25 years as editor of News & Letters

by Charles Denby, Editor

One of the reviews of my Indignant Heart was by a Black Worker's Journal. One of the reviews of my Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal by a journal professor at the University of Indiana that I am a different person between 1980 and 1982. It is understandable if readers keep in mind the terrible changes that came about in race relations in the same thoroughfare between the two parts. He felt Part II was not as original as Part I. At the same time there was the outrageous halt the KKK night-riders and Southern law and order.

I was the chief reason I am a different person at 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 have taught me. (Continued on Page 1)

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Azania, Zimbabwe, Namibia

Southern Africa's new stage of struggle

by Kevin A. Barry

On Oct. 15, as a white South African official was being installed as an "honorary citizen" of Soweto, 3,000 youths outside the hall clashed with police, throwing tear gas and rocks and charging the police. Many workers were fired which also meant deportation to the Bantustans under the pass laws. (See News & Letters, Oct. 15, page 11.)

There were terrible changes in the past 25 years and that has made me a different person. But to understand the changes I am a different person at 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 have taught me. (Continued on Page 8)

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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 halt the KKK night-riders and Southern law and order. After all, the racism of our "civilized" gentlemen of Congress.

Sen. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, who is scheduled to become chairman of the Senate Finance Committee when the right-wing, reactionary, racist Congress begins its session in January, has already indicated that he wants to use his influence in order to get a bill passed into law as a way of life as we enter the 1980's. What exactly will the KKK 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 of a campaign to roll back the gains that Blacks and some whites fought for, marched for and died for throughout the 1960s.

By the end of 1980 it is clear that the vicious apartheid regime in South Africa is being driven into a corner. The ultimate solution is an authentic expression of Black consciousness. (See Fraser Fano, Soweto and American Black Thought, News & Letters pamphlet.)

THE THEORY OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

In fact it was the Black Consciousness Movement of South Africa which developed the theoretical foundation for the student-worker upheavals of the 1970s beginning with Soweto 1976. As articulated, by the theoretical concepts that Biko, Black Consciousness went beyond previous versions of African Socialism and "Scientific Socialism" in power today. As Biko wrote in the article of the same name, "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 and it is the same, the same with China. 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 communism." (See Fraser Fano, Soweto and American Black Thought, News & Letters pamphlet.)

The new Zimbabwe was born out of seven years of armed and mass strikes of Black workers for tremendous victories as the National Black Independent Party. The strike was broken with tremendous repression. The battle of Soweto, 3,000 youths outside the hall clashed with police, throwing tear gas and rocks and charging the police. Many workers were fired which also meant deportation to the Bantustans under the pass laws. (See News & Letters, Oct. 15, page 11.)

THE NEW ZIMBABWE AFTER 7 MONTHS

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

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(Continued on Page 7)

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

There can be no doubt that the election of Reagan and the defeat of liberal legislators like Elizabeth Holtzman, und the Social Security amendments, were replaced by "conservatives" (read reactionaries), is a blow to women's forward fight for freedom. Even Reagan's campaign rhetoric was ground for misogynists like Chicago's Cook County Board President George Dunne to show his true face as he decreed an end to the tolerance of Asian sex trauma that had existed on such those necessary to save a woman's life. Cook County Hospital was one of the few hospitals to perform abortion in Chicago and the only one for women on welfare.

It took only a few days after the election for a women's group to rebut the notion that Social Security amendments were not aimed at women. The First Amendment had in Detroit before abortion was legal. Then the reproduction of thousands of women in the streets, forced the movement face this defeat, can we base ourselves on the rights of 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, 2000 women participated in the Women's Pentagon Action. We came from across the country to protest the Pentagon and for Rita's defense.

The day before, we had held workshops ranging from "Women and Militarism" and "Women and Racism" to "Women of Color". 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, Calif.—Nearly 100 women attended a recent conference on "Sexual Harassment and the Workplace", organized by Union WAGE and Women Organized Against Racism. The women were looking for personal and legal strategies for combating 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, it is still largely a one-to-one situation, and it is getting more difficult to prove because companies and universities are working out new legal defenses.

McKinnon cautioned the audience against letting the courts and the legal system "define" sexual harassment. She saw the danger being that the state is essentially male, and what men consider sexual harassment may well be harassment to a woman. She argued that women had to be sure that they themselves defined their own terms.

McKinnon ended her talk by calling for a feminist revolution set the ground for our movement.
Polish, U.S. workers fighting same struggle

The Polish Supreme Court's reversal of a lower court's ruling requiring the United Workers' Organization, Solidarity, to recognize the "leading role" of the Communist Party demonstrated again the workers' determination to fight for their freedom. It has been estimated that over eight million workers have become active in Solidarity in the past two years and that the number of those who join each month is over 500,000.

"The fight is their life," a Solidarity leader said. "They have been waiting for this for twenty years and not one of countless grievances has ever gone through the entire procedure. When the union or the government makes any encroachment, they are ready to pay the price." The leader continued, "We are not just fighting for our jobs, but for our freedom."

In the United States, workers are fighting a similar struggle against employers who are trying to cut wages and benefits. The ILGWU, for example, has been involved in a long and bitter strike against Dana, a manufacturer of women's clothing. Dana has tried to cut the wages of the unskilled, and it has been met with resistance from the workers. The ILGWU has been able to win several important victories, including victories in court and at the bargaining table.

The contract is threadbare and getting thinner by the day. The ILGWU's ruling requires the union to negotiate a new contract that will provide for a living wage and benefits for all workers. The union is determined to fight for its members' rights and to ensure that they have a voice in the decisions that affect their lives.

Negotiations for a new contract are supposed to be held between a union and a company. It has been said that the union is not truly representing the workers because they are not engaged in the negotiations. The union has been accused of making too many concessions to the company, and it has been said that the workers are not being properly represented.

The situation is made worse by the fact that the company is owned by a财团. The large corporation is interested in maximizing its profits, and it is willing to cut wages and benefits in order to do so. The workers are left with no choice but to fight for their rights and to ensure that they have a voice in the decisions that affect their lives.

In conclusion, the struggle of the workers in Poland and the United States is a testament to the power of solidarity and the determination of workers to fight for their rights. The union is an essential tool in the fight for workers' rights, and it is important that workers support their unions and their leaders in the struggle for justice.
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 crisis-crossing of conferences on Lenin and on Hegel, on the other hand — came to bring about as new a stage in consciousness as in reality.

Nixon's wars abroad had been brought home in blood with the murderous assault on the protesting students. In addition, the 100th anniversary of Hegel's birth and the 100th of Lenin's, new avenues were opening for the surprising philosophic confrontation that the masses in motion again spoke for themselves, which the masses were reaching only February 1917, and were still waiting for. Nixon was not the only goal; the great strikes; peasants occupied the land; and—'though the masses were reaching only February 1917, and were still waiting for. Nixon was not the only goal; the great strikes; peasants occupied the land; and—'though

The need to track the 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 revolutionary organizations, 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 dialectic. By the next year the anti-Vietnam War movement had gained such dimensions that the most massive conference of American students had marched to the Capitol in Washington, led by Vietnam veterans.

Suddenly, a stunned world saw Mao Tse-tung take Nixon's place; as he had the same year 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 revolutionary events in the subcontinent. My Research Laboratory's Perspectives Thesis for 1971-1972 was entitled: "Nixon and Mao Aim to Throttle Social Revolution." (See Vol. X1, Sect. 11.1.4.)

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, religious, philosophical, social. Not a single facet of life, persons included, was not weighed down by the crisis—and its absolute opposite in thought. A passion, a hunger for a philosophy of liberation erupted."

It wasn't that Philosophy and Revolution undertook to explain the past but to go beyond the present by setting up the future. It was that its aim was to trace the relationship of philosophy and revolution from the great French Revolution and the birth of Hegelian philosophy, through the 1848 proletarian revolutions and the Marxist theory of revolution, and from the Russian Revolution and Lenin's revolutionary situation all the way to our own age.

A Constitutional Convention was called for Oct. 21, 1973 to amend our Constitution. We first recorded that, just as the insurance industry was a profession 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 emanation from practice did do is lay the foundation for the articulation of the unity of philosophy and revolution. Philosophy and Revolution, in articulating the integrity of philosophy and revolution as the characteristic of the age, and tracing it through historically, caught the link of consciousness with revolutionary action and its dialectics of liberation which merges the dialectics of materialism and the Hegelian dialectics reflection in the revolutionary maturity of the age and its passion for a philosophy of liberation. "Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution; in which Lenin participated, in which the烙 was their root, in which the passion for a philosophy of liberation."

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

The deepest economic recession since World War II, even deeper than the Depression of the 1930s, of the world economic crisis. The world economic crisis point of the 1930s, the greatest single blow to the world's capitalist economies, was the quadrupling of oil prices that followed.

There is no doubt that the quadrupling of oil prices certainly helped bring on the crises. The truth is that the economy was sick—capable of continuing on with the growth, growth, growth, all capitalists could think that. The crucial feature. The missiles alone were, by 1960, reaching such stratospheric proportions that Carter's program on the economy was to the recession dollar for dollar.

What is inherent in the Middle East crisis, whether you begin now or at the beginning of the Arab-Israeli conflict, 1948—Is the post-War II world crisis of the world's political economy for global domination, on the one hand, and the struggle for liberation, on the other.

As U.S. and Russia entered the Middle East cockpit, it became a key point for the two nuclear titans standing about the center of 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 guilty part of all by now) nor Egypt nor the PLO, has the power to make peace. There is no doubt that the quadrupling of oil prices certainly helped bring on the crises. The truth is that the economy was sick—capable of continuing on with the growth, growth, growth, all capitalists could think that. The crucial feature. The missiles alone were, by 1960, reaching such stratospheric proportions that Carter's program on the economy was to the recession dollar for dollar.

Therefore, to see what was really happening in this stage of new crises for state-capitalism, we have to return to production and the crises. So decrepit has capitalism become by the 1970s that, far from the never-ending talk of growth, growth, all capitalists could think that. The crucial feature. The missiles alone were, by 1960, reaching such stratospheric proportions that Carter's program on the economy was to the recession dollar for dollar.

There has been a single part of the globe—which we call the Latin World, or the Portuguese-speaking, or Guinea-Bissau, Angola, or Guinea, or the United States, Iran, or Russia or West Germany, or for that matter, every country that has not been on the march for true liberation. And while that has 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 revolutions—some of them children—actually identified with the young Portuguese soldiers in the occupying army.

In Portugal itself, many parties were active—Socialist, Communist, Nationalists, various groups. By 1974, the movement was strong enough to be the new stage of the revolutionary movement in Portugal and the one that does refuse to remain in the vocabulary of 1960s is apolitarchism. So characteristic of the revolutionary situation was this that the whole of the FNLR, the leftist coalition of the 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 revolutionary party of all by now) nor Egypt nor the PLO, has the power to make peace. There is no doubt that the quadrupling of oil prices certainly helped bring on the crises. The truth is that the economy was sick—capable of continuing on with the growth, growth, growth, all capitalists could think that. The crucial feature. The missiles alone were, by 1960, reaching such stratospheric proportions that Carter's program on the economy was to the recession dollar for dollar.

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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 capital-ism, or state-capitalism calling itself Communism, or all the tails, whose salivary fluids one can draw from them who we call “today’s epigones” try to truncate Marx’s greatest works, presenting the monstrosity of state-capitalism as being perfectly compatible with his vision of U.S. capitalism. They stand in the way of the proletariat and all the new forces of revolution who are marching 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 revolutionary forces 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 phrase unity at the top that lasted hardly a month, following the blood against the so-called “Gang of Four” — Chang Ching, Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan — upon whose last day Mao died.

We, on the other hand, concentrated as we had during Mao’s lifetime upon the magnificent revolutionary youth movements like Sheng Wu-chen, who had taken at face value his own statements about the crisis, and had gathered the students down in the University. A new disident group, Li Yihe, had arisen in 1974 when Mao was still alive, and its leaders, including Wang Xinglun, 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 for the day. We are coming, with the help of the UAW bureaucrats, to give Genora Johnson Dollinger the right to speak at the 40th Anniversary Celebration of the 1975 Middlesex Strike. Despite the vital role that women played in winning that historic strike — especially the famous Women’s Emergency Brigade — that had originally been a single woman had been included anywhere on the program. Our Women’s Liberation Committee, together with angry women from the Middlesex Polytechnic Labor History Project, and the Washington D.C. Women’s Political-Psychological, unleashed so colorful and determined a protest right on the day that Pol Pot’s monstrous regime surely needed overthrowing and because the Vietnam invasion did not come without resistance. Not to mention that, massive, international, coming from the historical role when giant China invaded little Vietnam. Not that it was only a question of a David and Goliath confrontation. Rather it was a question of invasion, that this class struggle disclosed the class nature of state-capitalist regimes calling themselves Communist as being equally as imperialist as the capitalist state.

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 the new world market. The workers and students could see that the struggle of the Iranian masses against the Shah, which assumed such mass proportion as to develop into outright revolution, the call for women’s liberation included in the Women’s Liberation movement aimed at opening up a new chapter for the future of the women’s movement, was an expression of the mass revolutionary outburst which overthrow 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 not afraid 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 unemployment.”

Ayatollah Khomenei has never found himself in total power than contradictions began tearing the newly liberated nation apart. The emergent retrogression was analyzed in the March 1979 Political-Philosophical Letter, “Unfoldment of, and Contradictions in, the Iranian Revolution.” This critique was translated and published in Paris, as we were working on Women’s Liberation in a pamphlet entitled Woman as Reason and Force of Revolution, which also included an article on women by woman by Rosa Luxemburg and Louis Althusser. The introduction to the series of essays was written by an Iranian: Marxist-Humanist woman, Neda.

The Political-Philosophical Letter also analyzes Gerard Chaliand’s study of the French workers. This 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 not come without resistance. Not to mention that, massive, international, coming from the historical role when giant China invaded little Vietnam. Not that it was only a question of a David and Goliath confrontation. Rather it was a question of invasion, that this class struggle disclosed the class nature of state-capitalist regimes calling themselves Communist as being equally as imperialist as the capitalist state.

Nothing Short of a Shift in global powers climax the period 1977-79, from the reverberations of post-Mao China, through the Black Consciousness move-ment, to the Iranian Revolution, to the struggles of the Iranian masses against the Shah, which assumed such mass proportion as to develop into outright revolution, the call for women’s liberation included in the Women’s Liberation movement aimed at opening up a new chapter for the future of the women’s movement, was an expression of the mass revolutionary outburst which overthrew the Shah, they felt confident in continuing the fight for genuine self-determination.

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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 to the third is Marx’s philosophy of revolution, which had gained a new dimension with the first transcription of Luxemburg’s magnificent The Attack on the Russian Revolution, and the third is the relationship of Rosa Luxemburg’s liberation to the Women’s Liberation as it extended Marx’s own 1844 analyses of the possibility of revolutions occurring in backward countries.

The most important 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 possible revolution in the region. The workers who had been out on general strike refused to turn over their guns even when the Ayatollah commanded it. All the new forces of revolution, by means limited to former guerrilla groups. Quite the contrary. There were sheras, there were workers’ councils, there were anjumans. And in all of them youth was dominant.

Next month—

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 if as in a rally or demonstration. People were so angry about the idea of a Reagan presidency that they didn’t 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 reminded the others that they had a meeting in support of Carter’s plan in the first place, and now they could end it with “a stroke of the pen” and everything would be all right. The CARD and the other anti-draft groups will do and say. There was altogether too little energy in 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” draft policy.

CARD member
Detroit

I liked the lead article last issue on asbestos exposure, but if you check your fireproof clothing, you’ll find that the fabric was heat treated up to 300 °F as powerful as the bomb which devastated Hiroshima. Once it gets into the human body, the crater from a Titan missile explosion would be one to two miles across. The Air Force keeps them all built up in mountains, Arkansas would have been devastated.

Anti-war activist
Illinois

We experienced our latest and worst anti-tax attack recently when a dermatologist in New York City overcame fire with a machine gun outside a gay bar, killing two young men and wounding one. The Knoxville, and wounding six other people. When arrested a few minutes later, Ron Kroenig, and wounding six other people.

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Women’s Libberation
Berkeley, Calif.

Twenty-five years of Marxist-humanism

Even the most hardhearted 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 we should know that Reagan is no McCarthy. Seventy percent of people surveyed told the pollsters they were not aware of the dangers of McCarthyism in the U.S. was the way it was out of the McCarthy period here in the U.S., the Stalinism in Asia and East Europe that the new movements and ideas for freedom emerged, just as they were beginning to show up.

Women’s Libberation
Detroit

When I first read the first page of your pamphlet, 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.: A History of World-wide Revolutions, I thought there must be a contradiction there. How could it be both “worldwide” and “in the U.S.” at the same time? I was reading the first two installments (Oct. and Nov. N&L), I see the point, and it is a very important one. It’s just because Marxism-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 that perhaps would answer 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 N&S. Letters. Congratulations!

Intellectual
Massachusetts

I have 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 under thirty, and now how hard it is to survive. And then last week I got stopped by a cop for traffic violation, and instead of writing me a ticket he asked me to go out with him. I was so angry and afraid at all 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 the legal right. This is the viewpoint of the authors of a book 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 something or other, and the doctors find out what asbestos is the cause. The book is written for union workers, construction workers and many others exposed to asbestos on the job. Readers can get a copy of the book.

Silverfeild and Recht
6100Whitbread Blvd., Suite 5000
Los Angeles, Calif.

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, or to any store you want. But when the workers try to change their benefit package, there is no democracy. The leader of the workers is not the leader of the workers — he is the leader of the bureaucracy, the union. Together the government, the company and the old bureaucracy set the pace. The workers have no say."

Latin American worker
Queens, New York

The arms market

Yesterday’s election of Reagan has come at a time when the hostage question has landed in his lap, and when he has already proved himself capable of getting America back to work. It is by the same methods as Thatcher here, you know. The main thing is expenditure on war weapons is now having an effect on the economy everywhere. 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

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Urszula Wislanka
Chicago

Polish reports and ideas

Latest reports from Poland lament the condition of the economy, every problem being connected with production, not just meat, but sugar, shoes and blankets. While the government (and here) is blaming the strikers for the current economic crisis, what it shows me is how close we are to another world war. 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
ON OUR APPEAL

I think you have the best leftist newspaper going. This is because you combine theory with reporting, and refrain from empty slogans to the sit-in 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 to do with the race's future.

• Item on Canada in the Oct. N&L was 'Prime Minister Trudeau has been pressed those words) ... It was a lie then; it's a lie now.

• Infamous War Measures Act, much has happened since. The quota- tion from the Chinese underground areas was so revealing of the conditions inside China. They show a very different world than we are seeing in the international 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 Chinese revolution would come to live in a nine-by-twelve room. What gives heart that something will soon be in motion in the voice of the Chinese people.
Working people in a shop is a different idea of what it means to be an intellectual. 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 full, 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 comrades, 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 ELDRUM 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 that the best thing to do if any organization does not let workers speak for themselves, or gives them no way to speak up, is 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 written and everyone is learning and thinking, from the editor to the worker who writes about his shop. It is a different idea of what it means to be an intellectual. Here is a different kind of newspaper from any other I have ever known.

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FLINT: PO Box 3384, Flint, Mich. 48502
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Workers seek real solutions

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

I am 58 years old, I have worked, fought for and against this system all my adult life, but this has been the worst year. 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. The unemployment office tell me that my claim is lost, or they found something wrong with it. I have never received any unemploy­

ment. I have tried to get a job in a grocery store, but the owner/manager has refused me. I have been in and out of jail and have tried to do other things, but I have never found the reason for the delay yet.

At first I was reluctant. The thought kept turning over in my mind that it was not left all to intellectuals to do all the freedom struggles, North and South. We , the Left papers. But when I went to their meetings, to my surprise, not one of the fired workers was on the platform. 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 made it clear that American workers need to know what we want, as well as what we don't want.

A couple of stories with a construction worker the other day showed how difficult it is to overcome the dualities within labor itself. First, his racism came out. He got mad when the Black man who had written some graffiti on a wall, and then he said that he was voting for Reagan. But he turned around and said, "I'll vote for Reagan, but I am going to help the poor 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 1970s which allowed workers, as so many writers have said, to express to one another an identity that stood against the unemployment lines today, that rather than thinking that we are only there alone we need to see ourselves as part of a movement. We need to begin practicing that by talking to each other.

This election has shown that we are so much in need of a top philosophy of revolution in this country that is not just 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 unions. Neither Reagan nor the vanguard party lead to 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 in an independent 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. Everyone everyone is involved is involved in the government, and 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, under state-capitalism, because they need a country to get an education, but only if you have your parents' permission. That means that 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 in any of the housework, and I never heard the Cuban woman 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 can't have any time left to do anything. Women are rarely helped by the men in any of the housework, and I never heard the government encourage them to do so. Women also make up the vast majority of those who give all more menial work.

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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 the violent confrontations on campus against the Vietnam war. There has been an awareness of the student body, Blacks and whites, met in conference with the discussion on campus racism extended to criticizing the college's role. And with the Vietnam war, the issue of opposition to the war rages on as an issue of core philosophy—nothing is more natural than the relations between the sexes—and it is impossible to transcend it. But it is also true that bourgeois ideologists—will bring forth freedom.

Muller wants the role of the universities to return to teaching ideas rather than merely technology. His is a view that today's school system does not provide values for the students in them. But to him values have to do with "high standards." He asserts that competition, especially campus centered. There is some reference to the radicalism of the CP represented.

Muller does perceive the depth of bankruptcy of universities when he says they aren't producing philosophers. 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 anything else is true, that the educational system is a burden on college.

Muller makes a call for "humanist values," then in how they can be found in religion and by reforming some "traditional American values" and the values of a free market. With such a value structure, he notes, youth will be faced with. 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 anything else is true, that the educational system is a burden on college.

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

Warren Muller of Wisconsin is forgivable. It picks up in 1963 with ban examination, it goes without saying...
The latter was seen dramatically in August when thou-
been simply moving in and taking over land. by November Mugabe did warn. that white farms might
Rhodesian army intact. The 1,200 guerrilla soldiers
not hurried to redistribute the land. The constitution
of the African masses. Information Minister Nathan
ZA'NU official Movan Mahachi put it: "The people don't
longer a European country."

Shumnyarina summed it up when he stated: "This is no
strikes in mines, factories and plantations by Black
Zimbabwean children. The creative in song and word helped drive the movement
ment had established universal free education for
students come out to cheer Mugabe in Harlem Aug. 24 in
an entire decade as the Civil Rights Movement swept
in the struggle. Describing her own experience in the
Albany, Ga. movement, Bernice Johnson Reagon explains:
"From the beginning, we were a participatory and celebrated in the wedding of our traditional culture
with our contemporary struggle for freedom. All the
categorised in which I had been educated
fell apart during this period, revealing culture to be
not luxury, not leisure, not entertainment, but the life-
blood 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
"freedom vigil." The drive, as the black students and the white
underlined the determinism never to ride Montgomery's segregation buses until Jim Crow and his
inner circle of power would make such a move there again. There was only one way to really
ourselves; we were going-to-sing. Each song then took on
a personal conviction: "We got to hold up the free-
dom 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
two towns and farms of rural Alabama, Georgia and
the Mississippi Delta. Now in the many books written about that historic upheaval captures better the mass
mobilisation 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
enemies and the sense of cultural identity in the struggle. Describing her own experience in the
Albany, Ga. movement, Bernice Johnson Reagon explains:
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Southern Africa's new stage of struggle

(Continued from Page 1)

sovereignty and the right to control its own destiny remain.
Left in the jubilation which greeted Zimbabwe's
Shammarruna summoned 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 Mozambique did not find the money to 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 peoples and
colonialists."
The masses had known this all along. At ZANU
officials have already put it: "The people don't
understand the consequences of it."

But just as important as these specific laws is the
change in thought: the new positive self-consciousness
of the African masses. The very word "independence"
and "moderation" in the new Zimbabwe, they have not
\n\nTHE NAMIBIAN QUESTION

While it is too often ignored by both the establish-
ment and the whole of the white population, the
"volcano" in Namibia (South-West Africa) which it con-
tinues to occupy in defiance of the UN and even U.S. in-
\n\nWhile it had appeared earlier this year that South
Africa might allow a UN-monitored election in Namibia,
\n\nSingers' song "Oginga Odinga," written when that rep-
dered his forces to give up control of Namibia's rich uranium deposits and
\n\n1960-66, brings to today's battles a far fuller understand-
\n\nThe South African government remains committed to the idea that it is the South African people who will determine the future of their country. The government has been vocal in its opposition to any foreign intervention in Namibia, which it considers its own internal affair. The government has also been critical of the United Nations' efforts to find a solution to the conflict, and has accused the international community of using Namibia as a pawn in a larger geopolitical struggle.
One of the unfortunate things about Gayle's biography of Wright is his failure to show that all of Wright's 'political' novels (in the usual sense) and ambivalence to the Communist Party, which he deals with extensively, was around the single issue of the so-called limitations and the deference at the same time, if the needs of Stalin's foreign policy. Gayle presents vivid pictures of Wright's confrontations with Black CP leaders, like Harry Haywood; John F. 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 develops an original idea, in the 1938 easy 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 The Wretched of the Earth about the reality, the alienation, and the bitter凌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 original autobiography — Black Boy and American Hunger. Excerpts from a review of Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Memoir 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 on events in the United States last 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's book is about differences and acknowledges in the preface that the authors of the two parts were, in a sense, two different people. 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 account of how they have not yet been worked out by the future 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...
Polish workers expand strikes as government retreats 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 means an unprecedented expansion of Solidarnosc (Solidarity), the free trade union, to ten million workers. They staged demonstration strikes in support of worker teachers in Gdańsk, who occupied government offices for ten days and won pay increases and promises of dramatic increases in the 1981 budget for health care.

Solidarnosc has forced the government to back down in its repeated attempts to restore its pre-August domination. The government has done everything from holding the border a printing press credited for the workers' paper, to a declaration by the governor of the southern province of Częstochowa of a “state of emergency” with an imminent strike on the activities there. The workers called for and won his resignation and demanded that his private villa and those of other government officials be turned over to 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 troops 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 economic and political life, and in that, both the Russian overlords and the western banks agree.

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 over the past year.

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 had been exiled since 1972. He called the current upheaval a "revolution of common sense." Gdańsk unionists have initiated workers' parliament meetings trying to set a basis for an 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 even going on all-out fighting attempts to isolate them by writing "Solidarnosc" on boxes 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 been trying to isolate the Paris synagogue on Rue Copernic which left four Polish workers dead in a “dirty protest” for special status as political prisoners. (Three women prisoners joined the strike Dec. 1.)

The current drive for modernization of the economy since 1964 has involved the exploitation of the people's 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 Guangdòng, the region expected to have a 20 percent increase in its area by 1997. Many peasants feel they are being forced to leave at the rate of 20,000 a year, and that they are being forced to leave their homes because the government has expanded the special economic zones in the area. In some years, the government has increased its income from the special economic zones, as much as the whole of China. Many more workers are being forced to leave their homes for work in the special economic zones.

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 that mark the lives of Haitians. In December, 1980, deputy director of the local Haitian Refugee Center, charged before the City Council that the Detroit Police Department has been using police officers in modern methods of riot control and firearms use.

The refugees who do not die trying to reach Flor­ida are then deported. They are thrown into 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?

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 a move marked by right-wing violence.

Seaga was born in Boston of Lebanese, Scot­ish descent, and was educated at Harvard, and is well known in international banking circles. His first move was a commercial loan from U.S. banks to build a new airport for the use of foreign exchange generated by the sale of marijuana, which is estimated at $1 billion a year.

He is expected to reprise U.S. policies for the militarization of the Caribbean, which would build up military units to counter Castro's influence in the area. The U.S. is also looking for observers of the violence during the election, are now being used in raids, during the nightly curfew, to clean up the opposition's area.?