

# Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

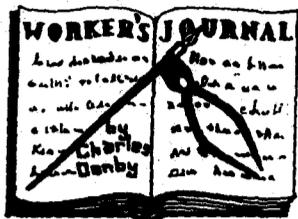
VOL. 25—NO. 9

27 Printed in 100 Percent  
Union Shop

November, 1980

25c

## Racism runs presidential election



by Charles Denby, Editor

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

Reagan, Carter or Anderson are not going to provide any kind of solution to any of the problems that working people face in this country today, especially the problems that Black people face.

The number one reason is that we live in a racist society and from New York to Georgia to Alabama the hate against Blacks is getting worse and worse each and every day and none of the three candidates seems to notice it. They are busy playing around among some Blacks who are leaders, trying to persuade them to vote for them.

The news reports that there have been six black men killed in Buffalo, N.Y. and two of them had their hearts cut out of their bodies. The KKK has a camp in Alabama where they train every day, preparing for a race war. In Atlanta, Ga., Carter's home state, there has been the bombing of Black schools, and the death of small children in a day care center explosion, with Mayor Jackson, who is Black, trying to tell the Blacks

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## 1980 election fantasies vs. U.S. class, race, war realities

by Michael Connolly

The 6,000 in Buffalo who gathered Oct. 19 to protest the racist murders of six Blacks in that city, told more of the truth of this election campaign than any of the hoopla, campaign rallies or rhetoric of Carter, Reagan or Anderson. As Nov. 4 approaches, amid a saturation of the three candidates in the newspapers, and on radio and TV, what has openly puzzled the media commentators even more than the deadening character of the campaign is the attitude of the electorate toward all the candidates. Where two months ago, "apathy" was the phrase used in an attempt to characterize the American mood, by mid-October "disgust," "fear" and "hatred" were the extreme terms they had to employ. Some polls showed a record number of "undecided" voters; others pointed to a growing intensity of opposition within Black America and among women to Ronald Reagan's "New Right" platform.

And as Reagan toured the country, the two forces that confronted him again and again were first Black students in the South, who exposed his decades-long friendships with the most rabid segregationists, and then

women's liberationists, following NOW's announcement that it would protest Reagan's vicious anti-ERA, anti-abortion program at all his rallies.

In the midst of all the campaign charges and countercharges, three persistently repeated themes have propelled Carter, Reagan and Anderson into a world far removed from any experienced by the American masses: the drive for ever-greater "military preparedness"; the call for a "re-industrialization" of U.S. capitalism; and the virtual exclusion of the crisis facing Black America from the campaign. What is needed for our protection, the contenders assure us, is vast new sums for the military — especially for missiles, nuclear missiles. What they promise, as they trade competing tax schemes and de-regulation proposals, is that a "revitalized" manufacturing industry will "put American workers back to work." Where they are silent, is on the murderous racism that has reached a new, horrifying stage since the shooting of Vernon Jordan four months ago.

It is no wonder that such a descent into fantasy-land serves to focus attention all the more on the deadly realities of America 1980 — and on the newest expressions of opposition to those realities.

### THE DRIVE TOWARD WAR

The truth is that it was Pres. Carter who continued the thoroughly bi-partisan escalation of the race to nuclear war with Russia. The year 1980 alone has included, in quick succession: Carter's creation of a "Rapid Deployment Force," designed for attack anywhere on the globe; the shipment of massive quantities of arms and supplies for positioning close to the Persian Gulf; the re-introduction of draft registration; the decision to go ahead with the \$60 billion MX missile and the establishment of a new "military targeting" policy that would supposedly allow "limited" nuclear war.

Yet when Carter charges that Reagan's finger on the nuclear trigger would endanger the entire world, a universal audible assent is heard, even into the highest ruling circles. And not only from such hardened militarist foes as Russia's Brezhnev and China's Deng, but as well from nearly all the Western allies, themselves veterans of years of NATO war planning. They do not doubt Reagan's commitment to the fanatic military platform adopted at the Republican Convention.

In such an atmosphere, the explosion, Sept. 19, of a huge Titan missile near Pine Bluff, Ark., and the hurling of its multi-megaton nuclear warhead into the surrounding forest, sent shivers around the world. Not only did the missile fuel go off, but so did the conventional explosives which serve as the nuclear trigger. If the warhead had detonated, it would have done so with a blast 20-50 times as powerful as that which reduced Hiroshima to rubble.

What the Titan missile explosion horribly underscored, in the middle of all the campaign debate on supposed "chinks" in the U.S. military armor, is that the daily threat comes not alone from foreign attacks, but from all nuclear madness — beginning with that of Carter and Reagan.

### DRIVE FOR REINDUSTRIALIZATION

No less knowingly fraudulent are the contenders' references to needed "re-industrialization," or what workers at one Chrysler plant are now calling a "code word" for "automation, unimation, robot-mation." Everywhere they attack "falling U.S. productivity." Government, Carter broadly hints, will be the agent that re-distributes gigantic profits currently made by the oil companies and directs them to manufacturing companies

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## Rise of anti-Semitism threatens West Europe

The entire world was shocked and saddened by the Oct. 3 bombing of a Paris synagogue which killed four people. The death of hundreds more was avoided only because religious services went on longer than scheduled.

That very day, militant youths, mostly Jewish, surged through the streets of Paris, demanding that the deaths be avenged and attacking the government's do-nothing attitude toward racist and anti-Semitic attacks.

This violent attack is the latest of a growing wave of anti-Semitic terrorist acts that are spreading throughout Europe. Right-wing terrorist organizations have been named responsible for a train station bombing in Bologna, Italy, last Aug. 2, that killed 84 people, as well as the explosion at the Oktoberfest celebration in Munich, Germany, Sept. 26, that left 13 dead.

Four mass demonstrations against anti-Semitism—particularly the synagogue bombing—have taken place in Paris, the latest of which, on Oct. 7, drew more than 200,000 people encompassing every segment of French life—students, labor unions, women's liberation groups, Jewish organizations, Left groups, and political parties.

### DEMONSTRATIONS ACROSS FRANCE

Just as significant were the demonstrations held simultaneously in smaller cities and towns—5,000 in Strasburg near the German border; 7,000 in Aix-en-Provence in the south; 5,000 in the proletarian center, Lyon; 15,000 in Montpellier; 2,000 in Besancon, etc.

Yet even while these demonstrations were taking place, a Jewish grocery store was firebombed in Grenoble; a dynamite bomb was discovered outside a Jewish-owned bar in Marseilles, and dozens of Jewish homes and stores were attacked in Montpellier and several other small towns.

Suddenly, May, 1968 and the Resistance were almost forgotten (except the 1968 rightist slogans like "Cohn-Bendit to Dachau" aimed at the most prominent student leader), and France's vicious colonial wars against Algerian (especially by the murderous OAS) and Vietnamese independence movements were remembered, as was the massive collaboration of the Vichy government with Hitler during the Occupation.

The young rabbi of the bombed Paris synagogue said, "Anti-Semitism is more deeply ingrained in France. There is a widespread feeling in the Jewish community that the French authorities, the government, the church and the establishment just are not reacting strongly enough."

But victims of the organized right wing have not been just Jews, but also immigrant workers—many

from Algeria. From 1970 to 1979 no less than 83 people were murdered in racist and fascist attacks in France. In the last two and one half years, we have seen:

May 26, 1978—Egyptian Jewish refugee Henri Curiel, a supporter of the Algerian revolution in the 1950s and 1960s was gunned down outside his apartment in Paris.

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A History of  
Worldwide  
Revolutionary  
Developments

25 Years  
of  
Marxist-Humanism  
in U.S.

by Raya Dunayevskaya  
National Chairwoman,  
News and Letters Committee

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**Real 'Norma Rae'****Crystal Lee Sutton speaks for herself**

*Editor's Note: As we go to press, workers in Roanoke Rapids, N.C., have accepted a contract reached by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and J.P. Stevens, after 17 years of bitter struggles. Below are excerpts from a speech by Crystal Lee Sutton, a worker fired by Stevens in 1973 for labor organizing, and who was the subject of the movie, "Norma Rae," given Oct. 8, 1980, in Detroit at the North American Labor History Conference.*

Back in 1959 I went to work in my first textile mill in Fall River, N.C. I had my first experience working under terrible conditions. The noise level was so high you had to shout to hear yourself talk. You had cotton dust and cotton lint that got in your hair, on your clothes and in your eyelashes and you knew that it was getting inside your lungs.

I went to work for J.P. Stevens in 1972 and their mill was as bad as the first one I had worked in — if not worse. You have problems with rats and grease on the floors. They have a humidity system which causes a small sprinkle of water to fall all the time and it makes small puddles of water and there will be electric wires running across the floor where people can be electrocuted.

You have the weave room where shuttles move back and forth running thousands of miles an hour. I know a woman in Roanoke Rapids who lost her eye because a shuttle flew off the machine and hit her in the eye.

We had very close working quarters also and I had broken my foot when I caught it under a cart and was out of work for three months.

**FATHER, HUSBAND WRONG**

My daddy had told me when I first went to work not to get involved with the union because I'd get fired. My daddy was the type of man that was a jack-of-all-trades. There wasn't much of anything he couldn't do or didn't know about and we never questioned him. But I've come to the conclusion that he was wrong about unions. I think he was afraid. He had seen over the years what the company had done to people when a union had tried to get in and he needed his job.

The first union meeting I went to was held in an all Black church and my husband absolutely told me I could not go. I said, "How can you tell me I can't go when you're a union member? You have your union. You don't want me to have the same benefits you have?" And so I went to the union meeting where Eli Zivko-

vich, the union organizer, made a believer out of me.

I started signing up whites — this is what we needed because the company had tried to say it was going to be an all-Black union, trying to separate the Blacks from the whites and Eli knew if they succeeded in this we wouldn't win the election. But it took more than one woman and one man to organize 3000 workers. We involved everyone — even the children so as to get their parents involved.

**WORKERS WANT RESPECT**

A woman asked me tonight what were some of the things the workers were for. They're not so much concerned about a 50c or \$1 an hour raise. What workers want a lot is a decent retirement program. They want to be treated with respect, they want to have somebody on their side.

I had an aunt who worked for JPS for 49 years. She got \$3000 retirement. They sent her a letter and told her they had paid her too much and she sent some of that back. She gets \$27 a month retirement, and she is dying of brown lung.

Some say the most important thing is job security — knowing that your job cannot be taken away from you because you go into work, and comb your hair the wrong way or the company boss has somebody younger or has a friend just out of college who needs a job and he takes an older person and fires him and gives his job away. Without a union contract they can do this to you.

**BROWN LUNG**

My husband's mother works at JPS. She's been there over 40 years and she just found out she has brown lung. Until 1973, none of us in Roanoke Rapids had ever heard of brown lung. My father, who died in 1969, had a breathing problem and a hearing problem but we had never been told that noise can cause hearing loss. We had never been told, if you come to work for us in years to come you may get brown lung because of this fine cotton dust.

But they did ask us all about our mama, our daddy, our grandparents, aunts and uncles. I finally figured that what they were doing was trying to find out if any of our ancestors had been supporters of the union. That's what it all amounted to.

I feel like when we get a contract at J.P. Stevens in Roanoke Rapids, it's going to be a great beginning for Burlington Mills. Once it happens in Roanoke Rapids then it will happen throughout the textile industry.

I'll always be a part of a labor union — even when I'm dead. J.P. Stevens tried to kill me but they didn't succeed. No matter whether I'm on the payroll of any union I'll be a part of it. It's in my heart and in my blood and I'm a strong union person and proud of it.

**women-worldwide**

In India, mass demonstrations such as this one have forced Indira Gandhi's government to propose a new rape law which will protect the privacy of women who prosecute rapists. Over 2 million women are raped, often while in police custody, each year in India.

In Toronto, Linda Grobovski and Virginia Smith disrupted a luncheon given by the Bank of Nova Scotia for 400 delegates to a conference promoting trade between Canada, Latin America and the Caribbean. Members of the Group for the Defense of Civil Rights in Argentina. The women protested the appearance of Argentina's secretary of Industrial development as guest speaker by seizing the microphone and shouting that "to invest in Argentina is to have blood on your hands," before being forced out.

Irina Kaplun, a Soviet woman dissident who chose to remain in Russia after her husband was forcibly expelled, died on July 22 when the car she was driving was forced off the road by a truck loaded with concrete blocks. She was 30 years old and had first been imprisoned at 17 for distributing leaflets. She was a member of the Helsinki group, founder of the Commission for the Investigation of the Misuse of Psychiatry for Political Purposes and active in SMOT (the free trade unions). Friends attribute her death to the KGB who constantly use automobiles to threaten dissidents and their families. (From Courage, W. Berlin)

The General Electric Company has announced that it is ready to launch a sweeping automation program that may eventually replace as many as half of its 37,000 assembly workers, most of whom are women, with robots. This comes just as the Department of Labor reports that women who support their families earn less than half (46.9 percent) the amount earned by men.

**WRITE ON!**

"Feminism and Socialism in China", by Elisabeth Croll (Boston; Routledge & Keagan Paul, 1978, 363 pp., \$20.)

The most exciting chapters of this historical study cover the birth of feminism in China in the late 19th century, the flowering of feminist expression during the May 4th Movement, and women's participation in the revolutionary struggles of the 1920s and 1930s.

Unfortunately, from the 1940s to today, the author follows Mao. Croll says Ding Ling was wrong in 1942 to criticize the Party for not taking up the "woman question," and that Mao was right in suppressing any struggle—including the class struggle—that he claimed would divert from the national one against Japan.

There is no mention of Lin Xiling, the famous critic of Mao during the 100 Flowers Campaign, and we are left with the sense that after throwing off centuries of oppression, women today should only struggle for "equality" in sexist, state-capitalist China. —M. H.

Rise Gonna Rise, A Portrait of Southern Textile Workers, by Mimi Conway (Anchor Books, 1979, \$5.95).

Mimi Conway has put together a series of interviews with J. P. Stevens workers in Roanoke, North Carolina, that is a damning indictment of the industry. Men and women describe whole lives eaten up by the textile mills. But the stories aren't only about forming a union to fight the low pay, no pensions, discrimination and Brown Lung. The stories are also a living history of resistance that goes back to the General Strike of 1934 when half a million textile workers walked off of their jobs to protest "low wages, the speed-up of machines, and poor working conditions." —D. M.

**MARXIST-HUMANIST DISCUSSIONS ON WOMEN'S LIBERATION**

SAN FRANCISCO—Mondays, Nov. 3-24, 7:30 p.m.  
San Francisco Socialist School  
NEW YORK—Sunday, Nov. 23, 7:00 p.m.  
Workmen's Circle Cultural Ctr.  
369 Eighth Ave.

**WOMAN AS REASON**

by Terry Moon

"Take Back the Night." These marches have taken place all over the country in the last two months, but what the Chicago march of 2,500 women on September 26th brought home to me was the gap between what Take Back the Night marches could be and what in fact they are. I love the idea of women taking back the night because if we really did, it would signal a real transformation of this society.

But for women to really take back not just the night but our lives—bodies and minds—would mean that human relationships would have to be different. Yes, those between women and men, but also between Black and white, old and young and relations in production. For example, one of the speakers at the Take Back the Night rally deepened the meaning of sexual harassment to include disciplining a woman worker for taking time off to care for a sick child, or being put on swing shift when it is known she has small children.

**MEN THROWN OUT**

But instead of starting with this idea of the need for different human relations, the planners of the march re-established the old alienated ones by throwing men supporters out of the march. Ten years ago when women had to fight to establish an independent women's movement the demand for women-only meetings and marches was a necessity. But have we come no distance in 10 years? Can't we begin to ally ourselves with those few men who do share a vision of a new society with us?

The difference between what a movement to take back the night could be and what it is became even clearer at the first post-march meeting of the Take Back the Night Coalition. What was exciting to me was that a significant number of new women had come to this meeting and yet there was no place for them to speak.

One woman told me the meeting was not what she

**Can we reclaim the night?**

expected. She said, "I thought we would talk about the march." But the march was not even on the agenda until the Black, Asian and Latina women who had come demanded and won an apology from the coordinators for having cut the speech on racism from the program when the police told them the speeches were taking too long. Their resolution that a principle of the Coalition be to end racism was also passed unanimously.

Instead of basing themselves on the highpoints of the march, be that the many topics raised by the speakers or the spontaneously made up slogans like "Two, four, six, eight! Stop all wars! Stop all rape!", the Coalition planners tried to impose demands that they had written up before the march. They were the lowest level legalisms such as passing "a bill to make it a crime for a husband to rape his wife if they are living apart." Is that all we want? And can anyone really believe that laws will end rape?

**CLIQUEISM VS. THEORY**

It reminded me of the early '70s when I was a member of the Women's Liberation Coalition of Michigan. Women would come to our meetings wanting to discuss ideas and theory—but instead, a small clique of women would dictate what we should discuss because they were afraid we might disagree on the one issue they had picked to mobilize behind. New women would come to one meeting and never come back and I don't think we can afford to let this happen again when our movement is facing such a crisis and demands a theory to give us a direction.

Surely women come to these marches and meetings because there is something so compelling about creating a world where we can live unafraid—where we are really free to go anywhere at anytime and where relations between people are human and not alienating and objectifying. It's high time to base ourselves on that passion for a new society so that the idea of Take Back the Night can become a reality.

## McDonnell-Douglas contract sell-out

Los Angeles, Cal. — A UAW meeting of the McDonnell-Douglas workers was held Oct. 17, at 12 noon, which meant production was stopped and more than 3,000 workers gave up their afternoon pay to discuss the proposed contract and either accept it or go on strike.

Workers voiced their opposition to many aspects of the contract, including the seven percent wage increase which represents only four percent in real wages since 20c of it is cost-of-living already owed the workers. No relief from mandatory overtime has been considered and the deductible for insurance has increased almost 300 percent.

The majority of the workers vigorously protested the proposed contract and the union leadership who was forcing them into accepting another bad deal. One worker said: "the union gives us the contract 45 minutes ago and wants us to make a decision right now. Why didn't they give us our contract two, three days ago to give us some time to think about it. We have people up there who tell us you have to accept it or be out of work for 90 days and lose a lot of money ... It's a company contract again."

A second worker said, "why are we still the lowest paid aircraft industry around. We are making less than any other auto worker. I think we are being sold down the drain with this contract again."

Another worker added, "why did the Press Telegram this morning write that this contract has been already ratified before we even came here."

Amidst the loud protest of workers the meeting was adjourned abruptly by an aide to UAW president Doug Fraser when the questions got too difficult to answer!

The next day we heard that the contract was ratified by a small majority although only one-sixth of the workers showed at the meeting. Even one union delegate in the bargaining committee expressly rejected the con-

tract from the speaker's platform, since many of the meetings, he said, were held behind his back.

## Nurses wildcat in N.Y.

New York, N.Y. — Registered nurses at the City's municipal hospitals went out on a wild-cat strike over money and poor working conditions which they say imperil the patients' care. They had been working without a contract since June 30. I know their complaints about understaffing, lack of supplies and equipment and mismanagement are true at Jacobi Hospital in the Bronx.

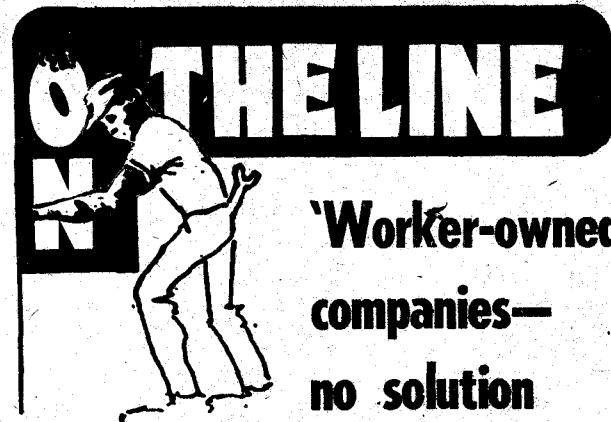
The nurses' strike turned the ward I work on at Jacobi into chaos. Even the critical units sometimes have only three people—nurses and aides combined—on the floor. The aides are told while they are working their shift that they have to stay for a second shift, or be brought up on charges.

Nurses leave Jacobi all the time because of the money and because of the treatment they get. Recently, a nurse complained to management that she was the only person on her floor who knew how to use the complex equipment. She was told "so what?" so she resigned.

Because of the turnover in nurses, the aides are the only ones who are familiar with the wards and how to run them. But often when you try to tell a new RN how the ward works, she says, "Who are you to tell me?" I don't allow the nurses or the doctors to talk down to me.

Jacobi treats its staff so badly that it couldn't even hire enough per diems to get through the nurses' strike. The experienced per diems won't come more than once because the hospital is so nasty to them and so inefficient. They never get the jobs they request, or get assigned to the same ward twice so they can get familiar with a job.

—Nurses aide



by John Marcotte

The lay-offs and plant closings are continuing nationwide despite Carter's proclamations to the contrary, and every worker I know says it will be even worse if Reagan gets in. And every Black worker swears Reagan will cut off unemployment, food stamps and welfare if he gets the chance.

Here in New York we haven't been hit so fast or so hard as say Detroit, this time around. But in New York, lay-offs and plant closings have long been a way of life. They are part of every labor contract negotiated in the small and medium industries here. Garment is typical. The threat of moving down South or elsewhere is management's biggest club.

### "EMPLOYEE-OWNED" COMPANIES

I have heard about workers and unions buying up their factory to save their jobs. There are now some 3,000 "employee-owned" companies nationwide. One of the most dramatic examples being tried is in Youngstown, Ohio.

Youngstown has been hit by the closing of four steel mills since 1977, with 10,000 steel workers out of work. A corporation called Community Steel, Inc., has been set up, with Robert Vasquez, president of Local 1330, United Steelworkers of America as its chairman. They want to buy two of those steel mills and reopen them.

But I've also heard about the first-ever 100 percent "employee-owned" company in this country. It is South Bend Lathe, a factory of 500 workers in South Bend, Ind. After five years, the workers now find themselves on strike "against themselves!"

A worker explained, "I was told that I was going to be the owner of the plant just as equally as (president) Boulis or anybody else. But now he decides how the company invests its money, he decides how the profits are divided, he decides who will be fired and hired."

### PRODUCTIVITY STILL CENTRAL

Any worker at Chrysler or Inland Steel can tell you that this competition and this increased productivity can only mean unimation, man-killing speed-up and fewer workers left on the job.

As long as productivity is central and not the human being, especially the worker, we will not see an end to this crisis of lay-offs and plant closings. A change of ownership on paper is not any real way out.

I see the workers in my shop resisting the speed-up and dehumanization in many imaginative ways every day. It may seem to some like a small everyday struggle. But it is this same struggle that can grow into something as magnificent as the recent Polish plant occupations that shook that whole system to its roots and created a new form of struggle, the free trade unions. In this daily struggle lies the only way out. What forms it will take in America, no one can predict.

## Art Steel fight goes on

Bronx, N.Y.—Nobody knows what will happen after the strike at Art Steel. A lot of workers with low seniority feel sure they will be laid off again, after five lay-offs this past year.

This strike is being forced on us by the company. Their "offers" have been outrageous: four or five dollars a week, no cost-of-living, and all kinds of speed-up, productivity and disciplinary demands that would turn this place into a concentration camp. The cost-of-living is very important for us, since we're making poverty wages.

Another problem is when we petitioned the union president to raise our \$15-a-week strike benefits, all we got was a runaround about "they would study the matter for next year's budget!" In other words, a "long no." The union tells us that anyone working an outside job during the strike will be brought up before the committee. But how are we to live on \$15 a week?

In New York state you have to wait seven weeks for unemployment benefits when you're on strike. Three years ago the union ended the strike three days before we could get our unemployment. Everyone is watching out for that this year.

—Art Steel workers

# FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

## GM South Gate call-back?

Los Angeles, Cal.—The latest news in Los Angeles is the major rehiring that GM announced on Oct. 10. GM says they are calling back 2,300 workers at South Gate—two shifts—but then says that we'll only start with one shift, or half of the 2,300. This means that we have been "unimated" out of a third of our jobs.

The reason why I am suspicious of this announcement is that it comes in less than a month before the November elections, and all the candidates are promising good times are just ahead. The UAW is playing politics with the lives of the unemployed just like the politicians.

I saw just how inseparable are economics from politics in this crisis-ridden election year a month before the GM announcement, when I went to my local union hall in South Gate to sign up for my Trade Readjustment Act (TRA) money. At that time it was explained to us that those who would be called back to work when production starts up would have to pay back this TRA money.

Now I know why so many of us were suspicious about this deal. Of course, we all need the money. But, if we have to pay it back, who benefitted from it? I believe this is a sly way of using the laid-off workers for the government to subsidize the auto industry and at the same time buy our vote.

The workers that I have talked to from my plant, won't go along with this. We will wildcat the hell out of things. I have talked to the younger workers who will lose their jobs to unimation. They are glad not to have to pay back this TRA money, but when it is gone and the election is over who is going to pay them to be quiet?

—Unemployed South Gate worker

## Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—We have been working nine hours a day steady, and Saturdays, almost since we came back from changeover. Then a rumor went around the plant that on Saturday, Oct. 11, there would be a picket line of unemployed Fleetwood workers at the plant to protest overtime while over half the workers are laid-off.

The union immediately put out a leaflet saying that everybody who participated in a picket line would be fired. The union had done nothing to stop the workers from losing their jobs, but was doing the company's work by reminding them that even if you are laid-off you can still be fired. That Saturday morning at 5:30 there were floodlights all over, it was lit up like day, and there was no picket line.

Before this had happened, Local 15 President Joe Gaston had been quoted in the Detroit paper saying Fleetwood had a "moral obligation" not to work overtime with so many out of work. If the union officials feel the company had that moral obligation, they should have put it in the contract they negotiated.

—Fleetwood worker

## News & Letters

Vol. 25, No. 9 November, 1980

News & Letters (ISSN 0028-8969) is published ten times a year, monthly except for January-February and August-September, by News & Letters, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, Mich. 48211. Telephone: 873-8969; Subscription: \$2.50 a year; single copy 25¢; for bulk order of five or more—15¢ each.

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Second Class Postage Paid at Detroit, Michigan



### Indignant Heart:

A Black Worker's Journal—\$4.80

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# 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 II. 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 one.*

## II. The 1960s: A new generation of revolutionaries. A new Third World. A new theory?

The four forces of revolution that we had singled out at our birth — rank and file labor, Black dimension, youth, women — made it clear that these freedom fighters wanted to speak for themselves. Whether you looked at African freedom fighters in apartheid South Africa, bursting into open revolt; or at Black youth in Greensboro, N.C., sitting-in to begin a new stage of revolt in the U.S.; or at Japanese youth snake-dancing into history by preventing Eisenhower from setting foot in their land — there was no doubt that 1960 had opened a new age.

Having declared such freedom fighters to be not only force but reason — that is to say, a movement from practice that is itself a form of theory — it became our task as Marxist-Humanists to work out a new relationship of theory to practice. In creating a forum for the freedom fighters to speak for themselves at the same time as they searched for a theory of liberation, News and Letters Committees, in 1960, published *Workers Battle Automation*. Though Charles Denby edited it, it not only was a collective effort of workers in the basic industries of coal, auto, and steel, but included also the youth, who had been designated as a "beat generation."

## 1961—Freedom Riders on one hand and Bay of Pigs on the other

The most exciting color of this new decade continued to be Black, but whereas none could avoid recognizing the color, what remained unrecognized was that out of the racist, sexist South arose a form of Women's Liberation. When two Marxist-Humanist women, one Black and one white, Mary Hamilton and Louise Inghram, joined the first Freedom Rides to Mississippi and found themselves thrown into the hell-hole of Hinds County Jail, they found there, ready to help them, a most amazing organization—Woman Power Unlimited.

In action, in jail and out, the Freedom Riders focused not only on the concrete battles but also on the theories of liberation. Louise Inghram describes the enthusiasm with which the special Freedom Rider issue of *News & Letters* (Aug.-Sept., 1961) had been greeted. She had taken for granted it was because their stories had been printed there, but discovered it was, instead, the Editorial on the state of civil rights in the U.S. that was appreciated most.

The state of civil rights in the U.S. on which the Editorial had focused revealed the relationship between the events in the Deep South and the new moves to the Right by the Administration ever since the infamous Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, which had taken place only a few months earlier. It had been then that President Kennedy had declared that "the deeper struggle" is not with arms, but with "subversion," promptly trying to himself subvert the freedom of the press.

So ominous was the new counter-revolutionary move American imperialism had launched with the invasion, that we had at once decided to issue a Weekly Political Letter. Since we were too few in number and too poor in finances to print more than a monthly paper, these mimeographed letters were offered to all readers, and initiated a new stage of development for us, testing us by measuring our philosophy against the actual objective developments as they were occurring weekly.

**THE FIRST LETTER** was written April 22, 1961 as a "Preliminary Statement on the Crisis over Cuba." While we naturally solidarized with the Cuban masses against U.S. imperialism, we reiterated our opposition to both poles of world state-capitalism—U.S. and Russia, and to Castro's own conception of the "backwardness of the masses" who have to be led.

The 40 letters that followed (see Vol. VII) demonstrate what political-philosophic intervention means in establishing new international relations, especially in the Third World. (The last letters in the series were written directly from Africa.) The weekly commentaries and analyses of world events did not stop at the

# WORLDWIDE REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENTS:

description of what is, but involved sensing the direction a particular event would later take. The letter written on Oct. 9, 1961, which dealt with the undeclared wars of imperialism, took up a brief AP dispatch, hidden in the inside pages of the local press that week. It was entitled "Crisis-Soon-To-Be in South Vietnam and the Sending of U.S. Troops."

## 1962—A year of confrontations, to the brink of nuclear holocaust

1962 was the year we began by reconsidering the whole question of war and revolution on the basis of the new forces of revolt that had arisen in China, with a Special Supplement to the January issue: "Mao Tse-tung, from the Beginning of Power to the Sino-Soviet Dispute."

It was also the year we went to Africa to establish new relations there. So sharply did the dynamism of ideas which centered around African Socialism contrast to Daniel Bell's "End of Ideology," which characterized America's tired radicals and pragmatists, that we began referring to "the underdeveloped intellectuals" as the U.S.'s most notable monopoly.

The Gambia, the last sliver of West Africa which still did not have its independence, was the place I spent the most time talking both with the high school youth who displayed the most original and mature thought, and with proletarians who had a long history of struggle that no one had ever bothered to learn about.

Ghana, which had been the first country to gain its independence, turned out to be the most disappointing. Here was a land that had the most international concepts, via both George Padmore and W.E.B. Dubois, who had established his African Encyclopedia there.



*American Civilization on Trial*, first edition, May, 1963  
*Czechoslovakia—Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, Oct., 1968

It was the land that was still considered by all Africans who had not yet gained freedom as their "homeland"—whether that be Patrice Lumumba of the Congo or Robert Sobukwe of South Africa. And yet, when a General Strike erupted, the rulers of Ghana acted like state rulers anywhere in relation to workers in revolt. (This experience was written up for the Dec. 1962 issue of *Africa Today*, in an analysis entitled: "Out of Colonization, into the Fire.") On the other hand, such good relations were established with African socialists in Nigeria that we continued to have direct reports of the labor struggles there for many years. The two-way road between Africa and the U.S. has characterized the untold history of the U.S. from its very beginning; it was resumed in our age in the relationships to African Socialism.

**THAT SEPTEMBER**, WHEN our 1962-1963 Perspectives for the organization was entitled "The Time is Now: Organizational Perspectives in Light of the World Situation and our Unique, Theoretical Contributions," (Vol. IX, Sec. III, 3) we were, of course, aware of the many flash-points in the world, the most serious of which was the unrelenting civil war in Algeria. The March 1962 N&L warned that the so-called cease-fire in Algeria was but a "prelude to civil war."

Suddenly, on Oct. 22, the whole world was thrust right to the brink of a nuclear war. No longer did anyone talk of history or theory. It was now nothing short of life and death. Our statement on the brink-of-war situation made clear that the Kennedy-Khrushchev confrontation was perilous enough without falling into the mire of the Left which was trying to argue that Russia had as much right to have missiles in Cuba as the U.S. to have bases in Turkey. We demonstrated a completely different ground by holding out the vision of social revolution and a totally new society on human foundations.

A great deal more was involved than writing about this in the *Two Worlds* column of the November issue, "Ideology and Revolution: A Study of What Happens After," which discussed Cuba's tailing of Russia. And more was also involved than editorializing that "Kennedy and Khrushchev Bring the World Close to the Point of No Return" in the same issue. In this life and death question, with death looming as the more likely victor, it was imperative not to act as if the world had already come to an end and nothing could be done about it. On the contrary, new eyes were needed to look at every possible force of revolution. It was a question both of reality and of philosophy to look at the whole globe for new points of departure.

As 1962 ended, with a new confrontation between India and China, the two exponents of "peaceful co-existence" in Asia, we were opening new relations with freedom fighters in Africa, dissidents in China, the youth in Japan, and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in England. But what towered above all others as masses in motion was the Black dimension in the U.S.

## 1963—The power of negativity

"The power of negativity—the dialectic—never ceases to amaze me," I wrote on Feb. 12, 1963. The reference was to the process by which the statement we had intended to issue on the so-called Emancipation Proclamation had been transformed into *American Civilization on Trial* and signed by the whole National Editorial Board.

Since 1963 was the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, once the immediate missile crisis was over, Kennedy rushed to take advantage of that year and present himself as an alleged "freedom fighter." We, instead, held that not only could the Emancipation Proclamation not be glorified, but we must show the Black masses as vanguard precisely because it's impossible to separate them from any part of American history. Black masses in motion were revealed as the touchstone of the whole of American development, whether one took 1776 as the point of departure and showed the Declaration of Independence in its true limited light, i.e. that it meant independence for whites only; or the 1830 Abolitionist movement when the white intellectuals did gain a new dimension by joining with the Blacks to carry on a 30-year struggle that culminated in a Civil War; whether one took America's plunge into imperialism with the 1898 Spanish-American War, when the Blacks were the first to establish an Anti-Imperialist League and demonstrate their affinity with Latin America "which had known, ever since 1820, that while the Monroe Doctrine could protect it from European invasion, there was no such protection from American aggression for which the Doctrine was designed" (p. 16); or whether one brought it all the way to 1963.

It was clear that instead of writing a mere statement on the Emancipation, *American Civilization on Trial* had become a 200-year history of American development, which delved, at the same time, into Karl Marx's relationship to the Civil War and the post-war struggles for the eight-hour day, and to Lenin's relationship to the Negro in the U.S. who was made integral to his 1920 Resolution on the National Question.

The pamphlet came off the press on the eve of the June 23 "Walk to Freedom" in Detroit when over a quarter of a million poured down Woodward Avenue to show their solidarity with the struggles going on in the South and to bring it North. *American Civilization on Trial* quickly became a "textbook" for the Freedom Movement.

We found that important Black historians saw in it an affinity of ideas. Thus J. A. Rogers wrote in his column "History Shows" in the *Pittsburgh Courier* of Aug. 3, 1963: "As I am on the subject of books, I will mention a few of the others I have received, though Courier book-reviewing is done by Mr. Schuyler. Among them is *American Civilization on Trial: The Negro as Touchstone of History*. It gives an able and excellent review of what the Negro has been through in the past century, and is well-documented, too. Is the United States losing the global struggle in the minds of men because of its treatment of the Negro? It gives the answer . . . Please get it."

1963 was also the year that Presence Africaine published my article on Marxist-Humanism. Our concentration on the American revolution did not stop the development of our international relations. The analysis of the new Franco-German axis carried in the March 1963 issue of N&L was discussed internationally, especially by the state-capitalist groupings that had

(Continued on Page 5)

# 25 YEARS OF MARXIST-HUMANISM IN THE UNITED STATES

(Continued from Page 4)

met in 1959. An Italian edition of *Marxism and Freedom* for which I had written a new Introduction came off the press.

And at home the intensification of activity among the youth which the Black revolt had inspired was marked for us by the publication of a new pamphlet, *The Young Marxist-Humanist*, and its extension as a regular broadside on the UCLA campus.

## 1964—From the Hazard, Ky., miners' strike and Berkeley student rebellion to Mao's bomb and Khrushchev's fall

Just as we had given over N&L for a special Mississippi issue in 1962, so in March 1964, we published a special Hazard, Ky. issue. As soon as we had learned that the striking Kentucky miners and their wives had organized themselves into an Appalachian Committee for Full Employment, we sent down as our own reporter and photographer, Andy Phillips, the coal miner who had been active in the historic 1949-50 General Strike and was now an editor of N&L.

At the same time that we were working with the miners in Kentucky, we were also involved in new activities in Mississippi—the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project.

No sooner had the white students returned from their Mississippi Freedom Summer experience to their Northern schools, especially Berkeley, California, than they were at once thrown into a struggle with the administration over every question from the civil rights movement to what is education. It resulted in the most massive student revolt ever—the Free Speech Movement. Mario Savio, the philosophy student who had been thrust into the leadership of the FSM, contributed "Berkeley, Fall", and Eugene Walker contributed "Mississippi Freedom Summer" to our pamphlet *The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution*. Because we never separate on-the-spot "reports from below" from philosophy, the pamphlet carries two very different types of appendices: "Inside Sproul Hall" by Joel Pimsleur, and "The Theory of Alienation: Marx's Debt to Hegel", the lecture students had most frequently requested of me.

### The 1960s: Black, Anti-War, Student Youth



N&L, Jan., 1968 On strike in Mississippi



Reprinted from N&L, Jan., 1965  
Free Speech Movement Demonstration

AT THE VERY TIME that these great movements from practice were developing—in class battles, in the civil rights struggles, and in the student movement—a second (paper-back) edition of *Marxism and Freedom* came out which included a totally new chapter on the Sino-Soviet Conflict in which the question had been posed: "Can There Be War Between Russia and China? The Non-Viability of State-Capitalism." A Japanese edition which followed it a few months later, and which also included this new chapter, had no sooner come off the press than China exploded its first bomb, and Khrushchev fell from power.

Thus, the relationship of ideology to state-capitalism was alive in every development, be it the new generation of revolutionaries, white and Black, or the Goldwater nomination; be it the Sino-Indian War (19) or the developments in Japan where the appearance of *Marxism and Freedom* led to an invitation to lecture in Japan; or be it just the usual professional anti-Communist American pragmatism, celebrating their analysis of the 10th anniversary of Stalin's death by re-burying Lenin's philosophic legacy.

## 1965-1966—The Vietnam War and the 'Cultural Revolution'

With Lyndon Johnson's bombing of North Vietnam in 1965, the whole world situation changed, including what the New Left was unwilling to see—that China could no longer claim to be "the besieged fortress" when the bombs were raining on Hanoi. Not only that. The "Cultural Revolution" was soon to arise and deepen all illusions about China being a veritable new world. In any case, a great anti-Vietnam War movement soon literally covered the earth. In the U.S. it became the most popular anti-war movement, comprising a massive student movement which adopted the Black Revolution's slogan, "Hell, no, we won't go," and eventually growing to include every segment of the population.

Where all others in the New Left had their eyes fixed on the 1966 Cultural Revolution—accepting it as it was promulgated by Mao—we pointed to the year 1965 as the crucial year of the collapse of Mao's aim for a Djakarta-Peking axis. Far from any new axis, what resulted was the bloody counter-revolution that totally destroyed the Indonesian Communist Party which had toed the Maoist line.

Where all others took the Cultural Revolution at its face value, we were listening to the voices of dissent from the Chinese masses, proletarian and youth, whose goals were entirely different from those of Mao.

AT THE SAME TIME we were active on three other fronts. First was the international dialogue that was developing around Socialist Humanism. I contributed an article on "Marx's Humanism Today" to the first international symposium on that question which included East as well as West Europe, Asia and Africa.

Second was a trip to Hong Kong which brought me into contact with newly arrived Chinese dissidents. One of those I interviewed, Jade considered the chapter in *Marxism and Freedom* on "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung" so relevant, both because of the retrogressionism of Mao and the criticism of Chou Yang's defamation of Marx's Humanist Essays, that she undertook to translate the chapter. It was soon published in Hong Kong and smuggled into mainland China.

Third, was the group in Japan which had been responsible for the Japanese edition of *Marxism and Freedom* and which was now busy publishing our pamphlets on class struggles, like *Workers Battle Automation*, as well as analyses such as the Afro-Asian pamphlet. They arranged an extensive lecture tour throughout Japan for me. They were also anxious to transmit their own views on Vietnam, and we brought out a special bulletin of discussion articles from Japan, after my return, "The Vietnam War and the World Today." (See Vol. IX, Section VI, 3.) But I found that the Marxists who agreed that Russia and China were state-capitalist societies wanted to stop at the economic analysis rather than continue to the philosophy of Marx's humanism. We were the only ones who devoted an entire issue (N&L, Dec. 1966) to present both that view and our own. Tadayuki Tsushima's contribution was entitled "State-Capitalism and Socialist Revolution." Mine was entitled "State-Capitalism and Marx's Humanism."

It has become clear that although the one factor above all others that had motivated my trip to the East was the attempt to find collaborators for a new book on the relationship of philosophy to revolution, that task was mine. It took form as *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao*.

## 1967-1968-1969—New passions and new forces: Black uprisings, near-revolutions, the Women's Liberation Movement

It became ever more imperative to rediscover the missing link of a philosophy of liberation as the 1960s were drawing to a close and guerrilla wars appealed to the New Left as a substitute for a social revolution.

The most urgent question that was being raised was how to fight imperialism, how to transform an imperialist war into a social revolution, and whether it was possible to consider guerrilla war as a substitute for social revolution, rather than seeing that, far from being a shortcut to revolution, it was the "long road to tragedy." None answered the question more tragically than that great revolutionary, Che Guevara, who met death in 1967 as he tried to start a revolution in Bolivia, with no mass base whatever.

As for the Black uprisings that covered the U.S. following the Watts Revolt of 1965, it was in Detroit in 1967 that they reached a climax, because it was

there that the class distinction so dominated the revolt that it was clear it was not so much against "whitey," as against white landlords, white merchants, and white police.

1968 brought everything to a climax as rebellion reached a highpoint in Paris that Spring when students were joined by no less than 10 million workers on General Strike. Instead, however, of proving Cohn-Bendit's view that activity was primary and that theory could be picked up "en route", the almost-revolution in France aborted and De Gaulle came out the victor without firing a single shot.

The disastrous counter-revolution was the one that saw Russia move in to crush Prague Spring. The news of the tanks rolling into Czechoslovakia came the very



Reprinted from N&L, March, 1963

morning that the report we had received direct from Prague, "At the Crossroads of Two Worlds," was coming off the press, in our Aug.-Sept. 1968 issue. We at once re-published it in a full pamphlet, *Czechoslovakia: Revolution and Counter Revolution*, together with a Foreword written jointly by myself as Chairwoman of News and Letters Committees in the U.S. and Harry McShane as Chairman of the Marxist-Humanist Group, Glasgow.

IT HAD BEGUN TO look as if all the great revolts of the 1960s had come to an end—whether in East or West Europe, or in the U.S., where Nixon was soon to take over the Presidency. It was just then, however, that a still newer and more unexpected revolutionary force was arising in Mao's China—and precisely in Mao's own district of Hunan. It was the Sheng Wu-lien, who demanded the concretization of the Paris Commune for our age, for China—the very country which was in the forefront of the greatest world contradictions and deepest revolutions. We rushed to print the Sheng Wu-lien document. (See Vol. XI, Sec. II, 3.)

Still another new movement—Women's Liberation—had also been arising out of the Left.

It was no accident that at our birth in 1955 we had already singled out women as one of the four forces of revolution any more than it was an accident that our women Freedom Riders had found Woman Power Unlimited in Mississippi, or that it was Black women trying to organize nursing homes in Baltimore with whom Marxist-Humanists like Michael Connolly worked to establish the Maryland Freedom Union. By 1969 we decided to publish the many voices we had heard and elicited, together with a lecture I had given to WRAP at Chicago University that April in a mimeographed pamphlet we called *Notes on Women's Liberation: We Speak in Many Voices*. In 1970 we issued it as a printed pamphlet, which attracted many non-Marxist-Humanists.

We had also begun circulating draft chapters of *Philosophy and Revolution* to various conferences we called.

Minutes of both the Black/Red and the Women's Liberation Conferences were published in special bulletins so that non-members as well as members of the main forces of revolution could become part of the process by which, in the early 1970s, we would tackle what I called "Absolute Idea as New Beginning", both in theory and in practice. (See Vol. X, Sec. IX.)

Next month—

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

## AGAINST MILITARIZED SCIENCE & RELIGIOUS REACTION

The events of the last month, since I got my copy of Raya Dunayevskaya's article, "Against militarized science and religious reaction: from Poland to Miami," have often made me go back and read that thought-provoking work. I can't say that I agree with everything (for example, I wonder if you believe that religion can be revolutionary for Black America), but I got genuine enlightenment from your understanding of the road between Poland and Miami. The way you expressed your "tasks" in the last section was also provocative. One hundred years after Marx's death it really is time that someone presented his thought as a whole. They certainly don't do it in the political science program at my school.

Black student  
Wayne State Univ., Detroit

I found that the section "missiles, missiles, missiles . . . but what about jobs?" in "From Poland to Miami" (Oct. N&L) summed up my situation perfectly. I work as a freight handler on a loading dock in Los Angeles, and much that we unload from trucks is military hardware destined for local defense plants. Last spring we were hit with a sharp drop in the amount of freight coming onto the dock, and we were all worried about losing our jobs. At that time one worker said that with all the new military spending we've been hearing about, we can expect to get plenty of work once those orders start coming through.

But less than two months later — after they started building the Cruise Missiles — half of us were put on temporary lay-off, some for as long as three months. I finally returned to work last week, only to find things worse off than ever before. We used to have 12 workers break out 12 trailers a night, but now we're down to nine workers and they're pushing us to unload 15 a night. As the article said, the greater the militarization, the greater the unemployment and the harder they work those still on the job. No one is saying anything now about how good we'll have it once the military orders start coming in.

A lot wiser  
Los Angeles

Since coming to "conservative" and "religious" Salt Lake City, I've seen that the movement to change this society is here too. Copper miners recently returned to work after a long strike. I hear that there were a lot of grievances to take action on, but the most pressing issue miners talk about is the way the union bureaucracy has been bought off with special treatment from Kennecott Copper.

It's also interesting to see that 200 people showed up for an anti-MX missile system benefit at the Univ. of Utah. The subtitle of the article on page one last issue, "Against militarized science and religious reactions" is certainly relevant here.

Student  
Salt Lake City, Utah

Thank you so much for sending Oct. N&L so quickly. Raya Dunayevskaya's thoroughly comprehensive analysis of the world situation was virtually astounding, especially as regards her analysis of the relation of "religion" to the new stage created by the Polish workers. It is amazing that all the elements, in embryo in Marx's Early Essays, have now come together. Whether Poland will succeed against the Russian troops lined up on its borders is a fearful question, but I think with such things as the broadcast of negotiations, the Polish workers have broken new ground, ground which can never be forgotten or lost.

Correspondent  
Papua New Guinea

I was struck by the distinction made by Marx between the religion of the oppressed and the religion of the oppressor; and the fact that Marx's whole theory of alienation started there. Shortly after I read that in N&L, the Cardinal here in Detroit came out with a big pronouncement, following the Pope's statements on the "protection" of women from the "lust" of her husband. The Cardinal said that marriages involving a pregnant woman will no longer be allowed in the Church, unless the woman can prove that she was engaged prior to pregnancy.

All the new rules — designed like Khomeini's — under the guise of opposing women as sex objects, are really the church's way of reacting to the rebellion of women in its ranks. The Church leadership is surely practicing the religion of the oppressor.

Ex-Catholic  
Michigan

## IRAQ-IRAN WAR

The war between Iran and Iraq has occupied everyone's mind. Some people are wondering what will happen to the hostages in Iran. Others are thinking about the oil shortages that this war may bring, or which country will be victorious. But no one is thinking about the poor people in both Iran and Iraq, who may lose their lives in this war. After all, they have learned something about the war from their own experiences. They have seen their comrades die in the fighting.

But we should still keep in mind that war causes people to be more patriotic. In times of war even the revolutionary forces may turn to nationalism and forget the international movement. They may support their reactionary governments, by aiding them overcome their "enemies."

The only way that we can stop this war is by taking the power into our own hands and by realizing that the Iraqi people are not our enemies. The Iranian and Iraqi people need to make a revolution in their own countries instead of fighting each other.

Not war, but revolution, is the key to our freedom.

Iranian woman  
California

Everyone is talking about how surprised they are that the Iranian army is putting up such a good fight against Iraq, but in no way can their actions be considered a continuation of the revolution. Right at the very moment when Iran is fighting Iraq the Iranian army has attacked Mehabad in Kurdistan, killing over 260 persons, for they fear the struggle of the Kurds for autonomy. The Khomeini regime, like the Iraqi, has shown itself to be vicious and murderous . . .

Iranian revolutionary  
in the U.S.A.

Despite Iraq's claims to the contrary, no troops from the Arab side of the Persian Gulf can ever give self-determination to the peoples of Khuzistan, as Iraq has proclaimed it would do. Self-determination can only come through the barrel of your own gun, through the thought of your own mind. And certainly the Kurds to the North know full well that though it is Iran who crushes them now, it was Iraq who sought to exterminate them as a movement in the 1970s.

It should be remembered that Iraq was the country of revolution in 1958. But when we come to the current ruler, Saddam Hussein, who took power only in July 1979, we have come very far from that 1958 social revolution. Not even a month into power, Hussein discovered a supposedly pro-Syria plot among his wing of the Ba'ath party. 21 high-ranking Ba'ath party members were

# Readers' View

executed. Since coming to power in 1968, the Ba'athists have bloodily eliminated all who oppose their policies.

To defend the Iranian Revolution now has nothing to do with taking Iran's side in the war. It is a question of helping the genuine forces of revolution overcome the Khomeini counter-revolution which is in the saddle today in Tehran.

Observer  
Detroit

## ON REAGAN AND CARTER

When Reagan announced that he was going to appoint a woman to the Supreme Court if elected, my first thought was: "who is he going to pick—Phyllis Schlafly?" That horror would be just the right one for him. Did you see that she was quoted recently as saying that nuclear weapons were "God's gift to mankind"? Some right-to-life feeling she has!

Women's liberationist  
Cleveland

I see no difference between and Carter and Reagan. Reagan will do the same thing as Carter if he's elected. They have to go with whatever Big Business says. Nixon was the biggest anti-Communist, but even he had to go to Russia and China and shake hands when the time came. Reagan's supposed to be more for war than Carter, but he'll do the same thing as Nixon too if he has to. And Carter will start a war if he has to.

Transit worker  
New York

The endorsement of Reagan by Rev. Abernathy and Hosea Williams was the last straw for me in a long line of betrayals by the old civil rights leadership. How they could get in bed with a man who is Jesse Helms' best buddy is told in one word — opportunism. Actually I should have expected something like this after Hosea Williams went to Libya last year as a friend of Qaddafi. After that, anything is possible. Today's youth have it right: saying that you were a leader of the '60s doesn't cut it in the '80s.

Civil rights veteran  
North Carolina

## FACTORIES—CLOSING, OPENING

The last week of September, I was called down to Uniroyal to pick up my last unclaimed check. When I got into the plant I couldn't believe it; every floor was a wreck — I looked over several floors just quickly while I was there. And when I went to get my check, I found that all the offices are now in one room. Even the executives looked depressed and when one of them handed me my check, he said "I guess it's all over for Uniroyal" and then his voice broke! I was surprised.

I guess it's true that I'll miss going to work with the people I knew there myself, but after seeing it once more, I never want to work in a place like that again. It was a prison of filthy iron and steel and concrete. Now the City of Detroit has bought it and the 40 acres around it for \$5 million, and some officials actually want to use it as a (real) prison! How inhuman can this society get?

Discarded Uniroyal worker  
Detroit

Not many people know that one week before the Titan missile explosion Sept. 19, in Pine Bluff, Ark., the Congress voted to construct a chemical warfare factory — a nerve gas manufacturing facility. This plant will be the first acknowledged venture by the government

into chemical warfare since 1969, when the anti-war movement succeeded in getting the old plant shut down. Guess where the new factory will be located? Pine Bluff, Ark.! Evidently since they are still choking on the fumes from the missile blow-up, Congress will wait a little before starting construction. Let's fight to see that it never happens.

Furious  
Detroit

## SYDENHAM HOSPITAL FIGHT

The abrupt end of the occupation of Sydenham Hospital in Harlem, and of the mass picket line sustained by community demonstrators for weeks in the face of even the most violent police attack seen here in many years, has left a lot of people wondering. And not only about the maneuvers of Mayor Koch, Gov. Carey and the others, but about the "anti-politician" leaders who talked about such things in the fight for Sydenham as, "asserting our manhood," part of which meant the "request" that all the women occupiers leave the hospital in the middle of the struggle.

As if this split within the leadership wasn't revealing enough, the constant "thanks" to the thousands of workers, students, and poor community residents for supporting their struggle, the struggle of the leaders, in their fight to keep Sydenham open, spoke volumes.

On the other hand the *New York Times* had to concede that among City College students, "efforts to reverse the City's planned closing of Sydenham Hospital in Harlem have drawn far more interest than the presidential campaign."

Activist  
New York

## IDEAS FROM THE SHOPS . . .

I really appreciated the story from a "U.S. shipyard worker" in the last issue of N&L. Like everyone, I had seen on TV the launching of a ship with champagne, but never thought once about the labor that is involved in how it is actually done. The story showed me not only that "labor is the source of all value," but how every question at work is a question with two sides — the workers' side and that of the champagne-bottle-breakers.

Reader  
Seattle, Wash.

When Somoza died last month, a worker in my plant, Art Steel, suddenly taped up on the wall a copy of a Spanish translation of the Aug.-Sept. N&L article on Nicaragua, along with a Spanish-language newspaper on Somoza's death and his dictatorship. I figure he must have had it for a month and saved it, bringing it out when he was moved (gladly) by Somoza's death.

Art Steel worker  
South Bronx, N.Y.

## . . . AND THE PRISONS

I've been studying *Marxism and Freedom*, and it is boss! Raya's elucidation of Vol. I of *Capital* was brilliantly cogent; Vol. II and III (or her discussion of it) is harder for me to grasp, but only because it is new to me. Marx has yet to cease to amaze me; I'll write soon an exhaustive summary of what I've grasped from Sister Raya.

For now, a comment. Many so-called "Marxists" tend to forget that materialism is the base and dialectics the essence of Marxism. Most revolutionists accept the reality of the former, yet negate the implications of the latter. Dialectics man-

dates creativity; yet "doctrinaire" Marxists are engaged in studying theory with little or no regard to the objective conditions we face. And how can we expect to engage in meaningful practice when we begin with warped theory? P.S. — I dig your paper.

Student of Marx in prison Attica, N.Y.



WOMEN'S LIBERATION: IN POLAND AND IN U.S. PRISONS

American women are fighting for the right to work, while Polish women are fighting for the right not to work. Here, one person can make enough to support a family, while for the average family in Poland it would not be possible to survive — particularly if the family does not belong to the Party. Thus, responsibility for supporting the family falls on both the man and the woman. In addition to bearing and raising children, women also have a responsibility for working.

Everyone here knows the economic situation of Poland, but not necessarily of Polish women. In the morning she must take the children to the daycare center. After work, she must stand in long lines to buy the barest essentials, then pick up the children, cook dinner, and try to lead a normal life. Under those circumstances, liberation means something very different.

Recent Polish woman immigrant Illinois

The struggle of the women prisoners in Bedford Hills Correctional Facility (50 miles north of New York) to get rid of male guards goes on. The guards were first introduced in 1977 under the grounds that to exclude males from guard jobs would violate their civil rights! Soon all rights of privacy were lost, as guards could look in on women through windows in the cell doors at any time, or enter the shower area.

A suit was filed immediately, but as it has continued in the courts, more male guards have been brought in. In recent months, the struggle has meant that the prison administration has imposed new restrictions on prisoners, confining them to cells in the daytime when not on assignment. Bedford Hills seems to be on the way to becoming a maximum security prison for women. Letter-writing, contacting the media, money — all are needed now. Write to:

Women Free Women in Prison P.O. Box 90 Brooklyn, N.Y. 11215

WE NEED YOUR HELP!

Enclosed is a check for \$20 to help support the expanded version of N&L. The publication is a valuable one for me because its perspective is not found anywhere else. World politics is very complex, and I often find it easier to not pay attention. But that doesn't change anything, and there's a lot we don't hear about from mainstream periodicals. I'll be looking forward to expanded coverage of events, especially needed the way things seem to be heading now.

Blind feminist-activist Minnesota

Please stay with 12 pages. The extra space is wonderful, and I think it helps to have the extra pictures. All I can send is \$2, since, like many, I'm ever in severe fiscal difficulties . . .

Old friend Nebraska

I hope that the enclosed check will be helpful to N&L, since you have been helpful to me in sorting out the vanguardism and elitism of papers like the Guardian and the Militant, as a distortion of Leninism and Marxism. As a Catholic, it seems to me that the dialectic of liberation which, as Marxist-Humanism emphasizes, is the basis for all human life, can even be seen in day to day life, and is something one learns about even before reading philosophy or economics. So when Dunayevskaya talks about the unity of theory and practice, I think this has something to do with it.

Anti-ruke, anti-draft Cambridge, Mass.

May I make a few comments on the October issue of N&L? It was beautifully done. The expansion of "Our Life and Times" on the back page to a full page has given it a whole different quality. It is transformed by having room to develop the political analysis in each piece. I like the style of writing of the authors. It's powerful and clean.

Reader New York

I do not have any personal income, but I want to help your newspaper grow. I wish I could help you more.

Italian woman Sacramento, Calif.

Editor's Note: Our thanks for the many generous and creative contributions readers have sent on our urgent appeal for the new expanded 12-page N&L. HAVE YOU SENT YOURS?

EDITORIAL

Struggle in Poland continues

The nearly two months since the occupation strikes won major concessions from the Polish government have witnessed at one and the same time the continued advance by the Polish working class to guarantee implementation of the demands won, and the ominous maneuvers on the part of the Party and government apparatus to throw up roadblocks and to actually roll back what the Polish working class won.

ADVANCES IN MOVEMENT

Those gains should not be underestimated. Shock waves are still reverberating around the world from the historic Aug. 30 victory won by the Polish workers with the partial agreement of the Polish rulers to demands that included free trade unions, the right to strike, freedom of speech, press and publications, release of political prisoners, wage increases and cost-of-living protection, abolition of bureaucratic and police privileges, improved housing, assured nursery care for working mothers, reduction in the work hours, improvement in working conditions and health care, reduced retirement age and increased retirement pensions, more equitable distribution of food consumer products, restoration of rights to workers and students punished for activity during the 1970 and 1976 rebellions, complete public information about economic conditions.

To try and assure that these agreements are carried out, the new independent trade union confederation, Solidarity, has joined together an estimated four million workers. Not alone shipyard workers and miners, but textile workers, electricians, clerks and many others.

On Oct. 3, Solidarity carried out a one hour national strike to protest the government's attempts to stifle the agreements. Tens of thousands took part. The entire city of Gdansk shut down.

And most recently the leaders of Solidarity organized a three day trip in southern Poland to make their organization nationally known. Rallies were held with students in Cracow and with Silesian coal miners in Jastrzebie.

GOVERNMENT ROADBLOCKS

Against this constant activity in the weeks since Aug. 30, there have been the government actions. First, the application of the Solidarity trade union confederation for legal status was held up for almost 30 days. The courts have declared that Solidarity statutes must refer to the leading role of the Communist Party, while Solidarity wishes to swear allegiance only to the Polish Constitution. Solidarity has declared it will operate with or without legal recognition.

Second, the shake up in the government has not yet clearly shown how the government will move. Eight former aides of Edward Gierek have been ousted, but the ruling Politburo has not been touched.

Most ominous, is that former security chief General Moczar, known for the crackdown on students and Jews in 1968, has been resurrected as head of the Supreme Chamber of Control to investigate Gierek's associates.

At the same time that Solidarity leaders were touring southern Poland, the foreign ministers from throughout the Eastern Block were in Warsaw for a meeting of the Warsaw Pact military alliance.

The greatness of the Polish events, and the key to their future is three fold: 1. The self-activity of the workers. It is they who occupied, who published strike newspapers and leaflets, who formed their committees of struggle which they wish to make permanent.

2. Poland has shown most concretely the power of a worker-intellectual alliance. The intellectuals, including Jacek Kuron who has long been a critic of the Polish Communist Party and who was jailed during the strikes, helped to establish the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR) in the mid-1970s and played leading roles in exposing the truth about Polish conditions in such publications as the underground ROBOTNIK as well as other open and clandestine papers and pamphlets.

3. The relationship with the rest of East Europe is crucial. Historically the Polish events of 1980 have a relation to Poland '56, Hungary '56, Czechoslovakia '68, as well as Poland of '70 and '76. Today the crucial questions is that Poland not be isolated, but that the deed and word of Poland become that of all of East Europe. This is what Russia fears most. And it is what will in the end allow the Polish events room to breathe and develop. Once again we repeat—All Eyes on the Polish Workers!

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# Election fantasies vs. war realities

(Continued from Page 1)

without the capital to re-industrialize. If only U.S. industry could modernize its technology to compete in the manufacturing wars, we are told, American workers now on lay-off would be coming back to work by the hundreds of thousands.

However if we listen to workers at Chrysler Jefferson's newly-unmated body shop, as they fought both company and union, we hear a different story:

"We bailed Chrysler out with our pension money, our tax money and our wage cuts. They took the money and bought robots, computers, anything but human beings. They only wanted a few of us. Most of our brothers and sisters are still on the street, while we are in here working 10 hours, 6 days. As far as I can see, Chrysler's plan to compete with Japan is to end up with one union member running all the machines. I would like to know: will that one worker have to support all the white collars and all the Solidarity House reps out of one paycheck?"

That extreme projection is firmly rooted in the latest auto company plans. Detroit's proposed new \$1 billion GM Cadillac plant — to be built with city, state and federal aid — will cut the jobs of 12,500 workers down to 3,800.

Ford, for its part, is leading the way in internationalization of automated production, making its "Escort" a truly world car. Steering gears are to be made in Britain, rear brakes in Brazil, manual transmissions in Japan. Elaborate precautions are to be taken to insure that a strike in one country will not halt production. Such illusions have ever characterized capitalism's drive to rid itself of those "refractory hands," and replace them with machines.

What neither the corporate heads nor the candidates have understood is that each new stage of production brings forth a new, fuller stage of revolt. The internationalization of production at Ford got a foretaste of that revolt last month when UAW president Doug Fraser toured Ford's Wayne, Mich. plant. Workers there, hard hit by lay-offs, heckled him, demanding to know when the UAW would follow the example of the Polish workers, and broadcast all negotiations with management over a loudspeaker. Their demands, they said, began with the need to bring those laid-off back to work.

## THE REALITY OF BLACK AMERICA

So universal is that demand, especially as it comes from a Black America with unemployment rates two or three times the national average, that even the candidates can not avoid it. Even less can the campaigners hide the expressions of fascism now oozing out in the North as well as in the South. In the depths of the current crisis — economic, political, military, ideological — every KKK and Nazi-type is gaining courage from the success of Reagan's "New Right" and the "tolerance" with which federal and state officials have treated them.

What is clear in the string of racist murders of Blacks from Buffalo through Atlanta to Salt Lake City

and New Orleans is that far from being able to blame it on "kooks" the finger points to the involvement of the system on every level, beginning with all police agencies. Even the new official report of the government's National Minority Advisory Council on Criminal Justice — written after four years of hearings — had to conclude that the U.S. criminal justice system is used to control minorities.

How else can one explain the continuing appearance of KKK training bases, complete with automatic weapons, pictured on the front pages of the daily papers, first in Cullman, Ala., then in Texas, and most recently in California, unless one turns to the phrase Black youth are now using: "police with Klan minds"?

That there is a genuine possibility of a Reagan election is one measure of the depth of the barbarism inherent in this degenerate society. And that such a possibility should emerge only six short years after the American experience with Nixon points most concretely to the way Carter policies have created the conditions for a possible Reagan presidency. The opposite to that is not the re-election of Jimmy Carter, but the "undercurrent of revolt," especially within Black America.

Whether one looks at the 15,000 or more marchers who journeyed to Washington, D.C. for "Save Black Colleges" day, Sept. 29—and booed representatives sent by all three candidates; or at the 500 who continued the year-long protests against racist control of life in Wrightsville, Ga., Sept. 20; or at the newly-formed Jackson, Miss. "Justice Committee", who swiftly organized a counter-demonstration against the KKK march there, Oct. 4, is clear that there is an undercurrent of revolt.

Nor has the Religious Right been able to continue their assaults on women and gays with impunity. "Moral Majority's" leader, Rev. Jerry Falwell, complained bitterly last month, after his "I Love America" rally in Madison, Wis., was disrupted by 300 demonstrators who carried such signs as "War Mongers Are Not Pro-Life", and chanted "No Holy Wars". Women's Liberation groups in a number of Western states have also begun to organize "freedom coalitions" to oppose "Moral Majority" and other right-wing religious activists.

What places a question mark over all the opposition is not alone the dangerous consequences of a possible Reagan victory on election day. It is as well whether the complete degeneracy of this society is matched by the totality of the movement to replace it with a human world. What does it mean that where last year we saw the huge protests in the wake of the nuclear power plant near-disaster at Three-Mile-Island, this past month hardly any notice was taken of the near-disaster with the Titan missile in Arkansas? What is involved in the need to reorganize thought within the movement when such a deep separation still exists, not only between anti-nuke and anti-war, but between the Black revolt and white youth, or between women's liberation and the anti-draft movement? Far from the answer being any simple slogan for "unity", never was the urgency greater to dig more deeply into the relation between thought and activity and help produce the kind of movement that will not only fight against reaction, but bring us to full freedom.

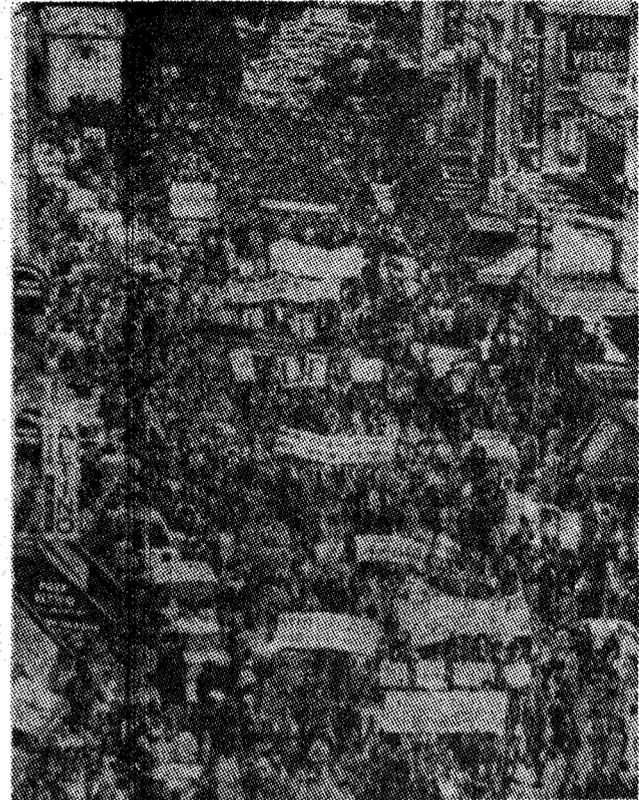
## STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION

- TITLE OF PUBLICATION: NEWS & LETTERS
- PUBLICATION NO. 385420
- DATE OF FILING: October 9, 1980.
- FREQUENCY OF ISSUE: Monthly except bi-monthly January-February, August-September. A. NO. OF ISSUES PUBLISHED ANNUALLY: 10. B. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: \$1.00.
- LOCATION OF KNOWN OFFICE OF PUBLICATION: 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Room 316, Detroit, Wayne County, MI 48211.
- LOCATION OF THE HEADQUARTERS OR GENERAL BUSINESS OFFICES OF THE PUBLISHERS: 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Room 316, Detroit, Wayne County, MI 48211.
- NAMES AND COMPLETE ADDRESSES OF PUBLISHER, EDITOR, AND MANAGING EDITOR:  
 Publisher: News & Letters, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Rm. 316, Detroit, MI 48211  
 Editor: Charles Denby, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Rm. 316, Detroit, MI 48211  
 Business Manager: Olga Domanski, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Rm. 316, Detroit, MI 48211
- OWNER:  
 RAYNA Dunayevskaya, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Rm. 316, Detroit, MI 48211.  
 Olga Domanski, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Rm. 316, Detroit, MI 48211.
- KNOWN BONDHOLDERS, MORTGAGEES, AND OTHER SECURITY HOLDERS OWNING OR HOLDING ONE PERCENT OR MORE OF TOTAL AMOUNT OF BONDS, MORTGAGES OR OTHER SECURITIES:  
 NONE.

## 10. EXTENT AND NATURE OF CIRCULATION:

	Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	Actual No. Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date
A. TOTAL NO. COPIES PRINTED	7330	7500
B. PAID CIRCULATION		
1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales	5459	5711
2. Mail subscriptions	1359	1325
C. TOTAL PAID CIRCULATION	6818	7036
D. FREE DISTRIBUTION by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary and other free copies	212	164
E. TOTAL DISTRIBUTION (Sum of C & D)	7029	7200
F. COPIES NOT DISTRIBUTED		
1. Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing	300	300
2. Returns from news agents	NONE	NONE
G. TOTAL	7330	7500

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Hundreds of thousands march in Paris to protest resurgence of anti-Semitism in France.

## Rise of anti-semitism

(Continued from Page 1)

A rightist group linked to the OAS took responsibility.

May 26, 1979—Four former French legionnaires killed two Senegalese immigrant workers, after an argument, by burning down their hotel in Orange.

July 27, 1980—Jewish student David Kuhan was killed and 16 others wounded in Anvers when a hand grenade was thrown at a group of Jewish teenagers. The assassin was linked to Habash's PFLP.

Aug. 11, 1980—A bomb attack on a Left printing press in Marseilles left one person dead and 11 wounded. A rightist group claimed responsibility.

## POLICE IN FASCIST GROUPS

These attacks are not isolated but flow from a pervasive national racism and anti-Semitism. A representative of France's biggest police union disclosed that 30 policemen were members of FANE, the most outspoken, Hitlerian of the banned neo-fascist groups—and were known to be members at the time they were hired and promoted!

In Paris intellectual circles, a well financed, well-publicized New Right group of philosophers has arisen, complete with "biological" theories about race and intelligence.

So deep are the roots of anti-Semitism and racism in France and all of Europe, that it will take more than a one-day mass demonstration to wipe them away.

—Kevin A. Barry and Peter Mallory

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

who gathered, that it was a gas heater that exploded. You could hear the crowd booing him. And there are the 14 Black children who disappeared, 10 of whose bodies have now been found.

When Carter says that Reagan is a racist, many Blacks know it, but Carter and Anderson are racist also. Reagan, when he goes around speaking to workers, tells them he was president of his union, the Screen Actors Guild. But that union had no relation to any production workers' union. He was supposed to be a liberal then. But as soon as the McCarthy period of red-baiting came, Reagan switched and said he'd throw out the Communists, and many were thrown out of his union.

It is no wonder that you can hear so many people in this country say they are not going to vote in this election. Some are saying they do not want to vote for Carter, but that they will have to because they do not want to wake up and find that Reagan is going to be our next president.

No matter who is elected to the Presidency and to Congress on Nov. 4, we can expect to see nothing but compromise for political ends because whoever is in office will feel the strong pressure from the growing militancy of an extreme right wing coalition of anti-civil rights groups. Already pressure from these groups has effectively deprived poor women of their rights to choose abortion, through the Hyde Amendment.

Now these groups have mounted a campaign to outlaw all abortion through their so-called human life amendment to the Constitution. What would happen with the Presidency in the hands of a Republican who

opposed giving women the Equal Rights Amendment, and who is running on a platform that would bar from judicial office anyone who supports a woman's right to follow her own conscience on abortion?

But the greatest weapon that Reagan has going for him is Carter's record. It is not that either Reagan or Carter has a solution, but Carter has not done a thing these four years he has been in office. He yells to Blacks that he has appointed more Blacks to office than any president before him, but that is not the issue. Rather it is what he has done for the masses of Blacks. He has rebuffed labor leaders on wage and price controls, and now he is pleading with these same leaders to support him.

Carter has cut most of his social programs, but everything is raised in terms of the defense program. He says he is for keeping this country out of war, but is planning for war each and every day. Reagan says Carter has caused these high prices that we are paying for everything, but he does not say a word about reducing them if he is elected.

Presidents are politicians who survive by compromise, and they are quick to compromise when it comes to civil rights. It was the liberal administration under John Kennedy that wiretapped Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. It was a liberal administration under Lyndon Johnson that prosecuted the Vietnam War dissenters.

Reagan really concerns me because from his record of the past I am really afraid of him. And I do believe that many Blacks feel the same way I do. What kind of world will we have to live under if Reagan and maybe even Nixon run our lives again. We need a solution that goes beyond any of these candidates.



# Peoples' uprising in Kwangju, Korea

**Editor's Note:** AMPO: Japan-Asia Quarterly Review (Vol. 12 No. 2) contains a 47-page report, "Korea May 1980: Peoples' Uprising in Kwangju." Below we print excerpts. Magazine available in the U.S. from Multinational Multimedia, P.O. Box 1402, East Lansing, MI 48823.

As we go to press the martial-law courts held on the Kwangju uprising have handed down death sentences by hanging to five participants: Chong Dong Nyong and Kim Chong Bae, both university students; Pak Nam Son and Pae Young Ju, taxi drivers; Pak No Jong, a printer. In addition 163 others have been sentenced to prison terms of from five to 20 years.

## The Kwangju events

On May 16th, more than 20,000 students of nine Kwangju-area universities and technical schools gathered at the square in front of the Cholla-namdo Provincial Building after peacefully marching, and held "a rally for national democratization."

The situation changed completely when Martial Law was extended throughout the whole country on May 18th. In Kwangju students protesting the military move gathered in front of the school gate. The military suddenly raided the rally, stabbed a student leading the rally to death with a bayonet, and beat to death on the spot a professor who protested.

Very rapidly the indiscriminate injuring and killing of citizens and students by the troops spread to the whole city, and the screams of the citizens and students watching the scenes could be heard everywhere.

Of Kwangju's population of 800,000, some 200,000 went into the streets on the 19th to demonstrate and confront the military. On the evening of the 19th, all the public buildings and police stations — except the Cholla-namdo Provincial Building — were occupied by citizens, and all means of transportation including buses and taxis were taken over and run by citizens.

At 3 p.m. on the 21st, citizens began arming themselves. Weapons were taken from various police stations, and an armory of the local reserve forces was opened. The citizens took over the Provincial Building.

There were many urgent problems to be tackled: the city had to be defended from the military; the thousands of dead and wounded had to be buried or cared for; peace-keeping and administrative functions of the city had to be restored; the littered streets had to be cleaned; and information had to be properly gathered, arranged and disseminated.

The people were now able to enjoy the freedom to stage demonstrations and rallies day after day — a freedom they had won on their own through their resistance to the troops — and at the same time they now shouldered the responsibility for autonomous control of the city.

By as early as May 23rd, a Struggle Committee was organized together with a total of ten subcommittees



May 26: "We Oppose Military Rule". 40,000 Kwangju citizens demonstrate

(e.g. public administration, strike task force, public information, etc.). Under this organization citizens' weapons were collected, street broadcasting corps toured through the city enlisting citizens' support for the committee, and a newspaper was published (from May 18 till 26).

On May 26, one day before the takeover of Kwangju by the military, 40,000 citizens gathered demanding Chun's resignation and the abolition of Martial Law.

The military began to close its encircling net from May 26th and before dawn of the following day made a fierce assault. After about two hours' fierce battle, young citizens and students defied the military's order to surrender and fought to their last.

## From a Kwangju leaflet

On the night of May 17, Chun Doo Hwan and his party extended Martial Law to cover the entire country and either arrested or detained all those from among the politicians and citizens and the masses whom they found disagreeable and thus crushed the faint hope of our people for democracy.

The students of Chonnam University, Chosun University, junior colleges and high schools and democratic citizens were stung to fury and carried out peaceful demonstrations in Kwangju, Cholla-namdo. But Chun Doo Hwan's group mobilized more than 30,000 riot police, surrounded the demonstrators, narrowed the encircling net by discharging pepper-fog and cut off the people's retreat. And more than 3,000 paratroopers hastily sent from Seoul brandished bayonets like mad dogs, stabbing people randomly as if they were sticking pumpkins and carrying the bleeding bodies away on army trucks. Not stopping there, the paratroopers broke through university gates, swept down on the people there, killing citizens and young girl students with their bayonets.

This barbarous killing provoked the wrath of the citizens, leading them to rise up in resistance. The para-

troopers, frustrated by the citizens' resistance, stopped city buses and cars and arrested young people inside them, kicking and trampling on them at random with their combat boots. Now in the city of Kwangju, merely being young is itself a crime.

At the time of this writing, those paratroop forces have been driven out by the citizens' uprising. All government buildings in the city are now burning, and all transportation and communication lines have been cut. The citizens are in charge of maintaining order throughout the Cholla-namdo province. We cannot leave this task to the police and soldiers who are killing their own people.

Kwangju, Korea — May 22, 1980

## The U.S. and Korea

When General Chun Doo Hwan took over South Korea in his midnight coup of May 18 and sent his crack paratroopers into Kwangju to massacre citizens, the Carter administration declared the military takeover "deeply disturbing." On May 22, the same Carter administration released Korean military units from the U.S. military command to be deployed freely by Chun in crushing Free Kwangju.

When Kwangju students sent a desperate message to Carter to intervene to safeguard their human rights, the U.S. ignored it on the grounds that the appeal did not come through official channels. But what constitutes an "official channel" in a besieged city? In fact, the U.S. did not reply simply because human rights are not its concern. The U.S. of course is afraid that should Chun go too far and provoke further popular upheavals, South Korea may become another Iran. But as long as Chun's steel fist keeps South Koreans in line, whether by torture, arrests, Martial Law or "political development," Chun, Carter feels, should be supported.

## Voices from Korea

We are writing in a situation in which people are afraid to talk politics even among themselves. Professors, for example, evade meeting anyone and pretend they are not home when the phone rings. Everyone feels suppressed by the military's boots, and no one can dare to stand up straight.

The military is hunting even now for young people in Kwangju and Mokpo as well as in other cities. They search high and low, by day and by night, on the streets and in the houses, under roofs and in cellars, patrolling the hotels and subways and watching all street corners.

We are sure the time will come when the people will stand up without help from outside, whether from the USA or from Japan, and will throw out Chun Doo Hwan and his bandits, who are supported by nobody, and by nothing but their tanks and weaponry.

June 18, 1980

It is important to know that the mass arrests of citizens in Kwangju, regardless of their age are still going on, two months after the military's brutal takeover.

A few days ago 17 professors from Chonnam University in Kwangju were arrested without being given a reason for their arrest. Our government still seems to be greatly afraid of the students and their teachers, not only in Kwangju or Seoul, but all over the country. At the high school the teachers have to report on each student on a daily basis, with such information as who missed class, when, for how long, and why.

At the colleges and universities the professors are made responsible for the presence of all students. They have to report on an hourly basis, preparing lists of the students who are loyal and reliable and, naturally, those who are not reliable.

Seoul, July 21, 1980

## Can feminist and anti-draft movements meet?

by Peter Wermuth

At many of the conferences, teach-ins, and workshops held during national anti-draft week, Oct. 13-17, a major topic of discussion was the continuing debate over whether women should be drafted and how women can play a greater part in the struggle against the new militarism.

These discussions criss-crossed with those being held by women's liberationists on the same topic, as in the Los Angeles Women's Congress of Oct. 3-5, where a full day was devoted to the question "Should Women be Drafted?"

### WOMEN, WAR AND FEMINISM

An important contribution to the discussion was provided in an article by Jean Bethke Elshtain in the Nation (June 14, 1980) entitled "Women, War, and Feminism," which has important ramifications for youth involved in anti-draft work.

Elshtain advances beyond the earlier arguments over whether or not women should be drafted by arguing that there is a need to develop a theory articulating the anti-militarist dimension of women's liberation. She writes, "feminism must secure a conceptual foundation rather than a series of ad hoc responses to crisis . . . feminists must conceptually appropriate those aspects of feminism that would help . . . in defining . . . responsibility of citizens . . . against war in our nuclear age."

Throughout her article Elshtain asserts that posing a theory of feminist anti-militarism would bring the historical struggle of women against war into focus for today's anti-draft movement. By developing a theoretical statement on women's liberation's relation to anti-war struggle, she says, women will be able to see themselves as an integral part of the struggle against the new militarism today.

"Such a feminist politics and theory," she con-

cludes, "would at least begin to pave the way for a dialogue with that potential constituency that has thus far been alienated from the feminist movement along the lines of class, race, and traditional belief."

It is not only women who need such a "conceptual foundation" for connecting to the anti-war struggle; youth too can find new allies in the anti-draft fight if a theory of liberation is taken just as seriously as coalition-building and activity.

### THEORY FOR FEMINISM, ANTI-DRAFT

At least that is what the recent experience of several anti-draft coalitions suggest, where tactics and strategy have played a far more important role than any theoretical development. Just consider this statement from a so-called anti-draft "leader": "sure women should be forced to register (for the draft) . . . that way, we'd get more women to our demonstrations, and the movement would grow" (!).

The truth is that while many women's liberationists joined anti-draft groups after the initial threat of being included in draft registration, the anti-draft coalitions did not respond by dealing with issues of women's liberation.

Clearly, much more is needed to involve women in youth struggles. Is not feminism's vision implicitly anti-militarist? Cannot the movement develop a critique of this racist, sexist society in the midst of its anti-draft?

Elshtain from the side of feminism has begun to look. The only trouble is that she never says precisely what kind of theory, or what relation of theory to practice, is adequate for connecting the struggles of women and youth. In posing the need for a theory of liberation to bridge the two movements, however, she is responding to a very objective need — the need to bring women and youth together through a new relation of theory to practice.

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# ESSAY ARTICLE

## China's state-capitalism vs. voices of revolt

by Bob McGuire

Two events, China's H-bomb test in the atmosphere and the upcoming trial of the Gang of Four are in the headlines. However these cannot be separated from what is behind the headlines: China's latest drive for production and the resultant conditions of labor. Instead of the whitewash that articles such as those in **Beijing Review** and **Business Week** alike make of production and the economy, as if they were statistical data that could be worked out mathematically to arrive at reality, we need to begin by looking at what the conditions of life and labor are in post-Mao China.

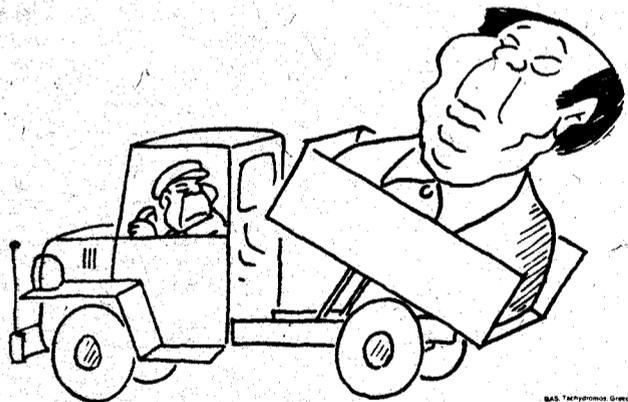
### I. Actual conditions of life and labor

**Autumn Fruit**, one of the many underground papers in what has been called Peking Spring, reported in April, 1979 how workers live in the factory housing and dormitories of Beijing No. 1 Cotton Textile Mill.\* The writer Wei Mingqing's description of this first new mill built after the Chinese Revolution of 1949 recalls the report of the Kerner Commission in 1968, or exposures of prison overcrowding in the U.S. Built for 1800 workers, 25 years later the factory housing holds 4500 workers and their families.

The 6000 people in the family quarters occupy an average space hardly larger than a double mattress, 2.9 square meters each. Even factory Party officials in the first-class dormitory have no more than twice that space, but at the other end of the scale, the 20 worst-off families live five people to a nine-by-twelve foot room.

More than 500 married couples have no rooms at all, but live separated in exclusively male and female dormitories. Female workers with children have to stay in the "Mama Quarters" — each room occupied by two female workers with two children each or three female workers with one child each. One woman worker said, "After working our shifts, we can neither eat nor sleep. Usually, when one child gets ill, all the children in the quarters get ill, too; when one cries, all the others cry. Every day is an exhaustion for us."

More than one-third of the workers have heart disease or other occupational diseases, and the workers' children have not escaped either. The overcrowding has even led to problems such as sexual molestation of many young girls. Over 150 youth from the project have been arrested—but only one student from a recent class had been accepted into the city teachers' college, and only as an athlete because he was very tall. As some young people, long married but still homeless, said: "Even birds have nests and rabbits have dens. But we have hardly any space to insert a spike. How can we be called masters of the country!"



Even if we turn away from this reality and look at what the leaders are saying, we see that they can't avoid talking about the workers in production. Because Communist Party Chairman Hua Guofeng was the one, even at this year's Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, to wrap current economic plans in "Mao Zedong Thought", and has spoken against using only money incentives without political pressure to spur workers to produce more, many identify him with the "ideological" tradition of Mao as against the pragmatist Deng Xiaoping, vice-chairman and dominant member of the Political Bureau.

Yet it was that same Deng who was behind setting up Party organs, including the revived Secretariat, that enormously increased the day-to-day control of the Political Bureau over production facilities and Party cadres everywhere. The truth is that all of Mao's "heirs", whether Hua or Deng or even the "Gang of Four",

\*Available in **SPEAHRhead**, Bulletin of the Society for the Protection of East Asians' Human Rights, Issue No. 4/5, p. 28. It has reprinted translations from many other unofficial papers as well, including April Fifth **Forum**, **Human Rights**, and **Exploration**. Subscriptions are \$8 per year from **SPEAHR**, PO Box 1212, Cathedral Station, NYC 10025.

learned from Mao an ideology not separated from production, but used to cloak in Marxist language the state-capitalist drive for more surplus value and production.

### II. Productivity—and Militarization

At the same session of the National People's Congress, Hua also promised that to remedy the disasters of previous Five Year Plans, there will be both a Ten Year Plan and a Five Year Plan to begin in 1981. But to prepare for them, the "eight-character policy" of "readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving" the economy will continue for a second year.

The intention of this policy is to lay the basis for receiving investments of Western capital and high technology, and the phrases refer to de-emphasizing heavy industry in favor of agriculture and light industry; giving more authority to plant management to push for profit, including laying off workers; closing inefficient plants and raising technical level to world scale.

The pressure to extract world-level productivity from the workers is now, even if the world-level technology might not arrive until later. Vice-Premier Kang Shien stated in **Business Week** (5-19-80): "If we can use our hands to manufacture that high-quality product, we will. We do not want to substitute machines for hand labor." The eight-character policy is the current language for the primitive accumulation of capital in China.

调整 改革 整顿 提高

READJUSTING    RESTRUCTURING    CONSOLIDATING    IMPROVING

Labor is to be paid under the policy of "to each according to his work", or piece wages. Marx long ago said that piecework was the typical best system for extracting more surplus value while decreasing relative wages under capitalism.

The pretext for this transformation of the economy, is the need to be in conformance with "objective laws"—that is, the law of motion of capitalist society. It is not new that state-capitalist China is subject to it. What is different is the rising number of relations with the world capital market, and so with the world economic crisis as well. Like the U.S., China is demanding "reindustrialization", even though its first industrialization was so incomplete that the vast majority of agricultural labor is still performed with hand tools.

Economist Xue Muqiao has declared (**Beijing Review** No. 12, 1980) that the "iron rice bowl", or right to keep a job, is over, as factories begin laying off. He promises these workers new jobs, never mind that seven million unemployed are acknowledged by the state, and state-run industry will not even need new workers if automation raises productivity as planned. The suggestion of unemployment pay, even one quarter of a worker's wage, is found only in the suppressed unofficial papers (**Enlightenment**, available in **SPEAHRhead**, No. 6/7).

The government has stressed that 3.5 percent more of national production was utilized for consumption last year. Although the added consumption is not evenly spread around, especially to peasants on poorer land and the 60 percent of workers who are excluded from productivity wage increases, still that does make a difference.

But even if there are leaders supposedly for better conditions for the workers, who decree that more consumer goods are produced instead of massive capital construction, the truth is that the increase in consumer goods that results is meaningless compared to the limitless appetite of the military. The **Business Week** article mentioned above has a good deal to report on the eight-character policy, but it fails even to mention the military.

The supposedly small increase in China's defense budget understates the degree of militarization because much of what is called science or technical research has no purpose but for the military, including research for their ICBM. Presently two different departments are involved in nuclear research, even though there are no plans to use nuclear power for electricity.

Does anyone doubt that for a country as poor as China to explode an ICBM, an enormous portion of its labor that could go to real production ends up instead at the bottom of the Pacific Ocean. What is the difference that the next national plan allocates a certain small amount more for consumption compared to the continued drive toward full militarization of the economy.

That is the price the masses continue to pay for the big power dreams of the leaders. The upward rise of Mao's China in the eyes of the U.S. and all others dated from China's testing of their first atomic bomb.

The upcoming trial of the "Gang of Four", which is equally the trial of Lin Biao's generals and Chen Boda, Mao's former secretary, comes just when there is such accommodation to Western capitalists that it makes



Three members of dissident group Li Yizhe: Wang Xizhe, Li Zhengtian, Chen Yiyang.

serious the possibility of full-scale nuclear-armed military alliance with the U.S. Settling accounts now with Mao's opponents when Mao himself went so far as to tilt toward U.S. imperialism in the middle of the Vietnam War, is an attack on any opposition in the Army today to cementing that alliance—and preparation for any other alliance that the leaders may decide on.

But any splits in the leadership now as before, remain within the ruling class, and have nothing to do with the proletariat, which has no direct voice in these high councils.

### III. Voices of Revolt

When the National People's Congress in September formally eliminated from the Constitution the "Four Big Freedoms", including the right to put up wall posters, the objects of their attack were the expressions of today's dissent. The many unofficial papers which had used that clause in the Constitution as a basis for distributing their ideas and demands without Party approval had been suppressed after a year-long campaign of harassment and arrests. While invoking the terror of officially-sponsored purges during the Cultural Revolution, the state closed down Democracy Walls in Peking and all over the country, but the voices of dissent they represented have not been eliminated.

Demonstrations by peasants, workers, students and retired soldiers continued in 1979 in the face of regular police attacks. One hundred railroad workers demonstrated against their bosses in September, 1979, until police hauled them away. (see **Index on Censorship**, Feb. 1980).

Wang Xizhe, like the others who put up the massive wall poster "Concerning Socialist Democracy and Legality" in 1974 under the pen name Li Yizhe, was thrown in jail for that challenging act. Far from endorsing the legal system of Deng in China today as answering the demands of that wall poster, he joined other activists in raising the class question against it. He began his essay, "Struggle for the Class Dictatorship of the Proletariat", in the unofficial paper "People's Voice" in Canton by denouncing the new religion that the "Gang of Four" was the root of all problems, not the social system they headed, which he calls a capitalist mode of production without capitalists.

The Canton branch of the Communist Youth League invited Wang and the others of Li Yizhe, as well as members of other underground papers in the city, to participate in a forum on the decision of the Party Central Committee to eliminate the "Four Big Freedoms". That they were invited, and that this Party meeting became a platform for condemnation of a Central Committee decision, does not testify to the openness of the Party today. Instead it shows how deep the opposition remains that even within the Party there was a defense of what last little shred of democracy the many demonstrators had fought for over the last two years.

Regardless of what the Chinese leaders do in the name of striving for productivity and global power politicking, we cannot be swept up in those questions. To carry out their own grand schemes, they must move to try to still the voices of mass opposition. It is these voices of revolt that we want to express our solidarity with. They will yet have their say.

\*In **Undercurrent**, No. 1. Subscriptions are \$6 per year, \$10 air, from 30 Queen's Road West, Hong Kong.

### Marxist-Humanist Writings on Post-Mao China

"Post-Mao China: What Now?" in **New Essays** by Raya Dunayevskaya

"Chiang Ching, Hua Kuo-feng in Post-Mao China" in **Sexism, Politics & Revolution in Mao's China**

"Suddenly, U.S. Imperialism has a 'China Card'" in **Draft Perspectives 1978-79**, July, 1978 **N&L**

"Chinese Invasion of Vietnam: global implications" in April, 1979 **N&L**

## Quebec march to end War Measures Act

Montreal, Quebec—On Oct. 16, the tenth anniversary of the War Measures Act, I marched in a massive demonstration to demand an end to that infamous law, because even today, ten years later, it has not been repealed. This, despite the fact that in the Duchaine report released Oct. 9 even the government states very clearly that the events of October, 1970 served as a "pretext for repression."

There were at least 5,000 of us on the march, 15 abreast, of all ages and occupations. But what was most visible was a whole new generation of youth. The march started from the site where the "1837 Patriotes" were imprisoned—"Au Pied du Courant"—and wound up to the Quebec Police Headquarters, the prison where the "1970 Patriotes" were held. Along the way people cheered and waved from their houses. At the Parthenais prison we heard from speakers who were victims of the 1970 repression.

And now, ten years after, what is life like in Quebec? What is making Trudeau keep the War Measures Act in reserve? Unemployment, automation (with a new name: "L'informatique"), and revolt dominate the scene. Many of the youth are discouraged, and with good reason. The two-year CEGEP colleges and universities have become giant "knowledge factories." Unemployment is so high that it can hardly be measured.

But there are also voices of revolt and ideas of freedom in the air, and the Oct. 16 march is only one of many signs of change. Labor struggles have been intense. More than 2,500 federal clerks from Quebec, faced with an indecent contract, demonstrated Oct. 9 in front of their union offices in Ottawa to demand the resignation of union president Andy Stewart. Stewart settled for a contract with no cost-of-living, no reduction in working hours, terrible pay, and no protection from retaliation for those who participated in the strike. In

## Russell Means distorts Marx

Detroit, Mich.—At the Black Hills International Survival Gathering this past July, former American Indian Movement leader Russell Means delivered a scathing attack on what he considers to be "Marxism." (Akwasasne Notes, Summer, 1980). It is a tragic setback to Native American political thought. It is far worse than just in no way addressing the critical, concrete questions facing Indian peoples and their freedom movements.

Means is trying to close off the very pathways by which both Indians and others could work out theory vitally necessary if the freedom movements are not to perish. Such theory would begin by grounding itself in the realities facing Native Americans and in their ideas for transforming it.

In attacking "Marxism" he first lumps together all those oppressive governments like Russia and China, that claim to be Marxist, but in fact practice its exact opposite — state-capitalism — with the humanism of Marx, a philosophy of liberation which is the total antithesis of what we are living under in capitalism. By such a distortion you can hardly begin to comprehend the vision of a new, human society, that Marx put forth.

Far from "despiritualizing" philosophy as Means claims, Marx put humanity, the human fight for freedom, as the center of his philosophy, at the center of how he viewed the world. "Human power which is its own end," "new forces and new passions arise in the bosom of society," these were Marx's expressions both for how class society would be overcome and how humanity would build a new non-exploitative society.

Yes, it was "materialism" in the sense that it would occur in this world, in humanity's fight for freedom here and now. But it was as well an "idealism" in the sense that it was the human idea of freedom and the striving to achieve it which was the spirit of humanity's movement. Thus, Marxism can be said to be neither "materialism" nor "idealism" but the truth uniting both. Marx's own expression for his philosophy was "a thorough-going naturalism or humanism."

Means lumps all whites together as "brainwashed" by the system, apparently forgetting the worldwide revolutionary mass movements of even the last five years such as those in Latin America, South Africa, Portugal, Iran and Poland.

The final tragedy, and the reason that his speech does nothing for the Indian Freedom movement, is that his concept of revolution—in great contrast to that of Marx—is pure retrogression. Though Means claims to ground himself on the Lakota traditions, many of which are beautiful and profound, and to oppose the "European materialist tradition of despiritualizing the universe," he can state, "when the catastrophe is over . . . I don't care if it's only a handful of Red peoples living high in the Andes, indigenous people will survive and harmony will be reestablished." That's "revolution"? After thermo-nuclear holocaust, that is when we will have "harmony"?

—Susan Van Gelder

Quebec, government retaliation has been severe—over 2,600 days suspension. The resistance continues, especially among women, who are 75 percent of the workers.

The most bitter struggle is at Cap-de-la-Madeleine, where all 800 employees of Reynolds Aluminum are still locked out. I walked the picket lines with them, and they told me about the miserable conditions. Highest pay is \$6.54 an hour after 30 years service; safety conditions are terrible, as is speed-up; there are no established vacations, and no parental leaves. One young man, still in training, lost an arm in a machine the day his child was born. The company has allowed no talks since March 21. Premier Levesque has sided with the company and even called the union the "damn CSN."

After one demonstration two workers were jailed when the company called the local, provincial, and anti-riot police, who proceeded to occupy the town. The following night 12 more workers were jailed on phoney charges. There are still signs of violence all over the outside of the plant. Reynolds sent letters to the wives of the strikers, asking them to influence the "bread-winners," but the women strikers formed a women's committee to fight this offensive.

The forces of revolt that are frightening both Trudeau and Levesque are not only in the factories and offices. One of the greatest recent events was the victory of the Caughnawaga Mohawk Nation in stopping Hydro-Quebec from building a dam across the Lachine Canal which would have flooded their homeland. Quebec's biggest export is electric power, and its colonial condition is so extreme that the government seems willing to flood the whole province to produce more megawatts, as it has already done at James Bay. And it always hits Native peoples the hardest.

What the government had best realize, though, is that the Native people, especially the youth, will not allow any more flooding. One young Caughnawagan told me: "Whatever they decide, this land is our home, and they will only get it when there's not a single one of us left alive."

Today's revolts are not just a new period of activity but also of ideas. They will not be dead-ended by the narrow nationalism of the Parti Quebecois, with its anti-labor, anti-Native policies. Independence means something very different to the youth today. They are not relying on "leaders" to win elections, but on their own self-activity and that of others who seek a new society. Ten years after: "La Lutte Continue!"

—Bernard Gauthier

## 'Shogun' stereotypes Japan

New York, N.Y. — I waited impatiently for the television showing of "Shogun" because it was about my country of ancestry, and because I hoped that it would counter the racist attacks by American corporate auto officials and the media, in general, against Japanese "society."

In an unusual show of unity, the Japanese-American community has openly condemned "Shogun." Even the Pacific Citizen, a liberal national Japanese-American newspaper, on its front-page, head-lined "Rambona Shogun," meaning Outrageous Shogun. This was heartening, but then I read In These Times, the social democratic paper, which presented a one and one-half page laudatory review about the aesthetic and magnificent pageantry of Japan, and it made me wonder.

"Shogun" is being denounced widely by the Japanese-American community because although it painted an elaborate and fascinating portrait of early 17th century Japan, it went overboard Hollywood-style, in typifying all the old-hat stereotypes.

First of all, it was a very bad idea not to translate the Japanese language for viewers. I understand that this was done to counter ethnocentrism, but I also wondered whether the screenwriter thought that this would convince the American public that Japanese culture cannot be understood, so why try?

The portrayal of the Japanese women, including even Mariko, the heroine, as pure and terribly "feminine," and willing sacrificial lambs, at once, for disobeying their lord, reinforced the idea that all Japanese women are only to be taken and enjoyed.

Thirdly, the overwhelming message was that Japan is an insanely militaristic culture, where citizens are likely to kill themselves at the drop of a sword. Of course, Japan had its share of feudal culture, and personalities to boot, but does anyone believe that that ethic was not laughed at, or questioned, by the people when the lords weren't looking?

Through such mystification of Japanese society, and by making no attempt to explain it and to show its more rebellious side, we are left instead with another instance of bourgeois culture at its ebb, trying to make us believe what we know is not true.

The great Japanese film director, Akira Kurosawa, when approached first to direct "Shogun," said, "It's not Japanese."

—Teru Ibuki

## BLACK-RED VIEW Two views on Black Thought

by John Alan

Black American Thought was the subject of two essays published this summer. One was written by Lou Turner, co-author of Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought, and published in the August-September News & Letters. The other essay, by Dr. Manning Marable, a member of the executive committee of the National Black Political Assembly, appeared in The Socialist Review, #50-51.

Although both essays appeared to be dealing with the same subject matter, Black Thought, they are as different in content as night is from day. The rebellion of Black youth in Miami last spring points out sharply and concretely the differences expressed in these essays.

That rebellion in Miami was not a reenactment of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, either in theory or in practice, because the youth there had categorically rejected the old "theoretical" ideas of the 1960s as shown by their defiant refusal to even listen to the established Black middle-class leadership.

Miami has, in a very concrete way, raised the problem of: "What is theory and where does it begin?" This is not simply an intellectual question seeking an intellectual solution, but a practical problem made necessary by the concreteness of the Black struggles for liberation, which are nothing less than the transformation of the present capitalist system of society.

The essay, "Black Thought/Black Reality," by Lou Turner, has approached this fundamental question of theory and practice. He has grounded Black thought and consciousness in the mass movements of liberation—Pan-Africanism, Garveyism, and the industrial trade unionism of the I.W.W.—for the first four decades of this century.

The 40 years since WWII, Turner points out, witnessed the birth of different powerful historic forces which have determined world history: the Civil Rights Movement in the USA, the emergence of the Third World, the East European revolutions, and the cold war. "It was in this period that Black intellectuals tried both to respond to the new forces and realities of the objective situation, and to search for a unifying philosophy for the various conceptions and tendencies surrounding the Black question."

But, as Turner points out, once Black intellectuals fail to ground their thought in Black mass movements

of liberation, their ideas become alienated from Black thought and Black reality, even though they consider themselves Marxist.

In contrast Dr. Marable, in "Black Nationalism in the 1970s Through the Prism of Race and Class," seeks the failure of the Civil Rights Movement in the conflicts of "ideologies" between the integrationist and the nationalist Black political forces as they struggle for hegemonic control over the Black masses.

Marable argues that historically all Black protest movement with mass appeal and with a working class base is nationalist or has nationalist appeal. The failure of the Black nationalist to understand the race/class nature of the movement led both to the decline of the influence of the nationalist elements in the movement and the demise of the movement itself.

The validity of this argument may be questionable, but what is crucial to any understanding of what happened to the movement is what Marable leaves out. He fails to link the division within the ranks of Black leadership to Black reality and what the Black masses were doing to transform that reality which separated themselves from the Black leadership.

### IDEOLOGIES VS. BLACK REALITY

For Dr. Marable, the problem is to find the right strategy to direct the Black masses leftward, i.e. "the right ideology." He proceeded to trace the "ideological" history of the movement from Black Power to Pan Africanism to "Marxist-Leninism-Mao tse Tung Thought" as if ideology was spun out of the head of a Baraka or a Carmichael, without showing how these ideologies are related or not related to Black reality.

The reality is that the problems and failures of the Civil Rights Movement cannot be reduced to the simplistic concept of integrationist vs. nationalist, but are within the relationship of leadership to Black masses in motion and how they failed to express in thought, the practices of the masses at each new stage of cognition—Black Power, rebellions in the cities, Black caucuses in the unions, etc.

Nor is it simply a question of adopting a socialist Black Agenda or recognizing abstractly that the Black working class, "can assume the central responsibility for the national liberation of all Afro-American people." The problem is far more difficult. It demands, not a "new ideology," but the working out of methods to achieve a unity between Black thought and Black reality.

# OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

## Iraq-Iran war and its ramifications: points for discussion

Were it not for the many retrogressive actions of the Khomeini regime, the mullahs' moves against the Left—against women's liberation, against the workers' shoras, against the struggles for self-determination of the Kurds and other minorities—the overthrow of the repressive Shah and freedom from U.S. imperialism would have made "taking sides" an easy task. Even so, the Iranian revolution, which has not run its full course, deserves our solidarity, but not uncritically.

The issues involved are far too complex, their ramifications and by-products of the war with Iraq (which aims at replacing the Shah as policeman of the Gulf in the name of "the West" for the glorification of the "Arab Nation") too unclear for anyone to rush to conclusions.

The alleged "Arab Nation" consists at the moment of King Hussein of Jordan, famous mainly for: sitting on the fence, counter-revolutionary expulsion of the P.L.O., and now jumping openly to take sides with Iraq on the shaky ground that this alliance will provide them with "strategic depth" in a war against Israel. Actually the war has provided Israel with a respite from the "unanimity" of its Arab opposition and placed the P.L.O. in the position of being forced to choose sides between two of its most "radical" allies.

When you consider that Iraq and Syria are both countries run by opposing factions of the Ba'ath Social-

ist Party, are on opposite sides in the war, are separate hostile nations—with Syria supported by both Qaddafi and Russia for opposite reasons—the possibilities of a global conflict involving the entire Middle East in a nuclear holocaust becomes a distinct possibility.

U.S. imperialism is, as usual, playing both sides, supplying Saudi Arabia with the most sophisticated weapons, deploying naval forces for alleged "defensive reasons," but it will allow neither side to win. It cannot openly declare in favor of the counter-revolutionary regime in Iraq which it favors, so long as the U.S. elections are in progress. The unsolved hostage situation in Iran compels declarations of neutrality, vague promises of parts supplies, and stern warnings that Russia had better follow suit.

The contradictions within the Arab world are overwhelming. In the Muslim religion, there is the split between Sunni and Shiite and between Arab and Persian (Iranians); there is the conflict between Pan-Arabism and Pan-Islamism, the role of the "progressive left" and the personal power struggles of the self-appointed leaders unrelated to either religion or ideology. Then there is the P.L.O.

The war, if it continues as it seems to, will succeed in destroying the refining capacity not only of Iran, but also of Iraq, damage that it will take no less than five years to restore. The damage to the economy of Iran will more than frustrate the objectives of the

Iranian revolution "for the moment." It puts a question mark over the revolution in the whole Middle East.

While the oil wells themselves are in little danger of destruction, Iran will be forced to rely on the sale of crude alone for its national income. When the fires that have been raging at the Abadan refinery for weeks subside, it will be nothing but rusted scrap iron. New catalytic cracking towers, compressors, pumps and other vital refinery equipment must be imported from abroad before the refining capacity of Iran can be made functional. The loss of its 610,000 barrel-a-day production will be felt more by Iran than by the West, which can step up production elsewhere.

Iran will depend solely on crude oil shipped from the offshore terminal at Kharg Island, which has also been bombed by Iraq but could probably be made operational within a year of the end of the war, again, provided that they can get the piping, compressors and pumps from the industrialized West to do the job.

The opportunist Trotskyists acting as if Khomeini's "anti-imperialism" is the equivalent of Lenin's is a shameful class model for any Left to follow.

What, it seems to me, we should do is to express solidarity with the Iranian revolutionaries, not its statist leaders like Bani-Sadr and the reactionary mullahs headed by Khomeini.

—Peter Mallory

## Stop murder of Kim Dae Jung!

South Korea's new self-appointed tyrant, General Chun Doo Hwan made sure a military court sentenced Kim Dae Jung to death on Sept. 17 and gave severe sentences to 23 equally-framed co-prisoners. Kim is a focal point of democratic opposition to military rule in South Korea. His real crime is that he won a relatively free election against former dictator Park in 1971 and was hounded and kidnapped by him in 1973 in Japan where there were, and are today, protests on his behalf.

In May, 1980, General Chun put Kim in jail and, against the mass demonstrations demanding popular presidential elections, issued a draconian martial law decree. When the whole population of Kwangju revolted, he brutally murdered hundreds with the help of Korean troops released from under joint U.S.-Korean command. Kim was in jail when the revolt he is being blamed for took place. By his own count Chun now has arrested over 46,000 in a law and order campaign against the "anti-social."

The silence of the Carter administration on Kim's death sentence tops off 30 years of massive U.S. military presence in South Korea. That presence which began with a war to gain an outpost in Asia, has meant a series of tyrants for the Korean people and continues to promote the total opposite of human rights.

No amount of repression will stop the students from rejuvenating their movement whose protests as long ago as 1960 toppled the U.S.'s first puppet dictator, Syngman Rhee. Nor will it stop the workers from continuing their strikes against subsistence wages, long hours in sweatshop conditions, and a 5.3 percent unemployment rate — with no benefits when out of work and a wild 49 percent inflation rate.

The freedom movement in South Korea has always had a dislike for the totalitarian Communist regime to the north, where Kim Il Sung has named his son as the heir to that throne. What everyone is saying these days is just how much alike those two regimes are, with the added hatred of the U.S. government as the perpetrator of the one in the south. The South Koreans will yet find their own way, determined by neither this global economic crisis, nor by super-power politics, nor by home grown tyrants like Gen. Chun.

Stop the execution of Kim Dae Jung!

## Brazil

Since Sept. 25, 240,000 sugar cane workers have been out on strike in the famine-stricken northeast region of Brazil. They struck right in the middle of harvest season. Strikers have been beaten and terrorized by police and gunmen hired by planters in the countryside. Even in the middle of the city of Recife, planters openly threaten workers with pistols. Scabs are being brought in, in trucks with armed guards.

The workers have remained peaceful. Their strike was decided by secret ballot and they try to stay within the restrictive Brazilian labor laws. Last year, another strike ended after a week when employers and the government made promises of improvements in wages and conditions. But none of these changes were implemented. Workers' miserable wages, which literally bring them

close to starvation, have not even kept up with Brazil's 108 percent inflation rate.

Some opposition politicians advised the workers to hold off during the current period of rightist assassinations and attacks on the Left, labor and student groups. To these suggestions the workers replied bluntly and simply: "We're dying of hunger."

At a time when North American politicians and labor bureaucrats are applauding the free trade unions in Poland, their silence on the repression against free trade unions in Brazil and Latin America is telling. After all, the AFL-CIO or Carter have more influence with U.S. "ally" Brazil than with Poland or Russia. But they remain as silent now on Brazil as they did last spring when the government jailed union leaders and broke the mass strikes in the Brazilian auto industry. The bourgeois press and TV also make sure that North American workers never hear of these Latin American class battles.

## New generation of robots



The U.S. car industry is buying robots like crazy so that even if the current sales slump comes to a halt it won't mean a recall of many auto workers. One of the most frightening developments is a new generation of robots that can "see" and "feel." The new robots are moving into new areas — machine loading and light assembly — to set a new pace of work.

The latest which GM has introduced is called PUMA (Programmable Universal Machine for Assembly) which they term "interchangeable" with people. If a robot which sets the pace breaks down, a human is sent to fill in. While this is the most complete domination of the machine over the human being ever conceived, it is sure to produce the greatest revolts from the people it is torturing in the factory and the unemployed it creates outside.

## Turkey

We received the following letter from a Turkish student in the U.S.:

Turkey experienced yet another military coup on Sept. 12, the third time in the past 20 years that one has been staged against the Turkish people.

The attempt to portray the military dictatorship as a neutral authority above class antagonism, striving to free the nation from corrupt politicians and "terrorists" hides the fact that the coup represents the militarization of an already very repressive state. The Turkish state is characterized by a legal code adopted from Mussolini's Italy, fascist terror gangs (the Grey Wolves) and counter-insurgency units — all aimed at striking against the fundamental rights of the people.

In large cities, especially in the shanty-towns, police and soldiers have conducted house-to-house searches, confiscating weapons and leaving the people defenseless against the Grey Wolves, the paramilitary organization of the fascist National Movement Party.

At the Tarsis factory in Izmir, workers went on strike to protest an attempt to fire 10,000 co-workers en masse. The military crushed the strike with tanks and guns.

The army now plans on being a decisive force in "collective bargaining" between workers and employers, and it is clear they don't plan to step aside soon. They do not wish to leave the political arena until they have succeeded in fully suppressing the nationwide popular resistance.

But neither these nor other measures will be able to prevent the struggles and strikes of workers, students, and peasants from continuing.

## Britain

Two dialectically opposite events, both concerned with the prospect of nuclear war, took place in Britain in September. In "Operation Square Leg" army officers and senior civil servants rehearsed governing a Britain devastated by nuclear bombs from a network of underground bunkers. It was coolly announced that the police and army would round up "subversive or potentially subversive persons," in other words, those who oppose the madness of nuclear militarism.

"Operation Square Leg" is part of Thatcher's extensive preparations for a showdown with Russia — preparations which include inviting the U.S. Air Force to base 150 cruise missiles at Greenham and Molesworth, and spending five billion pounds on a new fleet of Trident missile submarines.

Against this insanity, the 2,000 people who marched to Greenham Common airbase to protest against the cruise missiles and the renewed nuclear arms race, showed that Thatcher will not be allowed to plunge us all into World War III without a struggle right here in Britain. However, within the demonstration itself, serious shortcomings were evident.

A Labour MP, Joan Lester, speaking from the platform sought to reduce the role of the mass movement to placing pressure on the Labour Party to carry out disarmament. The Stalinists and Trotskyists present were loud in condemning NATO's nuclear war machine, but they supported the Warsaw Pact's doomsday weapons as purely "defensive."

Instead of tail-ending state-capitalism, whether in the guise of British social democracy or Russian totalitarian Communism, the movement needs to be rooted in the masses own self-activity and be guided by a total vision of human liberation.

—Dick Abernethy