somerset Inn. Most of the 143 members of Local 24 of the Hotel, Motel and Restaurant Employees have been striking for three weeks. But the only clue in Detroit's



Workers picket New York's Sheraton Centre

two newspapers was "Help Wanted" ads for Somerset Inn. Only 12 union members crossed the picket line.

Another woman in housekeeping felt the strike hurt business. Singer Wayne Newton, whose shows attract large audiences, has pledged not to stay at Somerset later this summer if the line is still up. "One who quit said the place is a pig sty. They have two rean men washing dishes for minimum wage. Our members start at \$5.50.

"Now you have to work 30 hours a week to get vacation pay and health insurance. In housekeeping, now work 8½ hours and clean 17 rooms—you used to have 16—for eight hours' pay, and lobby maids have rooms to clean, too. He put the five laundry workers under a new supervisor, a man who had been a dishwasher in our union. He was harassed and fired. When the union fought for his job, he suddenly became a supervisor. You would never know he was the same person; he has really changed.

"Even though we never agreed to the new contract, the company enforces its work rules! A write-up is automatic suspension 'pending investigation.'" Other take-aways were: elimination of designated 6th and 7th days; reducing holiday pay to time-and-a-half; and eliminating seniority rights.

Strikers welcomed the support of News & Letters and the June issue's lead article "Can working people reverse Reaganism's attacks in the shop?" Other striking units had joined their line, and SEMTA drivers honked as they drove by. —Strike support

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Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future A 35-Year Collection of Essays—Historic, Philosophic, Global by Raya Dunayevskaya

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Yet Simone de Beauvoir's conclusion (in *The Second Sex*), after she exposed how horrible men are, is that since it's the man's fault that we haven't got as far as we should be, the men must free us. When I described this to the Black factory women I was working with they told me: "It's just like white man's burden." It was fantastic because the women were saying, no sir! If we let man do the emancipating, we will never get emancipated. It's our job to do it. You couldn't build a mass movement, in the factory or out, whether it's the proletariat, or women, or any nationality, asking some-one else to free you, instead of seeing the job as self-emancipation. (Pages 186-7)

The fetishism that Marx lifts off from the commodity form is not only for purposes of showing that what appears in the market as an equal exchange of things is, in reality, an exploitative relationship of capital to labor at the point of production. It is also, and above all, to demonstrate that "the fantastic appearance" is true. This is what human relations have become in class society; labor has become reified, made into a thing as if labor were no more than an extension of the machine. Therefore the old must be overthrown, root and branch—its "ideology" (false consciousness) as well as its exploitation....(Pages 25-26)

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women- worldwide

Nearly 400 Black women gathered in Atlanta June 29 for the founding meeting of the National Political Congress of Black Women. Among the speakers was Shi Chisholm, who said that neither white men, white women, nor Black men can be expected to change the lives of Black women—the most economically and socially disadvantaged group in the U.S. Black women, she said, are "duty-bound to empower themselves."

Information from Women's World

Thatcher's government enforced new regulations June 29 against homeless people living in bed and breakfast accommodations. The rules limit claimants in London to about £6.90 a night, while even the cheapest, most overcrowded hotel charges £12 per night. The rules force single people, under age 26 to move on to other parts of Britain after eight weeks, even if they have lived in London all their lives. No protection is provided against physical and sexual abuse and fire danger prevalent in many bed and breakfast places. For more information, contact CHAR, 5-15 Cromer Street, London WC1H 8 LS, England.

Information from Outward Bound

The Committee of Concerned Catholics has formed following the reprisal of the Catholic Church against nuns who signed a statement on pluralism and abortion declaring that it was possible to have more than one view on the subject within the Church. The Committee is circulating postcards to the Vatican Ambassador in the U.S., criticizing the Vatican for "Failing to respect the God-given freedom of the signers."

Information from New Directions for Women

A series of cartoon strips called "Silent Screams" by Gary Trudeau, satirizing the anti-abortion movie endorsed by Pres. Reagan and funded for mass circulation by right-wing groups, was pulled from newspapers. Trudeau's distributor because it was "an exceptionally controversial subject." The National Abortion Rights Action League, however, is sponsoring speakouts called "Silent No More," where women who have had abortions give their reasons and feelings.

Capital pits technology against workers

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

General Motors recently purchased Hughes Aircraft at a cost of \$5.2 billion, a move that is going to have a big impact on both the automobile and the aircraft industries. Added to last year's multibillion-dollar buy-out of Electronic Data Systems (a Dallas-based computer firm) by GM, this purchase shows the direction all of American industry is headed.

GM jumped at the chance to gobble up Hughes because it has decided to go after the "glamour industries"—computers, robots, "artificial intelligence" and defense. By acquiring Hughes and Electronic Data Systems GM has in its hands the means to introduce into the auto industry even more automation and robotics.

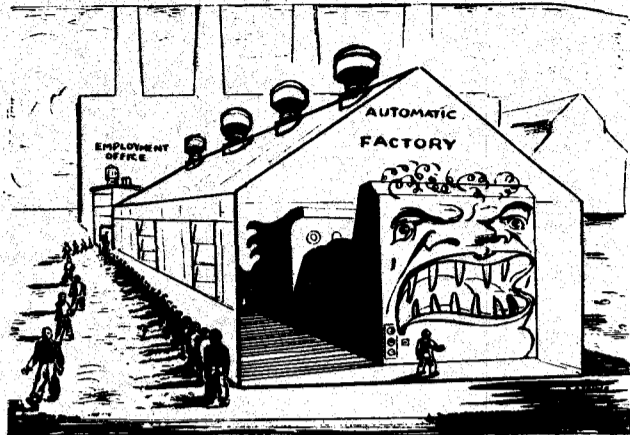
TECHNOLOGY TO CONTROL WORKER

I was reading about a trucking firm that has installed computers on its trucks that keep track of how many stops the driver makes, how long it takes him to unpack his load and how fast he works. This is the type of technology GM is after—technology to control the worker at the point of production. That same technology will throw thousands more out of work and pump more labor and sweat from the workers left on the job.

Some Hughes workers have been quoted in the newspapers as saying they are happy GM has bought up Hughes, since that way they don't have to worry about the company going out of business and about losing their jobs. But GM workers know that the Hughes workers will be forced to work under the "discipline" of even more machinery and unimation. As one bootlicker for the automobile industry recently said, "GM's tradi-

tional strength in assembly line production could benefit (sic) Hughes by bringing a greater emphasis on mass production techniques to the aerospace business."

What no one is talking about is where GM got all those billions to buy up these companies. They got it



from the wage and benefit give-backs forced on auto workers for five years now. And that is exactly what the Hughes workers will find out when they are pressured for wage concessions, give-backs and lay-offs.

GOVERNMENT OF, FOR, BY CAPITAL

This is also how I see Reagan's new tax plan—an effort to increase taxes for the poor and working people so these companies can feel free to gobble each other up. The benefits that Reagan has zeroed in on are deductions from the state and local taxes. Reagan's "tax rebellion" is nothing but broadening the income tax base and lowering rates to the rich.

The interests of the government and the companies are never far apart in this age of state-capitalism. That is becoming clearer and clearer each day. The reason Reagan is pushing Star Wars isn't so much in order to "defend" the country as to produce the new technologies the industrial giants are thirsting for. Never has it been clearer how tied in are all of the crises with the crisis at the point of production.

The direction that U.S. capital is moving is toward total technological control of the worker ending in nuclear destruction itself. We are witnessing the result of what Marx warned against when he said, "To have one basis for life and another for science is a priori a lie." It is about time we all put our heads and our hands together so we can end that division and, with it, end capitalism once and for all.

Simon Owens, Jr. 1937-1985

We mourn the death on May 24 of Simon Owens, Jr., who, for nearly two full decades, wrote for *News & Letters* of workers' struggles from Detroit's GM Fisher Body-Fleetwood plant. His critical eye took the measure of plant management and UAW politicians alike, and his uncompromising attacks on racism in the shop were often the subject of discussion by workers who read his articles.

Si never held—or wanted to hold—a union office, yet workers throughout the plant remember him for his stories exposing the all-white work force in Fleetwood's cafeteria; for his defense of women workers shunted to the hardest jobs in attempts to drive them from the plant; for his campaigns against speed-up and forced overtime. So firmly did he believe in the power of rank-and-file workers, that at the start of the 1970 GM strike he wrote: "Until midnight, GM was the most powerful company in the world; after midnight it was nothing."

When in 1971 a group of workers began a shop paper and action committee and decided to call it the "Fleetwood Revolutionary Workers Committee," Si was among its founders. He was always ready to be a part of shop struggles, but he never separated them from his intense interest in freedom movements everywhere. Whether that was expressed in his support for the African Revolutions—in their honor he named his daughter Leonidia—or in his work with the Michigan-Alabama Lowndes County Movement for Human Rights, the commitment did not waver.

Si was born into a revolutionary world. His mother wrote the "Way of the World" column in *N&L* under the pen name Ethel Dunbar; his father was Charles Denby, editor of *N&L* and author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*. Denby had dedicated his book "to my son, who I trust and hope will not have to go through what I went through when he becomes a man."

Simon Owens, Jr. had to travel his own road of struggle, and his unique voice from the shop was heard right up to the moment he was forced out of Fleetwood by illness in 1981. We are proud to have shared his voice with our readers.

Clouds of dust and fumes

Los Angeles, Cal.—The lead article in the June *News & Letters*, "Can working people reverse Reaganism's attacks in the shop?" hit home to me in relation to my own shop. The article showed that today potentially dangerous toxic substances in the work place can take up to ten, 20 or more years to detect, and that there are 35,000 toxic-substance-related cases pending in the courts with hundreds of thousands of other afflicted workers waiting to find out the results before they file their own cases.

Where I work—a small roofing company—there are two production shifts. Of about 300 workers, a majority are Latino. There are a few Black workers, and then the whites are the ones who hold the office jobs.

I work as a pumper and boiler operator, and we are exposed to asphalt fumes and dust. The kettle which heats the asphalt must be kept at least at 400°F. Dust is used to give texture to the roofing tile, which is paper or fiberglass saturated with asphalt. So the production line constantly keeps a cloud of dust and fumes in the air.

Some employees have been there up to 40 years; most have ten years of service. Two of the workers I know have had heart by-pass surgery, and another just had a heart attack. When I leave there sometimes I feel like a cigarette chain smoker, coughing from the fumes and dust I have been exposed to over an eight-hour period. And I am forced to work six days a week.

Sometimes when we get the production line ready for start-up at night, the fumes are so bad that I am sure that if it were during the day the fire department would think the place was burning down. And to top this off, we only get paid sick leave (four days per year) after working there for at least two years—with no company health check-up during that time. The majority of people don't even know their health status.

The only relationship the capitalist class has to the workers is one of looking for more production. What Andy Phillips developed in his lead article of facts plus philosophy can give us direction to regroup, for labor to get on the move again against this deadly system.

—Eugene Ford

Laid-off because injured

Salt Lake City, Utah—I used to work as a press operator and sander but was laid off because I got hurt lifting 18-foot metal panels which fell on my wrist. I applied for workers' compensation, but the company told them that I was only making \$4 an hour. The truth is that under "incentive pay" I was earning \$8.50 to \$15 an hour. While I was out sick my company sent me a blue slip telling me not to show up anymore for work. Their attitude is just to keep production going.

The "incentive pay" system they had was playing one department off against another. You could make \$120 a day in one department and only \$40 in another, no matter how hard you worked. I got a hernia which needed surgery from the overwork, but when I returned they gave me a harder job! A supervisor confided to me that I was blackballed. Three and one-half years for the company and now I barely have a penny!

—Production worker

Machines oppress women

Chicago, Ill.—When the paper company I work for decided to train me as a machine operator, I thought that would provide me with a skill I could use later to find a better job. Then I found out that the machine I was running was built in 1903 and that there were only four or five of them in the country, two of them in the Smithsonian museum.

Now I find that my "skill" is becoming obsolete even at this plant. The company is combining machines to reduce the number of separate steps in the production process. The men who set up the machines will also be responsible for running them, which will eliminate the women's machine operating jobs and confine them to packing on assembly lines. Why should anyone have to stand in one place for eight hours and pack a product that often isn't even any good?

—Woman paper worker

Detroit, Mich.—I work for an auto parts company, and today I had to learn a new job, which is a lot like being a new worker all over again. Doing a new job takes muscles sometimes that were not used before, and that hurts. The machine I am working is an old junky machine. This machine works mostly on human muscle, and is very painful to the hands.

I like the quote from Marx that says: "The lightning of the labor, even, becomes a sort of torture since the machine does not free the laborer from work, but deprives the work of all interest..." When I read this I think what the machine does to the life of workers. We work in order to live, and because of the machine we live in pain.

—Woman auto parts worker

Kaiser X-ray techs face inhuman boss, union

Oakland, Cal.—I was very interested in the comments from the nurse at Kaiser Hospital in *News & Letters* (May, 1985, p. 2), because it is so much like the situation among the X-ray techs there. When I first started at Kaiser it wasn't a bad place to work. Our new manager, Vanda Boutte, who came about two years ago, only cares about how fast you get things done.

A co-worker kept coming down with strep throat and the flu. Boutte made her so uncomfortable that she kept coming to work and ended up hospitalized with severe dehydration. His thing is to come to work if you can walk. If you call in sick, he calls you at home to find out what your problem is and if you are at home.

He was going to suspend one tech for taking time off to be with her son, who had been run over by a car and was in intensive care. She felt she couldn't leave him. Anybody with any humaneness would be able to understand that. If you have an emergency, this guy just says that's your problem, but no unscheduled time off is going to interfere with running his department.

When the woman talked to our business agent (Local 10 ILWU), he told her about a guy who had perfect attendance, but when he came down with cancer and was missing a lot of hours they fired him. He told her there wasn't much she could do except to try not to take off too much time with her kids. We're paying money to the union and his attitude is similar to management.

Our contract will be up July 1, but there is no discussion with us. The union just waits for Associated Hospitals to offer something and then we can decide. They've been giving things back for the last three contracts and we want to stop them. They're afraid to go out on strike because they say Kaiser will hire new people to take our place. The X-ray techs never cross a picket line, but the other locals (there are 29 bargaining groups in the hospital) aren't as strict. We talk quite a bit with the nurses because their settlement usually sets a pattern for ours.

What is really crucial now is the unions have to get their strength back. Management is out to break the unions and is getting a lot of help from Washington. The alternative is that in a few years the unions will be useless. We have to start sticking together.

—Kaiser X-ray tech

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BLACK WORLD

(continued from page 1)

and from the vicissitudes of the Black Star Line and Liberian Liberty Loan to Garvey's Caribbean tour.

Finally, the event which climaxes the volume, the 1921 UNIA (Universal Negro Improvement Association) Convention, marks the pinnacle of Garvey's development, one disclosing new contradictions in the movement. It is here that we see the many conflicts within the UNIA finally give way to Garvey's most outspoken challenge from the Harlem radicals and Communists associated with the African Blood Brotherhood (ABB).

Though I was looking forward to the publication of volume III—and the project remains a momentous work—the critique I began when reviewing volumes I and II now needs to be sharpened. Take Prof. Hill's "General Introduction" in the first volume—and presumably there will be none besides this—I definitely thought the editor was looking at the objective situation as a totality and had therefore called attention to the study's "historical setting." That included the period of the race riots of 1919 and the infamous Palmer Raids spearheaded by J. Edgar Hoover, Attorney General Palmer's lieutenant (whom our age knows much better) against both Blacks and the radical movement.

Because I had taken for granted that such key developments would be taken up and analyzed, I had concluded in my review of the first two volumes that "Prof. Hill didn't fully bring in the impact of the Russian Revolution upon Garvey which the documents themselves point to," and that "anyone seriously looking for the key to Garveyism's emergence out of the triangular movement of Black thought and revolution between the U.S., the Caribbean and Africa cannot ignore the actual writings of Garvey's *Negro World*..." That was not only in relationship to the Russian Revolution, but had long before developed in relation to Marx's view of the West Indies. Thus I had called attention to the affinity between Marx's and Garvey's views of the Jamaican peasantry and West Indian revolt. (See N&L, Jan.-Feb. and March, 1984 issues.)

However, left unexplained, Garvey's praise of the Russian Revolution and his statements on Lenin and Trotsky give the impression that they did not flow from his view of changing the world or were, as Prof. Hill concluded, some sort of "paradox" or "irony." Far from this being an irony, the truth is that Prof. Hill intended no such connection.

Irish Question, and Russian Revolution

The same attitude toward presenting what is crucial to Garvey's development holds for his relationship to the Irish Revolution, which is Prof. Hill's most original category. Though it is the conclusion of volume II which refers to the telegram Garvey wired to Eamon de Valera, President of the Provisional Government of Ireland, at the opening of the 1920 UNIA Convention, it is necessary to look at it as Garvey expressed it because it is precisely the year, 1920-21, which is the focus of the new volume. It reads: "25,000 Negro delegates assembled in Madison Square Garden in mass convention, representing 400,000,000 Negroes of the world, send you greetings as President of the Irish Republic. Please accept sympathy of Negroes of the world for your cause. We believe Ireland should be free even as Africa shall be free for the Negroes of the world. Keep up the fight for a free Ireland. Marcus Garvey, President-General of the Universal Negro Improvement Association."

This gives a view of both the sweep of world events in Garvey's thought and the confidence and vision of what he represented of the Black world. Nevertheless, Prof. Hill's conclusion that "the Irish cause provided the major ideological mainspring for Garvey's radical political transformation" stops short of the full dialectic of revolution that inspired Garvey's vision. It was not only Ireland but the Russian Revolution that inspired Garvey's nationalism.

This was obvious to everyone from Garvey's ideological enemy, W.E.B. Du Bois, who believed that Garvey was "allied with the Bolsheviks and the Sinn Feiners in their world revolution," to an interviewer who stated that Garvey assigned the following significance to the UNIA's tricolor: "The Red showed their sympathy with the 'Reds' of the world, and the Green their sympathy for the Irish in their fight for freedom, and the Black—The Negro." (Vol. I, p. lxxv)

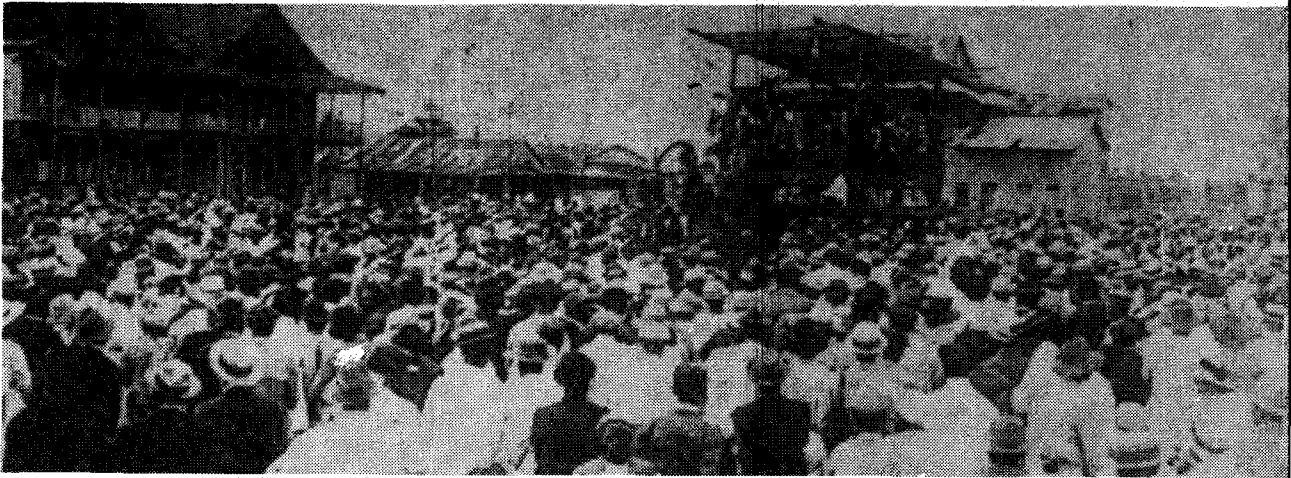
In order to see the methodological problems inherent in Prof. Hill's editing of the mass of Garvey/UNIA documents, let us follow the two events which predominate in volume III: Garvey's Caribbean tour, with Hoover's attempt to bar him from the U.S., and the second UNIA Convention, in August, 1921.

The Caribbean and J. Edgar Hoover

A decade after he left, Marcus Garvey had gone back—not to Africa—but to his native Caribbean where it is neither the visionary "back to Africa" nor the dubious Black Star Line that he confronts as the most objective moment of the Black mass movement, but rather

Review Essay: Marcus Garvey Papers

er the power of negativity, the dialectic negativity of masses in motion. It is that which permeates Garvey's speeches to agricultural laborers and dockworkers in Colon, in talks with cane cutters on sugar estates in Cuba, at mass meetings in union halls and in speeches to sprawling rallies of canal workers and their families in open fields in Panama. Here, the organizational capacity and international expanse of Garveyism gain a



Marcus Garvey addressing a crowd in Port Limon, Costa Rica, 1921

rich concreteness, one in which the innermost certainty that Black consciousness has of itself as an historic subject determined to be free becomes actual.

In an interview, on his arrival in Jamaica, Garvey reported that during his stay in Cuba he had traveled to the interior "where there were thousands of Jamaican laborers on the cane farms," and spent ten days there speaking with them. Furthermore, U.S. State Department reports acknowledged that "Garvey's activities here (in Jamaica) indicate that he would arouse considerable racial antagonism among the Negroes at the Canal Zone and in the Republic of Panama." (Vol. III, p. 356)

While in Costa Rica, Garvey spoke to agricultural and dock workers at the Labor Union Hall in Colon on April 27, 1921, and "several times addressed the many negro laborers of the United Fruit Company," according to a government report of May 2, 1921. In one of his speeches to workers in Cuba which both appeared in the *Negro World* (March 21, 1921) and was contained in the summary report on Garvey's activities as part of Hoover's summary case for excluding him from the U.S., Garvey spoke on the question of force in historical developments. It was a view born of a profound grasp of the objective situation, as a totality, following World War I and the Russian Revolution.

Garvey's planned five-week Caribbean tour was lengthened to four months due to the machinations of American consular officials to deny him a visa to re-enter the U.S.

Contradictions at 1921 Convention

However, the significance of the Caribbean tour drew a sharp line between the Caribbean masses and the government intrigues. And though the hostility of the powers-that-be is rightly stressed by Prof. Hill, we hardly hear the masses speak for themselves. Outside of Garvey's editorials and speeches there is so little from the *Negro World*, the most popular Black newspaper of the period, that we never see how the movement itself viewed the objective situation.

The editing of the Papers gives such an "internal" stamp to the movement that objective reality barely enters as a footnote. Garvey, instead, appears through the documentation as an existential figure divorced from the objective forces which gave birth to Garveyism. Clearly, the government machinations were not phantoms of Garvey's imagination, as he noted innumerable times. Why then does the overwhelming majority of the documents consist of government investigative reports attacking Garvey, while there are only a bare few taken from the journalism of the *Negro World*? In allowing the personality of Garvey to overshadow the objective reality and historic movement, Prof. Hill fails to show the full stature of Marcus Garvey.

The truth is that the crisis in the objective situation had not only intensified, but had manifested a "new radicalism" in the Garvey movement as it moved to its climactic Second UNIA Convention in 1921. That new objective situation also disclosed a shift in global politics ushering in a period of reaction in which all movements came under the whip of counterrevolution during the turbulent 1920s.

That this remained background to the 1921 Convention cannot be attributed simply to the "visionary" program of Garvey, nor even to the ideological struggles which surfaced in the movement in the year leading up to the Convention. Something more was involved.

The climax of volume III is the 1921 UNIA Convention. It is there that Garvey had invited, a white American woman Communist, Rose Pastor Stokes, to make

an address on Aug. 19, 1921, at the same time he was to expel the Harlem radicals belonging to the ABB. Having listened to Stokes' remarks, which definitely called for unity between white and Black, and leaving no doubt that she meant Communism, Garvey then quite shrewdly reserved for himself the right to answer her by telling the enthusiastic Convention that had received her: "Liberty Hall being a great university...tonight we

have had a Soviet professor. Some few nights ago we had an Irish professor. Later on we will have a Republican professor, a Democratic professor...and then we will decide, later on what we will do..."

Then turning to Rose Pastor Stokes, he concluded: "We give to you, Mrs. Stokes, the best wishes of the representatives of the Negro peoples of the world to the struggling workers in Russia and elsewhere. They are seeking, I understand from you, freedom from their capitalist oppressors. We are seeking freedom in Africa. Later on, if the Soviets can help us to free Africa, we will do all we can to help free them." Because it is not made clear what actually was involved in Garvey's signing Stokes to Russia and reserving for himself the Black world, it would have been helpful not to limit the theoretical-historical framework of the Marcus Garvey Papers to Prof. Hill's "General Introduction."

The point is that the mere presenting of the empirical data, the overwhelming proportion of which are government surveillance reports, documenting the vicissitudes of a single subject—Garvey—rather than enhancing his stature actually diminishes it.

We would have a far deeper appreciation of Garvey if the first three volumes had a dialectical framework, that is, if the concrete material had been grasped in its universal significance. Then the breakup of the revolutionary movement under the whip of counterrevolution, from the Palmer Raids to Churchill's intrigues against the Russian Revolution, would not end up by having Garvey reduced to being only Jamaican, or even only Black, but Garvey and Garveyism would gain world-historic significance.

In his wanting to limit Marxism to Russia, while making the Black world, especially in the U.S., his domain, Garvey's attitude anticipated the critique of American Communists that Black radicals such as Claude McKay made later when he considered himself a Communist. Garvey never wavered from his enthusiastic support of the Russian Revolution, though the 1921 UNIA Convention marked the beginning of his conflict with American Communists, Black and white because of their attempt to undermine his leadership.

The whole question of the relationship of leadership to masses, however, is nowhere taken up by Prof. Hill though it is central to this critical period in the UNIA. Thus, the "new radicalism" that Garvey wrote of in a letter to William Ferris, the editor of the *Negro World* referred not only to the Nationalist/Marxist relationship within the Garvey movement, which first made its open appearance at the 1921 Convention, but was derived from his encounter with the revolutionary masses of the Caribbean.

It was, therefore, the totality of both the objective reality and the movement of subjective forces, as Reason which had set the stage for Garvey's August 14, 1921 speech before the UNIA convention when he declared of the Russian Revolution that, "Lenin and Trotsky were able to turn down the Czar; they were able to turn down the despotism of Russia, and today they have given to the world a social republic, the first of its kind. Lenin and Trotsky were able to do that for Russia and I can do that for Africa."

The ambivalence in Marcus Garvey, not as "irony" or "paradox," is one which is inherent in a movement or leadership when it has not worked out, in relationship to theory and practice, the dialectics of revolution which would make the future more than just a vision.

Though it is my hope that some of the questions raised will be dealt with by Prof. Hill, since there are three more volumes to come on Garveyism in the U.S. two on the Caribbean, and two on Africa, we will have to reserve judgement until that is done.

Reagan's military madness threatens humanity

(continued from page 1)

domestic economy. And anyone who thinks that they will not fight Reagan on his Star Wars adventures should remember that at Stalingrad in World War II, the Russians stood on their own dead to win. A U.S.-Russian deadlock in today's world looms out of a very different context than in any previous period, a context in which five major nuclear powers have stockpiled or deployed 50,000 nuclear warheads, with the U.S. and Russia currently aiming 22,000 of them at each other under the terms of the 1979 "arms control" (!) treaty.

Nor is this all. It is not only that the Pentagon budget, supposedly "frozen" for this year at \$267 billion, is \$15 billion higher than last year. It is that the schemes for new weapons systems and war plans constantly proliferate, while the protests of the Democrats are limited to "rooting out waste and inefficiency," as though the cost of a wrench, rather than the survival of humanity, were the issue.

ANTI-STAR WARS ACTIVISTS

What the media has chosen to ignore are the new protest meetings and demonstrations, many by high school-age youth, determined to expose and challenge each facet of the military madness disguising itself as peace through strength."

The 400 activists who gathered May 3-5 in Colorado Springs, Colo., to found STARS (Stop the Arms Race in Space) focused on the most fantastic of all the new schemes—Reagan's "Strategic Defense Initiative," known on the nightly TV news as "Star Wars." They pointed out that this automated system of new technologies, including laser, particle beam and kinetic energy weapons, to be placed in orbit over Russian territory, is already changing the quantitative and qualitative dimensions of the arms race. They demonstrated that the \$1.5 billion spent this year on Star Wars and the \$3 billion Congress stands ready to spend next year are only the beginning of a \$1 trillion cost! And in exposing Star Wars "research" as planning for nuclear war, they proved that its purpose was to ignite an entire new round of nuclear weapons building.

Opposition appeared even in the ranks of NATO, as Denmark, Norway and Greece declined to participate in Reagan's multinational research plan for Star Wars, while France proposed a rival European program of civilian space research.

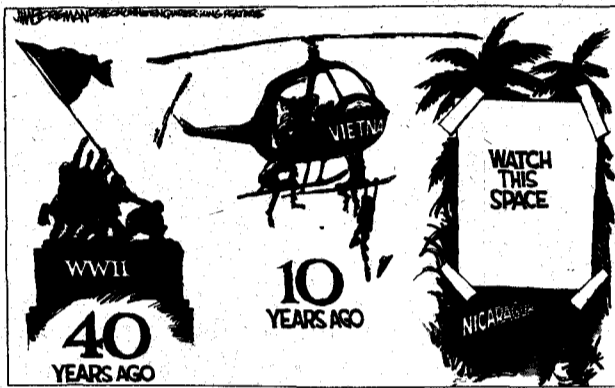
The debate in Congress over Star Wars, however, only underlines how Reagan and his aides have succeeded in shifting the ground of the discussion from the insanity of nuclear war itself to supposed strategies for making such war practical and "winnable." With a Star Wars "shield" protecting the U.S., they argue, Russia, and only Russia, would be vulnerable to a "first strike."

In this atmosphere, the courageous direct actions by

anti-nuclear protesters and by anti-war youth, even when not mass outpourings, have been viewed as threats by the government and have met with severe repression. On March 27, four members of the "Silo Pruning Hooks," sentenced for the "jackhammer-aided disarmament of a Minuteman missile silo" in Missouri, were dealt the longest jail terms ever given to anti-nuclear activists: 18 years, 18 years, 10 years and 8 years. Three weeks later, those vicious sentences did not stop others calling themselves the "Trident Pruning Hooks" from entering the Quonset Point, R.I., Electric Boat facility to damage Trident missile launch tubes, nor did it stop demonstrators from holding a "die-in" at the commissioning ceremony for the Trident sub USS Alabama.

'LAST HAND FROM THE GRAVE'

One single Trident sub, they revealed, when armed with 24 new Trident II missiles, each with 8 warheads 40 times more powerful than the one which destroyed Hiroshima, has within its power the annihilation of an entire continent. And Reagan intends to send 20 of these monsters out to sea by 1989, where they will await one message from the Extra-Low Frequency (ELF) signal center buried in northern Wisconsin. That message, which we are told can be sent even "after America is wiped out," is described by the Pentagon as "the last hand from the grave."



In these first six months of 1985, the U.S. has seen a rally against the construction of a new Biological Weapons Testing Lab in Utah; a sit-down with 135 arrests at Honeywell's nuclear weapons parts facility in Minnesota; and a march to the Pantex plant—assembly of all U.S. nuclear weapons—in Texas. For seven days in April, an "H-Bomb Truck Watch" program even tracked convoys of nuclear warheads on freeways coast to coast. As one Oklahoma member of Nukewatch put it: "It's not remote. It's on I-40 at the Walker and Harvey exit." Internationally, the protests have ranged from New Zealand to Belgium, from Canada to Japan.

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

Two months have passed since Philadelphia's police department dropped a bomb on a house occupied by besieged members of a Black organization called MOVE, killing eleven people, including several children. It started a conflagration that destroyed 53 homes that left 225 people homeless. The political fallout from this act of police violence has remained a crucial problem for Mayor Wilson Goode.

At the time of the bombing and fire, many began to ask the question: would the police have ventured into using bombing tactics in an all white neighborhood to dislodge a besieged group of people from a house?

Mayor Goode attempted to minimize its racist nature by rushing forward to assume full responsibility, thus, causing Attorney General Edwin Meese and other "law enforcement" conservatives to hail him as a hero.

But Goode's assumption of responsibility has not been enough to stop criticism or sweep away the lingering cloud of racism that hovers over burnt out Osage Avenue. So Mayor Goode has now appointed a so-called "independent" commission, with the enthusiastic support of Philadelphia's corporate interests, to investigate the bombing and the fire.

POLICE 'POWER TRIP'

If the commission, which includes not one person from Osage Avenue but an array of ex-civil servants, politicians and the former head of the FBI in Philadelphia, sticks to these guidelines, we can be certain that no true story of what happened on Osage Avenue will emerge. This agenda, as it stands, could conceal more than it would reveal of the true race/class nature of the Black condition in Philadelphia that not only gave birth to an alienated group like MOVE but to a police administration that has no compunction about dropping explosives in a congested Black neighborhood.

In this respect Philadelphia is no different from any other large American city with a large Black population. A quick look at any newspaper would reveal dozens of incidents where police have used excessive force in Black neighborhoods. It was the police "power trip" which triggered so much of

Philadelphia and 'new racism'

the Black mass protest in the 1960s and early 1970s, as well as the Miami Black youth revolts of the 1980s.

It was former Mayor Rizzo's arrogant use of police power against Blacks that helped to solidarize Blacks behind Wilson Goode on his bid to become the first Black mayor of Philadelphia. Goode is not a Rizzo; he was elected 16 months ago by Blacks and liberals to change the type of race relations that Rizzo represented in Philadelphia. But the election of a Black political leader does not transform a race/class society into a free human society.

'COLOR BLIND' RACISM

Today, we can still point to a mountain of data to show that Blacks are three times as poor as whites, twice as unemployed as whites, with many more living in substandard houses than whites; and that Black youth, the so-called underclass, have become a permanent army of unemployed. This is exactly where Black masses were statistically in the 1960s, at the beginning of the Civil Rights Movement.

Alongside these objective conditions of racism a new form of racism has come into vogue claiming that the battle against racism has been won and all that matters now is competition between equal individuals. This "color blind" racism avoids not only the history of Black/white and class relationships in this country, but disregards current realities. It is the doctrine that the Reagan Administration uses to halt and to roll back the civil rights that the Black masses gained twenty years ago.

It has penetrated the thought and practical activity of many Black and white liberal politicians who have come to see that any close connection with issues that are considered Black issues can be a roadblock in the pursuit of a political career.

This is the duality which exists in the so-called "politicalization" of the Black struggle for freedom that has made many Black politicians less likely to grapple with the racist core of American civilization. Historically, however, Black masses in motion have upset this tenuous arrangement by insisting that issues of Black freedom stay on the agenda.

The immediate international threat, however, is not only nuclear. It includes the intensive preparation for war against Nicaragua. Led personally by Reagan, its ramifications extend first to the militarization of the land in Central America, and then to his attempted militarization of the mind in the U.S. The Congressional vote which capitulated to Reagan and sent aid to Somocista "contras" followed his tour through the South, where he insisted that Nicaragua's revolution threatened an America of "individual freedom, family values and free enterprise." On June 4 his Big Lie campaign declared: "Soviet bloc nations and their terrorist allies are pouring in weapons and ammunition to establish a beachhead on our doorstep."

When the vote actually took place on June 12, protests in Chicago, Washington, St. Louis and San Francisco and at Westover Air Force Base, Mass., gave a hint of the gulf that separated the demonstrators from the Democrats who said that they did not wish to appear "soft on communism."

The violence with which over 80 were arrested in downtown Chicago, while picketing the Federal Building on the morning of the vote, is a reflection of the increasing level of U.S. military preparations against Nicaragua. So advanced are those preparations that Eugene Carroll, Jr., a retired admiral who heads the Center for Defense Information, says that they "suggest that the decision has already been made by President Reagan to send U.S. troops into Nicaragua."

Whether one looks at the eight U.S.-built airfields now in Honduras, capable of handling any Air Force plane; or the constant U.S. war games that rotate up to 20,000 troops in and out of the region; or the hints dropped by Secretary of State Shultz that the U.S. will "soon be faced with an agonizing choice" about use of U.S. troops, it is clear that aid to the "contras" is far from all that this Administration has in mind. The Rapid Deployment Force, begun under Carter, has grown to 500,000 troops under Reagan, and its supporters have boasted that they could control most of Nicaragua in two weeks.

In short, whether in nuclear or conventional war planning, Reagan has steered a course throughout the 1980s toward ever-greater militarization of all aspects of life.

● Thus, under the cover of an economic "recovery" led by high tech, the increasing militarization of the economy means at the same time the increasing pauperization of workers, especially Black workers, in the inner cities. The fact is that the growth in high tech is largely a function of military purchases, with a military-driven pattern of innovation. Today over 75% of the federal budget for research and development is devoted to military and space, yet the very concept of "high tech" has been laundered of this military connection.

● Thus, the future of youth is reduced to "demographics," as Pentagon planners grapple with the "shortfall" in the number of men to enter the 18-22 age bracket from the late 1980s through the late 1990s. "Unless the economy really worsens," one planner reveals, "I can't see how we can avoid going back to the draft."

● Thus, Russia, as the other prime contender for world power, counters each U.S. scheme with its own, even parceling out, last month, its own Star Wars research to its Warsaw Pact allies. Such competition has deepening consequences throughout the globe. As Raya Dunayevskaya pointed out some 12 years ago in *Philosophy and Revolution*: "Militarization of the economy, gargantuan as it has become in a nuclear armed world, further intensifies the general crisis... The only 'new' feature in today's automation is the ferocity of the world competition which leads to world war."

This summer will be the 40th anniversary of the day when capitalism opened the nuclear age by tying its new advances in science to mass death, rather than to life. Anti-nuke anti-war organizations have called for protests nationwide on Aug. 6-9, with direct action at nuclear facilities. As a part of those protests, a tour of the U.S. by Japanese survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki will begin July 1. Called "40 days to stop 40 years of the arms race," the tour will spur demonstrations at the Pentagon; at Livermore Labs in California, where Star Wars work is ongoing; at SAC headquarters in Nebraska and at other sites all across the country.

The 750,000 who demonstrated in New York in June, 1982 spoke very clearly of the hunger of the masses for an end to the threat of nuclear war, and of their opposition to the totality of Reaganism—its union-busting and its racism, its imperial ambitions abroad and its totalitarian dreams at home. The three succeeding years have only intensified the need to bring to an end this most degenerate period of capitalism's inhuman rule. We urge all to join in the protests Aug. 6-9. And to join them determined to offer not only opposition to the nuclear horror, but to discuss, with others who have come to demonstrate, freedom ideas for a new society, for a human world.

THEORY / PRACTICE

By Raya Dunayevskaya
Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board
of News & Letters
Part One

I. From the Birth of News & Letters, 1955, to Marxism and Freedom, 1957

With the eyes of 1985, the idea of a Marxist-Humanist paper, beginning publication June, 1955, when McCarthyism was still raging, seems, strangely enough, very todayish. The idea of a struggle for freedom that would make inseparable theory and practice, and have that relation as the determinant, does indeed remain an imperative in Reagan's retrogressive USA.

The three post-World War II decades, 1945-1985, not only tested Marx's philosophy of liberation when one must fight under the whip of counter-revolution, but also saw the emergence of new passions and forces opposing capitalist-imperialism. Thus was signified the dawning of a new epoch.

To examine the first year of our existence, especially the first issue of News & Letters (N&L), will reveal, first, what we heard, and second, the meaning we gave to what we heard by declaring it to be "a movement from practice that is itself a form of theory." It is this we held to be the challenge which theoreticians must face in working out the dialectic philosophy of the age.

The uniqueness of the simultaneity of act and of thought in the 1950s—in such events as the 1949-50 Miners' General Strike and the 1953 East German Revolt—was a spur to the publication of News & Letters. Thus we set aside a specific section entitled "Coal and Its People," which we explained in an article in the first issue, "A Coal Section because..." That section had been born from the kind of questions posed by that 1949-50 Miners' General Strike against Automation, which was then merely known as the struggle against the introduction of a new kind of machine, "the continuous miner," into the coalfields. In battling what the miners called a "man-killer," the miners insisted they were not interested mainly in the question of wages. Rather, they asked what kind of labor man should do. Why was there such a big division between thinking and doing?

In 1953, in a very different country, East Germany, there was a rebellion against "work norms" (speed-up). Here the workers coupled their economic demands at the point of production with the political demand for freedom. It was the first-ever general strike from under Communist totalitarianism. Their slogan was "Bread and Freedom." This new battle spread through East Europe. It came to a climax in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, which brought onto the present historic stage philosophic questions that had been raised in Marx's Humanist Essays of 1844.

Issue number one of News & Letters demonstrated our international dimension in its very appearance in June, 1955, to commemorate the second anniversary of the June 17th East German Revolt. This was discussed in our "World Comment" section of this first issue. Our editorial, "Why We Appear," expressed our relation to our readers as writers here in America. The uniqueness of our paper was manifested in the following:

1. The editors were two workers, Johnny Zupan and Charles Denby. Charles Denby, a Black production worker, was soon to become the sole editor. This was the first time ever that a U.S. Black production worker became the editor of a Marxist paper.

2. Nor was the Black Dimension limited to editorship. The very first issue of N&L reproduced a picture of Njeri, a Kenyan woman who was a central figure in the Mau Mau struggle for freedom from British imperialism. It was to her that the booklet, People of Kenya Speak for Themselves, was dedicated.¹

The year 1955 was filled not only with McCarthyism, but with racism of the most barbaric kind—as witness the murder of Emmett Till. Always seeing the new opposition, the absolute opposite of the barbarism, is the only way to know how to fight in a positive way. Thus, our front page article, Oct. 5, 1955, was not just a report of the horrors of Till's murder, but of the Black mass reaction to it. When the Montgomery Bus Boycott broke out later that same year, our editor, Charles Denby, went to Alabama to meet with the participants in that bus boycott. What we presented in the pages of N&L was a report of the beginnings of the Black Revolution. It became crystal clear that this movement wasn't the act of any single individual but was masses in motion—what we would later call Black masses as vanguard.

3. The category of Women's Liberation as Reason as well as revolutionary force was seen in N&L from the start. It was not alone that a Black woman, Ethel Dun-

1. I have read innumerable "crudite," "scholarly" studies that speak of Koinange's book as if the date it was finally published commercially was the time when the story of the Mau Mau struggle was revealed. The truth is that we had tried very hard to get an established publisher before we undertook our own publication. Koinange thought he had Nehru's promise to do so. But indeed, other than ourselves, none were willing to undertake publication.

The concrete-Universal: a re

bar, authored a column she called "We Are Somebody", but that N&L had no less than two other women columnists—Jerry Kegg on the Labor page and Angela Terrano, who was also a worker, writing a column called "Working for Independence," first on the Youth page and later on the Labor page.

4. The Youth column was then written by Robert Ellery, who edited the page and called his column "Thinking It Out." He later wrote the front page article which clearly showed that, far from the youth being a "Beat Generation," they were in fact a new force of revolution—"Rebels With A Cause." (N&L, Feb. 5, 1957)

5. To be noted as pivotal as well was the section devoted to "Readers' Views" which was created to give priority not merely to letters to the editor, but also to unwritten letters, i.e., to views of non-members, often only spoken. The purpose of this section was to reveal what people thought and said of the world, and of their own lives, which would not depend on whether or not they were writers. Rather, it was a question of our members needing to be alert to what the masses said to each other, what they thought, how they felt, whether at work or just on public transportation. Involved here is the whole concept of oral history. This will be fully developed for the coming Plenum by our National Co-Organizer, Michael Connolly, who is the editor of the Readers' Views pages.

6. An "MD" column was written by a doctor. It did not limit itself to medical problems, though central to the column would be specific questions about industrial illnesses and about the social nature of illness. Thus, the MD column dealt with such other topics as a review of Herbert Marcuse's Eros and Civilization (N&L, Feb. 5, 1957); and a series of four articles developed a view of "The Biological Basis of Marxist-Humanism." (N&L, April-October, 1960)

7. Finally, there was my column, "Two Worlds," which had an overline, "Notes from a Diary," and was, at first, unsigned. My first column dealt with "Letter Writing and the New Passions" that signalled the birth of a new epoch.

In 1955 our very first conference, which had decided to publish this paper, News & Letters, edited by workers, had at the same time assigned me to complete the study of Marxism that I had been working on for a decade. It would be called Marxism and Freedom and would articulate both the American roots of Marxism and Marx's world Humanist concepts. It would not be completed until 1957. Before its appearance, however, we did issue our very first pamphlet, which reproduced in mimeographed form my translation of Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks, which had never been available in English before. That same pamphlet contained, as well, my May, 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolute Idea. It is in these letters that I held that inherent in Hegel's Absolute Idea as a unity of theory and practice was the presence of a movement from practice.

I felt that in our age, when the workers' movement from practice had manifested itself as a form of theory, it was the task of Marxists to face this new reality in such a way that all relations between workers and intellectuals change. One manifestation of that was that workers became editors. But that did not mean that there would be no work for the intellectuals who were revolutionary and who participated with the workers in all their actions. Here is what I wrote in my "Two Worlds" column of Aug. 5, 1955, about the unique combination of worker and intellectual that N&L was establishing. We insisted that this was "the practice of the breakdown of the most monstrous division of all—the division between mental and manual labor...The intellectual must be attuned to hear that movement from practice to theory. This is the nub...Theoreticians cannot be bystanders to a paper that mirrors the workers' thoughts and activities as they happen."

This conception became historically as well as currently alive as the East European revolts reached their first climax in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. Along with establishing Workers' Councils at the point of production, instead of the state-controlled unions, that revolution, as well, saw the appearance of innumerable newspapers and, as I mentioned above, the 1844 Humanist Essays of Marx were brought onto the historic stage as a cogent point of discussion. It was precisely those Essays which we had translated in the 1940s, had been unable to find a publisher for, and which we had decided to include as an appendix to Marxism and Freedom, which was just then being completed.

Just as my breakthrough on the Absolute Idea, where I had singled out the movement from practice, set the structure for Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 Until Today, so the Hungarian Revolution gave a today-ness to Marx's Humanist Essays, while the Montgomery Bus Boycott made inseparable the Black Revolution and its international dimension. In the Introduction to this work I made clear the indispensability of a new type of relationship of practice to theory, a new unity of theory and practice: "No theoretician, today more than

2. How long was it before Jesse Jackson made a category out of "We Are Somebody"? By then Dunbar had changed the title of her column to emphasize its international dimension, calling it "Way of the World."

ever before, can write out of his own head. Theory requires a constant shaping and reshaping of ideas on the basis of what the workers themselves are doing and thinking." It was this which led me, in dedicating the work to "the auto workers, miners, steelworkers and student youth who have participated so fully in the writing of this book," to declare them to be "its co-authors." News & Letters further deepened this new relationship between workers and intellectuals on the basis of what Marxism and Freedom had established.

Before the 1950s would end, all of us would be put to a new test, which, on the one hand, showed the emergence of a Third World in its colonial revolutions and, on the other hand, a new counter-revolution in the coming to power of DeGaulle.

II. 1958-1959: The Need to Unfurl a New Banner of Revolution

DeGaulle's return to power in 1958, as the colonial revolts were developing into outright revolutions, was a threat not just to the Algerian Revolution but to the Parisian workers—a threat which the workers realized, as shown by the 250,000 who marched against his return. The July, 1958 issue of N&L had as its front page article "France at the Cross Roads" and referred readers to my "Two Worlds" column (now signed by me as author of Marxism and Freedom) entitled "Whither Paris?"

I had preceded this article, and continued afterwards, with letters to revolutionary tendencies, mainly state-capitalist, which had opposed both poles of world capital, Russia and the U.S. In these letters I called for an international conference. What 1958 had made clear to me was that the disregard of Marxism and Freedom by these tendencies was not a mere factional attitude, but an actual failure on their part to face the new objective reality.

Thus, the same issue of N&L which spoke of France at the cross roads carried three articles opposing my analysis of the maturity of the proletariat as well as the concept of a unique combination of worker and intellectual in which N&L was rooted: Jean Malaquais, in a

NEWS & LETTERS
Published
OCT., No. 1 FRIDAY, JUNE

WORKER'S JOURNAL
By CHARLES DENBY
Many workers in the plant where I work that taking strike action against somewhat useless because...
Notes from a Diary
TWO WORLDS
LETTER WRITING AND NEW PASSIONS
As we were preparing to go to press with this, our first issue, I was asked why I had placed so much emphasis on letters to and from news committees as well as to and from workers outside these news committees. The day well-known for its... all but forgot this nation

Rea Views

WORKERS & LAW
The company is already beginning to break down classifications and putting the women want to. They are preparing for... will give up... I can... quarar...

A DOCTOR SPEAKS
BY M.D.
MENOPAUSE
Menopause is the period in a woman's the natural cessation of menstruation, and an end to child-bearing. Menstruation is the ing off of the inner lining of the uterus of... has been swelling in preparation; if pr...

EDITORIALS
WHY WE APPEAR
This is the first issue of NEWS & exist primarily to provide the means Negroes, women... can express tudes and feel... this them: **YOUTH**

Working
BY...
I finally went to s Wild One." I was hol being it but I am it sort of gave into one you be with

Objective look at thirty years of News & Letters

letter to me dated June 1, 1958, criticized "the tone" of my letter and clearly disagreed with my concept of the maturity of the proletariat. Along with his letter, we also published a letter from France, from Tribune Ouvriere, that insisted that a workers' paper should have only workers; and a letter from Onorato Damen in Italy (Battaglia Comunista) which was quite critical, but agreed to call an international conference the following year.

My articles in the August and September, 1958 issues of N&L continued the dialogue both on the question of colonial revolts and general Humanist concepts and on the responsibility of intellectuals, concluding that what will lead to a new human order is "not Mao, but the creative untapped energy of millions."

In this period Latin America was more than just stirring. By 1959 we had the eruption in Cuba. Later we will deal with how N&L would report and comment upon that revolution, which in the beginning we not only hailed as the great event it was, but as well pointed to the many contradictions which led it to align uncritically with Russia. For the moment, however, we are focusing only on those revolts which would disclose the great schism between the European state-capitalist tendencies and myself.

Before the international conference was to convene in the fall of 1959, I had continued with writings on the African and Asian revolutions. In the June-July issue of N&L we published a special supplement entitled "Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions," which would then become a printed pamphlet.

By this period it was clear that it wasn't only the African Revolutions that many of these Marxists refused to accept as "real" revolutions. They refused, as well, to accept the task that I considered crucial for all Marxists. Here is the way I expressed this in my "Two Worlds" column on the "Responsibility of Intellectuals" (N&L, August, 1958): "I am not concerned with the Communist who will sing any tune Moscow blows out. I am concerned with the anti-Communist Marxist beating his chest. For, in the concrete, the new form of fascism could have not been foreseen and was not

foretold, much less prepared for, except by unfurling a new banner of Marxist Humanism."

The whole point is that when a new revolution erupts, the tendency is to immediately try to box it in as if it were a question of France/Algeria; or of the West in general/the African revolutions; or in the Middle East, of Arab/Israel. This confining of the new within old categories arose again in terms of the Iraq Revolution of July, 1958. Here was a new form of revolution that wished to be truly independent, rather than confined into East/West, or Arab/Israel, or even Nasser/Saudi Arabia, as if these were absolute opposites. This revolution started out on a tone independent of any of these, extending even to the distinction between Sunni and Shi'ite in its own country. Why did no Marxist try to work out what that signified? Post-Marx Marxists have disregarded too many revolutions, successful or aborted; disregarded too many philosophies underlying those revolutions. They just allow intellectual sloth to accumulate and accumulate.

It was at this conference held in Europe in the fall of 1959 that, for the first time before an international audience of those holding a state-capitalist position, I articulated my total philosophic conception of Marxist-Humanism, which I had expounded fully in *Marxism and Freedom*, both philosophically and concretely. And I felt that now (1959) such a concept was being disclosed in the African Revolutions. Unfortunately, what was revealed at the 1959 conference of those who had rejected both poles of world capital since World War II was that without dialectical philosophy, the state-capitalist theory was inadequate, and this inadequacy was not limited to the state-capitalist tendency in the U.S.

What the Europeans at the conference did agree to, however, was to continue the dialogue with Marxist-Humanism by establishing a special section of *Prometeo* (included within the journal but printed on a different color paper) for discussion in English and Italian.

III. The Turbulent 1960s, a Critique

As we saw, the turbulent 1960s, in Marxist-Humanism's view, had actually begun toward the end of the 1950s. We had been focusing on the new movements in the post-World War II world that we had judged to be a movement from practice and the birth of a whole new Third World, especially the African Revolutions. We became full participants in all the activities during the turbulent '60s, while the dialectic methodology we had been developing—which had finally been worked out for our age in book form in *Marxism and Freedom*—deepened the principles and manifestations of Marxist-Humanism in *News & Letters* itself. Whether it was the Black Revolution, not just in Africa but also in America, or the youth movements on the campus, or the colonial revolutions, the reporting was made inseparable from the theoretical analysis which we saw as integral to the report.

Take the very first issue of 1960. The front page article that January was entitled "Cuba Jolts State Department Domination in Latin America." Whether we consider just that issue or compare it to the December issue, where the "Two Worlds" column on Cuban developments was called "The Year After," each made it clear that the hailing of the revolution was never uncritical. For that matter, the manner in which shop reports were given in N&L by participants themselves had a new theoretical vantage point rooted in the manner in which interviews I had conducted with miners had appeared in *Marxism and Freedom*. In the original edition, the last chapter, "Automation and the New Humanism," expressed this philosophic principle with the opening section, "Different Attitudes to Automation."

Or look at the April, 1960 N&L: the lead is on "South Africa—South USA." It carries a picture of a demonstration by 30,000 South African freedom fighters. There is a reference to the "Two Worlds" of that issue on "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in South Africa." At the same time the front page has an in-person report by an activist in Montgomery, Alabama, entitled "No One Moved," which describes a demonstration at State Teacher's College. This article, in turn, directs the reader to other reports on student demonstrations on pages six and eight.

The August-September issue that year is totally new in the sense that the whole issue is fully devoted to *Workers Battle Automation* by our editor, Charles Denby. This was to become a special pamphlet and would make clear not only that workers do speak for themselves, but that these pages were not limited to the auto industry. Denby included the miners, steel and rubber workers, as well as white collar workers. Furthermore, instead of coming to a conclusion as if that were the only "line," there are two different views on the question of Automation—that of the editor, and the "dissident" view of Angela Terrano. In fact, as the next issue shows, it is she who becomes Associate Editor.

Our pamphlets become the place where not only do workers and Blacks speak for themselves, but where all

the revolutionary forces are heard speaking not only about their specific experiences but about the objective events of the world. Indeed, several of the pamphlets were reproduced in other countries, from England to Japan, some with their own prefaces and with new additions. Thus the 1959 pamphlet on the Afro-Asian Revolutions was brought out in a 1961 edition in England by the New Left group at Cambridge University, including both Peter Cadogan's new foreword and an appendix that reproduced his review of *Marxism and Freedom*.

The significance of this new edition was that it was a result of my anti-nuclear participation in Great Britain during the height of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, even as the Japanese New Left six years later not only translated many of our pamphlets, but invited me to give an anti-war speech at Hiroshima. The anti-war activities that were very sharply reported in N&L always created new solidarity between movements. This specific pamphlet by Cadogan was advertised by our Marxist-Humanist comrades in Glasgow, Scotland in the very issue in which Harry McShane described the mass demonstration there against the use of Holy Loch as a Polaris submarine base.

What remains with us to this day as central to all our principles is the 1963 publication of *American Civilization on Trial*, which appeared first as two special issues—January and February, 1963. This is so not only because it was issued on the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, but because it is the only pamphlet that is signed by the entire National Editorial Board of *News & Letters*. The June-July, 1963 issue continued the theme of *American Civilization on Trial*, carrying on the front page a superb photo of a quarter of a million marching in Detroit—where Rev. King first gave his "I Have A Dream" speech.

The year 1963, in general, focused on the Black Dimension, not only in America but internationally. I was especially anxious that the internationalism of Marxist-Humanism not be limited to my presentation at the 1959 conference of those who opposed both poles of world capital. Thus, in April, 1963 we reproduced, "Why Not a New International of Marxist-Humanism?" which had been presented and published in France by *Présence Africaine*.

Finally, the reason for singling out *American Civilization on Trial* from all our pamphlets is that it did not relate to a single event. Rather, it covered the entire history of the U.S. and showed the revolutionary nature of the Black masses in motion as vanguard.

Between 1960 and 1966 we published the following, first in N&L and then as printed pamphlets: *Workers Battle Automation* (1960); *Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves* (1961); *American Civilization on Trial* (1963); *The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution* (1965); *State-Capitalism and Marx's Humanism, or Philosophy and Revolution* (1967)³ and *Czechoslovakia: Revolution and Counter-Revolution* (1968).

In January, 1962 N&L had a special supplement on "Mao Tse-tung, from the Beginning of Power to the Sino-Soviet Dispute," which became a new Chapter XVII, "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung," in the second edition of *Marxism and Freedom* (1964). Besides individual articles in N&L, my analyses of Mao Tse-tung are nearly innumerable. The one on the "Cultural Revolution" was published in the journal, *New Politics*, and then became a new Chapter XVIII, entitled, "Cultural Revolution or Maoist Reaction?" in the third (British) edition of *Marxism and Freedom* (1971).

Since all the voices from below speak eloquently enough for themselves and can be heard in these pamphlets, there is no reason to do a more detailed report here. However, there is no way of not singling out how the world held its breath in 1962, when, first (March, 1962), Kennedy was going in for nuclear spectaculars and I described it in my "Two Worlds" column as "Testing, Blackmailing, Brainwashing"; and then (October, 1962), we faced the confrontation between the U.S. and Russia over the placement of missiles in Cuba, which our editorial (November, 1962) called "Kennedy and Khrushchev Bring the World Close to the Point of No Return."

Finally, one more event that manifested the seriousness of *News & Letters'* relation to objective events in the world was the creation of *Weekly Political Letters* beginning in 1961. The first one is our reaction against the barbarous U.S. imperialist Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. The very moment the radio announced it, we felt the inadequacy of having only a monthly journal to articulate our views, to meet the challenge of objective events. The letter written that very day was made as public as the paper itself. It was the first of what became a series of *Weekly Political Letters* which would continue through some 40 letters, whether I was in the country or abroad.

The 1962 trip to Africa was recorded both in N&L

(continued on page 11)

3. In N&L, December, 1966 we had printed this as one of "Two Views of State-Capitalism," publishing, as the other view, the Japanese Marxist-Padayuki Tsushima's "State-Capitalism and Socialist Revolution."

CAN WORKERS REVERSE REAGANISM IN THE SHOPS?

Last month I was feeling pretty depressed about the situation of workers. All I could see were the rollbacks in wages, benefits, and work rules, even in union shops. The concessions are killing us, and nothing seemed to be happening against them. When I read Phillips' article (June N&L) "Can working people reverse Reaganism in the shop?" I felt that the answer was "No, at least not now."

But almost as soon as I read it, there seemed to be anti-concessions strikes breaking out everywhere—in New York hotels, in Coca-Cola in Chicago, even among high-paid United Airlines pilots... I may be over-optimistic, but I think that the high-water mark of Reaganism in the shops has passed. We are fighting back.

Labor veteran
Detroit

If, as you say, "in South Africa revolution alone is concrete," what about here? It is scary how this insane life can go on and on, through Philadelphia and Bitburg, and seem so normal. What will it take to shake us out of this "normality"? We can't wait till World War III is on us, and Reagan seems sure to go into Nicaragua.

At work there are less and less jobs. It's very hard now for new immigrants coming in; you have to know someone to get in anywhere. My place has not laid off, but attrition has cut the workforce, and they're still buying new machines while crying business is bad...

UAW member
New Jersey

When I heard Peter Wermuth speak recently in Salt Lake City, he mentioned that N&L took seriously the working conditions that workers thought were important. Others criticized N&L for being concerned with the "grease on the floor." That's not funny. At the place where I work, a fast food restaurant, water on the floor is a major hazard. I bit the tiles last week rushing to keep up with my manager's orders and broke some plates.

Fast food worker
Utah

On May 10 my paycheck was only \$18.00, because I missed four days of work the week before. I had hurt my hand and was unable to work. The union took \$10.50 out of my one day's pay. I have to spend \$10.00 on bus fare to get to work, so I have \$8.00 left for me. I was reading the May N&L, where John Marcotte writes about how May Day began with U.S. labor. Reaganism says the U.S. worker today is too rich. How rich is a person when working hard all day in the plant means you only have \$8.00 to show for it?

Factory worker
Flint, Mich.

I drive a truck, hauling hazardous waste. I only make \$9 an hour—yet my company could afford a new \$140,000 truck recently. I can tell people that EPA laws designed to protect the public aren't enforced. My boss wants to lower my pay to minimum wage—for hauling hazardous waste, which is not a safe job.

I used to work for Datsun, and I'd be making a lot more money if I was still there now. But it's all on piece rate; they've done away with hourly wages. The pressure is tremendous. I can see with my own eyes: my friends there are making the money, but they are killing themselves.

Young truck driver
Los Angeles

Andy Phillips' article told the truth about concessions contracts today. The union leadership is not fighting Reaganism like they should be. But we don't want to be stuck with no union either. If you ever worked in a non-union shop, you know that hell is even hotter there...

Union member
Michigan

When the government releases its figures on unemployment, they never count soldiers as part of the unemployed, but so many young people are in the service today because they can't find a job. I liked Lou Turner's column on Black Vietnam vets because he didn't counterpose those who said "Hell no, we won't go" to those who were in Vietnam, where they gained a new consciousness. For myself, it was being in the military that made me a radical. Before that, I was more or less an automaton, going along with the program of this society. But just like Marx talked about how the factory brings workers together and they become capitalism's gravediggers, so young workers in the military become capitalism's gravediggers too.

Vietnam-era vet
Los Angeles

HOW ABOUT THATCHERISM?

Two months after the defeat of the miners' strike, reaction is rampant throughout the coalfields. Colliery managements are brushing aside agreed customs and practices, altering shift patterns, withholding bonus payments and sacking miners for petty offenses. The way is now clear for the National Coal Board to carry through its program of closing pits and eliminating jobs. Several hundred have been fired for their actions in the strike, and the NUM paper, "The Mines," listed 43 who are serving prison sentences. A number of local strikes have taken place against victimization, the network of support groups remains active...

The Thatcher government presses on with dismantling the social-democratic welfare state, with plans to abolish the councils which fix minimum wages. They have the effrontery to claim that such schemes will help reduce unemployment, since in Thatcherite ideology, unemployment exists because workers have "priced themselves out of the market."

Richard Bunting
Oxford, England



QUESTIONS ARISE IN ANTI-NUKE AND YOUTH MOVEMENTS

About 2,000 demonstrators gathered near both ends of the Verrazano-Narrows Bridge June 8 in protest against the Navy's plan for "home-porting" in New York Harbor a seven-ship armada capable of carrying hundreds of nuclear-armed cruise missiles, each with fifteen times the power of the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima.

The demonstration was thoroughly planned, but organizers failed in their attempt to get a permit that would have allowed them on the bridge. The idea had been to form a human chain as a symbolic blockade, closing the mouth of the Hudson River to nuclear-armed ships.

Of the several speakers, the most interesting to me was the Japanese woman survivor of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, who described the goals of her group, now touring the U.S.

Participant
New York

I hear about the bombing of Philadelphia from every Black person I talk to on any subject these days. But I do not see that urgent concern for Black America expressed in the anti-nuke, solidarity or women's movements here. A demonstration in Brooklyn June 8 against the proposed berthing of nuclear-armed ships in N. Y. was almost all white and limited to the nuclear issue.

Where are the organized protests about the open warfare practiced by the Philadelphia police against Blacks there? Surely we have fallen to a new depth of racism when armed combat is used against a residential neighborhood that is not even in revolt. This is not just a horror; it is the logical conclusion

Readers' Views

of Reaganism. Ida Fuller's article in the June N&L exposes racism even in the South Africa solidarity movement. She shows it as a consequence of not listening to the Black masses at home.

Concerned
New York City

It was exciting to see in last month's N&L all the reports from campuses with students protesting apartheid in South Africa—a whole page of them. But I think it would have been better if one of them had been removed to make room for a little story printed on a different page: "H.S. students vs. military", on the youth who disrupted the Armed Forces Parade in Chicago. That additional dimension would have made clear that youth in revolt are conscious of the need to uproot Reagan's regime right here at home, and not only in South Africa.

Reader
Evanston, Ill.

CRISIS IN BLACK HEALTH

It's no lie that there is a "Black Health crisis" as you reported last month. The hospitals here have also been hit with lay-offs as the number of admissions are declining and the average length of stay gets shorter. There's no real health care where it's needed most—for the poor, and not only the Black poor. If the hospital is making money from your stay, great. If not, they can't wait to get rid of you.

Nurse
California

TEACHING MATH TODAY

As a calculus teacher I was stimulated to do some new thinking after reading *The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts*. Existing math teaching pretends to be an objective process, but this is a myth. The speed of the course, regulated by the difficulty of the syllabus, discriminates against students from less privileged backgrounds.

DEEPENING CENTRAL AMERICA'S REVOLUTIONS

Terry Moon opened up the discussion of abortion (illegal) in Nicaragua in her "Woman as Reason" column (June N&L). This has been so hard for feminists and solidarity activists to discuss. Moon brings the concept of "critical support" of a revolution to a new level. She shows that it is not that on the one hand she supports the Nicaraguan revolution, and on the other hand she is critical of them on abortion, but rather that precisely because she supports the revolution, and feels the urgency of its survival and development, she is raising these questions.

Revolutionary feminist
California

You are playing into the hands of U.S. imperialism by questioning Nicaragua on women having illegal abortions. Why are you bringing that up now? I think that it would be more appropriate for you to write about how women are forced to have sterilizations in the U.S. colony of Puerto Rico.

Puerto Rican socialist
Chicago

So often I've heard the narrow-minded view that women's liberation ideas are Western, etc. I had a big argument a couple of weeks ago with two young Black fellow workers who were telling me that Black women were liberated and that women's liberation was a white middle-class idea. I very much liked Terry Moon's comments on women in Nicaragua for that reason. There can be no doubt that women played an enormous part in the overthrow of Somoza, yet they are always viewed only

Being concerned with ideas in and for themselves, I am especially sensitive to the ways in which this emphasis on speed-up distorts the thought process itself. The fetish which narrows our concept of results always terrorizes students by measuring them by this standard, rather than a genuine assessment of what their own contributions are. Only a few privileged researchers are allowed a genuine, spontaneous activity in mathematics. Science becomes an enclave for a few. I am concerned how we can begin to break down this gross distortion of the relation between science, education and life.

Math instructor
Salt Lake City

APPEAL FROM BRITISH HOSPITAL WORKERS

Readers of N&L should know of the level of repression that is currently taking place in England. In Oxford there is the case of Carole Duffy, a trained nurse for 17 years and shop steward who is a member of COHSE (Confederation of Health Service Employees). She was sacked May 7, following suspension from duty since last December on vague, unsubstantiated charges. The reason given for the sacking was that she was listed as a speaker at a Trades Union meeting to take place May 8.

Since she was ill, management offered to "discipline" her at her sick bed. This followed her recovery from a severe illness, during which she had to have two operations and three admissions to hospital. The chief nurse has said that being listed as a speaker for the Trades Union meeting was an act of gross misconduct, and has sacked her. How can a person be sacked on May 7 for something they may do on May 8? Messages of support and donations can be sent to:

Carole Duffy Defence Cte.
Trade Union Office
Littlemore Hospital, Littlemore
Oxford, England

as a force, bearing arms side-by-side with the men.

Moon's critique of Ernesto Cardenal shows what that view leads to—truncating the revolution. I liked it because it makes no separation between the critique and where the critique comes from—Marxist-Humanism's concept of "Woman as Reason."

Nigel Quinten
Manhattan

I was glad to see the review of Rigoberta Menchu's book in the June N&L, but I was somewhat surprised to see Richard Bunting write: "the traditional peasant village community...Menchu shows us, is also a mainspring of revolution in today's Guatemala." Far from that being the case, Menchu graphically shows in her book how it is the contradiction, the clash, between the "traditional" and the "modern"—expressed in the peasants working half the year in their village plots, and the rest of the year as migrant laborers on the large plantations—that is the mainspring of revolution in today's Guatemala.

It also seems to me that one of the "human forces" Marx looked at to transform society was not so much the "traditional peasant village community" as much as the peasantry who in certain historic instances battle not only the encroachment of capitalism from outside but also the traditional relations inside the community. Had Bunting singled that duality out, he would have presented a more accurate picture of Menchu's book as well as shown more precisely the todayness of Marx's analysis of the village commune.

Peter Wermuth
Los Angeles

REAGAN AT BITBURG: POLITICAL-PHILOSOPHIC NOTES

In Raya's "Political-Philosophic Notes on Reagan's Visit to Bitburg" (June N&L), I was very interested in her comments on the international conference of 1959, where Raya issued a challenge to re-establish Marxism in its original form of a new Humanism, but all the state-capitalist tendencies at the conference did nothing but call for the end of philosophy. It reminds me of Tony Cliff, the leader of the British SWP, who writes on Lenin, yet still refuses to recognize Lenin's philosophic reorganization in his 1914 study of Hegel.

I went back and looked up the footnotes in the article, especially Raya's analysis of DeGaulle coming to power in 1958. It brings up the whole question of what the state-capitalist tendencies stand for. Their highest statements are for workers' power. They never saw the new questions raised by workers in the age of Automation...

**British activist
New York**

The point on the Spanish demonstrations against Reagan was very well-taken, I think. We looked for big protests in Germany against his trip to Bitburg, but they weren't that impressive. Then you see the outpouring in Spain and you realize what the remembrance of a revolution means, even if it is as long ago as the Spanish Revolution of 1936-39, and was betrayed by Stalin's Russia as well as the West.

**Student
Oakland, Calif.**

I had never really understood before why N&L had considered DeGaulle's regime as the rise of fascism again in France. I was in the Civil Rights Movement and, after all, DeGaulle was the man who finally pulled French troops out of Algeria. We were supporters of the Algerian Revolution. But now I can see that DeGaulle had bigger designs than Algeria; he had world power illusions. If you are going to make a Franco-German axis in 1963, as Dunayevskaya points out, you can't have your troops and resources and national will tied up in a colonial war. If he could get together with Germany and chal-

lenge both East and West, he'd be able to alter the world strategic balance...

**Civil rights veteran
Chicago**

What struck me about Dunayevskaya's analysis of post-war Europe, as seen through the visit to Bitburg, was that a state-capitalist analysis of the world which does not go on to answer philosophic questions, an analysis which doesn't go on to Marx's Humanism, is tragically insufficient. The representatives of the European state-capitalist tendencies could not see what was new in the world of the 1950s. They couldn't see the new revolutionary developments in East Europe and in the Third World. And they couldn't see the danger in the new counter-revolution in DeGaulle's France. As long as you think economic questions are only economic, rather than also philosophic, you're going to be stuck in old categories.

**Eugene Walker
Chicago**



**WOMEN'S
LIBERATION
IN INDIA
AND CHINA**

We just learned today that an activist ex-priest was badly beaten by police while in custody, and then killed. This is a common event here unfortunately. Tomorrow I'm going to a meeting of activists in the whole South Bihar area; this time to discuss Capital...

My last readings have been in *Search of Answers* by Madhu Kishwar. It is a collection of the most important articles in *Manushi*. I appreciate that it reflects very much the reality of the country, of Indian women, though in my view it lacks "backbone."

I have also finished reading *Women of China*. I was interested because it is about the role of peasant women in China's revolution. But it presents the role of the CCP as "vanguard" of all women's movements. It wants to stress that class is stronger than gender, and that when the CCP organized women it

was because they were mobilized through peasant and worker organizations...

**Correspondent
Bihar, India**

**READERS WRITE: N&L AS
PAPER, AS ORGANIZATION**

I was excited about receiving a sample of N&L and I want to learn more about your project. Please send me any additional literature about your committees, and especially about your discussions of "dialectics of liberation"... Is there any way I can participate in News and Letters groups? I am a sociologist and I have done much research in ideology, labor organizations and health. Would you be interested in articles on those topics?

**College professor
Kansas**

Can you send a brochure explaining the work of News and Letters Committees—a kind of "this is who we are, this is what we do" explanation? Along with a classmate at college I have become very issue-oriented, and I am not content with the "answers" of the big political parties nor their media promoters...

**Student
Boston, Mass.**

Why is it that so much Marxist (including Marxist-Humanist) theory writing is so boring? Whether the theory is related to practice or not, it is still soporific. I feel N&L defeats its purpose of uniting the intellectual and the worker because such dry theory turns people off. It doesn't have to be that monotonous.

**Subscriber
Yardley, Pa.**

I want to renew my subscription to N&L. It is a very good source of ideas. My students enjoy Denby's book—sometimes they read it, and not the other texts I assign. There is no one "Black Studies" program at Michigan State Univ. The fact that the classes in Black studies are scattered through various departments may have helped

them to survive. Black studies programs have been cut everywhere else.

**Black history professor
East Lansing, Mich.**

N&L is a refreshing alternative to official "news"-papers. Topics covered, however, are often redundant—an effect that is perhaps better ascribed to the slowness of social change than to the efforts of writers...

**Reader
Berkeley, Calif.**

I thought the advert on page 10 last issue for "30 Years of News & Letters newspaper" was great. It got me scanning the Bound Volumes of N&L to find Denby's beautiful article that was quoted from 1975, where he begins: "Workers consider all labor alien." It was important that the advert appeared next to Raya's article on Bitburg. Together they showed the historic sweep of N&L in a way I hadn't seen before.

**Friend of N&L
New York City**

I am very interested in the actions of News and Letters Committees to provide news against the U.S. ruling bureaucracy... I am also interested in learning how I might become associated with News and Letters Committees in its struggle, so as to better coordinate my activities with those of others working to abolish capitalism in its private property form. What attracts me most is your progress in promoting unity among minorities, workers and youth.

**New reader
Grand Rapids, Mich.**

Editor's Note: Any reader may obtain a copy of the Constitution of News and Letters Committees by sending 20c for postage to N&L, or by contacting our local committees, listed in the directory on page 3. As we proudly say in every issue of N&L: "Anyone who is a participant in the freedom struggles for totally new relations and a fundamentally new way of life, and who believes in these principles, is invited to join us." There has never been a more urgent moment to do so.

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Sweat buys no security in El Norte

Los Angeles, Cal.—On May 21, the movie *El Norte* was shown on TV. Many families like my family sat down and watched it. My father stood by the door all through the movie. A year ago I had a chance to see it and relate it to my experiences here in California. This time I can relate to it more. My experience of returning to Mexico for 2½ months helped me come to a closer understanding of Rosa and Enrique, the two young Guatemalan main characters from *El Norte*. Rosa says toward the end, "There is no home for us—in our country they kill us, in Mexico we live in poverty, and in America we are not accepted." Rather we are used like machines doing nothing but manual labor for low pay.

My sister works at an Eskimo Radiator plant. Sometimes she comes home showing burns from the hot acid that spills on her skin. But she is glad that at least her fellow workers are aware of the situation and resist it their own way. This is what she says:

My friends tell us not to work fast. They pay us the lowest possible and they try to make a bigger profit — We are making them rich. Therefore, as soon as the supervisor leaves we all gather together, spend the most possible time talking and joking, and work at a slow pace. When we see him come back we run to our places and pretend we are working hard.

The plant is divided up in groups; ours is known as the most rebellious. Other groups are treated like animals, they work hard and are expected to produce 100 radiators a day. Anyone who contributes less is fired.

We fight so this does not happen to us. They have changed 30 supervisors over the last year because they don't make us produce more radiators. We don't let them hustle us like they do others, we get furious and fight back.

—Young Latino woman

Detroit, Mich.—U.S. Auto Radiator is cracking down on immigrants. At the beginning of June, an immigration man came in with the general foreman and an immigrant Latina woman. She had been on afternoons, was laid off and then called back to days.

After lunch that day a worker said, "She's being de-

ported. She doesn't have a green card." Another worker said the company knows who has a green card and who doesn't because it's the first thing they ask for when they hire you.

Another immigrant worker was recently called into the office. An immigration man was there and he said, "Let me see your green card." The worker has been here for years and worked at U.S. Auto Radiator since the first month he was here.

Several women have been called in by immigration. It looks to me like they single out women. I think they're doing it because if you deport someone, you don't have to pay unemployment. —Woman worker

Solidarity is 'Real Thing'

Detroit, Mich.—I recommend the film "The Real Thing" to Latin America solidarity activists and workers. It shows the struggle of 500 workers in the Coca-Cola bottling plant in Guatemala City, Guatemala through their 13-month-long occupation to prevent the plant being closed and their jobs eliminated.

The movie gives you scene after scene of the class struggle. You see mass meetings, including one where workers heard international delegates speak in support of their union. One speaker said North American unionists understand their plight because they have been forced through the same union-busting ploy of shut-downs supposedly caused by bankruptcy.

You see students inside the occupied plant teaching workers to read and write. Illiteracy fell to two percent during the strike, and you see workers reading newspaper clippings about their own fight.

I think that what Mary Holmes said in the June N&L is true—this strike was helped by the connections of the Coke workers' international union that made this film. Yet solidarity must begin with the self-organization, sense of history and extension into other oppressed strata of society that were elements of "The Real Thing."

—Jim Mills

Discussion Article

A balance sheet on British miners' strike

by Myrica Gale

London, England—It has now been four months since the year-long miners' strike in Britain was defeated by barbaric Thatcherism and it's time to draw up a balance sheet.

Thatcher's Reaganite coal managers had long been planning a new stage of production to impose on the workers—the creation of fully automated "super-pits." This would involve different coal seams being connected up and all coal coming up via one huge pit-head. Whereas they claimed it was for safety reasons, as if any mining work could be called safe, the workers knew that it result in lay-offs and increased production with no rise in wages.

Thatcher was determined to crush the NUM (National Union of Mineworkers), who had brought down Heath's Tory government in 1974, but the new in this strike was the unprecedented powers given to her storm troopers, the police. Civil rights went out the window; strikers were called the "enemy within"; and the miners were calling Britain a police state just like Northern Ireland and Russia. Thatcher's new anti-union acts outlawing sympathetic and political strikes and imposing a pre-strike ballot, or cooling-off period, had tightened union control of the militant rank-and-file.

THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS

The TUC (Trades Union Congress) is the backbone of the right wing of the Labour Party and since its birth it has served to contain the revolutionary impulses of the mass movement. In the 1926 General Strike unions made a settlement with the government above the heads of the miners, acting like a "third force" between the capitalists and the workers. For them, wage slavery is eternal and, without seeing the workers' power to completely uproot this social misery, their aim for increased union control of an organized and planned economy is a farce against what they also fail to see—the lengths to which uncontrolled capitalism is prepared to go.

The TUC did nothing but mutter hollow words of support, and Thatcher's crushing of the miners' strike has also defeated them—many of whom will now become her new professional managers. All the leaders of the Labour Party could do was to agree with the media newspeak describing the miners as "violent."

The strike created the time and space for all people reaching for freedom to discuss what they are aiming for and, by questioning all areas of human life, they posed new beginnings for a human and revolutionary society. The miners had been discussing not just pit closures, but the deadly hazards of their labor and the division between mental and manual labor—between them and the idle management gods—and its result, automation and unemployment. In a minor but very real way, workers were attempting to take control of production and playing havoc with Thatcher's plans.

Many feminists, working particularly with the women's committees, strengthened the idea of women's liberation within the struggle, although the mining women were very critical of some who saw men, rather than capitalism, as the main enemy. One miner's wife described her work in a factory thus: "When people ask what I do, I say that I feed a machine. I have to repeat the same action every two seconds for less than two pounds an hour. It's deadly boring." Her reactionary union leaders said she couldn't speak on the miners' dispute, but she ignored them and gave a speech of such power that they were too embarrassed to stop her.

SWP NARROWS STRUGGLE

At meetings of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the speakers put everything in relation to the working class only, who "would open up a wedge through which women and Black people would gain their freedom." This whilst the women's committees in mining villages were consciously organizing themselves autonomously, as one miner's wife put it, "like the women at Greenham Common," adding that, "There's a lot wants changing and we women have the power to change things"; and whilst miners dumped coal outside the South African embassy saying, "We all know why coal is cheap from South Africa."

The SWP's praise of NUM leader Scargill was unconditional even after he refused to support Solidarnosc, the free trade union movement in Poland, against Russian totalitarianism. Whereas Scargill fails to see state-capitalism per se, the SWP sees it as related to the "closed" world of Russia only, rather than as a new world stage towards which all capitalism is heading. This, together with the Left's failure to see a vision of a revolutionary future, in embryo, within this historic mass movement, was as much a reason for the miners' defeat as Thatcherism.

After the strike one miner's wife had several ideas about what to do. She joined both the local Trade Council and the Labour Party in Notts, neither of whom supported the strike, to change things from within. However, she is already fed up with the way they prevent her from speaking. She continued to speak on the platforms of many Left groups but is already critical of their patronizing attitude towards her.

She also continued to work with her local women's committee creating educational on labor history and the women's movement. However, the narrow and elitist concepts of the Left are already imposing themselves on this "new beginning" as the group has spent meetings discussing tactics by which they can have their voices heard within these backward organizations. If we are to have a totally different kind of balance sheet in the future, British Marxist-Humanists must help to give direction to this search for an alternative to yet another class society divided between the workers and those who propose to do their thinking for them.

Behind lies on El Salvador

At the end of May, I spent a week in El Salvador. One of the reasons I wanted to go on this trip was that I have been involved in Central American issues since 1982 through our religious community that was one of the first to declare our space a sanctuary for Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees without papers.

The image that things have gotten better in El Salvador since Duarte took office is propaganda. The death squads are still in place. Disappearances, torture and murder are still happening. The grossest form of human rights violations right now is in military strategy. Duarte is not the commander-in-chief. The whole war strategy is pretty much coming out of our embassy. We were told by embassy officials that any civilians who continue to live in "guerrilla-controlled regions" are legitimate military targets.

THOUSANDS BOMBED OUT

I asked a representative of the military if napalm was being used and he said no. But people from the human rights office of the archdiocese (Tutela Legal) say that people coming from areas being bombed have wounds that suggest napalm is being used. Guazapo, which is one of the Northern provinces, is being heavily bombed right now. Most of the 50,000 people in the region have either fled or been forcibly removed. There are over a half million displaced people in the country—many of them recently displaced by the bombings. In San Salvador there is a section of the city where thousands of people who had fled from Guazapo are living in makeshift homes made of cardboard.

We met with Fenestras, a coalition of labor unions comparable to our AFL-CIO. On May 1, they had helped organize a march and demonstration in which over 50,000 workers, peasants, students and women participated.

There have only been three legal strikes in the history of the country. The new constitution has provisions for strikes, but the law sets up so many obstacles that workers generally simply occupy their place of work. We visited strikers who had been occupying the small elastic factory for eight days. They explained that they have no strike funds so they have to depend on other workers and organizations for food and support.

Political prisoners in both men's and women's prisons are on hunger strike demanding, among other things, amnesty (a campaign promise of Duarte's). Three of the women prisoners I met with told me that last February about 75 men entered the women's prison and stayed all night. The women went to the director of the prison who refused to help them, so they took over her office so they could phone people on the outside. Guards from the men's prison and the air force were brought in and three women were shot and badly wounded. One of them still can't walk and is also pregnant due to a rape that occurred during her capture.

MONSIGNOR IGNORES MOTHERS

The Sunday I was there the Committee of the Mothers went to the cathedral and presented a "Denuncio" (denunciation of the prisoners' situation) to Monsignor Chaves for him to include in his homily. He said they should take grievances first to the parish and let them work up through the system. This means going nowhere. He also deliberately ignored them during the "passing of the peace." After the mass they held a "sentada" (demonstration) on the steps of the cathedral.

When I met with people like The Mothers or the union strikers, I was struck by the fact that there are so many people to carry on the struggle. They are committed to both economic democracy and justice. But I am sure that neither Reagan, Duarte nor the military can impose their solution on the people of El Salvador.

—North American observer

Youth in Revolt

In the latest protests against a proposed education law in Poland, 3,000 students and faculty at the University of Warsaw rallied May 22. The law would remove power from elected student groups, require loyalty oaths and give the state control over curricula, transfers and firing of faculty and staff, and expulsions of students.

High school and college students in Benin went on strike in May when the government announced it would restrict university admissions and stop guaranteeing employment for graduates. President Kerekou closed the African country's only university and gave "shoot on sight" orders to the police, who killed five students.

A multi-racial group of 300 women students marched at Brown University in Providence, R.I., on May 2, demanding an end to sexual violence. Over 120 women who had been raped or harassed spoke out in the fraternity section of campus, a center for harassment which the women called "a breeding ground for sexism."

In the first student demonstration in Paraguay in 15 years, 700 marched in Asuncion June 4, demanding freedom of the press and an end to the fascist dictatorship's corruption.

A retrospective look at 30 years of News & Letters

(continued from page 7)

and also analyzed in these Letters.⁴ Indeed, even after we could not continue them weekly, we continued to publish Political-Philosophic Letters on various turning points in history, in addition to our coverage in N&L. That was true whether these letters concerned my trips to Hong Kong and Japan; or whether they concerned political revolutions like those in the Middle East, in Portugal and in Iran.

A new relationship, both to practice and to theory, both to philosophy and to revolution, as well as be-

4. Whether it was as pivotal as the actual African Revolutions or whether it was "only" cultural, the point of the Black Dimension is that N&L always seriously analyzed it and took up aspects of it at their very birth. It is in that respect that it is important to point out the poet, Morgan Gibson's, review of the very first anthology of African poetry published in America (N&L, January, 1961), which was followed by his review of *An African Treasury* edited by Langston Hughes. (N&L, October, 1961) This book was by no means limited to poetry, but included political essays and analytical descriptions of activities, including those of African women such as Phyllis Ntantala. In the same issue was a poem by Patrice Lumumba "A Morning in the Heart of Africa."

WORKSHOP TALKS

(continued from page 1)

also honored their picket lines, and that United not give scab pilots seniority at the expense of the strikers. And now it looks like the new air traffic controllers, who had replaced the PATCO members fired by Reagan, may yet come to haunt Reagan—they want to unionize!

The Hormel meatpackers have taken a courageous stand in Austin, Minn. against the concessions-greedy meatpacking industry as they take on the company and their International UFCW union. They have an active women's support group and are getting rank-and-file support from other Hormel locals in Ottumwa, Iowa; Fremont, Nebraska; Beloit, Wisconsin and Albert Lea, Minn.

At AMC, on May 16 the Kenosha, Wis. assembly plant workers rejected concessions by 83% despite the plant-closing blackmail threats of the company. In April the Toledo workers took direct action on the Jeep assembly line: welding doors shut, walking out, cutting power lines and putting bolts in conveyors to stop the lines. For six days, 500 to 3,900 workers were sent home each day.

And in New York, 18,000 hotel workers are on strike, the first strike in 46 years. They too aren't just talking money—they're out to defend their union and working conditions, in a booming industry that felt the time had come to attack the workers who made them millionaires, in the Reaganist anti-worker atmosphere that now reigns in the country.

WORLD FREEDOM IDEAS

This growing labor opposition will yet surprise Reagan and his boys. Sure, we don't yet have a mass, independent labor movement here. But there is no shutting out the louder and louder voices of workers in opposition to concessions and to the union leadership that has failed to stop them. Like a Dominican worker in my shop put it, "Think about it—if this country represses all movements of workers and poor people over there, in El Salvador, in Nicaragua and so on, how much more are they going to do to repress any labor movement here at home! When we struggle against our boss, and the union, we're up against the government and all its force, the whole system. Things are not going to be smooth here, let me tell you."

Some of these Dominican workers are going home for summer vacation—home to a people in open rebellion, in near-revolution over the horrible hunger imposed on them by the International Monetary Fund and their U.S.-backed government. They are going to a land on the brink of a national general strike, a country where land occupations by peasants and "neighborhood strikes," in which burning tires, barricades and nails in the streets shut down entire neighborhoods, are daily occurrences.

What these workers bring back here as freedom ideas and forms of struggle will be part of the dialogue that will shape the labor struggles in the U.S., especially in New York sweatshops, as we inch one step closer towards workers of the world uniting.

tween technologically advanced and technologically underdeveloped countries, came to a climax in May, 1968 when, at the highest point of the 1960s revolutions, the revolution "perished." Too many of these revolutions had remained unfinished. What needed to be answered was: Had the failure to relate a philosophy of revolution to the actual revolution been a fundamental factor in the demise of the revolutions themselves? Let's dive, dive very deeply into the last two crucial years of the 1960s, and see.

IV. 1968-69: The Divide Between the Philosophy of Marxist-Humanism and the Thinking That Theory Can Be Caught "En Route"

The fact that the turbulent 1960s could end in an unfinished revolution, that they could have "perished" just when they reached their highest point in Paris, May, 1968, demands a no-holds-barred confrontation, including a self-critique of 1968. To be prepared for such a deep dive into the dialectics of revolution—and counter-revolution—objectively is of the essence. This second look, a deep dive, at what was present in embryo in the turbulence of the early 1960s, will prepare us for looking at today's ongoing youth demonstrations demanding divestment in South Africa, which the media keeps playing down on the ground that they in no way compare to the serious '60 revolts.

It is true that not only were those '60s demonstrations more massive; not only were more voices of more political tendencies heard at the universities—especially as the movement developed into one against U.S. imperialism's Vietnam war—but, as well, they were willing to listen to a critique from within the Left. Thus, I spoke to activists within the Free Speech Movement (FSM) on "Marx's Debt to Hegel: The Theory of Alienation." But, in practice, they gave the theory of alienation so existentialist a twist and so near-Communist a bent that they ended up as hardly more than hangers-on to the elitist-party wing of the FSM. Where we insisted that there must be no division between thought-activity and demonstration-activity, they insisted that activity as just activity was all that was required, and that philosophy was no Great Divide. Indeed to them, theory could be caught "en route."

Now contrast this attitude to how News & Letters reflected the year 1968, indeed, how in the very title of our 1965 pamphlet—*The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution*—we showed that we were not going to introduce divisions between the various opposition movements. Thus this pamphlet had both an in-person report on Mississippi Freedom Summer by Eugene Walker and an article by Mario Savio writing on his experience in the Free Speech Movement. We also had a report by Joel L. Pimsleur from "Inside Sproul Hall" as the police moved in for arrests. And we not only reproduced my talk on Marx's theory of alienation, but my analysis of the ongoing movement on the campus and in the Black Dimension. It was that Black Dimension which remained central, which so many in the movement very nearly forgot when the plunge was made into an anti-Vietnam War movement.

The first 1968 issue of N&L encompassed the movement in East Europe, as well, by advertising the "Open Letter to the Party" that Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski had written while they sat in a Polish jail.

Central to 1968 was, naturally, May, 1968, Paris. Again we have an in-person report, and a pamphlet was made of Eugene Walker's report to our national convention. The Perspectives that year focused on "The Missing Link—Philosophy vs. Party—Three Decades of Intellectual Sloth."

Simultaneously with those great student demonstrations in 1968, whether at Columbia University or in Paris (about which we have full in-person reports), as well as with all the reports on the Black Revolution, whether in America or Africa, N&L received directly from Prague a report entitled "Czechoslovakia invaded!" This August-September special supplement of N&L also had exclusive pictures taken right in the midst of the invasion and sent to us directly from Czechoslovakia. All of this material would be issued as a full pamphlet with a special Introduction solidarizing

with the revolution, written by Harry McShane, Chairman of the Marxist-Humanist Group in Glasgow, and myself for News & Letters Committees in the U.S. Our editorial statement was entitled, "All Eyes on Czechoslovakia, All Hands Off!"

Through 1968-69, N&L was filled with reports of anti-Vietnam War activities nationally and internationally. Thus, the November, 1969 issue had a front page article, "Stop the War Now," written by Peter Mallory, describing the anti-war rally of 25,000 at Kennedy Square in Detroit. That this focus on anti-war did not mean that we didn't reach for totality can be seen in that same issue which features a report: "Women won't wait until after the revolution."

Or return to the April, 1968 issue where, in reporting all these diverse activities, we express the following: "The uniqueness of the sixties means historic responsibility."

Finally, in that year of 1968, which we considered to be a climax, we issued a call for a Black/Red Conference (N&L, December, 1968) of Blacks and radical whites. Present, as well, was Yoshimasa Yukiama, translator of the Japanese edition of *Marxism and Freedom*. It was the first conference we held in which there were more in attendance who were non-Marxist-Humanists than who were. The welcome was extended by Charles Denby. I gave a talk on what I called "a forthcoming book," *Philosophy and Revolution*, specifically its third section, "Economic Reality and the Dialectics of Liberation." The discussion lasted six hours. It produced a new "Black/Red" column for the paper authored by John Alan.

This conference was followed by a call for a Women's Liberation Conference. Not altogether by accident it was the youth page of N&L which had a report of the United Front Against Fascism Conference under the headline, "Women Face United Front." The male chauvinism of that conference was also scored by our front



page cartoon, which attacked male chauvinism of the Left as well as of the establishment. In the following issue (October), the in-person report of the women's opposition to the beauty pageant in Atlantic City was also carried on the youth page. That issue advertised, as well, a youth bulletin, "American Youth Revolt: 1960-69" by Eugene Walker.

The Women's Liberation Conference resulted in the following decisions: 1. To have a special Women's Liberation page with a column on "Woman as Reason as well as Force." 2. Women, who wanted to stress their autonomy and to express what Marxist-Humanism means to the women's movement, decided to issue their own statement. It was drafted primarily by Molly Jackson.

Those turbulent 1960s so overwhelmed the youth, including some of the Marxist-Humanist youth, that they refused to face the reality of the greatness of the defeat of 1968—the tragic reality that 1969 was not a continuation of the 1968 revolutions. It is this which made it necessary to embark upon presenting the totality of Marxist-Humanist philosophy which is inseparable from a self-critique, all of which becomes integral to "The Dialectics of Revolution."

The October, 1969 N&L advertised my pamphlet, "The Newness of Our Historic-Philosophic Contribution." It was a critique directed against those who thought 1969 was a continuation of the 1968 revolution and had taken as their ground Herbert Marcuse's "Note on the Dialectic," which appeared in the 1960 edition of his 1941 work, *Reason and Revolution*. The "Note" had a viewpoint totally opposite to his original view of the dialectic. I had connected this change in Marcuse to my analysis of "Intellectuals in the Age of State-Capitalism." (N&L, June-July and Aug.-Sept., 1961)

Put another way, the Dialectics of Revolution created not only the ground, but the indispensability, for moving on from the projected work, *Philosophy and Revolution*, to its actual completion as *Philosophy and Revolution*, from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao (1973).

(To be Continued)

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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Andreas Papandreou's Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) won a substantial majority in the June 2 Greek elections, though smaller than his first electoral victory in 1981. Voters did not endorse specific PASOK policies of the past four years so much as indicate their desire to keep moving away from the right-wing rule that had dominated Greece in the post-World War II era.

Papandreou's pre-election strategy of dumping Pres. Constantine Caramanlis, founder of the conservative New Democracy party, the main opposition, in favor of Christos Sartzetakis, was a direct appeal to anti-rightist sentiment. Sartzetakis was unmemorable as a politician but known as the investigator during the 1967-74 "rule of the colonels" as immortalized in the Costa-Gravas film "Z".

GREECE'S ECONOMIC REALITY

In addition to winning support from urban workers,

Imprisoned Solidarnosc leaders remain defiant

Three leading Polish rebels—Adam Michnik, Bogdan Lis and Wladyslaw Frasyniuk—were sentenced to stiff prison terms for planning a 15-minute strike that never happened. The surrealistic quality of the trial—the judge stating, "the court had punished those who disturbed public order by calling for a strike...it does not matter that the strike did not take place"—seemed to relate more to the April visit by Russia's Gorbachev and to the massive May Day outpouring of 15,000 against the government than to the so-called "evidence."

The three new political prisoners have a long history in the movement. Adam Michnik was a student activist in the 1960s, a founder of KOR in 1976 and a key intellectual adviser to Solidarnosc. Bogdan Lis is a



Bogdan Lis



Wladyslaw Frasyniuk



Adam Michnik

shipyard workers' leader, a signer of the August, 1980 Gdansk accords, a former CP member and a leader of underground Solidarnosc for three years until his arrest in 1984. Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, also a worker, was the principal Solidarnosc leader in Wroclaw and part of the underground until his arrest in 1982. He told the court: "Martial law was introduced to enslave society but the defendants here represent that part of society that never accepted martial law."

South African terror

June 16, 1985 became yet another day of mass protest against the racist regime on the ninth anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising. Over 4,000 Blacks turned out in Soweto to commemorate 1976, when some 500 lives were lost. This time, they heard speakers from the two large Black coalitions, the pro-ANC United Democratic Front and the Black Consciousness-oriented National Forum, who were each given equal time in a rare show of unity.

Following the rally at the Regina Mundi Catholic Church, presided over by Bishop Tutu, police attacked the unarmed participants from tank-like "hippo" vehicles. They pumped tear gas into the church, trapping many people inside.

Two days before, South African troops launched a murderous raid into neighboring Botswana, attacking purported ANC guerrilla headquarters. They murdered 16 people in their beds, including a six-year-old girl. This act of savage aggression, following a similar, but foiled, raid in May on Angola's Cabinda oil facilities (which are run by Gulf), prompted even Reagan to temporarily withdraw the U.S. Ambassador to South Africa.

No doubt, the June 15 announcement to install a new administration in South African-occupied Namibia was timed to coincide with the latest atrocities. The so-called Transitional Government of National Unity, whose inauguration South African President Botha is to preside over, like all attempts by South Africa to install surrogate regimes, lacks legitimacy so long as SWAPO (South-West Africa People's Organization) is not involved.

New course in Peru

In April, Peruvians voted overwhelmingly for a different course by giving a majority to the APRA candidate, Alan Garcia Perez (48%), and 23% to the Marxist mayor of Lima, Alfonso Barrantes Lingun, candidate of the United Left. Barrantes later declined a runoff election. The vote represented a rejection of the former conservative Belaunde Terry government and the military, as well as Sendero Luminoso's anti-masses, Maoist "alter-native."

Garcia does not take office until July 1, but in June he began a European trip with the intention first of dealing with Peru's \$14 billion foreign debt. Nearly two-thirds of Peruvians are unemployed or underemployed and inflation is running at 200% monthly. Following a one-day general strike in Chimbote, protesters targeted the central market and smaller food stores in late May.

Greece after Papandreou victory

Papandreou also was able to gain backing from Greece's poor farmers. There is no organized movement in the countryside, but the long-neglected small farm sector benefited from PASOK programs including support of EEC (European Economic Community) subsidies, establishment of cooperatives (kolkhozes), increased health services, pensions for farmers' wives, and other programs aimed at staving off the growing rural dissolution.

Papandreou's anti-U.S. positions of ending Greece's NATO membership and his vow to rid Greek soil of the four existing U.S. military bases have never been consummated. In 1983, he renewed the U.S. military leases another five years. There is a real basis for opposition to U.S. intervention in Greek affairs, since U.S. Administrations have a history of bolstering the right-wing, dating back to the period of the post-World War II Greek civil war. But Papandreou's anti-U.S. statements have more to do with the current confrontation with Turkey, particularly in Cyprus, since the U.S. has always tilted

toward Turkey in the NATO balance.

PAPANDREOU'S "MARXISM"

An intellectual versed in Marxism, Papandreou has sought to forge an independent path for Greece by attempting to play off both sides against the middle in the European arena of the U.S.-Russia global confrontation. But his own self-styled "romantic socialism" (or pragmatism) hit a new low when he reversed his earlier support of Solidarnosc in Poland and went there to visit General Jaruzelski, embracing him as a "patriot" and condemning the movement there as "negative and dangerous."

What bears watching now is Papandreou's attitude to the movements within Greece. The best result of PASOK's elections is that it leaves room for new developments, whether from the workers facing a difficult economic situation or women's liberationists, who have been challenging the sexism of established Greek patriarchy and of the left Socialists in power.

South Korean students

The 73 student protesters who got world headlines in May when they occupied the U.S. Information Agency office in Seoul for three days surrendered to face arrest and brutality from the military regime's police. They were demanding an investigation of the military's repression of the Kwangju uprising of 1980, when hundreds of anti-dictatorship protesters were murdered by Gen. Chun's soldiers. They also wanted the U.S. to apologize for its role in the 1980 massacre, since all South Korean troops are formally under U.S. command and would have had to ask permission to attack Kwangju.

The students were members of an investigation committee on Kwangju set up by groups at five different colleges. On the first day, 2,000 of their supporters rallied outside and were attacked by police. Even leading dissident politicians such as Kim Dae Jung condemned the sit-in as "regrettable."

Despite that, tens of thousands of students have been demonstrating in recent weeks, often fighting pitched battles with police, both before and after the hated Chun's April visit to the U.S. for a "photo opportunity" and back-patting session with Reagan. Workers have also been increasingly active, sometimes in street protests along with the students.

Lebanon's ceaseless fragmentation

The class nature of Lebanon was in no way changed by the spectacular hijacking of Americans. Nor have the massacres of Palestinian refugees stopped.

The specter of genocide is being raised in Beirut. Once again—as in 1976 at the Tel al Zaatar Palestinian camp or in 1982 at Sabra and Shatila—the victims in 1985 at Sabra, Shatila and Burj al Brajnah camps are men, women and children, including wounded people in hospitals. By mid-June, the death toll was 1,000 and the wounded 3,000, most of them Palestinian civilians. In 1985 those massacring them were not Christian Phalangists but former allies, Lebanese Muslims.

The attackers, who often took no prisoners, were from the Shiite Amal militia, born out of the wretched Beirut slums. They went into battle in many cases wearing small pictures of Iran's Khomeini. They were assisted in their grisly work by part of the Lebanese army, the

largely Shiite Sixth Brigade. Aid flowed freely from both Syria and the right-wing Lebanese Christians.

How is such an outrage possible? The immediate cause was no doubt Syrian instigation, plus fear of another Israeli invasion if the PLO re-established itself in the three camps, which together hold 100,000 people. Shiite neighborhoods near the camps had borne much of the horror of Israel's genocidal bombing and shelling in 1982. But the problem goes much deeper, back to the 1975-76 Lebanese civil war, when the PLO and Syria betrayed the Muslim Left.

Today no group or faction among the Lebanese and Palestinian masses opposes on a class basis their immediate oppressors, the Arab bourgeoisie who run both the Lebanese and Syrian states. Hijacking and terrorism are a diversion from, not a road to, revolution.

Who We Are and What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, 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 a new human society based on the principles of Marx's Humanism as recreated for our day.

News & Letters was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard not separated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation. A Black production worker, Charles Denby, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper. Raya Dunayevskaya, the Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees, is the author of *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution* and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which 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. At a time when the nuclear world is threatened with the extinction of civilization itself it becomes imperative not only to reject what is, but to reveal the revolutionary Humanist future in-

herent in the present.

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation — activities which signalled a new movement from practice which was itself a form of theory. We organized ourselves in Committees rather than any elitist party "to lead." The development of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., 1941 to Today is recorded in the documents and on microfilm available to all under the title, *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, on deposit at the Labor History Archives of Wayne State University.

In opposing the 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 the mass activities from the activity of thinking. Anyone who is a participant in these freedom struggles for totally new relations and a fundamentally new way of life, and who believes in these principles, is invited to join us. Send for a copy of the Constitution of News and Letters Committees.