

Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

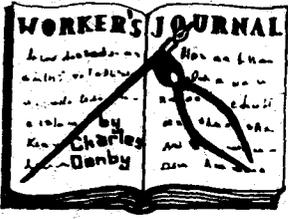
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25 years as
editor of
News & Letters



by Charles Denby, Editor

Author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*

One of the reviews of my *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* by a history professor at the University of Indiana stated that the difference between Parts I and II is understandable if readers keep in mind the terrific changes that came about in race relations and at the work benches in the U.S. between the appearances of the two parts. He felt Part II was not as original as Part I, but that it showed "a fuller sophistication on Denby's part as he matured as a writer and analyst." (See "As Others See Us" page 11.)

There have been terrific changes in the past 25 years and that has made me a different person. But to me the chief reason I am a different person is my 25 years as editor of *News & Letters*. My experience throughout those years has taught me more about what journalism really is than any journalism school could (Continued on Page 8)

Azania, Zimbabwe, Namibia

Southern Africa's new stage of struggle

by Kevin A. Barry

On Oct. 15, as a white South African official was to be installed as an "honorary citizen" of Soweto, 3,000 youths outside the hall clashed with police, causing tear gas to drift into the hall. Earlier in the day, 150,000 Soweto commuters were stranded when guerrillas blew up two main commuter rail lines linking Soweto with Johannesburg.

Also in October, two young Blacks, aged 13 and 14, were killed by police during protests near Cape Town, while in the industrial city of Port Elizabeth, police fought striking Black students. There, 600 Black workers at the Ford plant (Ford is the largest foreign investor in South Africa) have recently formed a militant new union, the Motor Assembly Component Workers' Union, linked to a local Black Consciousness group, the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Association (PEBCO), bypassing the union they had used in last year's mass strikes.

SOUTH AFRICA SINCE ZIMBABWE

These were not isolated events. The truth is that ever since the stunning landslide victory in Zimbabwe

by Black revolutionaries in the February elections—especially Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) who had borne the brunt of the guerrilla war against the racist Ian Smith regime and who won a clear majority—apartheid South Africa (Azania) has been shaken to its foundations.

By April 18, when Mugabe's new African government in Zimbabwe was inaugurated, 100,000 "Colored" students in South Africa's Cape Town region had gone on strike against apartheid education. (See "Schools Boycott," page 11.)

By June 16, the fourth anniversary of the Soweto uprising, this had become not only a student strike, but also a one-day general strike of Black workers in the Cape Town region, 80 percent effective.

Early in August, 10,000 Black municipal workers went on strike in Johannesburg, paralyzing city services, in the largest single-employer strike in South African history. The strike was broken with tremendous repression. Many workers were fired which also meant deportation to the Bantustans under the pass laws. (See N&L, Oct. 1980.)

If 1980 was the year of the Black worker, it was also the year of armed resistance. This was shown dramatically to the whole world on June 1 when Sunday morning explosions ripped through three closely guarded oil facilities, two near Johannesburg and one 150 miles away.

By the end of 1980 it is clear that the vicious apartheid regime is face to face with guerrilla warfare, not as a separate thing, but as linked to the mass movement, as witnessed by the oil refinery blasts, and the fact that 10,000 youths, many from Soweto, have left the country to join the guerrilla movement.

THE THEORY OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

In fact it was the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (South Africa) which developed the theoretic foundation for the student-worker upheavals of the 1970s beginning with Soweto 1976. As articulated by the martyred theorist Steve Biko, Black Consciousness went beyond previous versions of African Socialism and "Scientific Socialism" in power today. As Biko wrote in the aftermath of Soweto: "In being so critical of the economic self-interest in the Third World on the part of American capitalism, I at the same time have no illusions about Russia. It is as imperialistic as America . . . The Black consciousness movement does not want to accept the dilemma of capitalism versus communism. It will opt for a solution that is an authentic expression of Black communalism." (See Frantz Fanon, *Soweto and American Black Thought*, a News & Letters pamphlet.)

Today the Black Consciousness Movement has flowered into dozens of different organizations inside and outside South Africa. An exile wing is forming alongside the two long-established groups, African National Congress (ANC) and Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), called the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

THE NEW ZIMBABWE AFTER 7 MONTHS

Precisely because of the way the end to white supremacist rule in Zimbabwe did inspire a whole new wave of revolutionary challenges to South Africa's apartheid system, it is necessary to take a deeper look at Zimbabwe seven months after liberation.

The new Zimbabwe was born out of seven years of guerrilla warfare, followed by an election where the white Rhodesian-led forces policed the country, beating and even killing Black revolutionary ZANU and ZAPU supporters. Nevertheless, millions of Blacks risked their lives to vote and give ZANU, the most militant African party, a landslide victory.

When ZANU, led by Robert Mugabe, assumed state power in April, Zimbabwe began nothing less than a quiet social revolution, in many ways reminiscent of Black Reconstruction in America following the Civil War. The African revolutionaries inherited all of the destruction of the war. More than 250,000 Black refugees remained outside Zimbabwe, while fully one million of the country's seven million Blacks were displaced persons. Starvation and malnutrition were rampant. The colonial (Continued on Page 10)

EDITORIAL

Ramifications of Reagan election

The attack on Black America

The racist atmosphere that was inherent in the Reagan election has already emerged fullblown. From the "new" South to the halls of the "liberal" lame duck Congress, the first weeks following the election have brought forth attacks on Black America.

At one and the same time there was the outrageous acquittal of six KKKers and Nazis who murdered five participants at an anti-Klan rally last fall, and the Congressional ban on funds for Justice Department suits involving busing for desegregation purposes.

Murder of Blacks and of civil rights activists was part of the day-to-day life of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. It took the power of that movement to halt the KKK night-riders and Southern law and order. Is it all going to now re-emerge as a way of life as we enter the 1980s? What exactly will the Klan and the Nazis feel free to do throughout the South and in the North as well, now that "justice" has come forth?

Equally as indicative of the new atmosphere is the racism of our "civilized" gentlemen of Congress. Now both the Senate and the House have passed this odious bill on busing which seeks to return us to full segregation of schools. Far from this being an isolated act, it signals the opening salvo in a campaign to roll back the gains that Blacks and some whites fought for, marched for and died for throughout the 1960s.

THE REACTIONARY CONGRESS

Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, who is scheduled to become chairman of the Judiciary Committee when the new right-wing, reactionary, racist Congress begins its session in January, has already indicated that he wants to push for repeal of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 which had opened up Black voting in the South. As well, he wishes to pass legislation prohibiting the Federal Courts from even being involved in education cases and has revived the call for the death penalty in federal crimes.

All of this takes place as the old supposedly liberal Congress goes home, as the transition to Reagan is occurring. What other ramifications of this Reagan administration-to-be will merge with the already open, racist attack on Black America?

The immediate response of the Black community to the Klan/Nazi acquittals was outrage. In Greensboro, Durham and Chapel Hill, several thousand marched



—LNS photo

Welfare rights demonstrators in Albany, N.Y., demand increases in social service grants.

in protest. Black students at North Carolina Agricultural and State University, where the sit-in movement began 20 years ago, denounced not only the verdict, but the new climate of racism. National leaders of the NAACP and the SCLC held press conferences to speak of the current wave of violent attacks against Black America, attacks which, along with the election of Reagan have made Black people feel engulfed by crisis. Organizers of the National Black Independent Party were startled when more than 1,000 showed up at their founding meeting, Nov. 21-23. (See article, p. 10.)

There is no doubt that wherever you look, be it jobs, or environmental protection, defense spending or education, the CIA or occupational health and safety regulation—in all these areas there is, with the Reagan election, the emergence of an arrogant New Right and its "plan for America." It has flourished in this racist atmosphere and is moving to make sure it has Reagan's ear. Meanwhile Reagan has his own slew of task forces and their recommendations. Thus:

(Continued on Page 7)

THE BLACK MOVEMENT: SOUTHERN AFRICA, USA, PP. 10-11

WOMAN AS REASON

Can feminist movement learn from Reagan election?

by Terry Moon

There can be no doubt that the election of Reagan and the defeat of liberal legislators like Elizabeth Holtzman, Birch Bayh and George McGovern, who are being replaced by "conservatives" (read reactionaries), is a blow to women's forward fight for freedom. Even Reagan's campaign laid the ground for misogynists like Chicago's Cook County Board President George Dunne to show his true face as he decreed an end to the performing of all abortions at Cook County Hospital except those necessary to save a woman's life. Cook County Hospital was one of the few hospitals to perform abortions in Chicago and the only one for women on welfare.

It took only a few days after the election for creatures like Senator Orrin Hatch to state that he will push for a constitutional amendment to outlaw affirmative action programs (and this when the latest figures show that unemployment among women has surged from 6.1 percent to 6.8, while for minority teen-agers the official figure is 37.8 percent); for Senator Strom Thurmond to say he wants to reinstate the death penalty, repeal the 1965 Voting Rights Act and throw out environmental and health regulations; and for Senator John Tower to push for developing of the neutron bomb. **"NOT OUR DEFEAT"?**

In light of this I could hardly believe it when I read that Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women (NOW), said people "weren't voting on social issues like abortion, ERA or the return to yesteryear . . . (Women) might pay for (this election), but it's not our defeat." More disgusting was Iris Mitgang, Chairwoman of the National Women's Political Caucus, who called the election results "mixed" because "we will have the largest number of women in Congress in history . . ." Obviously she has learned nothing from the election of reactionaries like Margaret Thatcher of Britain.

It is more important now than ever before that revolutionary feminism set the ground for our movement. What keeps running through my mind is a demonstration the independent Women's Liberation Movement had in Detroit before abortion was legal. Then Wayne County Prosecutor William Cahalan was actually using a helicopter to raid abortion clinics and had arrested sedated women waiting to have the operation and thrown them in jail.

At this demonstration we dressed in black with mourning scarves around our heads. We marched silently through downtown ending at Cahalan's office where we mourned our sisters—the thousands who had died from self-induced or butcher abortions and the thousands more who were mutilated. Surprisingly, I, like everyone in that demonstration, found myself actually mourning, crying for women who were victims of this society which seeks to control every aspect of our lives down to telling women what we can or cannot do with our bodies.

MASSES AS REASON

That kind of outrage and passion to change this world to a truly human one, transformed into demonstrations of thousands of women in the streets, forced

Free Rita Silk-Nauni!

Los Angeles, Cal.—I attended a rally of 150 people on Nov. 15, to demand the freedom of Rita Silk-Nauni. This rally was part of a California tour to raise funds for Rita's defense.

Rita Silk-Nauni is serving a 150-year prison sentence on charges stemming from her 1979 self-defense shooting of two police officers. On Sept. 19, 1979, Rita and her 10-year-old son were walking near a highway within two miles of the Oklahoma City airport when they were stopped on suspicion of littering by two airport police officers.

When the male officer grabbed her son and attempted to force him into the police car, Rita struggled with the female officer, disarmed her, and fired wild shots. The male officer died of a chest wound and the woman officer was shot in the leg.

At the trial, the judge severely limited the defense of Rita, as occurs so often to Native American women, when he refused to allow the defense to plead self-defense, defense of her child, or to present evidence of police misconduct.

The judge stated that the officers involved were "doing their duty" and that someone was trying to make Rita's case a cause. He also said that "if you tell a lie enough times, people will believe it" and that someone has to defend the system and "I intend to be the one to do that."

It sure makes me wonder about a "system" that turns a simple littering complaint into a 150-year sentence for a Native American woman defending herself and her child.

the Supreme Court in 1973 to give women our right to abortion—a right that has been taken away from poor women and is in danger of being taken from all of us.

We will never stop the rollback of our freedoms, much less be able to move forward, if the mentality of bourgeois feminism prevails and women just pump dollars into a thoroughly corrupt political system. What was important about this election was how overwhelming was Black America's rejection of Reagan and his ilk. Black women did not split their vote between Carter and Reagan as did white women. Nor can we forget the outpouring of 13,000 women and men in Detroit against the sexist Republican Convention.

The question we must work out is can the women's movement face this defeat, can we base ourselves on those women, Black and working class, who have the deepest critique of this society along with the vision of what a new society could be?

2000 march on Pentagon

Washington, D.C.—On Nov. 17, 2,000 women participated in the Women's Pentagon Action. We came from all over the Eastern U.S.—from Ohio and West Virginia to Maine—proclaiming, "We will stop this war against humanity." Holding hands, women completely encircled the Pentagon.

The day before, we had held workshops ranging from "Women and Militarism" and "Women and Racism" to "Women and Pornography". We talked of how the military indirectly affects women's lives, for example as workers and neighbors of uranium mines and mills. Though few U.S. women are killed in actual combat, the Pentagon affects us and our children's future very much.

The day of the action had four stages. The first was "Mourning," in which we marched in silence from Arlington Cemetery to the Pentagon. We planted tombstone placards bearing the names of women killed by violence in our society. The second stage was "Rage," in which we chanted, "We won't take it anymore," with raised fists. It was in the third stage, "Empowerment," that we encircled the Pentagon, chanting "Take the toys away from the boys" and "Patriarchy has to go."

We got many good reactions from women working inside the building. Women smiled, returned peace signs, and seemed to be saying, "Yeh, we'd like to be out there with you but we've got our jobs to keep."

The final stage of the action was a sit-in on the steps of the Pentagon, by those who were willing to be arrested. About 150 got arrested, with the rest of us staying to support them.

Another Women's Pentagon Action is planned for Mother's Day. We hope to get 10,000 women this time.

Speaker urges women, not state, to define sexuality

Oakland, Cal.—Nearly 100 women attended a recent conference on "Sexual Harassment and the Workplace," organized by Union WAGE and Women Organized Against Sexual Harassment. There were workshops on personal and legal strategies for combatting sexual harassment, the problems of minority and lesbian women, and how to organize in the workplace around the issue of sexual harassment.

The two keynote speakers at the conference were Amma Price and Catherine McKinnon. Price, who recently lost a lawsuit on sexual harassment against Yale University, pointed out that although women are now talking about sexual harassment more openly, it is going to be more difficult to prove because companies and universities are working out new legal defenses.

Price stated that companies argue that sexual harassment is, like rape, an easy charge to make, but a hard one to prove. Such arguments however, overlook how very difficult it is to make such charges. A woman knows that the onus will be on her to prove that a man actually approached her sexually and then, that she didn't provoke the action in some way.

McKinnon cautioned the audience against letting the courts and the state decide what sexuality is in cases of rape, pornography and sexual harassment. She saw the danger being that the state is essentially male, and what men would consider as a normal sexual response, may well be harassment to a woman. She argued that women had to be sure that they themselves defined their sexuality.

McKinnon ended her talk by calling for a feminist perspective that includes all women. "If Black women can't identify themselves within our definition of feminism, then we have done something wrong. The same is true for lesbians. If the feminism doesn't speak to their needs, then there is something wrong with our concept of feminism. If we could work out our ideas in this way, we could redefine what politics are all about."

—Deborah Morris



women-worldwide



Women demonstrators in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea, protest the presence of only one woman delegate out of 200 at the South Pacific Commission Conference in October which took up "Women's Role in Development of Pacific Regions." Signs made by women from the National Council of Women read, "Where are Pacific women?"; "Women bore men, women educate men, women can speak, too!"

In New York City, a coalition of community, women's, Puerto Rican and church groups has formed to protest the appointment of Antonio Silva as head of obstetrics/gynecology at Lincoln Hospital in the predominantly-Hispanic South Bronx. Silva was assistant administrator of a "family planning" campaign in Puerto Rico which resulted in the sterilization of 42.6 percent of all women of child-bearing age. (Thanks to LNS, New York.)

The Indian feminist magazine *Manushi* is in deep financial trouble as Indira Ghandi's government is refusing to sell them paper, forcing them to buy it at exorbitant "free" market prices. They need many new subscriptions and financial contributions to continue their much needed work making known the activities and ideas of women in India. Please write *Manushi*, A-5 Nizamuddin East, New Delhi, 110013, India.

In Béllvue, Wash., Sonia Johnson, who was excommunicated by the Mormon church for her support of the ERA, was arrested with 18 others on Nov. 17 after they chained themselves to the gates of a new \$12 million temple during dedication ceremonies to protest the church's position on women.

In Michigan, Fayette Nale, a 26-year-old laid-off auto worker was awarded \$140,000 in damage from Ford Motor Co. and one of its foremen, in the first sexual harassment suit to be tried before a jury in a state court. The jury found that Mrs. Nale—who was 21 years old at the time—had been fired because she resisted the daily sexual advances of her foreman. (She had been re-hired after filing the suit, but laid-off in recent cutbacks.)



WRITE ON!

Third World Women Speak Out, by Peredita Huston, Praeger Publishers, 1979, \$4.95. (Interviews in six countries on change, development and basic needs.)

Huston vividly portrays the numerous obstacles women face in their journey through "three prisons": father's house, technical school and husband's confine as they encounter the barriers of illiteracy, total economic dependence, hunger as well as dietary taboos, circumcision and "homemade" abortion, the double work day and the role of religion and sexist laws in preserving these inequalities.

She also speaks of semi-literate women who have started schools of literacy and believe "women must learn theory" if they are to achieve freedom, and yet she falls short of spelling out the economic-political foundations of their oppressions and seeks the answer in more women's representation and leadership in government administration.

—N.A.

Race Against Time: Automation of the Office, by Working Women, Cleveland, Ohio, April 1980.

West German office workers already call computers "job killers", for they not only eliminate jobs, but routinize and de-skill those jobs that remain. This study looks at how offices are automated and how it affects the workers—the kinds of jobs that remain, unemployment, health and safety issues, piecework rates, and isolation. It also takes a look at the workers' resistance to this automation, which is the only bright spot in an otherwise bleak picture of office work in the not-so-distant future.

—D.M.

Polish, U.S. workers fighting same struggle

The Polish Supreme Court's reversal of a lower court's ruling requiring Poland's new independent union organization, Solidarity, to recognize the "leading role" of the Communist Party demonstrated again the workers' impressive strength and influence. It now has over eight million members. But the dialectic of their struggle does not yet spell out workers' freedom in Poland.

Parallels are being drawn between Solidarity and western trade unionism. But the pattern of collective bargaining, particularly as it has developed in the United States since WWII, with negotiated "settlements" between the representatives of union and industry bureaucracy is clearly not what the militant Polish workers are aiming at.

Negotiations for a new contract are supposed to be held this month between a union I belong to—a shipbuilding workers union—and the company where I work. A few weeks ago the national representative of the union came to find out what our demands and suggestions were. "We want to go through the contract point by point," we said.

"Labor In A White Skin Cannot Emancipate Itself Where It Is Branded In A Black Skin."

—Karl Marx, *Capital*, 1867

Schwinn stalls on contract

Chicago, Ill. — There's 1400 of us at Schwinn and all but a handful have been on strike since the middle of October. We should have struck when we were certified with the UAW representing us back on August 27th. On September 14, 93 percent voted to strike. The company said OK, we'll sit down and talk. They started filibustering and stalling. Then they said they weren't going to talk any more, forcing us to go out on strike.

They knew what they were doing. All that time they had no intention of talking. We worked full capacity while they built up the inventory. They knew this slow period was coming up.

What Schwinn wants is to use the same contract that we had with the company union. With that union when you got to personnel, you couldn't go any further. If they said no, you didn't have any other choice but to quit or tuck your tail between your legs and go back to work.

SUPERVISORS PLAY FAVORITES

I work in plant number four and the way it was the supervisors decided everything. There's so many hard feelings against them because of all the favoritism going on. In the glue room the women start off with \$3.50 an hour base pay and get about 25 percent added on to that. Men with the same classification get a 50 percent bonus.

It all depends on the supervisor. You could stay at that rate. In my department one of the workers just got her 25 percent and she's been working here a year. Someone who just started on a job can make as much as you though you've been there three years. That's what happens if, number one, you're Black and number two, you're a woman.

WORKER PITTED AGAINST WORKER

Two guys got into an argument over a machine. One guy was disciplined though he walked away from the fight. They work in a group and are on bonus. That means they have to make a certain rate to make their money. Nobody likes this because your pay depends on the guy next to you and the inspector whose job is to stop the machine if it is making faulty parts.

The situation is made for people to be fighting each other. The company knows that. They should have different rules, so that you wouldn't lose money if you're not making your rate because the machines are down, there aren't any parts, or through something no fault of your own.

Certain people can say they don't want to do a job and they create a job for them. But one man came back from sick leave with a request for light duty and they put him on the heaviest job transferring frames on the line.

I don't understand why the company is stalling and won't sit down and negotiate a contract, because eventually they are going to have to. There's talk of starting a national boycott of Schwinn products soon. Maybe Schwinn thought if they could have stalled until after the election, they could get a decision in Washington saying there was no union even though the majority of the people voted for the union. Because it is a family owned company, they have been able to do as they pleased all these years.

The contract is threadbare and getting thinner by the year. It has not been altered except in wages for twenty years and not one of countless grievances has ever gone through the entire procedure. When the union representative comes to our shop his first stop is the front office for conversation with drinks, and the workers say, a cash pay-off.

We singled out two clauses in the contract in particular for change. One designates a "regular employee group" and the other is called "wash-up time." The regular employees are those on a seniority list, where a worker has to have worked a minimum of 1,400 hours a year. The boss is very careful to control the number of names on it. Those who don't make it, the contract says, get no holiday pay or insurance plan, and in fact, no union representation.

The wash-up clause requires workers, in exchange for five minutes, to be ready for work at 7:45 a.m. and often earlier, although no one is getting paid till 8. If someone arrives at 7:50 he is docked one-half hour though he is still on his own time. The boss has taken something that is not rightfully his and then as a "concession" extracted more. Five minutes for fifteen.

It seemed to me, instead of seeking the same so-called rights and privileges conceded to western unions under capitalism, the Polish workers have opened a whole new stage of class struggle—one which will lead the workers to demand what a Black worker in my shop calls "total freedom!"

—Joe Green

Whose side is union on?

New York, N.Y.—The contract agreed upon in November by District 65—UAW and Art Steel was a sell-out. It has caused a lot of bitterness and some division. So the question of unity that was often raised in our meetings before the possible strike becomes more important now than ever.

The drive for increased production to "pay" for the raise we got has already started. In fact, the last clause of the new contract states that the company and the union will, "work together to create an atmosphere" for more production. We cannot fight this "unity" of the company and union just individually, by department, or in cliques. The type of unity we need to oppose it is the direct communication of worker to worker, throughout the factory, that we tried to develop, for example, when some of us wanted to express ourselves directly to others through the microphones at the union meetings, but were quickly pushed away by the union officials who want to keep control. The leaflets and signs that keep appearing around the factory are other forms of true unity, direct and honest.

We were outrageously sold-out on the cost-of-living increase while the union got all that it wanted for its welfare plan. Everyone is saying, "everything for the union, nothing for the workers." That is why we need our own unity.

—Art Steel workers

Norris workers face pay cut

Los Angeles, Cal. — When Norris workers got their paychecks this week, we were in for a big surprise—a wage cut of eight to 12 cents an hour!

The wage cut came out of our cost-of-living allowance, since, believe it or not, the government declared a decline in the rate of inflation over the last quarter! So after fighting so hard to get COLA, now they're using it to cut our wages!

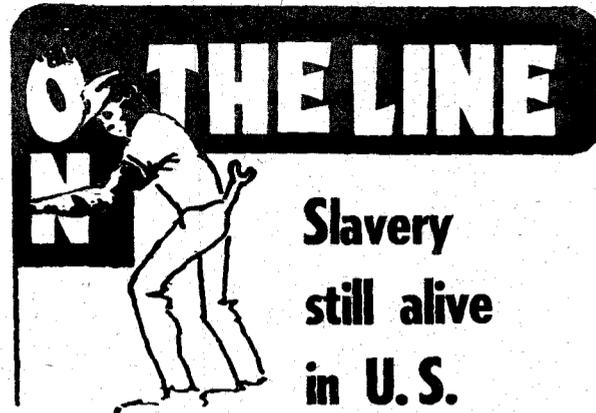
Everyone knows that prices have only gone up and up, and that inflation is worse now than a year ago. So how can the government claim cost-of-living is going down? Apparently they pulled some tricks like counting in the rebates on new cars—but how many workers are buying new cars?

For most of us at Norris, this is the first time our wages have ever been cut. Twenty years ago the company tried to cut the wages of the unskilled, and it got workers angry enough to bring in the union. But last week the union handed out a flyer telling us how much money we were going to lose, without saying a word about trying to prevent the wage cut. Here we are, 20 years later, and the union is going along with the company and government in cutting wages.

Whenever workers don't have power to determine how that cost-of-living index is decided, they can just juggle those figures to make them say whatever they want. This sets a dangerous precedent — if they can cut our wages today, what is going to stop them from cutting even further in the future?

It's only the workers who can resolve this issue by getting together and taking action on their own. Now that the election is over, this eight to 12 cent-an-hour wage cut is going to look like peanuts.

—Norris worker



Slavery still alive in U.S.

by John Marcotte

Newspapers have recently been carrying accounts of peonage, or enslavement, of Latin American workers in U.S. factories and farms. Federal grand juries have been investigating cases throughout the Southwest.

In one case, Mexican workers told of having escaped tomato farms in Arizona and Florida where they had been held at gunpoint, paid \$5 a week, and housed under inhuman conditions. Other workers told of many other similar cases, including a seafood plant in Texas.

DAILY LEGAL ENSLAVEMENT

That this richest, supposedly most advanced country is degenerating back to slavery 115 years after the Civil War is shocking. But the truth is also that millions of Latin American workers here face another kind of daily, legal enslavement at the lowest paying jobs. They are held prisoner by U.S. Immigration's fear tactics, by racism, and by language.

A worker from Ecuador told me of workers jumping out of factory windows, others hiding in barrels and lockers when Immigration agents would come down. Workers know that the bosses fully exploit this situation to deny them any rights. One friend worked in a garment shop where the boss kept all the doors locked, supposedly to "protect" the workers from Immigration! My friend knew it was to keep the workers working.

The unions are not innocent either. Though the ILGWU will organize any worker without regard to their status in this country — in other words, they will take their dues — they did not address any of these problems in the shops where I worked. In fact, one ILGWU organizer admitted the union is doing nothing about the horrible working conditions in dye plants, where workers are being poisoned. The undocumented, or "illegal" workers, don't dare complain too loud, so the union is trying to move the "legal" workers out of the dangerous jobs!

LOW WAGES

As far as wages, I have heard of dishwashers making \$1.50 an hour in New York. An Asian friend told me of working in a restaurant which paid her \$97 a week for 60 hours of "working like a dog."

With Reagan's election, the Latins and Blacks in my shop agree: things are going to get much worse. But we will also be hearing the ideas of freedom we see exploding from Central America's upheavals to the shops of New York, where a Latina told me, "When the Miami rebellion comes to New York it will be Black and Latin together."

Since the story of Latin American workers begins before they get to this country, next month I would like to talk about the conditions of life in Latin America that force workers to emigrate.

800 lose jobs at Dana

Detroit, Mich. — At Dana where we made truck frames for Ford, they closed their doors without any advance warning. We didn't have any plant closing agreement and therefore no type of severance pay. Rather, everything was tied up into the SUB fund. Seventy percent of the frame operation went to Canada, the rest to Pennsylvania. But in neither case were we given an opportunity to move.

At the end, 800 who were left lost their jobs. We had been off from work for about five weeks and then got called back. But immediately the union had a meeting with the company and announced that very day that the plant would be closing in three to five weeks.

The workers were angry and wanted a decent plant closing agreement. But when we tried to get a meeting with UAW officials they wouldn't talk to us. Lots of UAW plants are facing closings without a closing agreement. The local has been put in receivership and the office is open only a couple of times a week. But no information is given. The union won't talk about SUB, about pensions, about anything, including what exactly has happened to the union treasury which was the workers' money and now is nowhere around.

—Ex-Dana worker

THEORY / PRACTICE

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Chairwoman, News and Letters Committees

Editor's Note: In our continuing serialization of "25 years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.," we present this issue a shortened version of Part III. The footnotes have as well not been included. References to "Vol." material is to The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, Wayne State University Labor Archives. The full pamphlet is now available. Please see ad page 8.

III. The 1970s: Dialectics of revolution/under the whip of counter-revolution

Two totally opposite occurrences — Nixon's barbaric invasion of Cambodia, on the one hand, and the criss-crossing of conferences on Lenin and on Hegel, on the other hand — jammed up in 1970 to bring about as new a stage in cognition as in reality.

Nixon's wars abroad had been brought home in blood with the murderous assault on the protesting students at Kent State, Ohio and the Black students at Jackson State, Miss. who solidarized with them.

These momentous, world-shaking events were occurring while I was working on my new book, *Philosophy and Revolution*. Because 1970 had marked the 200th anniversary of Hegel's birth, and the 100th of Lenin's, new avenues were opening for the surprising philosophic relationship of Lenin and Hegel, as all sorts of separate conferences kept criss-crossing.

The need to transform reality, the core of the Hegelian dialectic, is what had suddenly caused Lenin, the revolutionary materialist, to discover an affinity with the Hegelian dialectic as he experienced the shock of the Second International's collapse at the outbreak of World War I. I felt that, in the same way, the new generation of revolutionaries, confronted with the myriad crises of 1970 after their near-revolution of 1968 was shattered, were now led to see an affinity with the Hegelian Lenin.

By the next year the anti-Vietnam War movement had gained such dimensions that the most massive demonstration ever, half a million, marched to the Capitol in Washington, led by Vietnam veterans.

Suddenly, a stunned world saw Mao Tse-tung take Nixon off the hot seat with the announcement that Nixon would visit Peking. And as if Nixon and Dr. Strangelove Kissinger hadn't created enough devastation with the invasion of Cambodia and massive bombing of North Vietnam, Kissinger started tilting to Pakistan in the India-Pakistan War, in an attempt to abort the striving-to-be-born new nation of Bangladesh. Our Perspectives Thesis for 1971-1972 was well titled: "Nixon and Mao Aim to Throttle Social Revolution." (See Vol. XI, Sec. III 4.)

1973-1976—Philosophy and Revolution; revolutions in Africa and Portugal; woman as revolutionary

In the Introduction to *Philosophy and Revolution*, I called to the attention of the readers:

"The brute fact . . . is the all-pervasiveness of the world crisis—economic, political, racial, educational, philosophic, social. Not a single facet of life, prisons included, was not weighted down by the crisis—and its absolute opposite in thought. A passionate hunger for a philosophy of liberation erupted."

It wasn't that *Philosophy and Revolution* underestimated the supreme difficulty of uprooting the system. It was that its aim was to trace the relationship of philosophy and revolution from the great French Revolu-

WORLDWIDE REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENTS:

tion and the birth of Hegelian philosophy, through the 1848 proletarian revolutions and the Marxian theory of revolution, and from the Russian Revolution and Lenin's rediscovery of the Hegelian dialectic up to our own age.

A Constitutional Convention was called for Oct. 21, 1973 to amend our Constitution. We first recorded that, just as the Black Revolution was proof of our thesis of Black masses as the vanguard of the American Revolution, so Women's Liberation as movement was proof of the correctness of our singling out that force as Reason back in 1955. We then added the following:

"What Marxism and Freedom, with its dialectical form of presentation of history and theory as emanating from the movement from practice did do is lay the foundation for the articulation of the unity of philosophy and revolution. Philosophy and Revolution, in articulating the integrality of philosophy and revolution as the characteristic of the age, and tracing it through historically, caught the link of continuity with the Humanism of Marx, that philosophy of liberation which merges the dialectics of elemental revolt and its Reason. The new historic passions and forces set in motion in the 1950s gave birth to a new generation of revolutionaries in the 1960s, and in the 1970s have put a mark of urgency on the need of integrality also of philosophy and organization. As against 'the party to lead' concept, such integrality of dialectics and organization reflects the revolutionary maturity of the age and its passion for a philosophy of liberation.

"Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution are our theoretical foundations. However, they are not a 'program.' They are a contribution to the theoretical preparation for revolution without which no revolutionary organization or grouping can match the challenge of our era."

WHILE THE PAX AMERICANA arrogance of Kissinger and the totalitarianism of Nixon continued right up to the day of his forced resignation in 1974, a totally new historic epoch was opening simultaneously in Africa and in Portugal. Indeed, the Portuguese Revolution began in Africa, as the young African revolutionaries—some of them still children—actually influenced the young Portuguese soldiers in the occupying army.

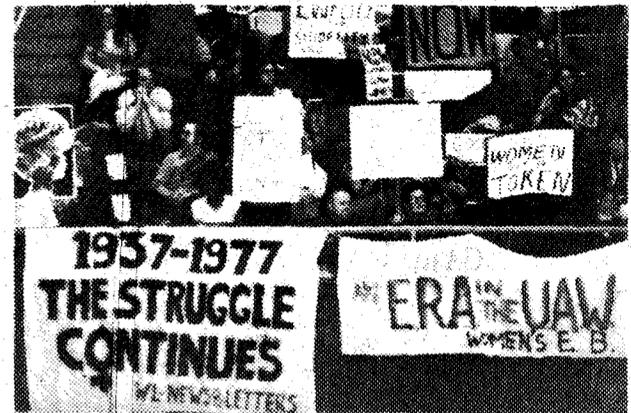
In Portugal itself, many parties were active—Socialist, Communist, and independent; workers upsurged in great strikes; peasants occupied the land; and—though the masses were reaching only February 1917, and were still far from November 1917—there was no doubt that the goal was a full proletarian revolution.

One of the most significant new phenomena that arose from the Portuguese Revolution and that is sure to remain in the vocabulary of the 1980s is **apartidarismo**. So characteristic of the revolutionary situation was this striving for "non-partyism" that the PRP/BR (Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat/Revolutionary Brigades), a split-off from the Communist Party, tried to assign priority not to the party, but to the spontaneous mass organizations. Though never fully worked out, the very fact that "non-partyism" was raised brings up the truly burning question for the 1980s.

AMONG THE OTHER significant events of the revolution was the women's movement—not the women's movement "as such," but the fact that from the start the leaflets of the MLM (Women's Liberation Movement), calling for equal pay for women at factories, were forced to state: "It's not only the bosses that are exploiting us; it's our own comrades who are refusing us equal pay."

There has not been a single part of the globe—whether that be Portugal or Mozambique, Italy or Guinea-Bissau, England or Angola; whether it be the U.S. or Iran, France or West Germany, or for that matter Russia—where the women have not been on the march for true liberation. And while that has concentrated heavily on the right to abortion, "taking back our bodies" also meant "taking back our heads." The struggles against the "status quo" are not separated from the man/woman relationship right in the home, much less in a new society that cannot ever come to be without tearing up root and branch the old society. The failure to acknowledge this is no small reason for constantly having only aborted, unfinished revolutions.

When *Philosophy and Revolution* singled out the uniqueness of this age's Women's Liberation Movement in the fact that it was challenging male chauvinism not only under capitalism, but within the Left, it pointed out how deep must be the uprooting if we are ever to create a new society. In 1976 we published a new pamphlet, *Working Women For Freedom*, in which the masses in motion again spoke for themselves, and to which was appended an article, "Women as Thinkers, and as Revolutionaries," that was excerpted from a series of six lectures I had given at the Wayne State University/University of Michigan Cultural Center. It ended with this:



Reprinted from N&L March, 1977

News and Letters banner, unfurled from balcony during Flint protest at UAW 40th anniversary celebration.

"Creativity that can really tear things up at their roots and genuinely start something new, humanly new, can only come from mass creativity. It is only then when it is totally revolutionary, is not hemmed in by the concept and practice of the 'Party to lead,' and it is only then it can once and for all end aborted and unfinished revolutions.

"Be it something as 'simple' as the question of women's struggle for equality in the very midst of all the myriad crises, or the deep recession and racism in the U.S., what women are hungering for is working out the relationship of their creativity to a philosophy of liberation. We surely do not need yet one more form of elitism. What we do need is a unity of philosophy and revolution. Without it, we will not be able to get out from under the whip of the counter-revolution."

Once Again 1973-1976—This time as the Middle East war and the world economic crisis

The deepest economic recession since World War II, so deep that the structure of the whole state-capitalist world had reached the point of stagnation, gave birth to many myths, the first of which blamed everything on the Middle East war and the quadrupling of oil prices that followed.

There is no doubt that the quadrupling of oil prices certainly helped bring on the crises. But the truth is that the economy was sick—the U.S. economy most of all—ever since the Vietnam War and the heightened militarization which has become a permanent feature. The missiles alone are now, by 1980, reaching such stratospheric proportions that Carter's program on that for the next five years will reach a trillion dollars.

What is inherent in the Middle East crisis, whether you begin now or at the beginning of the Arab-Israeli collision—which is not 1973, or 1967, but 1949—is the post-World War II struggle of the world powers for global domination, on the one hand, and the struggle for the minds of humanity, on the other.

As U.S. and Russia entered the Middle East cockpit, it became a key point for the two nuclear titans struggling for control over the Middle East. By 1973, when it looked as if there would be some "even-handedness" on the part of the U.S. regarding the Arab world, global politics again took center stage. In a word, the fact remains that neither Israel (and it is the guiltiest party of all by now) nor Egypt nor the PLO, has the decisive word.

THEREFORE, TO SEE what was really happening in this stage of new crises for state-capitalism, we have to return to production and not politics. So decrepit had capitalism become by the 1970s that, far from the never-ending talk of growth, growth, growth, all capitalists could think of to stop the galloping inflation was zero "growth." What was worse still was the revelation of the Vietnam War, that the U.S. was not only the most savagely imperialistic country, but the one where, for the first time ever, there was a recession during an ongoing war, so much so that even the merchants of death complained of a decline in the rate of profit!

In a word, whether we start with LBJ claiming we could have both guns and butter; or go to Nixon, the great believer in private capitalism, who was forced to undertake the most rigorous state-capitalist measures, from wage and price controls to devaluation of the dollar; or go to Carter and Reagan, who, in 1980, are outdoing each other in preparations for World War III—what they all forget is that the unemployed army as a permanent feature, and the Black dimension especially among the youth who have never seen a job, will always bring about new forms of revolt until they bring the system down.

(Continued on Page 5)

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25 YEARS OF MARXIST-HUMANISM IN THE UNITED STATES

(Continued from Page 4)

It is this which all forget—whether private capitalism, or state-capitalism calling itself Communism, or all the tailenders from the Trotskyists down. That is why those we called “today’s epigones” try to truncate Marx’s greatest work, presenting the monstrosity of state-capitalism as if it were the revolutionary alternative to U.S. capitalism. They stand in the way of the proletariat and all the new forces of revolution who are searching for a totally new form of revolution to usher in a new society in which human power is its own end.

1977-1979: From Crisis in Post-Mao China, through Black Consciousness in South Africa and the Latin American Revolts, to the Iranian Revolution

The world crises which were testing revolutionaries were starkest of all in post-Mao China. It was not so much the death of Mao as the contradictory legacy of Mao that created China’s particular crisis. The world media was following the factional fights, sensing the hypocrisy of the phony unity at the top that lasted hardly a month, followed by the vicious campaign against the so-called “Gang of Four” — Chiang Ching, Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan — upon whom all crises were blamed.

We, on the other hand, concentrated as we had during Mao’s lifetime upon the magnificent revolutionary youth movements like Sheng Wu-lien, who had taken at face value Mao’s proclamation of the Cultural Revolution that “it is right to rebel.” We felt confident that the movement, though its leaders were railroaded to prison and the movement driven underground, was not destroyed. A new dissident group, Li Yizhe, had arisen in 1974 when Mao was still alive, and its leaders, including Wang Xizhe, were imprisoned for their wall posters. After his release from jail in 1978 Wang continued his struggle “For a Return to Genuine Marxism in China!”

To work out a new relationship of theory to practice is no easy task, and requires both listening to new voices and digging back into the past, not only into American roots but also international extensions and developments. Thus, just as in 1976, from our continuous digging into American roots we produced *America’s First Unfinished Revolution* and in 1977, on the hundredth anniversary of the St. Louis strike, published *The First General Strike in the U.S.* so 1977 led to new international relations.

From London we received a 2:00 a.m. telephone call on Feb. 18 from some of the students demonstrating throughout England: “We are occupying the administrative offices of Middlesex Polytechnic. We have been here for 12 hours to protest the astronomical increase in overseas students’ tuition fees . . . 80 percent of overseas students in Britain come from Third World countries. Many of the overseas students face deportation for their involvement. The Iranian students are especially vulnerable.” They emphasized the relationship between student action and the increasing revolts of the British workers.

In that same month of February we had received another call — this time from Flint, Mich., asking our help in forcing the UAW bureaucrats to give Genora Johnson Dollinger the right to speak at the 40th Anniversary Celebration of the 1937 Flint Sit-down Strike. Despite the vital role that women played in winning that historic strike — especially the famous Women’s Emergency Brigade that she had organized — not a single woman had been included anywhere on the program. Our Women’s Liberation Committee, together with angry women from CLUW, NOW, the Ann Arbor Labor History Project, and the Washington D.C. Women’s Film Cooperative, unleashed so colorful and determined a protest right in the auditorium that it not only won Genora the right to speak, but became the highpoint of the film “With Babies and Banners” which took the story nationwide.

THE OVERRIDING EVENT of all that year happened in benighted South Africa after they murdered Steve Biko. His movement, Black Consciousness, far from dying, grew and developed and is continuing to this day. We were the first in the U.S. to publish Steve Biko “Speaking for Himself” as the lead in our Nov. 1977 issue:

The Soweto youth who appeared on the historic scene that year were showing that their activities were

not separated from their philosophy of liberation, and the books they considered the greatest were those of Frantz Fanon and Martin Luther King, Jr.

The intense development in Black reality and Black thought was reflected the following year in *News & Letters* in two outstanding publications. First was *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought* by Lou Turner and John Alan. 1978 also saw the completion of the second part of our editor Charles Denby’s autobiography and the publication of the whole as *Indignant Heart, A Black Worker’s Journal*, which in summing up, drew so close a connection between Blacks in the U.S. and those in Africa, that the Black dimension manifested itself as a world revolutionary dimension. One of the points that stands out especially in the last chapter on “Worldwide Struggle for Freedom” is the incident in which a white worker is very surprised that a Black UAW member did not know who Meany was. Denby comments: “But the worker who did not even know Meany, the President of the AFL-CIO, knew every detail of Lumumba’s life from the time he organized the national movement for independence to his murder.” (*Indignant Heart: A Black Worker’s Journal*, p. 291.)

Both on the Black dimension and on student youth, new relations were established with Britain. “Academically” this related to my 1978 pamphlet, *Marx’s Capital and Today’s Global Crisis*, because it included not only a sharp critique of Mandel’s introduction to Marx’s *Capital*, but also an appendix on the English SWP leader — “Tony Cliff reduces Lenin’s Theory to ‘Uncanny Intuition.’” Cliff’s *Lenin* (volume 2) is as great a vulgarization of Lenin as a Marxist theoretician as is Mandel’s interpretation of Marx.

JUST AS NEW INTERNATIONAL relations were developed with Chinese dissidents and African revolutionaries, so the Latin American struggles in 1978 became struggles for Latinos and U.S. Marxists in the United States. In the month of May, *N&L* carried a lead on the subject, “From Chile to Mexico, Los Angeles to N.Y.: Latino Struggles Unite Freedom Fighters in North and South America.” My *Political-Philosophic Letter* the same month, “The Unfinished Latin American Revolutions,” included, as appendix, the exchange of correspondence between Silvio Frondizi and myself in the mid-1960s

The *Political-Philosophic Letter* also analyzes Gerard Chaliand’s *Revolution in the Third World*. The whole question of revolutions in the Third World in the 1970s was raised anew with Vietnam’s invasion of Kampuchea. While at first it met with little objection from the Left both because Pol Pot’s monstrous regime surely needed overthrowing and because the Vietnam invasion did have popular support in Kampuchea, it was altogether different when giant China invaded little Vietnam. Not that it was only a question of a David and Goliath confrontation. Rather it was due to the fact that the invasion disclosed the class nature of state-capitalist regimes calling themselves Communist as being equally as imperialistic as the so-called private capitalist world.

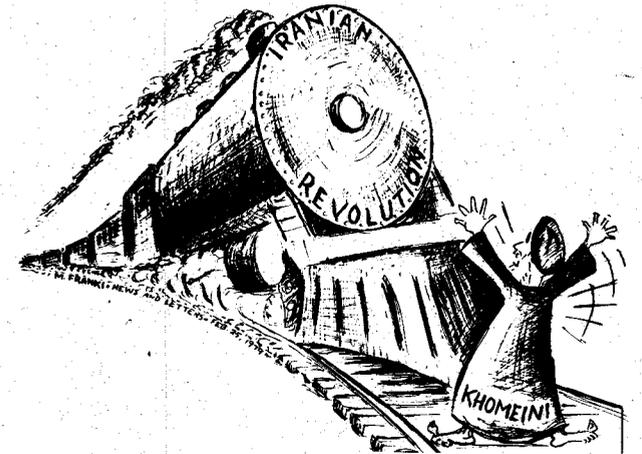
Even many of those who had not accepted the theoretical position that we live in the age of state-capitalism, could see that the division of the world into but two nuclear Titans, U.S. and Russia, each aiming at single mastery of the world, was dragging each new country into that global struggle. The world market, as world production, was compelling many who had not separated themselves from state powers and relied only on the power of the masses in their own country, to choose one or the other. The fact that the only way to struggle out of that was not to tailend any state power, focused on the question of ideology in the Third World, and nowhere more sharply than in Latin America.

NOTHING SHORT OF A SHIFT in global powers climaxed the period 1977-79, from the reverberations of post-Mao China, through the Black Consciousness movement in South Africa and the Latin American revolts, to the struggles of the Iranian masses against the Shah, which assumed such mass proportion as to develop into outright revolution.

At its very beginning I had been working on a few books, the topic of which has three subjects. One is Rosa Luxemburg; the second is the relationship of Women’s Liberation in her time and ours; and the third is Marx’s philosophy of revolution, which had gained a new dimension with the first transcription of Marx’s *Ethnological Notebooks*. I no sooner had reached the first chapter on Rosa Luxemburg, which deals with the turning point in her life—the 1905-07 Russian-Polish Revolution—than all sorts of new facts about its extension into Persia illuminated the Iranian struggles of 1978. At the same time, Marx’s *Ethnological Notebooks* cast new illumination on the philosophy of Woman’s Liberation as it extended Marx’s own 1844 analysis of the Man/Woman relationship to his 1881-82

analyses of the possibility of revolutions occurring in backward countries.

Every segment of the population had been totally involved in ridding Iran of its twin nemeses—the Shah and U.S. imperialism—and it seemed to be the eve of the greatest revolution since 1917. The workers who had been out on general strike refused to turn over their guns even when the Ayatollah commanded it. All sorts of spontaneous organizations arose, by no means limited to former guerrilla groups. Quite the contrary. There were shoras, there were workers’ councils, there were anjumenis. And in all of them youth was dominant.



Reprinted from *N&L* March, 1979

There was no end to the freedom of the press and the great attraction for the student youth of new Marxist translations. The most eagerly sought-after of the Marxist groups were those who were independent of any state power. The most persistent fighters for self-determination were also the most organized, and were not only the Kurds but also the Arabs. Because they were all part of the mass revolutionary outburst which overthrew the Shah, they felt confident in continuing the fight for genuine self-determination.

Finally, and no means least, the Women’s Liberation movement aimed at opening up a new chapter for the revolution. They were involved for five days, beginning on International Women’s Day, March 8, 1979, in continuous marches under the slogan, “We made the revolution for freedom and got unfreedom.”

Ayatollah Khomeini no sooner found himself in total power than contradictions began tearing the newly liberated nation apart. The emergent retrogression was analyzed in the March 1979 *Political-Philosophic Letter*, “Unfoldment of, and Contradictions in, the Iranian Revolution.” This critique was translated and published in Farsi, as were my writings on Women’s Liberation in a pamphlet entitled *Woman as Reason and Force of Revolution*, which also included an article on women by Rosa Luxemburg and Ting Ling’s “Thoughts on March 8.” The introduction to the series of essays was written by an Iranian Marxist-Humanist woman, Neda.

Rosa Luxemburg, *Women’s Liberation and Marx’s Philosophy of Revolution* greatly illuminated the events of 1979 and 1980. History had paid little attention to the 1905 Russian Revolution’s extension to Persia referred to earlier, though especially the women’s anjumeni (soviet) was a true historic first. Suddenly, however, another element of that revolution in Persia—its first constitution—became a focal point for the 1979 Iranian Revolution. But what the Islamic fundamentalists meant by it and what the young revolutionaries related to, were absolute opposites.

The Left revolutionaries were studying and trying to practice the dialectics of the 1905-07 Russian Revolution, Luxemburg’s analysis of the General Strike as both political and economic and thus bringing on the revolution, the call for women’s liberation included in Luxemburg’s manifestoes, and above all, the focus on the spontaneity of the masses who were actually more revolutionary than the leaders. What the study also showed was the possibility of a revolution bursting out in a technologically backward country ahead of one that was not only technologically advanced, but one that had a great mass Social Democratic party.

Next month—

IV. 1980: “The Book” — Rosa Luxemburg, Women’s Liberation, and Marx’s Philosophy of Revolution — and Perspectives for the 1980s

REAGAN ELECTION: THE SECOND AMERICA RESPONDS

If anyone rode the bus after the Reagan election, they could get a chance to hear some fantastic discussions as if in a rally or demonstration. People were so angry about the idea of a Reagan presidency that they did not hesitate to express their ideas.

Three Black women were talking about the possibility of their social security benefits being taken away from them. One of the women responded by saying "The younger ones will not let Reagan get away with it. The youth will not let us go back to the 1930s. It just won't happen this time." The conversation didn't just end with Reagan, but took up the whole move to the right that was indicated by the elections in the Senate. Hopefully, these conversations can develop a continuous dialogue that will not end with Reagan's inauguration.

**Black feminist
Michigan**

I am wondering what Reagan will do on draft registration now that he is going to be President. He had said he was against Carter's plan in the first place, and now he could end it with "a stroke of the pen." And I also wonder what CARD and the other anti-draft groups will do and say. There was altogether too little criticism of Reagan during the campaign from them, since their focus was only on the draft itself, and not on militarism as a whole, or on the current "poverty-conscripted" army.

**CARD member
Detroit**

I liked the lead article last issue on 1980 election fantasies, but if you check your figures you'll see that the Titan warhead was not "20 to 50" times as powerful as the bomb which devastated Hiroshima, but 500 times as powerful. The crater from a Titan missile explosion would be one to two miles across. The Air Force keeps these to bust up mountains. Arkansas would have been devastated.

**Anti-war activist
Illinois**

We experienced our latest and worst anti-gay attack recently when a deranged ex-New York City cop opened fire with a machine gun outside a gay bar, killing two young men, Jiog Wenz and Vernon Kroenig, and wounding six other people. When arrested a few minutes later, Ronald Crumpley shouted: "I want to kill them all. They're no good!"

The very next night after the attack, Nov. 20, over 1000 people from the gay and lesbian community attended a memorial rally and service on the streets outside the bar where the massacre took place. Afterwards, hundreds of protestors marched down Christopher Street and then blocked traffic for 30 minutes in Sheridan Square. Angry young gay and lesbian activists chanted "No more murders!" and "This is Reagan!"

People in the march were very aware of the connections between the anti-gay violence here and the acquittal in the Klan murders in North Carolina. As the cops cleared the streets, protestors shouted "Cops and Klan work hand in hand!"

**Marcher
New York**

When the phone company here ran a tiny ad for 60 paid workers to deliver new phone books (a notoriously hard

and badly-paid job), at least 5,000 showed up. Remember, you need a big car and \$100,000 insurance to do this job. The streets all around the warehouse were filled with people, and the big boss was out in front actually rubbing his hands. One of the workers on the dock said, "You can tell just what he's thinking — now he can fire anyone he wants."

And you should have seen the bosses the day after the election, talking real loud, throwing their weight around and yelling at people. People aren't sure what Reagan will do with his victory, but it's already pretty obvious who really lost the election.

**Telephone worker
Chicago**

There were very strong reactions to Reagan being elected among women, because they feel so directly threatened. A friend of mine who is a social service worker reported that 90 percent of the workers at her office wore black armbands to work after the election. But if Reagan can get in so easily, what went wrong with our movements? That is what we have to look at now as we develop a sense of direction.

**Women's liberationist
Berkeley, Calif.**

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF MARXIST-HUMANISM

Ever since Nov. 4, many people have been making comparisons between the election of Reagan and the McCarthy period of the 1950s, saying that we are in for a long period of counter-revolution. But what I was so struck by in *25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.* was the way it was out of the McCarthy period here and the Stalin regime in Russia and East Europe that the new movements and ideas for freedom emerged, just in the places you thought least likely. I was very impressed to see that *News and Letters* Committees began not only against McCarthyism, but with the Montgomery Boycott and the revolt of workers, in East Europe and in Detroit.

**Enlightened
Detroit**

When I first read the title of your new pamphlet, *25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.: A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments*, I thought there must be a contradiction there. How could it be both "worldwide" and "in the U.S."? Now that I've read the first two installments (Oct. and Nov. *N&L*), I see the point, and it is a very important one to grasp. Is it because Marxist-Humanism is so integral to all the dimensions of the American struggle, all the different forms of revolt, that you can see world events in such a clear, class light? And how much do you think the publication of *Marxism and Freedom in 1958* helped you understand how to participate in the mass struggles of the 1960s? I realize these are all questions which perhaps would be better answered by working with you more closely.

**Reader — and writer
Britain**

25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. is a first-rate compendium of history as viewed via *News & Letters*. Congratulations!

**Intellectual
Massachusetts**

Readers' View

Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. is an impressive summing-up. Let me, however, quibble about para. 4, page 19. I don't think we, with our rigorous definition of socialism, ought to bestow it upon the kibbutzim. As an Israeli revolutionary remarked to me: "How can you build on stolen land?" The current reactionary leadership depriving the Palestinians of their rights is posed as some sort of radical departure from Israel's origins, as a fight against British imperialism — at best an oversimplification... There has been no counter-revolution there, just a drift rightward.

**Old friend
Santa Monica, Calif.**

Please send me a copy of *25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.* Now that right-wing Reagan has been elected, we are all in for a long dark four years. The Moral Majority tried to get started here in Homer, Alaska, but I fought them tooth and nail, and they are now only a small group. They are so far right it makes your head swim.

Thank you, brothers and sisters, for your good work. Don't be let down. Now is the time to be wise and strong and let the sun shine at midnight.

**Brother A.
Homer, Alaska**

FED UP WITH THE POLICE

Recently a Chicago reporter got curious about the people living at Robert Taylor Homes—the largest housing project in Chicago, which has the reputation of being so dangerous even the police enter it only in huge force. He found out that the people there are not so dangerous, they just got fed up with police coming at any time and beating up anybody they wanted. So as self-defense they threw the police out of the project. I think that when Chicago blows up it will be outright war, bigger even than Miami.

**Black reader
Chicago**

I've only recently started to become aware of my rights as a woman, and how unfair this whole system is. Maybe it's because I'm unemployed, and I see now how hard it is to survive. And then last week I got stopped by a cop for a traffic violation, and instead of writing me a ticket he asked me to go out with him. I was so angry and afraid all at the same time.

**Waking up
Detroit**

CONDITIONS OF LABOR . . .

Millions of Americans suffer from symptoms relating to asbestos exposure, but only a few will ever be able to take advantage of their legal rights. That is the viewpoint of the authors of a booklet entitled "Legal Rights of Asbestos Exposure Victims." They say that workers should tell the doctor that they have been exposed to asbestos when being examined for breathing or other related medical problems, since doctors rarely think of asbestos as the cause. The booklet answers questions for shipyard workers, construction workers and many others exposed to asbestos on the job. Readers can get a free copy from:

**Silberfeld and Hecht
6300 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 9000
Los Angeles, CA 90048**

I have just been through contract negotiations in my shop. They say we have democracy in this country. Yes, if you want to buy something you can go

to any store you want. But when the worker wants to ask for his wage, there is no democracy. The leader of the workers is not the leader of the workers—he is the leader of the old bureaucracy, the union. Together the government, the company and the old bureaucracy set the price of the worker.

**Latin American worker
Queens, New York**



**THE COST
OF LABOR**

I have been reading Marx's *Capital* again, and was startled where he quotes John Stuart Mill to the effect that "if labour could be had without purchase, wages might be dispensed with." Marx answers: "But if the workers could live on air, it would not be possible to buy them at any price. This zero cost of labor is therefore a limit in a mathematical sense, always beyond reach, although we can always approximate more and more nearly to it. The constant tendency of capital is to force the cost of labor back towards this absolute zero."

It couldn't be more appropriate today, when we see in the textile industry that America's historical mission is to force American wages down to Asian levels. Thus we are seeing all these companies on the brink of closing, suddenly agreeing to postpone the shutdown if the workers will take a cut in pay, so that the company can "compete."

**Urszula Wislanka
Chicago**

THE ARMAMENTS MARKET

Yesterday's election of Reagan has come at a time when the hostage question has landed in his lap, and when he has made wild promises about getting America back to work. If it is by the same methods as Thatcher here, you are in for much trouble. In Britain, the expenditure on war weapons is now having an effect on the economy everywhere. It is becoming more difficult for the big powers to sell arms on the same scale as before. Pym, the Defense Minister, has tried to sell planes to both America and China, without success. We all know that the Iran-Iraq war is being fought with weapons supplied by all the big powers, with competition between West Germany, Italy, Britain and France. France is ahead of them all.

The British promise of an increased contribution to NATO of three percent a year has evidently not been fulfilled. It is for this reason that Thatcher is calling for additional cuts on services. Meanwhile the army of the unemployed continues to increase.

**Correspondent
Glasgow, Scotland**

POLISH REPORTS AND IDEAS

Latest reports from Poland lament the extreme shortages of absolutely everything, not just meat, but sugar, flour, shoes and blankets. While the government there (and the press here) is blaming the strikers for the current economic crisis, what it shows me is how total a break with the system it has to be, how total the restructuring of society needed.

**Polish woman (recent exile)
Chicago**

We must disagree with the Reader's View from "Recent Polish woman immigrant" about women's liberation being

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something so different here than in Poland. She should see the poor neighborhoods in New York early in the morning, all the women carrying babies to the sitter and running off to work. Their day doesn't end till late at night, with all the housework when they get home.

The struggle of working and poor women in Poland and the U.S. has plenty in common.

Working couple
New York

U.N. WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

I listened to some tapes of the U.N. Women's Conference held in Copenhagen. What a degradation! What a pity! It was horrible to see how, after the Mexico City conference had brought out the voices of minority women, elderly women for the first time, this year the women in Copenhagen were turned into loudspeakers for their own corrupt governments. This was true both of Palestinians and Israelis, for example.

Women's liberationist
San Francisco

MORAL MAJORITY

What do you know? The religious "leaders" of America have decided that women are human after all. Moral Majority, which opposes the ERA, abortions, and women working outside the home, has nevertheless come out front and center with the statement that women are "essential to the continuation of the human race." Perhaps next they will decide that women have something to do with the race's future.

Fascinated
Pennsylvania

CANADIAN STABILITY?

I found it interesting, and in a way, internationally telling, that the news item on Canada in the Oct. N&L was arranged alongside that of El Salvador, China and Turkey. There is the ferment of revolution in those three countries; Canada is thought of as relatively politically stable...

As this is the tenth anniversary of the infamous War Measures Act, much has been written in the Canadian press about that miserable time in our history. And Prime Minister Trudeau has been pressed in the House of Commons to relate exactly why he imposed the Act. His reply: a situation of "apprehended insurrection" (oh, so tired of hearing those words) ... It was a lie then; it remains a lie now.

Correspondent
Ottawa, Canada

ON OUR APPEAL

I think you have the best leftist newspaper going. This is because you combine theory with reporting, and refrain from empty sloganeering. The coverage from all over the world gives a sense of unity and hope at a time when both are desperately needed. I enclose \$50 to help out.

New reader
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Enclosed is \$10 on your appeal which we're sure you will put to good use. We enjoy getting and reading N&L and are especially happy with the balance you strike between theory and people's struggles growing out of work and life.

We were uphappy a few months ago to see you print a stupid letter from a N&L reader in Chicago denouncing the "anarchists of the IWW." The occasion of this denunciation was a press conference at which the IWW announced that it was offering for sale an autographed copy of Lenin's wretched pamphlet "Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder." While some of Lenin's most speculative thought is attractive, as is his unflinching desire to make the revolution, his practice was invariably authoritarian...

Readers
Jamaica Plain, Mass.

(Ed. Note: For a different view of Lenin's practice, especially after the revolution, see Marxism and Freedom, Chaps. 11 and 12.)

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Reader
Montreal, Quebec

The Nov. N&L was really a fine issue throughout, especially in the international coverage. I want to tell you how much I appreciated your reports and essay on Korea and China. The quotations from the Chinese underground press were so revealing of the conditions inside China. They show a very different world than we are seeing in the TV coverage of the Gang of Four trial. I never thought that China was a socialist country (and I don't think Russia is either), but still I did not know that five people in factory housing live in a nine-by-twelve room. What gives heart that something will soon be in motion is the voices of revolt that Bob McGuire described so beautifully.

Professor
Michigan

DID YOU REMEMBER
N & L IN YOUR
HOLIDAY GIVING?

EDITORIAL

(Continued from Page 1)

As if President Carter's drive for a \$200 billion dollar defense budget for fiscal 1982 were not enough, the Reagan proposals boggle the mind. Every backburner weapons program that the Pentagon military madmen and their science technicians have thought of is once again front and center. Development of a new manned bomber similar to the scrapped B-1 is in the works. Deployment of the neutron bomb, full steam ahead on Trident 2 submarine-based missiles and a fully operational MX missile system are likely.

There will be a shift in the whole thrust of environmental regulation. The magic word here is "flexibility". What this means is an attack on anti-pollution regulations—the Clean Air Act and Clean Water Act, as well as the Strip Mining Act and others will all be looked at to see that they don't interfere with business.

The Education Department may possibly be eliminated and there will be a push to rewrite Federal regulations on bi-lingual education, on sex discrimination, affirmative action and on education for the handicapped. Reagan, in an attack on the public education system, has indicated he wants to propose tax credits for parents sending children to private and parochial schools and possibly institute a "voucher" system whereby money will be given to send children to any type of schools, private or public. Will we resegregate schools?

Under the euphemism of "youth opportunity wage" there is a strong movement to roll back the minimum wage. It is claimed that the minimum wage causes unemployment because the "untrained" young workers, mostly Black and Latino "aren't worth" the money. But it is not the minimum wage that causes unemployment rates up to 50 percent for inner city youth, it is that there isn't any work in inner city areas. The structure of the American economy is such that we have been in an almost decade-long recession as far as unemployment and a two decade-long depression so far as Black unemployment.

Already some four million workers—student workers, domestic workers, farm workers—receive a legal lower-than-minimum wage. And many millions more, (one study indicates the majority of youth employed in urban areas) are illegally paid lower than minimum wage. And add to this the undocumented workers in sweatshops and on farms. The lowering of the minimum wage is not only to get youth at slave wages, but to roll back the standard of living of working people by destabilizing the whole wage structure in favor of business.

An end to restrictions on the CIA. Bills will be introduced in the new Congress to exempt CIA records from the provisions of the Freedom of Informative Act, and to prevent disclosure of the identities of any agents. How long before we are back to the days of Hoover and of Watergate?

If Reagan is supposed to be unknown in his foreign policy, except for his determination to turn the temperature still higher on the already red-hot arms race for "nuclear superiority", he is not unknown in his support for all the right wing dictatorships the U.S. has propped up in Latin America, nor for his jingoistic outbursts in terms of the Panama Canal Treaty. Already his victory was greeted with fireworks by the right wing military dictatorships of Guatemala and El Salvador. The right wing military junta's blood bath against Leftists has reached unprecedented heights in El Salvador since the Reagan election. What fate the new government in liberated Nicaragua will have vis-a-vis the Reagan administration is definitely a question mark.

And for the feminist movement the election certainly represents a serious setback. Already the "pro-life" constitutional amendment forces are moving to consolidate their gains. And the president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops is pushing for Reagan to lead the fight for a constitutional amendment.

The question before us now is how to forge a comprehensive opposition to this New Right, to the Reagan Administration. Opposition is already in evidence. At the University of California there was a sit-in to protest his election. (See story page 9.) In Washington, D.C., 2,000 women demonstrated against the arms race, linking militarism and violence against women. (See story page 2.)

But the key remains, what will working people do and most especially what will their and others' attitude be on the racism of the current period? This attack on Black America is only the opening of an attack on all of America—on Blacks and Latinos, on women and workers, on youth. Historically time and time again, the attack on all the forces for genuine change in America has begun by an attack on the Black population. If we are to fight back, then we cannot wait while Blacks bear the brunt of the new Reagan policies. We need to take our stand on the Black question and on the need to transform America root and branch into a new, human society.

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

teach. It is a question of learning, not just editing. Let me go back to how it all began.

What I had been learning then in the movement was that it wasn't left all to intellectuals to do all the thinking and writing, but that workers could do it too. There didn't need to be this separation that I had been taught all my life between mental and manual labor, where the educated do all the thinking and the workers do all the leg work.

When there had been a break in the state-capitalist tendency and the Marxist-Humanist newspaper *News & Letters* was formed, I was asked to become the editor. At first I was reluctant. The thought kept turning over in my mind that it was alright to have a worker-editor as a policy, but it was something else to put it into practice especially starting with me. But after I kept hearing the words coming from everyone about myself being the editor, I decided to try it out.

N&L IN MONTGOMERY

One of the crucial events that happened during the first year I was editor was the Montgomery Bus Boycott. I went down to Montgomery with some ideas of my own. In particular one old story I'd heard, said no sailor, no matter how long he has been sailing the high seas, can look out one morning across a calm sea and predict when a storm will arise, when the waves and current will come in with such force that it will sweep everything ashore.

I know that many Blacks had been put in jail and some had been shot and even killed for doing exactly what Mrs. Rosa Parks had done by not moving to give up her seat to a white person. So I understood about not being able to predict the time and place people will rise up and revolt against their oppressors.

You saw it so clearly in Montgomery. Rev. King had recognized it also, saying that he did not organize the boycotters, he joined their movement.

Montgomery was only the beginning of the way N&L followed all the forces of revolution, and reported on all the freedom struggles, North and South. We did it in a different way than any other paper, even the Left papers.

It was no accident that from our birth in 1955 we had singled out women as one of the forces of revolution. We wrote about Womanpower Unlimited in Mississippi, and about Black women trying to organize nursing homes in Baltimore, with the Maryland Freedom Union. Women's liberation only got the attention of the media when they had the protest against Miss America at Atlantic City, but we showed its power long before.

N&L IN THE SHOPS

It has been the same in the shops, where I spent most of my life. Automation and speed-up have been the talk of every production worker in the UAW. This was the situation in 1970, when workers struck the Chrysler Eldon Axle plant over speed-up and the vicious

racism of the foremen. Workers really started to organize and join after 26 young Black workers were fired for the strike; they called their movement ELDNUM. It gained the support of many workers throughout the UAW and even some of the Blacks on the UAW staff.

But when I went to their meetings, to my surprise, the chairman was a prominent Black lawyer who is now a City Councilman, and never worked in a shop. At the next meeting there was a proposal that all Black members stop paying dues to the UAW and pay it to DRUM and ELDNUM instead. Many Black workers began to wonder about where this group was headed.

The fired workers went down to picket Solidarity House and demanded their jobs back, and they had tremendous support. I felt then that there was a good chance they would get back. But about a month later, they called a big meeting. The church was filled, but to my surprise, not one of the fired workers was on the platform. All that was up there were members of a Maoist group, and the principal speaker said, "My Black revolutionary comrades and friends, how many in here have this book?" And he held up the little red book of Mao. I knew then that that will be the end of ELDNUM and the fired workers.

In all the shop groups and Black caucuses, N&L was always there in the middle of the struggle. I had learned through being the editor, that if any organization does not let workers speak for themselves, or gives them no say in what is to be done, that organization will end up in a failure. Over the last 25 years I have seen many of those failures. Yet N&L is still a paper where everyone involved is learning and thinking, from the editor to the worker who writes about his or her shop. It is a different idea of what it means to be an editor, because it is a different kind of newspaper from any other I have ever known.

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Workers seek real solutions

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

I am 59 years old, I have worked, fought for and then against this system all my adult life, but this has been the longest that I have ever been unemployed. I have found out one thing: when I work I don't have time to live and when I am not working I don't have the money to live.

I have spent most of my time while unemployed waiting in line, looking for a job that is not to be found, or waiting to have someone at the unemployment office tell me that my claim is lost, or they found something wrong with it. I haven't received any unemployment checks since my old claim ran out in July. I haven't found the reason for the delay yet.

To rub salt in the wound, General Motors sent me an IBM card to fill out asking whether or not I will come back to work March 1, 1981, when production starts up at my South Gate plant. My first thought was, hell no, to hell with this system. Then my second thought was I can't destroy this system alone. One worker cannot change things, but labor can.

That is why the most exciting new form of freedom in the world today is being created by the massive Polish workers' revolt. However, the American reality of Ronald Reagan becoming President reveals that American workers need to know what we want, as well as what we don't want.

A discussion I had with a construction worker the other day showed how difficult it is to overcome the dualities within labor itself. First, his racism came out when he commented on the Chicano youth who had written some graffiti on a wall, and then he said that he was voting for Reagan. But he turned around and lined himself up with the great revolt of the Polish workers against their state-capitalist society. I saw that so many doors that had been closed inside him were trying to open.

It was that kind of opening of doors to release the powerful ideas and activities of labor in the 1930s which allowed us to organize the CIO. There are so many of us standing in the unemployment lines today, that rather than thinking that we are only there alone we need to see that we are the massive power and reason of labor. We need to begin practicing that by talking to each other.

This election has shown that we are so much in need of a total philosophy of revolution in this country—one that won't leave our desire to change this system at what we are against, so that we end up voting in an anti-labor reactionary like Reagan just because we are fed up with Carter.

Neither Reagan nor the vanguard party to lead is the real opposite of this racist, sexist, exploitative system—Marx's philosophy of labor and revolution is.

Cuba women still not free

Los Angeles, Cal.—I recently read an article on Cuban women by Elayne Rapping in the feminist publication *Off Our Backs* (October, 1980) which angered me because so much of it is the complete opposite of what I experienced.

As a woman who lived many years in Cuba, I know that things have not changed much for women over the years. Yet Rapping says in her article that the government encourages women's liberation, that women are happy in Cuba and that they are free because they all work.

During the revolution, women played a very important part in the struggle for freedom. But after the revolution, everything is done just to put women to work. All the regime cares about is productivity.

Almost all women do have jobs in Cuba—usually ten hours a day, Monday through Saturday, and many times Sunday as well. They call the Sunday work voluntary, but if you refuse it three weeks in a row, someone will come to you and ask, "what is your problem?"

But when you work ten hours and have to come home and cook and clean and take care of the children, you have to ask if that is liberation. Men rarely help the women in any of the housework, and I never heard the government encourage them to do so. Women also make less than men, as they do the less skilled and more menial work.

There was almost no birth control when I lived in Cuba. They might give you an IUD, but you must have at least one or two children before they will give you one. It is possible to get an abortion, but only if you have your parents' permission. That means women are not free to make their own choice.

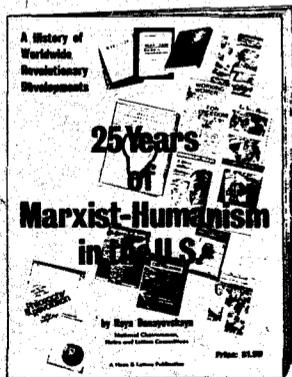
What I want to know is, if women are so happy in Cuba why doesn't Rapping quote even a single statement from a Cuban woman? Surely, she met plenty of women while she was there. Anyway, all you have to do is look at the people in power, who are almost all men, to see that men and women are not equal.

I don't know what her article was trying to accomplish. But it's time that feminists in America become more aware of how much their Cuban sisters are suffering under state-capitalism, because they need a completed revolution there just as much as we need one here.

—Cuban woman

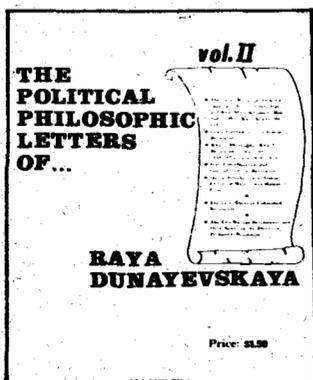
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Bourgeois ideology vs. youth and Marx

By Jim Mills

Unquestionably, there has been growing activism by youth in America from spontaneous protests against the victory by the Reagan right wing at U. C. Berkeley, to what happened at Williams College in Massachusetts after the sacking of the Black Student Union library, a cross-burning and threats against Blacks on campus. Classes were suspended and three quarters of the student body, Blacks and whites, met in conference with the discussion on campus racism extended to criticizing the college's investments in South Africa.

All this contrasted sharply to an interview with Steven Muller, president of Johns Hopkins University in U.S. News & World Report ("Universities are Turning Out Highly Skilled Barbarians") who discounts the significance of the new ideas emerging from youth.

BOURGEOIS VALUES

Muller wants the role of the universities to return to teaching ideas rather than merely technology. His view is that today's schools do not provide values for the students in them. But to him values have to do with "high standards." He asserts that competition, especially standardized testing, brings out the talents in students. Along with that notion he suggests that the lack of a common standard, like speaking English, reduces the worth of a higher education. This implies that bilingual education is a burdensome goal in colleges.

Muller does perceive the depth of bankruptcy of universities when he says they aren't producing philosophers. Yet his alternative hardly speaks for finding thinkers to create philosophy for today. He clothes his alternative in a call for "humanist values," but then asserts they can be found in religion and by reaffirming some "traditional American values" and the values of a free market! With such a value structure, he notes, youth will have self-confidence.

Yet anything but a lack of self-confidence characterizes the actions of youth today, confidence in their own ideas about what truly matters — freedom. If reforming bourgeois education is one's object, not freedom, then you are open to being pulled by the right-wing ideology now attempting to roll back the clock.

MARX'S VIEW AND YOUTH ACTIVITY

Ironically, the same day I discovered Muller's anti-youth views, I was preparing for a youth discussion on Marx's *Humanist Essays* of 1844. Both Marx and today's youth have quite different views of how values, or new ideas develop. Muller correctly asserts that today's students aren't sure if they do control their own lives,

and he even calls their situation "alienation." For Marx though, alienation was not merely an abstract, philosophic, human value term. It was intertwined with the society he was looking at. It was most centrally tied to the production process and from there moved into all aspects of life. And for Marx it could be transcended not by the imposition of external values, but only through the concrete, overcoming of the class-ridden, capitalist society that human beings lived under.

So for today's youth not willing to take war and the American racist and sexist way any longer, alienation too is not any abstraction. It is something to be opposed not through a university giving one a value system, though we have much to learn from Marx's ideas of freedom, but something to be overcome in the concrete working out of paths toward human freedom.

Youth's passion to realize human nature — to be free, in opposition to the infinite number of ways capitalist America suppresses freedom—surely was Marx's view of making the nature of human relations truly human. In the *Humanist Essays*, Marx points out that nothing is more natural than the relations between the sexes, and yet inhumanity has always characterized those relations. The women in Ann Arbor, Michigan who marched through the town pointing out the 150 places where women have been sexually attacked, painting the message, "A woman was raped here," were singling out one aspect of that inhumanity.

Far from acting like barbarians, they and other youth are showing that confidence in their own ideas and actions — not those of recently inspired bourgeois ideologists—will bring forth freedom.

Marx on exams

The bureaucracy is a circle from which no one can escape. Its hierarchy is a hierarchy of knowledge . . . The examination — this "link" between the "office of state" and the "individual," this objective bond between the knowledge of civil society and the knowledge of the state — is nothing but the bureaucratic baptism of knowledge, the official recognition of the transubstantiation of profane knowledge into sacred knowledge (in every examination, it goes without saying, the examiner knows all).

—from Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right, 1843

Contrasting views of "The War At Home"

The Coalition Against Registration for the Draft has been showing "The War At Home" all over the place in Chicago. The most distressing thing about the showings is that there isn't any discussion afterward.

There was lots of cheering from the audience for the 60s antiwar movement in confrontation with the police. The fact that it did reflect the mindless activism of the 60s—with all the concentration on some new imaginative act of confrontation to crystallize the movement around—made it, on the contrary, thoroughly sobering.

It is centered on the Madison campus, culminating with the blowing up of the Army Math Research Center where a graduate student was killed. Lack of philosophy, in the moviemaker and in the period, was reflected in that one leader is quoted who did compare the brutality of the police in '68 in Chicago with the Russian tanks crushing Prague Spring but then the movie goes on to quote a Communist Party candidate on how people are moving away from liberalism to radicalism is if that is what the CP represented.

What didn't reflect reality was that the movie was too campus centered. There is some reference to the movement "rediscovering its roots in the Civil Rights Movement" with a fight for Black studies, but there was no mention that that Black struggle had a development of its own that reached a higher stage of philosophy and opposition to the powers-that-be in the ghetto rebellions.

The documentary ends with everyone asking what happened to the anti-war movement. There isn't a whiff of the movement that started right then as a confrontation within the Left—Women's Liberation—which did have quite a life in the 70s. But then only an interest in the self-development of the subject as the revolutionary force and not merely intensifying the struggle would enable you to both appreciate and be part of that.

That message is true for then and it is true for today's anti-draft activists and their relationship to the hundreds of thousands of 19 and 20 year olds who quietly didn't register for the draft, not to mention other dimensions fighting the militarization of this society like the

Blacks in Miami or the 1,300 women demonstrating at the Pentagon this month. —60s draft resister

Last year Glenn Silber and Barry Alexander Brown documented the story of resistance to the Vietnam war, as it happened in Madison, Wis., by combining TV footage with recent interviews of several participants. Not since *The Memory of Justice* have I seen so enthralling a visual account of history, and yet now with our own hour pressing more heavily every day, *The War at Home* can't look the same. The threat of another war can only draw these pictures and voices closer.

The strength of the film is the volume with which it treats the process of the movement, and in this sense, confining the scope almost entirely to the University of Wisconsin is forgivable. It picks up in 1963 with the bomb pickets and civil rights activities, then showing both how the movement swelled with Johnson's 1965 escalation and how students began to seize upon the immediate issues on campus and internalize the need for something totally new.

1967 brings drastic responses to the activity on campus. The new theme for higher learning is "law and order," and students are viciously attacked during a sit-in in the Administration building. One cringes to hear one student leader remark that police intervention would force non-political students to decide if "they were for us or against us." This craving for quantity clears the way for a complete subordination of philosophy to tactics.

The film is concluded with a dismal discussion of Karl Armstrong, the man who blew up the Army's Math Research building, as though one person's voluntarism is the only question the movement left hanging.

This film is of crucial importance to those of us who are a part of the new anti-militarism movement now taking root in the U.S. While today's revolutionary tasks deserve a sense of continuity with the 1960s revolt, this film makes clear the need for more than activity as the measure of our response.

—80s draft resister

Cal State pickets KKK

Los Angeles—One of the most important events in years occurred at Cal State University Northridge on Nov. 11 when hundreds of students booed, jeered, and disrupted a campus lecture by David Duke, Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan.

Duke was brought to campus by the student government during Human Rights Week. They even paid him \$1,700 to show up. But the students didn't give him a chance to say very much.

As soon as we heard that the Associated Students were planning to bring Duke to Northridge, we circulated petitions to stop his appearance. The campus newspaper was flooded with letters protesting his speech a week before he came.

When Duke showed up on Nov. 11, students from the Black Students Union, Mecha (the Chicano students group) and Hillel (the Jewish students) as well as Asians got together and set up a picket line around the lecture hall. Almost 1,000 students later crowded into the hall as he spoke, most of them shouting down his racist speech.

Everyone feels we won a real victory by getting so many students to protest his appearance. But the protest didn't come out of thin air. Last spring the Marines came on campus in a recruitment drive, and brought along tanks and missile launchers to display what students have in store for them. A group of Black and Chicano students hanging out in the quad began to picket their display, and the protest got so large the school had to ask the Marines to leave. Many students involved in that protest were active in the protest against Duke.

I think this shows how far to the right this country has moved even a week after Reagan's victory by giving \$1,700 of student money to a racist. But it also showed that students are ready to do something about that.

Post-election protest

Berkeley, Cal.—Hundreds of students and community activists at U. C. Berkeley participated in a rally and sit-in November 5 as a protest against the move to the right this country has taken with the election of Ronald Reagan. Fifty-four people were later arrested when they refused to end a sit-in in California Hall where the chancellor's office is located.

The demonstration began at noon in Sproul Plaza with a series of speeches that not only called for a new progressive unity, but remembered the reactionary role Reagan had played during his term as Governor. Reagan who had severely cut the University's budget, he sent troops in against demonstrators in 1969. It was Reagan who had severely cut the University's budget.

The rally turned into a demonstration with protesters marching to the chancellor's office to present a list of demands that included an end to child care cuts, ROTC off campus, an end to university participation in nuclear research and the preservation of People's Park.

Hundreds of students attended another rally on November 6 which was called to demand that all charges be dropped against those arrested on Wednesday night.

Youth in Revolt



Warsaw University students staging a sit-in to demand independent students association Nov. 29, 1980.

Criticizing the Catholic church which "clings fearfully to the status quo," the head of a Catholic youth organization challenged Pope John Paul II in front of a half a million people in Munich on Nov. 19. Barbara Engl told the Pope, "Youth's questions on friendship (and) sexuality partnership are often answered with prohibitions rather than understanding."

Israeli troops fired into the campus of Bethlehem University where a demonstration was taking place on Nov. 18 wounding 11 Palestinian youths who were protesting the closing of Bir Zeit University by the occupied West Bank military government during "Palestinian Week." A growing number of Israeli youth are opposing that kind of violence against Palestinians by refusing military duty on the West Bank. The Israeli supreme court ruled against Gad Elgazi who was jailed for refusing such duty. Ten soldiers reportedly have been jailed for the same thing.

THE BLACK DIMENSION: FROM SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS BOYCOTT TO CIVIL

Black Freedom Voices in the 1960s

Voices of the Civil Rights Movement: Black American Freedom Songs 1960-66 (three record set), edited by Bernice Johnson Reagon, Smithsonian Institution Program in Black American Culture, \$20.00.

Danville, Va., 1963—a textile town, dominated by Dan River Mills and segregation. Hundreds, nearly all Black, mostly in their teens, crowd into the church which serves as the Danville freedom movement's auditorium and nerve center. Dozens had been brutally billy-clubbed on "Bloody Monday," three nights before, with more than 40 hospitalized. We knew that to go out there and march to City Hall would mean facing all that terror again. There was only one way to ready ourselves; we were going to sing. Each song then took on a personal conviction: "We got to hold up the freedom banner; we got to hold it up until we die."

It was a scene repeated all across the South for an entire decade as the Civil Rights Movement swept from Montgomery, Birmingham and Atlanta into the small towns and farms of rural Alabama, Georgia and the Mississippi Delta. None of the many books written about that historic upheaval captures better the mass mobilization of an entire people, and the way their creativity in song and word helped drive the movement forward than this magnificent record collection brought together by Bernice Johnson Reagon, one of the original SNCC Freedom Singers.

CULTURE AND POLITICS

The songs themselves powerfully cut through the endless debates on the "primacy" of culture or politics in the struggle. Describing her own experience in the Albany, Ga. movement, Bernice Johnson Reagon explains: "From the late 1950s through the mid-1960s I celebrated and participated in the wedding of our traditional culture with our contemporary struggle for freedom. All the established categories in which I had been educated

fell apart during this period, revealing culture to be not luxury, not leisure, not entertainment, but the lifeblood of a community."

The form of movement mass meetings had been born in the very first of the battles, as Montgomery's Black community came together night after night for a full year (December 1955-December 1956). Singing underlined the determination never to ride Montgomery's segregated buses until Jim Crow was broken.

To listen to these records is to take a journey with the movement, a journey that will be as intense for those of us who lived it as it is for the new generation of youth facing a President Reagan and a resurgent KKK.

There is no mistaking youth everywhere in the front lines of the Civil Rights Movement, from the Nashville Black college students of the Freedom Rides, whose saga is compressed into: "I took a little trip on a Greyhound bus. Freedom's coming and it won't be long," to the Selma, Ala. Youth Freedom Choir. These Selma high school students, veterans of a month of marches and sit-ins before their parents would dare to join them, underline their challenge to all to stand up for freedom in "If You Miss Me from the Back of the Bus."

BLACK WOMEN LEADERS

What also is so striking is the leadership of Black women, a leadership which did not separate organizing and picketing from composing songs and leading mass meetings in singing them. There is Fannie Lou Hamer, whose fame as orator and singer spread from the Mississippi Delta around the world. Less heralded were such songwriter-activists as Bertha Gober, who composed "We'll Never Turn Back." One of the most inspiring of all civil rights songs, it was written after the murder of Rev. Herbert Lee by a Mississippi state legislator, and sung across the South whenever racist terror was to be faced. Such "memorial songs" played a vital part in

the mass response to the murders of Medgar Evers, or of Chaney, Schwerner and Goodman. Two weeks after Medgar Evers was gunned down by (as Matthew Jones puts it in "The Ballad of Medgar Evers") "a hate-filled white man" with a "high-powered rifle," a quarter-million marched in protest in the streets of Detroit.

The truth is that the spirit of the movement refused to accept any of the old ways, old attitudes, as "given." Since resistance to segregation was sure to mean going to jail, jail became a badge of honor rather than a shame to be hidden. The CORE Freedom Singers' tremendously popular "Certainly, Lord" demands that answer to questions like: "Have you been to the jail?", "Would you go back again?", and "Would you tell it to the world?"

The world was indeed watching the Civil Rights Movement, especially as the African liberation struggles against colonialism coincided with the freedom movement in America. That we were looking to make that connection a fuller one is emphasized by the huge crowds who turned out to greet African leaders when they came to the U.N. in 1962, and by the SNCC Freedom Singers' song "Oginga Odinga," written when that representative of newly-independent Kenya visited Atlanta during the demonstrations there.

The journey through the Black Freedom Movement, 1960-66, brings to today's battles a far fuller understanding of the nature of such a social revolution. Thus, in selecting a few books and articles for further reading, in the booklet accompanying the records, Dr. Reagon included the 1961 News and Letters pamphlet, *Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves*. I am sure that it was not alone for its magnificent accounts of the Freedom Rides that it was selected. What both *Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves* and this new record collection underline for 1980 is the creativity of the Southern Black youth; the self-organization of the women (as in Jackson, Miss. 1961, "Womanpower Unlimited"); the internationalism of the struggle, and its reach back over a 400 year history. They bring before our senses in all their fullness, the explosion of ideas, the unleashing of human faculties, that emerge in a genuine moment when masses are in motion for freedom.

—Mike Flug

Southern Africa's new stage of struggle

(Continued from Page 1)

society still had 6,400 white farmers controlling half the land and seven million Blacks limited to the rest. The government bureaucracy and industry remained white-controlled, as did the white-led Rhodesian army.

While the bourgeois press has alternated between simplistic and often racist reports of "violence" and of "moderation" in the new Zimbabwe, they have ignored the fundamental social revolution that is taking place. Thus, at the same time the arrest and trial of ZANU leader Edgar Tekere for killing a white farmer made world headlines, few if any noticed that the new government had established universal free education for Zimbabwean children.

Thus the massive wave of more than 100 wildcat strikes in mines, factories and plantations by Black workers from April to June, which led on July 1 to a new minimum wage law that more than doubled the income for many Blacks was also passed over in silence by the press. So was the key provision forbidding firings because of the new wage.

But just as important as these specific laws is the change in thought—the new positive self-consciousness of the African masses. Information Minister Nathan Shumuyarina summed it up when he stated: "This is no longer a European country."

Contradictions remain, however. The government has not hurried to redistribute the land. The constitution states that this white-owned land must be paid for, but by November Mugabe did warn that white farms might be taken over without compensation "because we have no money to pay them and do not feel inclined to pay for land plundered from the indigenous people by the colonialists." The masses had known this all along. As ZANU official Movan Mahachi put it: "The people don't understand why we have to pay for it. They want to know who the whites paid. The old tribesmen ask, 'If they bought it, then who did they pay?'" Blacks have been simply moving in and taking over land.

After independence, Mugabe also left the white-led Rhodesian army intact. The 1,200 guerrilla soldiers brought into this white-led supposedly "national" army after independence reacted so defiantly to colonialist concepts of discipline that half ended up in the brig and the idea had to be scrapped.

On foreign policy, the new government has bent over backwards to accommodate the U.S. and Britain, but little or no aid has been forthcoming. With the election of Reagan, the new Zimbabwe will face increased pressure from the two superpowers, Russia and the U.S., and from apartheid South Africa.

An entirely different type of international relations was shown in the jubilation which greeted Zimbabwe's independence among South African and American Blacks. The latter was seen dramatically in August when thou-



Pretoria protest for three members of the African National Congress sentenced to death, November, 1980

sands came out to cheer Mugabe in Harlem Aug. 24 in one of the most massive Black demonstrations held in New York in several years.

THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION

While it is too often ignored by both the establishment and the Left press, South Africa sits over another "volcano" in Namibia (South-West Africa) which it continues to occupy in defiance of the UN and even U.S. imperialism, who have called for South Africa to withdraw from there. But neither South Africa nor the U.S. want to give up control of Namibia's rich uranium deposits and oil potential, independence or no independence.

While it had appeared earlier this year that South Africa might allow a UN-monitored election in Namibia, ever since the Zimbabwe elections, South Africa has grown quite wary of elections. And whatever mild pressure the Carter administration had put on South Africa will now apparently be ended by Reagan.

But even Reagan cannot make the facts of history go away. Ever since the 1976 victory of the MPLA in Angola, the African fighters of SWAPO have been able to operate more effectively across the long northern border with Angola. This has occurred despite South Africa's murderous raids across the border into Angola.

Thus in May, while South Africa and its ally Jonas Savimbi's UNITA, murdered 260 civilians and SWAPO troops in raids into Angoia, SWAPO was able to shell a major air base in northern Namibia and to blow up electric power plants several times, blacking out even the capital. Operating openly, the legal wing of SWAPO continues to sponsor mass meetings and rallies, even though its members suffer severe police repression. A recent rally held in the capital drew 1,600 SWAPO supporters, many of them women.

Southern Africa, from Zimbabwe and Namibia to South Africa itself, is in the process of the most revolutionary of transformations. The African masses—worker and guerrilla, students and women—are tearing down the old structures to bring forth a new, human dimension.

New Black political party?

Philadelphia, Pa.—On the weekend of Nov. 21-23 over 1,500 Black people, more than expected, met here for the founding convention of the National Black Independent Political Party.

Unfortunately it soon became very clear that this convention was not called to found a new organization but was just a vehicle by which a few people who would like to replace the rejected leadership, would be legitimized as the new leaders of the Black Movement. The chairperson of the organizing committee, Ron Daniels, stated, "We are not here to discuss issues, but infrastructure for building institutions for Black Nationhood." He spoke of the need for coalition with radicals but questioned the need Black people had for the teaching of Marx, Lenin, or Mao when there were so many immediate concerns to be addressed.

At no time did we hear any mention of Miami, of the Black masses as vanguard or words to that effect. No mention was made of the Civil Rights Movement. What really became evident is that the organizers were completely unaware of the fact that although they were eloquent and forceful speakers, it was not related in any way to the anger or reason of Black America.

When the floor was opened for discussion, many people had things on their minds and voiced them. Practically all those who spoke were women. They raised questions about membership—why \$100 annual dues for associate members? Wouldn't poorer people be discouraged from joining?

So many strains of just about everything—Maoism, electoral politics, cultural nationalism, reformism—were present, which were both very naive and sophisticated at the same time.

Naive, because there can obviously be no independent Black party without the active participation of masses of Black people, and yet sophisticated, because they evidently know what they're about and are picking up on a rather rarefied strain in the Black community which wants power, within the system, by any means possible. The new party was not to be a revolutionary one, but one that would work for "reform and reconstruction within the socio-economic institution."

What could and should have been a positive step in Black struggle was in reality a step backwards. People were very frustrated and lost interest. One young student said, "These new leaders will have their party, but it will be just one more paper tiger like all the rest."

—Ray McKay, Teru Ibuki

RIGHTS MOVEMENT FREEDOM VOICES; FROM BLACK NOVELISTS TO BLACK WORKERS

The South African Schools Boycott, 1980

"We Don't Want No Education: Schools Boycott, 1980" by Roseinnes Phahle appeared in *Solidarity* No. 4, October, 1980, official organ of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania. Below we print excerpts. The full article is available from 410 Central Park West, #3c New York, N.Y. 10025.

On the weekend of the 12th April 1980, about 100 pupil delegates from schools in the Cape Flats district of Cape Town met to discuss their grievances and make demands to the government. The pupils issued an ultimatum to the government to meet their demands before the end of the month. But by Tuesday of the following week more than 60,000 pupils in and around Cape Town began a boycott of the schools. The pupils, aged between 13 and 18, were led by a Committee of 81 (originally 61) which they had elected to represent all the Cape Town schools participating in the boycott action.

By the end of the first weeks the boycott had spread to Johannesburg. In the next eight weeks it was to involve at least 100,000 pupils at any one time, and was to remain in force without final resolution in many parts of the country some three or more months after it started in Cape Town. Not even the "independent" Bantustans escaped the action of the pupils. Two

thousand pupils in Qwaqwa, a rural Bantustan town, joined the boycott in its fifth week.

The pupils, after a number of meetings, some on their own and others jointly with their parents, listed a number of grievances among which were:

- free access to school grounds by the Special Branch police
- police detentions of pupils, students and teachers
- lack of textbooks and/or inferior textbooks
- racist education and the organization of education into racially separate departments of education.

The boycott was an active one in which the pupils did not simply issue a call to boycott nor simply stay away from school. The pupils' boycott of schools—as in its predecessor in 1976—involved an active organization by means of public meetings and protest marches. The pupils refused to attend classes; used the occasion to conduct an awareness programme, or a political rally either outside or inside the school grounds with their placards hung on the fences; or they marched through the streets of the ghettos at the same time as they drew attention and support from the adults on their way to join in with pupils gathered at other schools.

The origin and centre of the 1980 schools boycott

action was Cape Town. Most of the pupils in Cape Town are "coloured" and the massive response to the boycott by pupils outside of Cape Town and its periphery came from the "Coloured" and "Indian" ghettos of Johannesburg and Durban. However, the pupils in 1980, as throughout the seventies under the influence of Black Consciousness, itself of student origin, did not allow the differences in pigmentation among the blacks to deny the indivisibility of oppression and exploitation of all the blacks. One pupil said: "We're not coloured or even so-called coloured. We resent the term. We are black."

As is always the case in all black struggles, the state reacted to the boycott of schools by denying the pupils' grievances, and seeking mythical agents to hold responsible for the boycott action.

In Johannesburg alone, a total of 854 pupils were brought before a hastily convened court which sat from 4 p.m. and all through the night. In batches of 30 the pupils were charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

The students boycott action must not be seen in isolation from the numerous working class and community based struggles which took place before, during and after their own action against the schools. In the four months preceding the pupils' action, at least 30 industrial strikes by black workers took place in various parts of the country. In the course of the schools boycott there was even more intense industrial action: the meat workers in the western Cape and the active support they received from the black consumers, the bus boycott and June 16th stay-at-home in Cape Town, the strikes in the motor industry in the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage area, by textile workers in Durban, sugar workers in Johannesburg and mine workers in Stilfontein.

It was said of the Soweto Uprising that after it South Africa would never be the same. In that Uprising, the workers and a generation of future workers were schooled and conscientised in political action. The pupils' action of 1980 and the youthful sections of today's working class were born out of that Uprising. It is a generation which has learned to struggle actively and continuously to win its demands. The promises and detentions and shootings will not stop its active struggle, open or otherwise. We have a lot more to learn from the youth than we can impart to them.



The Freedom Day Festival, Greenwood, Miss. June, 1963

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

Richard Wright: Ordeal of A Native Son*, is the third major biography of Richard Wright that has been published since 1968.

After Wright died in Paris in 1960, and throughout the course of the Civil Rights Movement and the urban revolts that followed, his influence upon young Black writers was negligible, then dimmed and finally flickered out. But as early as 1965, Hoyt Fuller, a Black literary critic and editor, was perceptive enough to be able to write: "In spirit, more than conscious approximation, the contemporary Negro novelist and playwright is the heir of Richard Wright . . . and it is appropriate to go back to 1940, the date of the publication of his *Native Son*, in considering contemporary Negro fiction."

Addison Gayle says that the impetus to write a new biography of Richard Wright came first from the growing general interest in Wright's work and that, "Black intellectuals who ignored him in the sixties today eagerly search through his works, seeking answers as to why and how the civil rights revolution of the sixties went astray . . ." And second, because of the enactment of the Freedom of Information and Privacy Acts, the FBI, CIA, and State Department files kept on Wright became available to the public, which opened up a whole new terrain of Wright's life, placing his life and works into a new perspective.

Gayle has done a terrific job in chronicling, from the heavily-censored documents that he was able to obtain, the deleterious impact that government harassment made upon Wright's life. It chills one to think how at every moment this country is so close to the implementation of a police state.

Most of the other facts that Gayle uses in his biography of Wright come from quoting, or paraphrasing, what Wright and others had already written, and because of this, the *Ordeal of A Native Son* remains unfinished and journalistic in tone. The task of a biographer should be, writing 20 years after the death of his subject, to discover, in an unambiguous way, what remains viable in the ideas of his subject.

The question is: why has there remained an interest in Wright's works; has Wright said something that is relevant to our time? This is a compelling question that must be faced by Black intellectuals if they are going to understand Wright.

*By Addison Gayle, Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1980, \$14.95.

Richard Wright in the '80s

One of the unfortunate things about Gayle's biography of Wright is his failure to develop that all of Wright's "political naivete," "paranoia" and ambivalence to the Communist Party, which he deals with extensively, was around the single issue of the so-called Negro Question. Wright projected what Black reality was, vs. the CPUSA's idea of what it should be — which changed at various times, to fit the needs of Stalin's foreign policy.

Gayle presents vivid pictures of Wright's confrontations with Black CP leaders, like Harry Hayward; John P. Davis, the executive secretary of the CP-controlled National Negro Congress; and Ben Davis, the New York functionary, over this issue. All Wright's ideas about Black reality were almost wholly presented in fiction form. But where Wright does develop an original idea, in the 1938 essay *Blueprint For Negro Writing*, Gayle manages to put it down as "a curious article" that Wright should not have written.

This curt dismissal does both a disservice to Wright, and to Wright's ideas on nationalism, which are still germane today. In this essay, long before Fanon wrote in *The Wretched Of The Earth* about the reality, the limitations and the transformation of African Nationalism, Wright was attempting to approach American Black Nationalism in that same dialectical way.

The legacy that Wright left to Black America is in *Native Son* and the two sections of his own autobiography — *Black Boy* and *American Hunger*.

When Wright published *Native Son*, back in 1940, it was an historic break between the Black middle class literature of the Harlem Renaissance and, in the character of *Bigger Thomas*, the birth of the modern Black novel. *Bigger Thomas*, the native son, the second generation urban Black, was not the new Negro envisioned by the Harlem Renaissance. *Bigger* was the frightening spectacle of what Northern racism could do to a human being, how totally it could alienate a young Black person from American "civilization." And, because of *Bigger's* human qualities of "perception and emotion" as Wright puts it, *Bigger* was implicitly the negation of that civilization.

Wright revealed an aspect of American civilization that neither the CPUSA, whites in general, nor the Black middle class leaders could accept.

Yet it was just here, within the main source of Wright's legacy to Black America, that he showed his unflinching determination to discover Black reality in racist America, and to expose it.

As Others See Us

Excerpts from a review of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* by William H. Harris, Associate Professor of History, Indiana University that appear in *Labor History* Vol. 21 No. 3, Summer 1980:

The book is in two parts, the original book of 1952 and a new section discussing events of the past quarter century or so, and there are major differences between parts I and II. In fact, it is as if they are two separate books. Denby recognizes the differences and acknowledges in the preface that the authors of the two parts were, in a sense, two different people.

The differences between parts I and II of *Indignant Heart* are understandable if readers keep in mind the terrific changes that came about in race relations and at the workbenches in the United States between their appearances. Yet Denby's book is unified and is an interesting analysis of those changes, as well as a disturbing reminder of what has been the status of life and work among black people in the American South during most of this century. . . .

. . . in description of his life and work in the North in the automobile shops he comes across as a person of strength and self-assurance. And therein lies the strength of *Indignant Heart*. Denby's is an engrossing story of wildcat strikes, union internal discord, racial disputes within the shops, and the grave problem facing modern workers: the impersonal assembly line with its foremen, useless union stewards, and the oppressive speed-up. It is in such discussions that the book becomes more than the personal story of one man and speaks to the lives of all who have had the necessity of having to punch a time clock on a regular basis . . .

In reality part II is not as original as part I, though it is considerably better written and shows a fuller sophistication on Denby's part as he matured as a writer and analyst. The major problem with this section is that Denby ranges too broadly, moving through almost every stage of the black movement from Montgomery to the death of Stephen Biko, all in just over 100 pages . . . All this makes for interesting and informative reading.

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

Polish workers expand strikes as government retracts newly-won gains

Poland's workers' movement is continuing the fight to put into practice the formally agreed-to gains won in the mass occupation strikes of August. That has meant an unprecedented expansion of Solidarnosc (Solidarity), the free trade union, to ten million workers. They staged demonstration strikes in support of hospital workers and teachers in Gdansk, who occupied government offices for ten days and won pay increases and promises of dramatic increases in the 1981 budget for health and education.

Solidarnosc has forced the government to back down in its repeated attempts to reassert its pre-August domination. The government has done everything from holding at the border a printing press donated for the workers' paper, to a declaration by the governor of the southern province of Czesochowa of a "state of emergency" with an immediate ban on all union activities there. The workers called for and won his resignation and demanded that his private villa and those of other government officials be turned into kindergartens.

It is the threat of national strikes, posed in Solidarnosc's strike alerts, that continues to determine the outcome in confrontations between the government and the workers. Thus, in a dramatic showdown on Nov. 10, Poland's Supreme Court backed down from a lower court's arrogant insertion into the charter of Solidarnosc of a reference to the "leading role" of the Communist Party.

The government is trying to intimidate the movement in whatever way it feels it can, from TV showings of joint Russian-Polish Warsaw Pact troop maneuvers in Poland, to focusing on Poland's economic crisis as though the shortages are the fault of striking workers rather than deliberate government planning. Like capitalists everywhere, the government is saying the workers' supposed lack of productivity is the determinant in national

political and economic life, and in that, both the Russian overlords and the western banks agree.



"... I tell you what: If you get them back to work for me, I'll get on my knees and pray to God for you."

Solidarnosc activists have helped students initiate their own Association of Independent Students in Cracow on Sept. 22. A farmers' self-management movement has also emerged.

The impulse to freedom has even affected groups like the usually pro-government Association of Journalists who elected as their chairman, Stefan Bratkowski, a dissident journalist who has been blacklisted since 1973. He called the current upheaval a "revolution of common sense." Gdansk unionists have initiated a workers' parliament among building workers and are trying to set up independently-elected factory councils to administer social welfare, aid and credit funds.

Workers have been taking time off in the factories to hold meetings and have discussions. They are also fighting attempts to isolate them by writing "Solidarnosc" on boxcars destined for Russia. East European governments have been viciously attacking the Polish movement fearing a "disease" that could spread—none more than the East German government which has closed its borders to Poles seeking to travel there. Strikes have been reported in Hungary as well as the Baltic state of Estonia. Demonstrations by young people, triggered by the silencing of a popular music group, also broke out all over Estonia and were joined by Russian youth.

The official government press in Poland, Russia and East Germany has singled out KOR and especially Jacek Kuron for slanderous attacks, calling him "anti-socialist" and "Zionist." KOR is a group of intellectuals who are advisors to Solidarnosc and have had a long-standing relationship to the workers' movement. Kuron was singled out for daring in a recent article to call for the fullest possible open discussion on the route to full democracy and self-management in an independent Poland.

Haiti

The spectacle of Bahamian police brutally beating Haitian refugees, who had been starving on the tiny island of Cayo Lobos for several weeks after they had fled their destitute homeland in search for a better life, aroused millions of Americans as they viewed the horror on television.

If these people had been shipwrecked sailors, a massive all out rescue effort would have been mounted by all the maritime nations of the world. As it was, they had landed without food or water on the tiny island that belongs to the Bahamas, and thus achieved the status of trespassers to be brutally beaten and shipped back to the hated dictatorship of Haiti.

Haiti is, without a doubt, one of the poorest countries in the world. It is a land of mud huts, cactus fences, deserts and mountains, with a life expectancy of only 33 years—80 percent of the children suffer from malnutrition. To flee, people patch up an old abandoned boat and load it with a couple of barrels of water. Soldiers who are sent to stop them often join them for life is little better for them. Over 30,000 have made it to Florida and sought refuge, while thousands more have lost their lives at sea in the attempt.

The land that Toussaint L'Ouverture freed from French rule with a slave army in a great Black revolution in the New World, is now ruled by a "dictator for life" who inherited the job from his father. He got the job from the U.S. Marines, who ruled the country between 1915 and 1934.

The U.S. government does nothing to either promote democracy in Haiti or to alleviate the misery and suffering of the people. In fact, in Detroit, Julio Bateau, director of the local Haitian Refugee Center, charged before the City Council that the Detroit Police Department trained five Haitian police officers in modern methods of riot control and firearms use.

The refugees that do not die trying to reach Florida provide a new source of cheap labor for the agricultural recruiters who herd them into trucks, run them out into the fields, collect their wages and give them less than 30 percent of what they earn.

France

Only a few weeks after the Nazi-like bombing at the Paris synagogue on Rue Copernic which left four people dead, Ben Mohammed Laouri, a 17-year-old French citizen of Moroccan origin, was shot dead by the CRS (a vicious anti-riot police force) in the North African section of Marseille. The reason—his car was stopped for an "identity check" and for no apparent reason, the CRS opened fire and shot him dead, even though he had all of his "papers."

The next day, 3,000 immigrants and people from

Left groups demonstrated at the police station, chanting "Immigrants will no longer bow their heads." Youth from the North African sections complained of frequent police brutality, including "I.D. checks" where the CRS put guns to their heads.

In northern France, 750 Moroccan immigrant coal miners have just won an anti-racist strike to gain the same rights as other miners. Until now, the Moroccans had been the only group among the 18 nationalities working there, not covered by the regular French miners' statutes.

This meant that they could not bring their families with them from Morocco, but were forced to come alone on 18-month contracts. Labor Minister Lionel Stoleru, a notorious racist and author of a law to deport thousands of foreign workers, had this answer to the Moroccan miners: "If they want to go home, we won't stop them."

This type of comment simply strengthened the strikers' resolve to keep on until victory. In fact, by November, 10,000 mostly French coal miners also went on strike for better pay and conditions, inspired by the victory of the Moroccan miners.

Ireland

Seven Republican prisoners have launched a hunger strike to the death, if necessary, at the Maze prison in Belfast. Another 142 prisoners informed their jailers that they were joining the 350 prisoners taking part in the "dirty protest" for special status as political prisoners. (Three women prisoners joined the strike Dec. 1.)

The hunger strike weapon is common among Irish revolutionaries. Terence McSweeney, the Lord Mayor of Cork who died after 74 days of a hunger strike in 1920, said "The contest on our side is not one of rivalry or vengeance, but of endurance. It is not those who can inflict the most, but those who can suffer the most that will conquer."

The record of British imperialism in Ireland shows that, while many have died, the hunger strikers have won: in 1912 (Mountjoy), 1916 (Frogoch), 1917 (Mountjoy), 1919 (Mountjoy), 1920 (Wormwood Scrubs) and 1974 (Brixton).

The present British policy was laid down in 1973 by Home Secretary Roy Jenkins, who said, "In the future, hunger strikers would be left to starve." The reaffirmation of that policy by the Thatcher government indicates that it actually will be carried out to the death, which may well occur before Christmas.

China

Hong Kong, with its class trappings of British imperialism and its sweatshops everywhere, is not the alternative that Chinese revolutionaries have in mind

when they have broken with the Communist regime. But it has been a refuge for hundreds of thousands of Chinese fleeing starvation or draconian political campaigns, who then provided the labor power for the massive development of industry in Hong Kong.

Now more peasants than ever have been trying to flee to Hong Kong from the adjoining area in Guangdong province, even though peasants from such fertile areas did increase their income after the grain price increases in 1979. From one farm brigade alone only five attempted to get to Hong Kong in the three years before 1979, and more than 35 have tried since then.

The current drive for modernization of the economy since Mao's death promises the production methods of world capitalism, but living standards even at the level of Hong Kong aren't promised until the next century. The "readjustment" of the economy and expected mass lay-offs have eliminated the chances of many peasants being allowed to work in a factory. So to many, if China of the future looks like Hong Kong, why not go there now?

The penalty for being caught escaping is a term in a labor camp. But as one youth put it, if as a peasant you work hard every day and get only rice, who's afraid of a labor camp?

Jamaica

The government of Michael Manley has been replaced by the new conservative government of Edward Seaga, head of the business-backed Jamaica Labor Party, in an election marked by right-wing violence.

Manley proclaimed himself to be a socialist, but had done little to improve the living conditions of the Jamaican people. He had been under great pressure from the International Monetary Fund, which is run by the United States, to institute a regime more favorable to U.S. imperialism. There is no question but that the "destabilization" policies of the U.S. contributed to his defeat. He found that without U.S. endorsement he could not obtain loans or capital for industrialization that were necessary to improve the economy.

His successor, on the other hand, has had no such problems. Seaga was born in Boston of Lebanese, Scottish and Jamaican descent, and was educated at Harvard, and is well known in international banking circles. His first moves included a commercial loan from U.S. banks for \$157 million and the legalization of the use of foreign exchange generated by the sale of marijuana, which is estimated at \$1 billion a year.

He is expected to fall in line with U.S. policies for the militarization of the Caribbean, which would build up military units to counter Castro's influence in the area. The police and the military, who were passive observers of the violence during the election, are now being used in raids, during the nightly curfew, to clean up the opposition to the new regime.