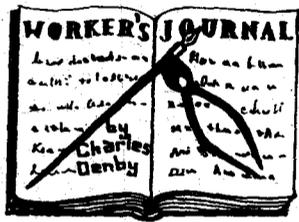


## Today's Black leaders and Rosa Parks



by Charles Denby, Editor

Author of Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal

Recently I was invited to a birthday party in honor of Mrs. Rosa Parks of the Montgomery Bus Boycott. I was very glad to go because I have always held in the highest esteem what she did for the Civil Rights Movement some 25 years ago. She was not the first person to refuse to ride in the back of a segregated bus, other people did similar protests years before and were arrested and sometimes shot and killed. But the objective situation was right at the time she took her stand and her individual act gave birth to a whole movement.

However this birthday party, and a scholarship fund that they are trying to establish in her name in Detroit, seem very far away from what Montgomery represented. It was after all a Black working-class mass movement that shook Montgomery and the whole South. But this party was one where I did not see any workers. Everyone there seemed like upper class people. Most of them were City Council, bigshot people, and TV crews from all the stations.

(Continued on Page 5)

## Reaganomics: militarization of the American economy and society

by Olga Domanski, National Organizer,  
News and Letters Committees

The battle lines were clear within 24 hours of Ronald Reagan's Feb. 18 declaration of war on the American people, the presentation to Congress of his Economic Plan. Members of the UMW picketed the White House to oppose cuts for victims of Black Lung disease. Youths carrying signs to protest "Welfare for Chrysler but no CETA Training for Us" were dragged to police vans. While well-heeled and well-organized conservative groups held a press conference to threaten an all-out campaign to defeat any legislator who voted against the Plan, the AFL-CIO warned that if the Plan went through, we would see long, hot summers that would make the '60s look tame by comparison, and the 18-member Congressional Black Caucus pledged to present its own Plan by mid-March. Illinois Representative Gus Savage of that Caucus summed it up best: "Reagan is Robin Hood in reverse—robbing from the poor to give to the rich."

None had needed to wait for Feb. 18, and what had at first been billed as Reagan's "State of the Union" speech, to see this as the reality of the U.S. in 1981. All one needed to do was watch the \$8 million Jan. 20 coronation in Washington, D.C. — boasting an array of mink furs, diamond jewelry and private planes such as the Capital could not remember ever seeing in such abundance — and then read the story that same week of the thousands of unemployed in Chicago, Ill. who jammed the streets around a steel company to fight over the 100 job applications that had been rumored would be given out.

Nor did anyone need to give Reagan his "first 100 days" to prove where he intended to take the 230 million Americans he had deluded himself into thinking had given him a "mandate."

- Only two days after his coronation, Reagan invited representatives of the misnamed "Right to Life" (read: anti-rights) group into his Oval Office in order to reaffirm his pledge to seek a Constitutional ban on abortions.

- The very first act of his misnamed Secretary of Education (read: Ignorance), Terrel Bell, was to throw out the federal rule requiring schools to provide bilingual instruction for non-English speaking children, 70 percent of whom are Hispanic. It affects over 500 school districts across the land.

- At the very first press conference held by his misnamed Secretary of Defense (read: War) Caspar Weinberger raised the specter of the Neutron Bomb — which destroys "only people," but leaves property intact — so horrifying a weapon and so dehumanized a concept that Carter had dropped his plans for producing it as quickly as he had raised it in the wake of the worldwide outrage against it.

- And so anxious to "get cracking" was Reagan's new Secretary of State, Alexander Haig — who had been Richard Nixon's closest comrade-in-arms and had now been nicknamed CINCWORLD (military jargon for "commander in chief of the world") — that he didn't even wait for the inaugural balls to be over to get to work. As if there could be any doubt, he seized the first opportunity to spell out this Administration's end to even a pretense of concern for "Human Rights" around the world.

### ONSLAUGHT AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS

It was that same total contempt for human rights that was spelled out for the homefront by Reagan's new Budget Director, David Stockman. Indeed, so cold-blooded were the slashing cuts he handed Reagan to propose to Congress that they were immediately dubbed the "hitlist." They included everything from extended unemployment benefits, food stamps (on which 22 million Americans now depend), the CETA (Comprehensive Employment Training Act) job program, Medicaid, ADC and the child nutrition program, to student aid, the arts, urban development and rural electrification.

All these are to be given the death blow at the very moment when unemployment in the U.S., which averaged 7.4 percent in 1980, is expected to go past 8 percent next year; and even government officials admit it is much greater if you include all those millions who have been out of work so long they no longer are considered "in the job market." In cities like Detroit the official unemployment rate is now 13.7 percent and rising daily. Over 60 percent of its population is already on

(Continued on Page 9)

## 'Philosophy and Revolution'

Now out in a German edition

Review of English language edition  
from Journal of Chinese Philosophy

Excerpts from a review of Raya Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution* in *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 7 (1980).

The recent work of Raya Dunayevskaya is an interesting and scholarly attempt to give a Marxist interpretation to one of the vital ideological and philosophical problems of our time, viz., the relationship of theory and practice.

The author has constructed a remarkably broad outline of the problem, commenting on extensive portions of the works of both Hegel and Marx. In addition, she critically analyzes the interpretations given the insights of these great philosophers by such diverse theoreticians as Plekhanov, Lenin, Bukharin, Stalin, Trotsky, Mao and Sartre. With the exception of Lenin, she finds them all sorely wanting in their understanding of Marx's penetration into the proper relationship of theory and practice, as well as Hegel's special contribution to that philosophically revolutionary insight...

The reader frequently is astonished by the ease with which Dunayevskaya moves from deep theoretical penetration of the intricacies of the Hegelian dialectic to a tactical analysis of political and revolutionary activity in the light of that theory. She has an extraordinary talent which appears to have been fine-tuned through great scholarship, originality of thought and a lifetime of political activity.

IN HER REJECTION of both the Soviet and Chinese models for creating a Marxist humanist society, Dunayevskaya makes some salient points. Nevertheless her arguments for the most part are overstated on the basis of textual evidence. More importantly, their general thrust represents a serious misinterpretation of Marxism-Leninism. Her representation implies that no viable socialist movement has existed since the death of Lenin, and nearly a century after the death of Marx, history has yet to produce a politically viable society wherein the economic substructure can be designated in any way, socialist...

The notion of viability is central to the understanding of the Marxist epistemological relationship of theory and practice. The term 'viable' connotes the characteristic of being able to survive in the outside world.

(Continued on Page 9)

Raya  
Dunayevskaya

Algebra der  
Revolution

Philosophie der Befreiung  
von Hegel bis Sartre

Europaverlag

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# WOMAN AS REASON

by Terry Moon

March 1981 is not only the month of International Women's Day, it is also the 110th anniversary of the Paris Commune that began on March 18, 1871. It was on that date that the army of Versailles tried to take the Cannon from Paris thus leaving it defenseless against enemy troops. They were stopped by the milkmaids of Paris who, throughout the two short months of the Commune, revealed themselves as the most creative revolutionaries, fighting not only to overthrow the existing reactionary regime, but in the process, holding fast to a vision of what they wanted to create.

To celebrate the month of March and to delve into the particular dimension of women as revolutionaries, I would like to discuss three revolutionary women: Elizabeth Dmitrieff, Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, and Isobel do Carmo.

The Russian woman, Elizabeth Dmitrieff, went to London in 1870 to ask Karl Marx what she could do to help create revolution. Marx suggested that she go to Paris to organize a women's section of the First International. It was there, when she was only 21 years old,



ELIZABETH  
DMITRIEFF

that she organized the greatest women's organization of the Commune, Union des Femmes Pour la Defense de Paris et les Soins aux Blesses (the Women's Union for the Defense of Paris and the Care of the Wounded).



**women-  
worldwide**

The trial of four Navajo women in Big Mountain, Ariz. ended in a mistrial on Jan. 10 when one of the jurors failed to appear in court. The women had been arrested in September for trying to prevent government crews from fencing their land. Vast mineral wealth was discovered on the land, which has been shared by Navajo and Hopi tribes for centuries, and the women have been fighting both the government, which has ordered the relocation of 5,600 Navajo, and the Hopi Tribal Council which seeks exclusive ownership of the land.

Information from Big Mama Rag

If the mothers of three Black children known to have been murdered in Atlanta, Ga. had not formed The Committee to Stop Children's Murders, police might still be ignoring the tragedy. One mother, Camille Bell, who was an organizer for SNCC during the Civil Rights Movement, said, "It takes a lot, to get people concerned about a child out of the ghettos. The feeling of the middle class—who cops and bureaucrats tend to be—is "These people don't care about their children, so why should I?" But a lot of these ghetto people care deeply. Their kids are about the only things they have in the world." Contributions can be sent to the committee c/o Willie Mae Mathis, P.O. Box 42257, Atlanta, GA, 30311.

Information from Off Our Backs

Adaide Foppa, a Guatemalan human rights activist, was kidnapped in Guatemala City where she had gone to visit her mother on Dec. 19, and has not been heard from since. She had been in exile since 1954 in Mexico and was a founder of the feminist magazine fem. Feminists have joined with several other groups to protest her kidnapping and the government's refusal to investigate. Protest letters can be sent to Pres. Romero Lucas Garcia, Palacio Nacional, Guatemala City, Guatemala, C.A. Society for Women in Philosophy Newsletter

As part of an effort to boost the declining birth rate, Russian officials have begun to talk about the "joys of unwed motherhood" and to warn about abusing the right to abortion (the only available form of birth control). In addition, the government issued new rules on Jan. 1, banning women from 460 blue collar jobs such as truck driver and construction worker. Russian women are still held responsible for the majority of household chores and the government assumes that by keeping them off heavy jobs they will all go home and have children. Perhaps they should check "the other side of the coin."

# Women as revolutionaries—in history and today

When one reads of the Union des Femmes<sup>1</sup> it is obvious that as far as Dmitrieff was concerned, it was a chapter of the First International. The general staff of the Union des Femmes was composed of four working women and three intellectual women.

In her report to the Commune's Commission for Labor and Exchange, Dmitrieff insisted that "the product to the producer, can be effectuated only by means of free productive associations . . ." She also took up the shortening of the working day and equal pay for equal work. Women immediately began to sign up for these new workshops that the Union des Femmes was prepared to set up. But the same day as their planned mass meeting of women, May 18, 1871, the Versailles troops entered Paris. The Union des Femmes fought to defend the Paris Commune so that the new way of life they were planning could become reality.



BERNADETTE  
DEVLIN  
McALISKEY

When I heard that Bernadette Devlin McAliskey had been shot for her support of the hunger strikes of H-Block/Armagh prison, I thought back to what had so struck me about her back in 1971-1972. She never separated the fight for freedom of Irish Catholics and that of American Blacks.

After visiting Angela Davis in jail in 1971 she said, "Her fight is like mine, for the liberation of her own people. . . Were Angela Davis not black and were she not Communist, she would not be today in solitary confinement in prison. She is a Communist, but I am not. I am opposed to the Russian system because it is state capitalism. But I am opposed to the political oppression here."

Devlin also attacked the racism of the British against the East and West Indians, Pakistanis, and Africans—the so-called "guest laborers" in Britain. She fought the racist Immigration Bill. When British paratroopers coldly murdered 13 Derry citizens on "Bloody Sunday," January 30, 1972, Bernadette compared the killings to South Africa: "This is our Sharpeville. We will never forget it."

Her vision of not only a united Ireland but a socialist Ireland represented the highpoint of the Irish Civil Rights Movement—a fact that becomes clearer as that struggle degenerates from a mass movement to acts of terrorism.

1) The best book to read on the women of the Paris Commune is *The Women Incendiaries* by Edith Thomas.



ISOBEL DO CARMO

The Portuguese Revolution of 1975, like the Paris Commune of 1871, revealed working women as creative revolutionaries.<sup>2</sup> That was so whether it was Portuguese domestic workers seizing a building to have a place to discuss the revolution, women production workers occupying factories, agricultural women taking the land or the Women's Liberation Movement raising not only the question of abortion, but of male chauvinism within the revolutionary movement.

The activity of women included that of one of the most revolutionary groupings, the PRP/BR (Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat—Revolutionary Brigades) headed by Isobel do Carmo. The PRP/BR helped organize revolutionary councils of workers, soldiers and sailors.

It is for this reason that Isobel do Carmo has been sitting in jail since 1978 with her 3-year-old son. She is charged with "moral responsibility" for activities of the PRP/BR, some of which were committed before the overthrow of the fascist Caetano regime. Do Carmo remains in jail despite the passage of an Amnesty Bill in 1979 giving amnesty to all "misdeeds of a political nature"; despite the illegality of her trial.

To Marx, women's fight for freedom was crucial because it revealed just exactly how total, how all encompassing a revolution must be if it is to free every segment of society. Women revolutionaries have always brought something absolutely critical to revolutionary struggles and that is their knowledge of how total the uprooting of the old society must be, along with a vision of a new society built on human foundations.

2) For more information on the women in the Portuguese revolution see "Will the Revolution in Portugal Advance", 1976, by Raya Dunayevskaya. Order from News & Letters.

## Thoughts of an ADC mother

Flint, Mich.—Things are hard being on ADC. Even before Reagan came into office and started talking about cutting back on the welfare, it was a struggle to support my children and myself. During some of the coldest days this winter there was no heat in my house because the furnace was broken and my landlady wouldn't fix it. Welfare wouldn't help me get the furnace fixed or pay the down-payment on a new place so I could move.

I'd rather have a job than be on aid, but there are no jobs. Some of the factory workers here used to look down on people on welfare. But now there have been so many lay-offs that they themselves have to go on aid. Reagan says he's going to cut back on food-stamps and on unemployment benefits. His ideas and programs are not going to make the lives of Black people any better, no matter what he says.

Already people are talking about what they will do if these cutbacks come. There will be protests, maybe non-violent, maybe violent.

As a woman, I know I am strong, because of all I have to live through every day, for my children and for myself. I think it's important that the thoughts of women on welfare are heard, that our feelings are recognized.

—Black welfare mother

# WOMAN AS REASON AND AS FORCE OF REVOLUTION

WRITINGS OF  
RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

ON  
WOMEN'S  
LIBERATION

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News and Letters Committees

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## Follow-up

Ed. Note—The following are updates on stories which we printed in last month's News & Letters.

Clerical workers at Blue Cross/Blue Shield in Detroit voted on Jan. 22 in favor of representation by the UAW. Workers suspect that the company will use the union election as a scapegoat for lay-offs which they anticipate as a result of a long-planned reorganization. It is hoped that the UAW will help fight the lay-offs now that they are in.

Workers who had been on strike for 18 weeks at 34 Arnolds Drug stores in Michigan, maintaining a 24-hour picket line even during bitter cold weather, accepted a new offer from the company on Feb. 21 and have returned to work. Details of the settlement are not known as we go to press.

# Viva la Huelga—Boycott Texas citrus!

*Editor's Note: The following report is largely taken from El Cuhamil, newspaper of the Texas Farm Workers' Union (TFWU).*

On Jan. 14, 1981, the TFWU launched for the second time an organizing drive in the citrus groves of the Rio Grande Valley. The TFWU declared a general strike against the whole Texas citrus industry at the International Bridge when 200 workers gathered there and voted to strike. The workers, both documented and undocumented, voted to stay out of the fields and not to pick the oranges and grapefruit.

The same day, close to 50 workers walked out of the field belonging to Alamo Citrus and formed a car caravan. They formed a picket line in front of the world's largest pink grapefruit producer, Texsun, and blocked the entrance to the juice plant. Later, the workers dumped Texsun grapefruit and orange juice on the road in front of the plant, launching a national boycott against Texsun and all Ruby Red and Star Ruby grapefruit from Texas, including the Trophy Brand.

## Boycott Texsun, Big Tex, Ruby!

On Jan. 15, another 100 workers walked out and set up picket lines in front of the Texas Citrus Exchange, dumping cans of Big Tex orange juice and starting the process for a national boycott against Big-Tex Juices. The picketers urged the workers in the plant to support the strike by demanding a union contract inside of the plant. That same night, nearly 30 workers from Brownsville, voted to support the strike.

The demands of the workers include \$10 per box of oranges and \$8 per box of grapefruit, eight hours per day guaranteed, toilet facilities in the fields, \$5 per hour, an insurance plan, a pension plan, and a written contract, with the TFWU as their representatives.

During the course of the strike, the TFWU has called for support of the Salvadoran revolutionaries in their struggle for national liberation. The TFWU has demanded that the U.S. stop all economic aid to the fascist junta in El Salvador immediately.

As the general strike continues with picketing in several fields, the Ku Klux Klan has announced that it is going to patrol the border to stop the flow of undocumented workers. In addition, the Migra (immigration) has intensified its harassment of workers and its attacks against the undocumented workers. The Migra searches vehicles, buses and trucks trying to intimidate undocumented workers into not participating in the strike.

This harassment has not stopped the strike, as on Jan. 26, more than 100 orange pickers from Alamo Citrus walked out and set up picket lines in front of Alamo Citrus packing shed, urging the workers inside to demand union recognition inside the plant. Then 40 workers at Donna Citrus walked out on strike and joined the picket lines. Their grove had been harvested once, and the only grapefruit left was at the top of the trees. Workers were not making even \$1.00 per hour.

## Work stoppage at Art Steel

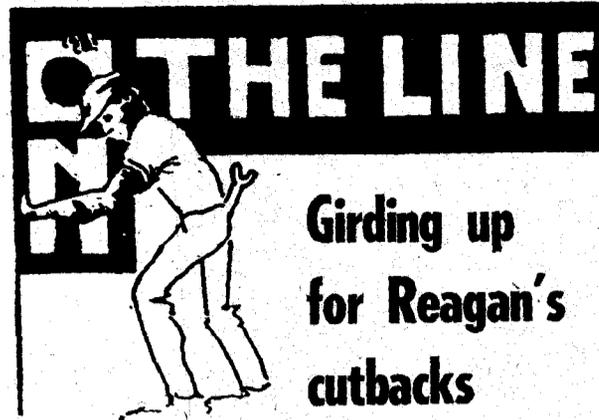
Bronx, N.Y.—We had a work stoppage at the Art Steel plant at 170th St. on Feb. 6. We all stopped working because we were being harassed by all those bosses from the office—Cantos, Kay and their boys.

All morning they had been standing over us, pushing us to produce more, telling us how to work, how many pieces they say the machine is supposed to make, and so on. They stand there with a watch in their hand and time us.

We said we're not going to work like this. We all stopped, every department. But the union came along and told us, "Go back to work, we'll settle this peacefully in the office." But here is how they settled it: we all got docked half an hour's pay for the work stoppage. And all the big bosses are still down here walking all around just watching us. They want us to work right to the last minute.

In the near future the same actions will be taken against the employers to stop them from harassing us. We're short-handed as it is now since they sent some workers to the other plant, and you can't do but so much anyway.

—Art Steel workers



Girding up  
for Reagan's  
cutbacks

by John Marcotte

Workers at my plant are worried about what Reagan's budget cuts are going to mean for us. Our families depend on food stamps even when we're working because we are low wage workers. We need daycare for our children. Some of us came through the CETA program, and some young workers hoped to go to trade school or college.

And what will happen to our jobs? Reagan called for a freeze on government buying of office furniture, and that's what my plant makes.

## LAY-OFFS, RACISM, WAR

The young workers will catch hell first. Already you never know week to week if you will be laid off, transferred to another plant or put on night shift. "The only thing you can be sure of here, is you can't be sure of anything," is what the young workers say. One put it this way: "I see the company can do anything they want to you and the union won't say a damn thing, as long as it's by seniority. We have got no rights."

The military draft is also on the minds of young workers. With Reagan supporting every dictator who says he's friendly to the U.S., workers say he will land us in a war for sure. We were talking of the racist murders around the country when young Black workers brought up the draft. They said, "Why should I have to fight for 'my country' and kill people who never did anything to me? What has this country done for me? I've had to do everything for myself."

## REAGAN'S PHONY SOLUTION

Reagan said on TV that "the productivity of American workers" is the key to everything. He recognizes in his way that labor is central. So he wants to solve his mess all on our backs! When he says, "We have to give American workers the tools to produce more per worker," he is calling for more Unimation robots, more speed-up and more workers thrown out of work by those machines.

The Polish Communist leaders also tried to save their economy by telling their workers to work harder for less. In Poland they double meat prices, here they cut food stamps. But we all know what the response of Polish workers has been—Solidarity, the free trade union movement of strikes and occupations. We will yet hear from the American workers.

As a South American worker told me the day after Reagan's inauguration spectacle of millionaires, "If things keep going this way, there will be a revolution in this country like the first one 200 years ago." It is very real when you are in the factory, not sure if you will still have a job tomorrow, and going home to a heatless New York apartment where at least six have already frozen to death this winter.

## Boycott Shell Oil

Springfield, Ill.—In our present struggle for justice here, we are confronted by the corporate power of Shell Oil Company. Recently Shell opened a coal mine in Elkhart, a small distance north of here. They have employed only out-of-town scabs at this mine.

The most deplorable aspect of this is that our own city-controlled utility company, City Water Light and Power, has contracted to purchase the coal from this mine at a time when the unemployment rate among area construction workers exceeds 50 percent. And if this isn't enough, the City Water Light and Power is asking this city's residents to pay 25 percent more for their water.

The Coalition of Area Labor (C.O.A.L.) has organized a boycott of Shell Oil because of this scab mine. Shell has responded to our struggle by stonewalling any attempt to negotiate a settlement and has filed a lawsuit against C.O.A.L. for organizing this boycott.

For all those who read this we urge you to boycott all Shell Oil products and bring an end to this outrageous injustice! This oligarchical city has for years squeezed out any attempt at labor solidarity. At the same time the city proclaims itself as the one-time home of that famous union organizer, John L. Lewis.

—Boycott supporter

# FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

## Wage cuts, givebacks threaten all workers

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

Earlier this year, Chrysler workers, both union and non-union, voted to accept the Fraser-Chrysler plan to cut wages and benefits in order to keep Chrysler from bankruptcy. It is plain that the Chrysler agreement has laid the ground for eroding the wage standards, benefits, and improved working conditions won by hard struggles and sacrifices of workers through many years.

This will apply to all other industries—steel, rubber, transportation and non-union workers as well. In direct contradiction to U.S. workers losing ground in their labor struggle, Polish workers reached the high point in their struggle when they won the right to be paid while on strike. The message from Polish workers to U.S. workers should be loud and clear.

Why are GM and Ford willing to hold out this "carrot" called profit-sharing after so many years of fighting sharing the profit with workers in decent pay, benefits, etc.? Could it be a slight-of-hand trick to cover up all that the proposed agreement would take away? What good is "profit-sharing" to any worker whose plant has been or will be moved to a foreign country or to a right-to-work state?

I understand that Chrysler is now building a new automated and unimated plant in Mexico. At this moment, when the auto industry is crying for an embargo against "imports," they themselves are the ones who are importing parts and engines which are assembled here and called "American cars." The corporate structure itself is responsible for being unable to meet so-called "foreign competition." They are the ones who make the wrong decisions. Workers have not had anything to say about what was produced or how it was to be produced.

Workers are not responsible for "gas guzzlers,emons, and defective cars." If management expects

concessions and sacrifices from workers, the workers should have in the agreement equal pay and equal rights on what, how, where and when to build, including the "sacred cow" of line speed.

## Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—Workers here are still talking about Reagan's speech and the cuts he is promising, and what people are going to do—especially young people. The young and the poor now in the street will be especially hard hit by Reagan's plans. He has promised the retirees who vote that their pensions won't be cut, but he will drop the social security benefit for going to college, or for dependents. This is while young people won't be able to come into our industry for years and years.

With two shifts back at Fleetwood, you still have to have six years to be working. Next year is the bigger cut, when they bring in all the robots to the Body Shop, Dept. 3, where they now have 300 to 400 people on welding guns, will look like a solid line of robots. Then comes a further reduction of workers when the plant moves.

GM has been threatening to demand reopening of the contract to get wage concessions, but we have just a year and a half to go on the contract. I expect the contract won't be reopened, but when GM and the UAW go to the bargaining table next time in 1982, there definitely will be some cuts.

When Mayor Young says that 60 percent of Detroiters are on some form of public aid there are no other jobs to go to. You could go to Houston, but you take a big cut in wages and have no union besides. Reagan is targeting for attack the big cities with higher union wages, even though they are low compared to some other industrial countries, although not Japan. If Reagan succeeds, soon it is possible that the U.S. will have the lowest wages of any major industrial country.

—Body Shop worker

# THEORY / PRACTICE

## China's 'Gang of four' trial charade and the so-called Cultural Revolution; media and the global crises

by Raya Dunayevskaya  
Author of PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION  
and Marxism and Freedom

### Part II

#### WHAT WAS THE BEGINNING? WHAT WAS THE 'CULTURAL REVOLUTION'?

Let's get back to fundamentals when Mao succeeded in overthrowing the corrupt Chiang Kai-shek, the puppet of U.S. imperialism.

The new China, Mao's China, stood up to the whole imperialist world and won national independence. He did so at the head of a peasant army which asked the workers to continue working. It did maintain its national independence and put the country on its feet. It openly admitted that it was state-capitalism but claimed that the masses need not worry about it, since political power was in the hands of the Communist Party which would protect them. It also won another war — the Korean War! It gained help from Russia and embarked on its own Five Year Plan, restoring both the national economy, which lay in ruins, and peace.



Chinese peasants demonstrate for food and democracy.

There was no doubt that the Chinese were, at first, enthusiastic about the new regime which, though it had openly designated itself as "state capitalist," talked of "a coming socialist society" since "political power was in the hands of the Communist Party." Meanwhile, it remained a "four class" government — and the working class was the one that was poorly paid and housed.

Things changed in the mid-1950s. What shook China was exactly what shook up Russian state-capitalism calling itself "Communist" — the rise of a totally new opposition from below, from the Left, from the masses, who hungered for a true socialist society and were willing to die for it. It came to a climax with the 1956 Hungarian Revolution.

Mao, however, was under the illusion that because he was nowhere as evil as Stalin, he could escape such a development. He declared: "Let 100 flowers bloom; let 100 schools of thought contend." They did just that — for exactly six weeks. Whereupon, Mao took a 180-degree turn and said that any who had illusions that they would create a Hungary in China would soon learn what state power really meant.

In suppressing the voices of revolt at home, Mao began to look not only for a different foreign alignment, but a new world axis — a Third World axis to challenge both the U.S. and Russia. On that there were no serious differences within the Politburo, especially since the Sino-Soviet orbit had been transformed into the Sino-Soviet conflict and Mao had gained the adherence not only of Aidit, who headed the massive Communist Party of Indonesia, but of the actual ruler of that land, Sukarno.

Within and without, 1965 did, however, become the breaking point. First, Mao could no longer claim that China was the "besieged fortress" when U.S. imperialism was raining bombs on Hanoi, not on Peking. Secondly, in place of a Peking-Djakarta axis emerging, what broke out in Indonesia was the most horrifying counter-revolution. The veritable bloodbath — of revolutionary nationalists as well as Communists — put an end to that kind of Third World axis. By that time, not only did some of the Communist Parties which had sided with China in the Sino-Soviet conflict — such as the Korean CP — begin calling for a united front of all Communists, including Russia, for the defense of Vietnam against U.S. imperialism — but so did the majority of Mao's own Politburo.

The one who remained with Mao that year was Lin Biao; he came out with his speech, "Long Live the Victory of the People's War," which propounded that, just as the Chinese Revolution had been victorious by having the peasant army "outflank" the cities, so the Third World could win by outflanking the industrialized world. As was characteristic of Mao when he became a minority, he disappeared.

When he re-emerged, it was with his greatest brain-storm — the so-called Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution — which, along with proclaiming the order, "Bombard the Headquarters!", issued the slogans, "Russia is Enemy Number One" and "Learn from the Army!"

Though the so-called Cultural Revolution was no proletarian revolution, the youth who took Mao at his word that "it is right to rebel," took that to mean a right to rebel against the Communist bureaucrats just as against capitalists. Indeed, they called their Communist leaders "capitalist roaders," and the revolt from below soon escaped the confines set by Mao.<sup>4</sup> It was at that point that the order was given to put down the revolt and Lin led that counter-revolution. There was no doubt by that time that the main axis of power had moved into the Army, Lin's army.

From the start of the Cultural Revolution, I had asked whether the deification of Mao was really mummification: "The discerning reader cannot help but wonder whether Mao is being deified — or mummified. Is Lin living in the reflected glory of Mao, as the press holds, or is Mao being allowed to live out his remaining years as a deity only because he transferred total authority to Lin, the head of the Army?" (See News & Letters, October, 1966)

#### THE MAO-LIN DISPUTE

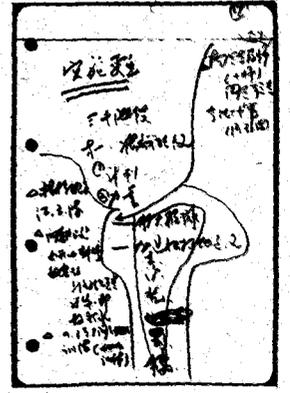
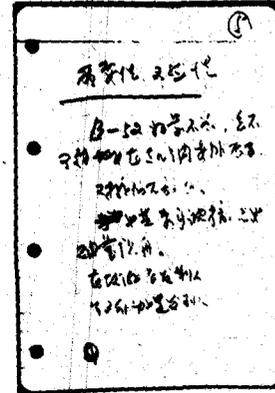
In 1969, the very year when the Ninth Congress declared Lin the "closest-comrade-in-arms" of Mao, the border disputes between Russia and China began on the Ussuri River. The internal differences as to how much power the army takes, and how much the state, were related both to these confrontations in particular, and to foreign events in general. It was almost directly after that very Congress that had specified Lin as Mao's "successor" that the dispute between Mao and Lin began.

It had been clear to Mao — who was no novice either in faction fights or in wars, in maneuvers or in amalgams with super-power imperialists — that there truly was a difference between them, and that Lin stood in the way of his 180-degree turn to relations with U.S. imperialism. It wasn't Lin who began a so-called assassination plot. It was Mao — who began removing Lin from the power he had just granted him.

From the Borgias to Stalin to Mao, there is certainly nothing new in the fact that rulers, as they prepare to remove one of their "colleagues," promptly accuse the one to be removed of the very crimes they are themselves committing. Thus Stalin, at the very time he was sending up test balloons to prepare for his pact with Hitler, accused General Tukhachevsky of just that, and had him executed in the infamous Frame-up Trials — conducting all this secretly—in camera. Thus, it was when Mao began accusing Lin of dealing with "foreign powers," that Mao, Zhou and Deng were themselves testing the warm waters of U.S. imperialism — which, at that particular moment, was equally anxious, not just to establish friendly relations with China "for them-

selves," but to get off the hot seat of the Vietnam War and the newly-opened Nixon war against Cambodia. Yes, 1970-71 — as that red carpet began being prepared for Nixon's arrival in China in 1972 — was quite a period of world tensions.

By that time, Lin did, indeed, have an active faction and while it is doubtful whether any of the "explanations" that Zhou, Mao and Jiang were propagating about him were true — and no one really knows whether Lin was in the airplane which crashed in Mongolia — there is proof of the "Outline of Project 571," which was a plan to fight Mao. Lin's code-name for Mao was B-52.



Extracts from the "Outline of Project 571."

One of the proofs that outside Communists — including those who had been as close as the Albanians — didn't believe the story of Lin being a "capitalist roader" and did surmise correctly that it was a question of the attitude to U.S. imperialism, was Enver Hoxha's statement: "Did Lin approve the negotiations with Kissinger and the decisions that were taken?" The reference was to the Nov. 30, 1971 Chinese press release about "those engaged in conspiracies or plots," by which Mao very obviously meant Lin Biao.

In a word, because Lin's downfall came within a few days of Kissinger's trip to Peking, it was not hard to reach the conclusion, so scrupulously kept secret by Mao, that Lin would, indeed, have been too serious an obstacle to "normalization" of relations with the U.S. The two years, 1971-73 — between the fall of Lin and the time when the Chinese people first learned the story as officially concocted by Mao and Zhou, who read it to the 1973 Congress — were years in which it was clear that so much power had gone into the Army during the Cultural Revolution that even the death of Lin and the calumny against him had not succeeded in eliminating the Army opposition to Mao.

What remained of the Party leadership and that of the government which had not been destroyed by the so-called Red Guards was in the hands of Zhou Enlai; and poor Jiang Qing was left as mistress of the reformed opera. With Mao's approval, they had to begin "rehabilitating" many of the old party leaders. Headed by Deng and focused on the economy as elaborated by Zhou and Deng, China was to continue on its state-capitalist road without Mao's pretenses of "permanent, uninterrupted, continuous revolution."

#### WHERE TO NOW?

Where the main Western scholar specialists on China were talking nonsense — from Schram's Permanent Revolution to Karnow's From Revolution to Revolution to Revolution — we entitled our analysis, "From Contradiction to Contradiction to Contradiction" (See my Philosophy and Revolution.) That is to say, it should have been clear from the Yen-an days in 1937 — when Mao, in proclaiming his philosophy in On Contradiction, had denuded the concept both of the Hegelian objectivity and Marx's class conflict — that what characterized Mao Thought was endless class collaborationism, whether that was with Chiang Kai-shek in the war against Japan, or against Chiang Kai-shek but with a "four class bloc" of national state-capitalism; whether that was Sino-Soviet "unbreakable friendship" or Sino-Soviet conflict, with China as the center of "internationalism."

It is true that in taking a somewhat independent road from Russian state-capitalism and desiring not to travel the Russian road to full bureaucratization, he had attempted some aspect of the Marxian concept of continuous revolution in the sense that revolution does not stop with the conquest of power. But once one reduces both the philosophy of revolution and revolution itself to the concept of Great Helmsman — to Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung, fragmented into bite-sized pieces without any respect for historic conditions and mass movements from practice that would be inseparable

(Continued on Page 10)

### News & Letters

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4—See the three Sheng-wu-lien documents reproduced in Peking and the New Left: At Home and Abroad (published by the Center for Chinese Studies of the University of California, Berkeley, 1969). Consult also The Revolution is Dead, Long Live the Revolution, compiled and edited by "The 70's," May 1976. See also the Nov. 1980 issue of N&L which contains an essay-article by Bob McGuire which includes the newest information from the opposition group within China, the Li Yizhe.



More than 300 persons marched Feb. 8 in Alexandria, La. in support of a Federal judge's school desegregation order. The judge's order was recently under attack by three white students who refused to change from an all-white to an integrated schools.

## BLACK-RED VIEW

### Baraka's 'Confession' on Anti-Semitism

by John Alan

Amiri Baraka, (LeRoi Jones) was featured in the Dec. 17, 1980 issue of *The Village Voice*, which published his very long article entitled "Confessions of a Former Anti-Semite." This "confession" purports to chronicle Baraka's "Descent into the Wasteland of anti-Semitism," and how he finally escaped by "moving to the left" and away from the ideas of cultural nationalism when he began to read Nkrumah, Cabral, Machal, Sobukwe. He states: "For these African revolutionaries, the enemy was imperialism, not white people, not Jews."

Baraka obviously wants to rid himself of the odium of anti-Semitism. This is understandable, when today, right-wing forces are spouting anti-Semitic and anti-Black filth. For a Black public figure to permit himself to be tagged as an anti-Semite would mean that he is either a fool or insane.

However, Baraka's "confession" is not a confession but a lengthy convoluted attempt to justify his past role as an anti-Semite — as if a confession of fault is the next thing to innocence. He shamelessly blames his anti-Semitism on the Black Liberation Movement! He says: "Anti-Semitism grew in the Black Liberation Movement as it moved further into cultural nationalism. For instance, as whites were put out of such organizations as SNCC and CORE, the "Jewish influence" over these organizations was cited as one reason why." Yet Baraka fails to mention that he, along with Ron Karenga, were the prominent theoretical architects of cultural nationalism, with all its "atavism," "African neo-traditionalism" that he now finds as one of the sources of anti-Semitism in the Black Liberation Movement.

Of course Black cultural nationalism or narrow nationalism is not the source of anti-Semitic racism in the United States. Rather, it is the system of exploitative class relationships within capitalism that gives birth to and nurtures racism in both its anti-Black and anti-Semitic forms.

It is the common experience and knowledge of Blacks that racism is the "American Way" to dominate and exploit Black labor specifically, and all labor in general.

#### SCHISM IN BLACK MOVEMENT

Black liberation is the opposite of all racism, and if, under certain circumstances the racism of anti-Semitism manages to rear its head as an ideology in a segment of the Black Movement it is never an ideology that flows from the process of Black Liberation, but comes from an imposed ideology, from the outside which has taken advantage of the contradictions that exist within the movement. The Black movement, like all other movements for national liberation, does not escape these contradictions, whether it is the contradiction between theory and practice, or the class contradiction between the middle class leadership and the broad masses of Black workers, women and youth.

The expulsion of whites from SNCC and CORE, was far from being an act of anti-Semitism — the ending of "Jewish domination"—as Baraka has implied. Anyone with knowledge of this period would know that the crucial schism was not between Black and white members in SNCC and CORE, but within the Black movement itself.

This schism was forced upon the movement; first, by the revolts of the Northern Black ghettos, and second, by the failure of non-violence to breach the walls of Southern segregation. In both instances the incomplete philosophical-theoretical base of the movement was destroyed by the spontaneous activities of the Black masses whose understanding of Black reality was far superior to that of the leadership.

A split between SNCC, CORE, and the more con-

servative Black organizations was made possible because SNCC and CORE were for a time closer to this new Black consciousness which wanted to change reality beyond the democratic liberal concept. However, even the more radical leaders failed to draw theoretical and practical conclusions from the activity of Black forces from below other than to express it under the ambiguity of Black Power. Black Power in turn, suffered from interpretations placed upon it by the leaders' own subjectivity, which was not grounded in the concrete activities of the Black masses in motion.

#### BARAKA'S WASTELAND

Baraka is archetypical of those Black intellectuals who bring ideas to the Black Liberation Movement, rather than developing ideas, dialectically by criticism, out of the Black Liberation Movement itself. Their intellectual role has been the tragic one of attempting to substitute their own subjectivity for the consciousness of the mass movement. Amiri Baraka has been very clear about this in one of his nationalistic poems: "When I die, the consciousness I carry I will to black people. May they pick me apart and take the useful part, the sweet meat of my feelings. And leave the bitter b.s. rotten white parts alone."

In a nutshell, the above is the "wasteland" of personal subjectivity that Baraka has yet to tear himself away from. In his confession, Baraka says that most of his ideas and theories were tested in day-to-day practice, not simply allowed to grow malignantly reactionary in an ebony tower. But, nowhere does he mention how these ideas were tested, including the idea of anti-Semitism, which he claims he got from the Sunni Muslims.

The main characteristic of the confessions is that it moves through a realm of "ideas" grounded in nothing but his own feelings, whether it was art-for-art's sake in the Village, Black Nationalism tinged with anti-Semitism after the assassination of Malcolm X, and finally, "socialism." "A socialism that finds its passion" in the slogan: "Zionism equals racism."

To accept the concept that Zionism equals racism is to obfuscate the whole idea of self-determination, both in the Middle East and in Africa, because its main purpose is to draw the Third World peoples and American Blacks into support of State Capitalist Russia in its struggles with American imperialism for dominance in the Middle East. Furthermore, it is a thinly disguised racist slogan because it picks out Zionism, the abstract Jew, as an agent of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East, while totally ignoring the other agents, in the so-called Arab World, like Sadat's Egypt. Suck thinking is just another "wasteland" for middle-class Black thought.

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## WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

The scholarship being established, not only for Blacks but for whites, too, was being sponsored by the Detroit News. This is the same Detroit News that 25 years earlier was one of the most racist papers in attacking what was happening in Montgomery. It is still racist. And here they were sponsoring a scholarship in Rosa Parks' name. The Black officials at the party could never have become officials without the last 25 years of the Civil Rights Movement, but their honoring Mrs. Parks as well seemed almost using her, and moving in a very different direction than the idea she represented.

You could feel this in the fact that they are so tied to the establishment politics of this country and seem incapable of helping to create a new movement to fight today's mounting racism. They seem instead to be celebrating their own narrow successes.

#### RACISM ON THE LOOSE

Meanwhile racism is on the loose in this country today, and is almost as vicious as it ever was. Although Black people made some gains after Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, it was only a short time later, with the rise of the KKK and the taking away of voting rights, that lynching was the true law and any Black person could be gunned down for merely saying "yes" or "no" to any white over the age of 15 years. This was known among Blacks as "the American way of life" and it continued under the civil rights struggles of the late '50s and '60s.

Those child killings in Atlanta, Ga. over the past 18 months have seen no one charged or arrested. I firmly believe that that could not have happened in the 1960s, nor do I believe that if it was happening today in some wealthy white neighborhood, such as Grosse Pointe, near Detroit, the law would not have caught the killer. Reagan now says he will be sending some FBI to help in the search. But this is the same FBI which was supposed to protect Civil Rights workers in the South during the '60s, and instead made deals with the KKK that the FBI would not appear until well after a crime was committed.

#### REAGAN'S BLACK ADVISORS

One thing which bothers me about Reagan is that he has a few Black advisors who support his policies. One of them was on TV a few days ago and the first word that he said was that he opposed the affirmative action programs, because that is what caused the KKK to grow. Supposedly if you went for employment and the company said they have to hire Blacks instead, you would get angry and join the Klan.

I wonder if this advisor had ever heard of the Klan activities in the South during the 1920s when there was no such thing as affirmative action? Or the night riders who went all over the South beating and killing Blacks?

Next this adviser says he is against trade unions and for right-to-work laws. It made me so mad I had to turn off the TV. I was wondering where such a Black man was raised who would say that he opposed trade unions. Does he really know what unionism has meant to working people all over this country, and especially in the UAW where there was a long, bitter struggle to organize in which people gave their lives? Does he know about jobs in the South before any union, where every Black worker had to owe the white foreman money? We were expected to borrow money — from two to five dollars—and pay 25 cents on the dollar every week. You did not have to worry about what you owed him, but you better not miss the interest payment. Many white workers did not have to borrow anything.

How can we stop the gains we have won from being rolled right back like they were after Reconstruction? Those that came out to Rosa Parks' dinner, who have benefited from the movement of the last 25 years will not be the ones to prevent it. Only a new mass movement, headed in the same direction as the original Montgomery Bus Boycott, can stop a rollback and move us in the direction of the reality of freedom—total freedom.

### Michigan Readers— Raya Dunayevskaya on Tour

- U. OF MICH., ANN ARBOR, Thurs., March 24, 4 p.m. Rackham Amphitheatre—"Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution"
- NEWS AND LETTERS/DETROIT, Sun., April 4, 3 p.m., 2832 E. Grand Blvd.—"The Relationship of Marx's Philosophy of Revolution to Organization"
- WAYNE STATE U., Tues. April 6, 7 p.m. Student Center Building, Room 289—"China: What Is Behind the Trial of the 'Gang of Four'?"

## REAGANOMICS AND ITS OPPOSITION—INCLUDING N&L

One month of Ronald Reagan as President of the USA is enough to convince me that this capitalist system needs to be completely demolished — and now. Each time Reagan takes an action, whether it is in Latin America or against working people in this country, I can see how he got the idea from what Jimmy Carter was doing. Going back to liberalism can't help us. And neither can just organizing one more demonstration. It seems to me that if we could begin to free our minds from all the deadly limits of this old society, that would be a big step toward the creation of a new one. What I want to say is that reading N&L often is a great help to me in freeing my mind.

**Revolutionary youth**  
New York

I've been reading N&L, but even more I've been using it in my work. I tell friends to check-out a certain article, and we talk about it. Also, it has opened a lot of eyes about the conditions here that specifically affect Black workers in nursing. The main thing, though, that the paper shows is about self-rights; individuals working together can do something rather than always waiting around on the union.

**Jacobi Hospital worker**  
Bronx, N.Y.

Reagan is aiming all his cutbacks at the working class. Doesn't he know that crime will go up? Black, white or Chinese—what else will young people be able to turn to? Young people want jobs.

Reagan might as well turn this into a Communist system. Isn't that what the Communists do, put everything for the military and put food, clothing and shelter second? That's why the people of Poland are rebelling; the government was oppressing the poor people there.

**Black youth**  
New York

N&L gives me a more rounded perspective of the Left, as I read it along with other major Left papers. I take issue with many of the positions taken by the writers and contributors, but always keep in mind that my differences with N&L are dwarfed by my differences with this capitalistic system.

As a union member, I also look forward to your labor articles and letters. I was chairman of the election committee of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1464, to organize my employer—the City of Gulfport Public Works. After a one month campaign in December, we voted Jan. 2, 26 to 8 in favor of ATU. We are now struggling to build up our membership, which is already up to 25. I hope to send you a contribution when we get our first contract this Spring. Inflation is eating us alive and I pray we get some kind of COLA clause.

**A proud workingclass fighter**  
Gulfport, Florida

The only difference I can see between the economic ideas of Reagan and all the others is that he is just a little further back in the cave.

**Autoworker**  
Los Angeles

I'm now in the Boston area, working as a cook in a restaurant with a friend (radical lesbian). We are attempting to get medical and dental benefits instituted, which would help the low wages. I get \$4 an hour. Rents are not comparable to pay scales. We two share a room in a house at \$150 a room.

They say that unemployment here in Boston is only 5.9 percent. So we are to ignore all the layoffs and agree that my (our) difficulties must surely be my (our) own failure. Such is this life . . .

I miss N&L. I enjoyed the radical history lessons Raya was giving. Sometimes my analysis hits walls; the liberals start making sense. But then the contradic-

tions move in. But there is little time and our theory is muddled . . .

**Long-lost friend**  
Boston, Mass.

Working in a city university-affiliated hospital shows you quickly and sharply many of the contradictions in this society. Among doctors and professors making unbelievable salaries, you have workers making a tenth of those salaries and fighting for every cent.

All of the people brought in are the poorest in the city and victims of this society's horrible violence—often from police or city prisons.

During this last bitter cold spell, I noticed the large number of people who had to have fingers or toes amputated due to gangrene from frostbite. When I asked about it, I was told, "Well, you know, most of them are alcoholics who passed out somewhere," as if that made it not matter.

**Hospital clerical worker**  
Detroit

I am disgusted by the movie, *Fort Apache, The Bronx*. Does Pam Grier have to play a murderous prostitute in every movie she makes to re-inforce the slur that inner-city Black women are vicious, dirty and sick? It isn't only a question of profit for the film company. It is another way to explain why Black women's wages in the USA are 40 percent of the wages for white men, another way of justifying a system that cannot be justified.

**Black working woman**  
Detroit

I am enclosing \$10 in payment of my subscription and a little donation. You have an educational paper with very good news coverage. The editorial in your Dec. 1980 issue, "Attack on Black America" couldn't be more accurate. One thing I would like to see in your paper periodically is your goal or principles.

**Labor activist**  
Minneapolis, Minn.

The conditions in Salt Lake City are a bit scary as usual. The NAACP and the SWP offices were "vandalized" by the Klan, which left a threatening note against the "race mixers". A community-based group has now been set up to oppose the Klan. On the other hand there is a Moral Majority type coming to the University of Utah campus now.

**Still in the struggle**  
Salt Lake City

Both of us like the expanded version of N&L, and read it faithfully. I hope the movement is growing accordingly—the times are certainly ripening.

**Long-time readers**  
New York

## LATIN AMERICA: REVOLUTION AND THEORY

I found the essay article on "Latin America: revolution and theory", by Eugene Walker (Jan.-Feb. N&L) an important development on the unfinished nature of Latin America's revolutions, and on what revolutionary solidarity means for us. It began quite rightly with the new of El Salvador and Reagan/Kilpatrick. The singling out of Bolivia, 1952; Cuba, 1960; Chile, 1970; and Nicaragua, 1980, as the highpoints of revolution, new revolutionary points of departure, gives the sound framework to view the theories of revolution as truly life and death questions and not at all abstract.

The only place that left me hungry for a little clarification or expansion was in the answer, posed as a question, to the problem of the role of the "Party". You ask: "Is there needed an organization which sees as its task the concretization of the historic-philosophic-theoretic roots of revolution within the fullness of the Latin American masses' revolutionary practice?" I guess that is what we have to work out.

# Readers' Views

zation of the historic-philosophic-theoretic roots of revolution within the fullness of the Latin American masses' revolutionary practice?" I guess that is what we have to work out.

**In solidarity with Latin America**  
New York

The current situations, at the Pentagon and in Central America, are like hanging on the edge of a cliff. Will Reagan decide to fully revive the U.S. vulture (eagle) as a deadly bird of prey, a killer that descends on peasants and students, workers and guerrillas, whenever U.S. interests are threatened? It is this current situation that made me appreciate your essay and demonstration reports last issue.

Most North Americans, even Marxists, know very little about the real questions of revolution in Latin America. They tend to think all you have to do is oppose U.S. policy. That is true, but it is just the beginning. The Reagan administration will soon force everyone to know much more about the lands "south of the border".

**Student**  
San Francisco



**APPEAL  
FROM  
SOLIDARITY**

Because of the desperate state of Polish health services, which lack the most basic drugs, Solidarnosc issued an international appeal for a formation of a "drug bank." Packages of basic drugs, including bandages, gauze, etc. can be sent to the chairwoman of Health Services Solidarnosc Chapter, Alina Pienkowska, and should bear the label "Bank lekow NA RATUNEK" (to make it duty-free). The address is:

**Alina Pienkowska**  
NSZZ Solidarnosc  
80-244 Gdansk  
ul. Grunwaldzka 103  
POLAND

## 'ARAB WOMEN': A CORRECTION—AND CONTINUING DISCUSSION

Even the progressive and left press sometimes falls victim to the distortion, manipulation and outright lies created by the establishment press. The brief item "Arab Women" in the Jan.-Feb. N&L is a regrettable example. This item concerned the despicable practice of "honor killings" of unmarried pregnant Arab women by members of their families. Your editors wrote, ". . . at least one killing per day in the West Bank alone." (This) would mean over 350 killings per year! Had you investigated this astounding allegation, you would have discovered that not only is it totally false, but the entire story on which the account of the widespread "honor killings" was based appears to be a fabrication.

I assume that the source for your news item was the AP article which appeared in many newspapers around Jan. 3 usually under the headline "Underground Railway Helps Arab Girls Flee" or something similar. The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee researched the background of this AP story, and found it was a wild distortion. It begins to appear that the AP story . . . was written to portray Arab society in the Israeli-occupied territories as a medieval, backward, anti-women society and that by implication, the Israeli occupation is to be supported as a "mod-

## WOMEN'S LIBERATION WORLDWIDE

I am going to the Union of Radical Political Economists (URPE) convention. Just one woman is scheduled to speak, and that is on the women's movement and the attack from the Right. Only men can speak on world politics. What bothers me is this attitude on the part of Left men that they already know all there is to know about women's liberation—that is, they added it to the list of demands, and consider that sufficient. I particularly notice it at a film like "Women in Arms", about the Nicaraguan revolution. Men never come to see this film.

Now I've become acutely aware that women limit themselves to talking about women only. There is a strong anti-intellectual current running out there. But I'm so acutely aware of it, I can't ignore it easily, even in myself.

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

There have been some efforts to organize amongst feminists here in Hong Kong. But the initiative was taken mainly by bourgeois women who strive for equal representation/status within capitalistic spectacles. Some of the issues are interesting (e.g. abortion rights, the rape crisis center), but there is the problem of the bourgeois organizations with hierarchical relationships, sponsored by the professional class. Of course, there are some radical lesbian/feminists, but they remained in academia.

I'm a little bit pessimistic, but not fed up. You may be interested to know that I translated the Polish strikers' poem, "For Women", which appeared in the Oct. 1980 N&L. It was published in Chinese in our newsletter, *Minzhongbao*. Please send me another copy of Raya's work on the 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism, and also Today's Polish Fight for Freedom.

**Libertarian socialist**  
Hong Kong

ernizing" and emancipating force. Nothing, of course, could be further from the truth.

**David Finkel**  
Palestine Human Rights Campaign

**Editor's Note:** We certainly wish to retract the misinformation printed in "Arab Women." At the same time we would like to point out that we have never by implication or otherwise supported Israel's occupation of the West Bank territories. On the very same page of that issue of N&L there was an article pointing to the resistance of young Israelis to serving in occupied territories.

The Palestinian resistance movement, as many other liberation struggles, has serious contradictions on the question of women's liberation which cannot be glossed over. As one woman active in the Palestine resistance for over 10 years noted: "For men active in Palestinian resistance the only worthwhile issue is the Palestinian struggle against Israel, and they are unwilling to put any effort into the liberation of Palestinian women. Why? Women have begun to struggle against this mentality, but how long will it take to change it? Without this struggle Palestinian women could end up in the same condition as Algerian women. Today Algerian women are still in their homes."

Last month a vicious assault took place on an Ann Arbor woman inside the Michigan Student Union. Though the woman escaped being raped, she did sustain a severe injury to her head—to say nothing of the emotional injury she must have suffered.

After it occurred, I discussed the incident with my fellow Security Officers. We were having trouble establishing the motivation behind the excessive amount of violence evident in the incident. I stated that if you view all rapes and attempted rapes as acts of violence, any concomitant violence becomes comprehensible. In fact, the attendant violence only serves to reinforce the violent nature of the act of rape. To my surprise, they all agreed.

Women's liberation may have a long way to go, but the effects of the struggle are everywhere.

H.C.  
Ann Arbor, Mich.



**ON CAPITAL,  
CHAPTER ONE**

I first heard of Raya Dunayevskaya and Marxist-Humanism through a book by Harry Cleaver, *Reading Capital Politically*. I went to the library and read Dunayevskaya by myself so that I could have a closer perspective on your ideas. That is how I came to respect her for running against all the "mainstream" currents of Marxism . . .

I became especially interested in the first chapter of *Capital* in my home, Puerto Rico. The chapter was always a puzzle. When we went to give a seminar to students and workers, it was so difficult for us to explain or for them to understand Chapter One. Now I am working on this topic at Cornell.

Here I went to a seminar where some professors who were supposed to be Marxists talk about the "law of value" as a general category, applicable to almost any society, about how value and exchange value are identical, about how fetishism is a metaphysical category (via the influence of Althusser), and so on. I protested by writing a paper showing that if what they were talking about was Marxism, it was ridiculous . . . I consider myself a Marxist and I think it is a duty not only to develop concrete studies and political practice, but also to defend theoretical advancements that were made by Marx. I hope we will keep in touch.

Puerto Rican student  
Ithaca, New York

**THE BRITISH SCENE**

News that unemployment in Britain is now over ten percent coincided with the announcement of tougher Thatcher measures supposed to clamp down on "abuses" of welfare. In reality, they bully and intimidate claimants, and try to make them feel guilty about receiving social security payments. Those who are deemed to have "marketable skills", like electricians and plumbers, will be required to spend part of their dole money advertising for work. Unemployed single women will be suspected of fraud if there is "evidence of male presence" at their homes. Youth will now be "helped"; they will be paid L15 a week plus board for working on community service projects. They will also have the "option" of military service. Some help!

Dick Abernethy  
Oxford, England

Contrary to *Time* magazine's feature "Embattled Britain", which saw Britain in terms of either a eulogy of Thatcher or an expose of the so-called "Militant" tendency Marxism of the Labour Party, it is the rank-and-file workers who are showing that they can make a change. Unemployment is at nearly 2.5 million. 4,800 workers have just been laid off at Chrysler, with a possible 7,000 related jobs also going.

*Time* magazine spoke a great deal of the potential split in the Labour party by the section called "Council for Social Democracy", and led by the 1960s CIA-backed William Rodgers, the 1979 "back the Shah" David Owen, and the Reg Prentice (now Thatcherite M.P.) backed by Shirley Williams. These people have nothing to offer the working class. All they have to offer is opportunities to, careerists willing to take a risk.

Nigel Gibson  
London, England

The press here is admitting that the anti-war campaign is gaining ground. There are healthy signs of this in West Germany and in Britain. Thatcher is emphasizing war against Russia largely because of the failure of her government to stop unemployment from rising.

The amazing thing about it is the fact that while the government speaks of "economies", Britain is making a larger financial contribution to NATO than any of her European partners. On top of that, all members are pledged to increase their contribution by three percent next year. One gets the impression that Thatcher and Reagan would like Russia to invade Poland.

Harry McShane  
Glasgow, Scotland

**MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES**

July, 1954

**The U.S. and Guatemala**

*Editor's Note* — With this issue we initiate a new feature in *News & Letters*, "Marxist-Humanist Archives". We hope to present not generally available Marxist-Humanist writings which will help to clarify today's political-revolutionary questions. We begin with a 1954 Editorial written just after a U.S.-sponsored coup in Guatemala, justified by "supposed" Communist domination of the Guatemalan government.

**Readers' Views** this issue carries a discussion between two workers on U.S. foreign policy in which one says: "The U.S. sticks its nose into too many other people's affairs," and the other answers, "Every time a fight breaks out we accuse the Russians of starting it—but the Russians seem, once in a while, to get themselves on the side that's fighting for independence. Why can't the U.S. get on that side for once?"

We disagree that Russia is ever on the side of the people fighting for independence—except where it happens to suit its foreign policy of fighting the United States for world domination. But it is most certainly true that the State Department is never on the side of the people fighting for national independence—except, again, where it suits its policy of fighting Russia for world mastery. In fact, it has just engineered a quickie—a "liberation" in true Moscow style.

**THE UNITED FRUIT COMPANY RULE**

To Europe, McCarthyism stands for the "American way of life." To Latin America, the United Fruit Co. does. To the Guatemalans this has meant a century of earning three cents a day, with no security beyond that day of "pay," a hovel that could not be called a home, no matter how you stretched the meaning of that word, no union and no vote. This they summed up in one phrase, "Yankee Imperialism." For 105 years the people have struggled through revolution after revolution without any measurable degree of success. In 1944 they succeeded in throwing over the dictator and good friend of the United Fruit Co., Gen. Jorge Ubico.

The 1944 revolution put an end to "the good old days" when the United Fruit Co. had nothing to worry about for it always had enough dictators in its power and enough money to buy other politicians who would approve its "labor policy." People began to take things into their own hands. President Arbenz, who has just been forced out of office, is as much of a Communist as American Ambassador Peurifoy who engineered the revolt. Arbenz is a rich landlord. But he was President and the hunger of the peasants for land had to be assuaged.

**AGRARIAN REFORM AND THE COMMUNISTS**

An agrarian reform law went into effect under his regime. The first land to be distributed under this reform came from national farms taken over by the Government from German owners during World War II. The next expropriation affected the native landlords and the United Fruit Co.

This mild expropriation was a long cry from "land to the peasants." The average wage still is below \$100 a year. But about one out of every ten peasants did receive land of one acre per person and those have reached \$800 a year income. The United Fruit Co. does pay two dollars a day, unions are legal, and so is the Communist Party.

But the Communist Party has no more than 2,000 members: only three out of 56 seats in the Government were held by Communists. If the Communists played any role at all in this revolution, it was to suppress its natural movement toward "land to the peasants." They saw to it that peasants and workers did not take things into their own hands, did not form committees outside Government channels, nor arm themselves to defend their few gains. . . .

The truth is that the decade between 1944 and 1954 was a decade in which war ended but peace was not achieved. The end of World War II is only an interlude to prepare for the next holocaust. No country today is free to decide its own destiny without being pulled into one or another of the two camps fighting for world mastery. That is what is new. . . .

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# Black women's struggle for 'human dignity' at Sanderson Farms

*Editor's Note: After two years of struggle at Sanderson Farms, a chicken processing plant in Laurel, Miss., the workers, mostly Black women, are returning to work, determined to continue their struggle for a decent contract. Below we print excerpts from an interview News & Letters conducted with Gloria Jordan, a worker at Sanderson and vice president of Local 882, International Chemical Workers.*

Laurel, Miss. — On Feb. 8 we voted to go back into the plant. The NLRB had ruled that Joe Sanderson had to put the strikers back to work. He stated that he is appealing the ruling, and we have to go back without a contract. This is the chance we are going to have to take. In the plant we are going to continue organizing and pushing Joe Sanderson in the direction of signing a contract. Hopefully 150 of us will be going back into the plant, but without a contract. It means that if a worker gets into trouble we won't have arbitration procedures. I can't see anything we have to go back to except a reorganizing of the plant. It's been two years since we went out.

## 'LACK OF SURVIVING'

The cause of our strike was "lacking of surviving." Let me give you an example of how they treated me when I was injured. I had bumped my finger and it had swollen up. It was the finger I used to open the rectum vent on the chickens. I went to the doctor. In order to be able to use the finger he had to give me an injection, and it had to be repeated every few months. He was the company doctor and he asked them to let me do some other job until this finger got well enough, and I gained enough strength to use it again. But the company refused, saying if the doctor could pick a job for me, then he would be picking a job for 350 workers. So they said they would lay me off. That was really convenient for them, because the contract was due to be up in three months.

What made them move to get rid of me was that Sanderson saw my ability to get others to fight against the conditions, especially the question of human dignity

## ROSIE THE RIVETER

### Factory work during WWII

*Editor's Note—After a recent screening of Rosie the Riveter, Women's Liberation-News & Letters met with member Ethel Dunbar, one of the 700 women who were interviewed for the film, to discuss some of her experiences in the factory during World War II.*

I thought the film was all right, but I didn't feel like they told all that happened. They made it look like we went to work in the factories to help the war effort or out of patriotism. I would have told about the jobs we had in factories down South.

I worked in a shirt factory as a pocket setter. I had to sew over 2,000 pockets a day. So when my husband called from Detroit, where he had gone to find work, to say they were hiring Black women in the plants, I went right away. I got to Detroit on a Sunday night and went to work at Chevrolet the next morning.

They told us down South that relations between Black and white were better up North. But the plants up here were completely segregated. They gave Black women the heaviest and dirtiest jobs—they didn't care what they asked a Black woman to do. We were sent to the foundry and put on heavy lifting jobs. I was put on a "heat treat" job at first and the foreman told me that I could not stop my machine but I figured out a way to do it any time I needed a rest. He couldn't figure out how to re-start it so he took me off that job.

All of the lighter jobs like inspecting and sewing and typing were given to white women. The only time I ever saw Black women and white women speak to each other was during a strike over working conditions in 1943 that lasted six months.

Chevrolet was the worst in the world. They would have liked to work you to death. One woman I knew got her fingers cut off lifting wheel rims and after a few days off, they made her come back to the plant and just sit there because they didn't want to pay for being off.

We worked ten hours a day, five days a week. I worked nights, from 3 p.m. to 1 a.m. for two years, and then on VJ day they sent us all out of the plant. We went to our union reps and they told us we'd have to keep paying our dues if we wanted them to see about getting us back on. Some told us not to even bother paying dues because we would never be getting back on.

A group of us confronted two of our foremen who were Black, about getting our jobs back, but there was nothing they could do. They were put back on the line because there were no more Black women for them to supervise.

We went to all the plants, but they all told us they had to hire soldiers. The only women who ever did get back on were white. We couldn't use any of our skills and had to go back to the kind of jobs we had before the war, at very low pay.

versus the "non-human dignity" on the job. One example was the fight against the foreman's nasty sexual harassment, of grabbing, patting and feeling all over the workers. Most of the workers in the plant are Black women. We lost quite a few workers in refusing the sexual advances of the white supervisors. The supervisors would take some of the Black women workers for granted, walk up on them and start trying to fondle them.

You take James White. He would just take for granted the women, his hand automatically falling on the back-end. A young woman just turned one day and took her hand up against the side of his head. It was the most beautiful sight I had ever seen in my life. Since then I didn't see him fall into anybody so lightly.

Right now there are somewhere around 225 workers in the plant, the majority of them are women. When we went out on strike there were about 350 workers, with maybe 30-35 white out of the 350.

There were nine or ten white foremen and another ten or so white supervisors. In the seven years that I have been there we only had one woman foreman, Gladys, and she had been working at the plant ever since it had opened in 1964. She was a very nice foreman. Anytime foremen turned out to be reasonable with the employees, like letting them go to the bathroom—Gladys was a woman and she could understand why a woman had to go to the bathroom — Sanderson didn't need them anymore.

## LESSONS OF STRIKE

What we have learned from being out on strike and what we will take back into the plant this time is that we should never have stood for what was happening in the plant in the first place. We should never have stood for grown people asking to go to the bathroom. We should never have permitted ourselves to have to ask for permission for something that is our right in the first place.

I was a vent opener in the plant, and had to cut every fourth bird on the line that was running 68 birds a minute. A vent opener opens up the chicken. You start with the rectum and you have three cuts to make before you open that chicken all the way up. And once you do that you have to take everything on the inside, the guts, gizzards, and turn it outside. That is a vent opener.

We had a lady whose job was to cut the necks with a pair of shears, having to cut over 30 birds a minute. Going that fast it is just like a whip. She missed the chicken one time and hit her finger. It took eight stitches. When she came back, Sanderson wanted to give her another job right then, rather than let her go

## Struggle and statistics: Black women in the labor force

What is the status of Black women in the labor force in the 1980s—a full 20 years after the beginnings of the Civil Rights Movement? In what occupations are we compartmentalized? What are our wages—our employment rates? What prospects do Black teenage women have for a job? How are families headed by Black women surviving today? Although no statistics\* can tell the full story of Black women workers, they can begin to give us a feeling of Black women who labor throughout the U.S.

Today the percentage of Black women as household workers has changed dramatically. Where in 1960, 35 percent of Black women workers were household workers, in 1976 only a little over 9 percent were. Still today, well over 25 percent of the total number of household workers are Black women, even though Black women make up only a little over 12 percent of the total of employed women. And many Black women clean offices as well as homes.

As sharp as has been the decrease in household workers has been the rise in numbers of Black women clerical workers. Today some 26 percent of Black women workers are in the clerical field compared to around 9 percent in 1960. However, though the number of Black women who have become clerical workers has tripled, most of this is concentrated at the bottom of the earning ladder, and is concentrated in government jobs.

## ORGANIZING AGAINST AUTOMATION

With the entrance of Black women into low-wage, increasingly automated jobs in clerical has come union organizing drives and strikes by the dozens, in this previously non-union bulwark. Take for example, the latest Blue Shield strike in San Francisco with 1,100 mostly minority women out for better work standards (against increased speed-up caused by a newly installed computer system), health and safety conditions, as well as a decent cost of living allowance.

City government clericals last year fought for better conditions in New York, Detroit and Atlanta. And, as far back as 1972, New York postal clerks spoke out against the horrendous noise created by the highly au-

\*For the most comprehensive statistical analysis see *Black Women in the Labor Force* by Phyllis Wallace, MIT Press, 1980.



Laurel, Miss. march in support of Sanderson workers.

home on workmen's compensation. The doctor had her on pain medication, and didn't think she should be there even on another job.

## THE UNION VS. THE KLAN

This is a rough place to try and organize a union. This past January there were seven fully dressed Klan members in the downtown mall in Laurel. They were handing out racist hand bills. They weren't on the union, but the atmosphere is there. Sanderson doesn't want the Chemical Workers Union in there. He doesn't want any union. But we have received support both from the area and around the country. The pulp wood workers came from Tuscaloosa. The strikers in Laurel do feel that the support from around the country is key to any victory we win.

We are not going back in there to say "yes sir" and "no sir" whether he is right or wrong. We know what it will take to survive and this is what we mean to get. We are going back in, but it is to continue what we started, to continue the fight. We came out for a contract and we still want the contract, and we will have to have a contract. We are finishing what we started. That is the only way we can get what we want.

tomated sorting machines, which at the same time take away jobs and increase the speed for those who are left to work there.

Do Black women even find jobs at rates comparable to the rest of the population? The 1979 figures from the Bureau of Labor Statistics show that while under four percent of adult white males were unemployed, over ten percent of adult Black women were unemployed. And where white teenage male youths had an unemployment rate of almost 14 percent, Black women teenagers had an unemployment rate of over 39 percent—the highest average of any group in the country. The rates for Black women unemployed are double those of white women. Black women teenagers have unemployment rates triple those of white women teenagers.

When jobs are found what are the earnings? We know that women as a whole earn only 57 cents for each dollar men earn. Black and Hispanic women have the lowest earnings of any group in the labor market. Over one-third of Black women earn less than \$150 per week. In 1978 where white men earned on the average of over \$14,000 a year and Black men over \$12,000, white women earned just over \$9,000 and Black women earned less than \$9,000.

## SOUTH AND INNER-CITY WORST

The lowest wages are in the South and inner-city North. And it is not just a question of wages but deadly working conditions. New organizing drives and strikes have occurred all across the South, by Black women in poultry processing, as in the Sanderson plant in Mississippi (see story on this page); or in Virginia, where the Perdue poultry workers are calling for a boycott of all "Perdue" chickens.

The ghettoization of occupation, the low earnings, the high unemployment rate, have all meant below poverty level existences for millions of Black people. Some 53 percent of Black female heads of families, even when their earnings were supplemented by other income, fell below the poverty level.

The statistics do not begin to give the full human story of Black women in and out of the labor force. We now face the economic policies of Reagan which are sure to make the statistics, that is our lives, even worse, unless, of course, we find ways to complete what the Black movement for freedom has only begun.

# Reaganomics: militarization of American economy and society

(Continued from Page 1)

some sort of government assistance, barely surviving on the very programs the Reagan Administration is determined to kill.

The unemployment rate for Black teenagers is so high that government officials have long preferred not to count it, although it is estimated in some inner-cities like New York to be as high as 84 percent; and the Bureau of Labor Statistics Report for Dec. 1980 gave official rates for Black teenagers in the South that were even higher than for Black teenagers in New York — with Louisiana at 37.5 percent; Florida at 44.3 percent; and Alabama at 50 percent.

## CAPITAL VS. LABOR, BLACK, WOMAN, YOUTH

There is no doubt that the Hitmen for this Administration were all carefully handpicked. The "White, Male, Millionaire Cabinet" puts such Big Business potentates as Merrill Lynch's Regan in charge of the Treasury; Bechtel Group's Weinberger in charge of the Pentagon; Scoville Manufacturing's Baldrige in charge of Commerce; and the construction industry's scandal-ridden Donovan in charge of Labor. Moreover, we now have a Secretary of the Interior who is anti-environment; a Secretary of Energy who is anti-conservation; and a Secretary of Agriculture who believes that food is a weapon.

The truth is that — under the guise of tax cuts that favor the rich more flagrantly than any president has ever before dared suggest; "incentives" to business that will make meaningless the very concept of Consumer Protection and Occupational Health and Safety; and budget cuts amounting to \$50 billion that seek to eliminate every social advance won through decades-long labor battles and civil rights struggles — what is being prepared for is a bare-knuckle fight between Capital and rank and file Labor, Black America, Women, and Youth.

• Thus, of the 16 new Republicans in the Senate, 13 are open enemies of ERA and abortion rights; and the four new Republican women elected to the House have categorically refused to join the Congressional Women's Caucus, under the excuse that "women's issues" have to take a back seat to "economic issues" — as if the two could be separated.

There is not one of the proposed slashes that will not affect women and Blacks brutally — whether that is the proposed altering of the Equal Employment Opportunities power to make it harder to prove bias against women and minorities, or what that reactionary Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah (now Chairman of the powerful Labor and Human Resources Committee) called his intention to go after some of "labor's sacred cows"—first and foremost of which is the minimum wage. About two-thirds of minimum-wage-earners are women.

• Thus, the so-called National Right to Work Committee is already gearing up for a law making union-shops illegal; and a drive by "management consultants" to keep unions out of plants is accelerating everywhere. Indeed, we are beginning to see developments that have been unheard of since the birth of unionization in this country. It is not only the Chrysler Corporation that has managed to force UAW workers to take wage cuts rem-

iniscent of the pre-union days of the Depression — \$622 million in concessions on wages and cost-of-living adjustments. Armour, Conrail, Firestone and Uniryoal are among a dozen different industries that have also managed to force workers to give back previously negotiated wages and work rules, while Ford, GM and American



The first egg

Motors, as well as the electronics and textile industries have all given notice they intend to follow suit. And this, in the very year of the 100th anniversary of the founding of the AF of L.

## CAPITALISM IN CRISIS

These convolutions of a capitalist class trying to move the clock back mark the depth of the crisis of the whole capitalist world, in which the crisis in the U.S. is key.

Never were the economic gyrations as convulsive as they were in the U.S. in 1980. Never was the so-called "recovery" from a recession so short and mild that even government economists had to admit nobody had felt it. The April and May increase of 1.7 million people to the jobless rolls represented the greatest quarter-to-quarter surge ever recorded in statistics that date to 1940. And never since World War I, over 60 years ago, had inflation exceeded 10 percent two years in a row — 13 percent in 1980, after a 13.3 percent hike in 1979 — both supposedly "peacetime" years.

No longer are workers subject to periods of boom followed by periods of bust; periods of unemployment followed by periods of inflation. There are no booms. The mark of our state-capitalist age has become — all at one and the same time — chronic high unemployment, accompanied by ever-skyrocketing inflation, and by ever-worsening stagnation so deeply ingrained in the American fabric by now that the decade of the '70s has been dubbed the "decade of decay." The rate of growth is now not just low; it has actually declined.

The laws of motion of capitalism painstakingly traced by Karl Marx over 100 years ago have come agonizingly to life in the deep structural changes\* that have taken place as first automation and now unimation have brought to a climax the overwhelming preponderance of machines over working men and women — what Marx called constant capital, or dead labor, over variable capital, or living labor, which is the only real source of all value, the only force capable of creating value. The Absolute General Law of Capitalist Accumulation that Marx described in his greatest work, *Capital*, as "the industrial reserve army" has taken on the life and death proportions of the eight million unemployed in the U.S., ever growing greater.

"Productivity" is everywhere being discussed as "the" problem as the battle plan calls for bringing back the climate of the '30s and trying to force more productivity from those still working, who are already driven to the limit. And the call to arms is being issued in the name of fighting inflation.

No one has to convince any working family that today's inflation is disastrous. If American incomes managed to keep up with the rise in prices at the beginning of the past decade, it was only because the earnings of working wives added significantly to the family income. But since early 1979, inflation has so increasingly outstripped the rise in wages that, working wives or no, the American standard of living is now genuinely falling, and the U.S. ranks only tenth in the world in per capita income.

As for the poor, and especially the elderly, fuel prices have been pushed so high that the choice is whether to "eat or heat"—and if Reagan's plan goes through to the black-lid on the oil head-winds, those prices will double (or possibly triple!) by next winter.

\*See Raya Dunayevskaya's *Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis* (available from N&L for \$2) for an in-depth study of these structural changes and the economic crisis gripping the entire world. See also the Feb. 5, 1981 *New York Review of Books* which carried a perceptive analysis by Emma Rothschild of "Reagan and the Real Economy." She details the structural shift of U.S. capitalism from former industrial and manufacturing dominance to its current growth only in service and retail jobs, in terms of the movement from high to low productivity sectors of the economy; and relates the accelerating inflation rate to military expansion from the Korean War through the Vietnam War to current militarization.

## MILITARIZATION OF WORLD ECONOMY

What none of the capitalist ideologues has been able to confront is that what has brought about the decay of the economy is the decrepit capitalist system itself. The devastating, ever-increasing rate of world inflation is caused neither by "lazy workers" or "over-regulation" or even the fantastic OPEC oil prices — though that certainly did exacerbate the situation with prices quadrupled following the 1973 Middle East war, and increased another 150 percent over the past year and a half, following the Iranian Revolution.

What did bring about the present stage of crisis in the U.S. and the world economy began, not in 1973-74, but with the Vietnam War and the lie that we could have both "guns and butter." But it did not end with the end of that war. More and more production is being poured into producing means of destruction that can contribute nothing to economic growth. And that is so world wide.

The one and only "item" that Reagan assured Congress would not be cut, but expanded, was the so-called Defense Budget. At the rate he contemplates, the cumulative Pentagon budgets through fiscal 1986 (if we ever reach it) will amount to more than \$1 trillion and may even reach \$1.5 trillion, as against the "mere" \$655 billion for the past five years. It represents the largest shift of financial resources in the nation's peacetime history. And that does not include the aid — openly military and so-called "economic" alike — to every repressive regime on earth.

It was no accident that Reagan chose a General Haig as his Secretary of State. The current fantastic campaign to tie the genuine revolt of the Salvadoran people to some sort of pre-packaged Communist "international terrorism" will now be followed by a request to Congress for a major increase in the current \$73 million in economic aid and military weapons to El Salvador's junta.

In short, the most precise summation of the whole of Reaganomics is the militarization of the American economy and society.

That is the hallmark of our whole capitalist-imperialistic world — including the state-capitalist countries that masquerade as "communism." The political crises, like the economic ones, that wrack the globe all stem from this decrepit system where accumulation is the one and only goal of production and where the two titans, U.S. and Russia, are fighting for single world rule. Such a system cannot be put back in order. It must be totally uprooted.

## THE COLLISION COURSE AHEAD

If Reagan thinks he received a "mandate" on Nov. 4 from the American people for the insane course he is steering, he could not be more misguided. It is not only that it was a small minority of the electorate that put him into the White House, it is that the more sure signs of what the next period in this country will be like can be seen in the workers who picked up picket signs and went on strike at Cane Canaveral, Florida, immediately after the space shuttle finally passed its long-delayed test on Feb. 20, thus confronting NASA with a human, not a technical, battle.

It is seen in the youth who gathered over a thousand-strong in Detroit for a National CARD (Coalition Against the Draft) Conference on Feb. 13, and — shouting "No Draft, No War, U.S. out of El Salvador" — gave

*The over-work of the employed part of the working class swells the ranks of its reserve, while, conversely, the greater pressure that the reserve by its competition exerts on the employed workers forces them to submit to over-work and subjects them to the dictates of capital. The condemnation of one part of the working class to enforced idleness by the over-work of the other part, and vice versa, becomes a means of enriching the individual capitalists, and accelerates at the same time the production of the industrial reserve army on a scale corresponding with the progress of social accumulation.*

Karl Marx, "The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation" *Capital*, Vol. I

a standing ovation to a speaker from the Frente Democratica Revolucionaria. (See story, p. 11)

It is seen in the largest Black demonstration in two decades — over 100,000 strong — that took place on Jan. 15 in Washington, D.C., which should have given notice to the new Administration before ever they took office that Black America has no intention of not completing the Black revolution that began in the 1960s.

It is with powerful deliberation that Strom Thurmond's powerful Senate Judiciary Committee has just re-established an "internal-security subcommittee" and that the House of Representatives is considering reconstituting the infamous HUAC (House Un-American Activities Committee) as early as March or April. For the course Reagan is steering his "ship of state" cannot help but turn out to be a collision course with all the forces of revolution in this land.

## 'Philosophy and Revolution'

(Continued from Page 1)

Marxist Leninist theory requires for its development viable historical practice. Only those interpretations of Marx and Lenin whose adherents have been able to move beyond merely the realm of ideas to seize and maintain political power so qualify.

OF COURSE, IT IS ALWAYS possible to find discrepancies between socialist theory as it has developed historically, and current practice. Indeed, the extremely serious internecine struggles within the viable Socialist Movement and their resulting polycentrism, revolve precisely on this point. But it is in these struggles, and only in these that the correct historical development of Marxist theory is taking shape. It is not to be found in the politically sterile (albeit scholarly and intellectually engaging) verbal discourses of the "Marxist Humanists"

Whatever final judgment the reader makes, Dunayevskaya's arguments cannot be taken lightly or dismissed out of hand. They are cogently and consistently argued, and grounded in a wealth of scholarship. They force one back to a reexamination of the tenets of Marxism-Leninism, regardless of one's ultimate conclusion. Philosophers, historians and political scientists alike should familiarize themselves with this engaging addition to the many attempts at understanding Marxist theory.

George H. Hampsh  
College of the Holy Cross  
Worcester, Mass.

## Civil rights marchers fight construction racism

Detroit, Mich. — The steps of downtown Detroit's Old County Building were filled Feb. 25 with nearly 200 demonstrators protesting Judge Harry Dingeman's decision to declare the City of Detroit's Human Rights Ordinance unconstitutional. The suit against the city ordinance had been brought by several construction contractors' associations, an industry which has attempted to maintain a lily-white, all-male preserve in its skilled trades for a full century. Claiming that only the state government can enforce civil rights law, the contractors and the judge aim to force the abolition of all sem-

blance of effective review of construction hiring.

The turnout at the hastily-called protest reflected the anger of Detroiters at soaring unemployment and the continuing attacks on Blacks and the poor. Many of the marchers were Black teenagers; others came from Laborers Local 334, from the Association of Minority Contractors, and from a dozen different community groups and block clubs. One of the high school students told N&L: "It used to be the only kind of job open was McDonald's. Now there isn't even much of that. I tried a lot of construction companies last summer, but they all said that you had to know somebody."

As the marchers chanted "Save Human Rights" and "Stop the racist contractors," a laborer spoke of his attempt to get upgraded to a job driving a front-end loader. "I worked there 20 years, mostly for one company, and whenever there was some emergency, I ended up showing people how to fix that machine. But between the company and the union, there was no way they were going to let me be an Operating Engineer." Others brought out the fact that no more than 50 women in the whole Detroit area have broken into the electricians union, despite repeated protests from the "Women in the Skilled Trades" organization.

At the end of the demonstration, speakers vowed to appeal Judge Dingeman's decision all the way to the Michigan Supreme Court, and to organize more protests, perhaps at segregated construction sites.

## Anti-war activists on trial

Trial is scheduled soon for eight pacifists — Dean Hammers, Sr., Anne Montgomery, Molly Rush, John Schuchardt, Daniel and Phillip Berrigan, Elmer Maas, and Carl Kabat — who entered the General Electric Re-entry Division assembly site in King of Prussia, Pa. They destroyed two Mark 12A nuclear warhead cones with hammers, and poured human blood on classified documents. When armed, a Mark 12A missile has a lethal capacity equal to 95 Hiroshimas.

This action in a depressed working-class area, where up to 80 percent of jobs are GE controlled, enraged the power structure. Defendants were split up initially and thrown in the hole on charges of terrorism. Some had their clothing removed as "evidence," and most were held without trial for well over four months. The charges could bring eight years of imprisonment.

The defendants went to prison prepared to address the issues of racism, sexism and class struggle; they claim that the bomb and prisons go together. They refused to see their case as morally different from that of any detainee in the country, and helped organize a prison-wide hunger strike on Martin Luther King Day.

To contact support groups in Norristown: (315) 277-3822 or 631-0802. In New York City: Plowshares-8 Support Committee, 169 W. 100th St., N.Y. (212) 222-7045.

## Schwinn pact a 'dirty deal'

Chicago, Ill.—After we had been on strike for nearly four months, suddenly the union called a vote to ratify a contract at Schwinn. Out of 1,400 workers only 800 were there and 300 voted against it.

The union settled for less than what we really wanted to settle for. It was an overnight thing. They called me the night before and told me to vote yes and tell everybody I knew to vote yes. I said how come you never called me while all this was going on. Now you are calling me and telling me to vote for something, and I don't even know what it is.

A lot of issues were raised from the floor like medical, dental, back pay, and the cost-of-living. They asked us what would we like ahead of time and then went ahead and agreed to this joke. We asked for cost-of-living. They claim that our little two percent bonus at the end of the year will take care of that. But that has nothing to do with cost-of-living, and we're going to fall even further behind.

It was like that with everything else like medical insurance which is only going to pay a portion of costs. It turned out to be mostly a rewrite of the old contract with new words. That was the shaft they gave us and the way it was presented was a comedy.

In the meeting people were yelling their hearts out. People kept raising their hands and they said, "OK we'll get to you." But they just kept talking and explaining. They didn't bother to consider what the people had to say. I think most of those people who didn't show up knew it was a fix.

They didn't even have the decency to have the contract in Spanish. A lot of people there didn't even know what was going on. Everybody was asking questions. Nothing of the contract we were voting on was in Spanish, but the ballot was in Spanish as well as English. That's how dirty it was.

—Latino Schwinn worker

## U.S. Koreans protest Chon

Los Angeles, Cal. — When Chon Doo Hwan, dictator of South Korea, arrived in Los Angeles, as the first foreign head of state to visit President Reagan, he was met with demonstrations from the Korean community.

Three days before Chon's visit, several of us in the LA Korean community organized a Coalition Against Chon's visit to protest the appearance of this murderer in our community. Our first demonstration was held on Jan. 27 at the VIP Plaza and attracted over 200 persons. The next morning we chartered a bus and went to the airport to protest his landing, and then we proceeded to Olympic Blvd., the heart of the Korean community, where Chon was scheduled to pass in a motorcade.

As he passed by, 50 people, young and old, men and women, protested against him. But his motorcade was protected by 400 men, many of them paid thugs and members of the Unification Church, who then attacked our rally with clubs and fists, injuring several of us. Our group was very small, but many people watching from the street rushed over to protect us. Over 150 people joined us, and we fought with Chon's thugs.

Almost everyone in the Los Angeles Korean community hates Chon, because he killed the chance of democracy after the death of President Park last year. Before the revolt in Kwangju occurred last May, the community was more peaceful and less political, at least compared to those in New York and Washington, D.C. But when we heard about Kwangju, more people got involved in voicing their opposition to the regime.

It is an outrage to the Korean people in America that Reagan make his first foreign visitor Chon, for Chon has abolished every possible kind of freedom in South Korea, from freedom of the press to political activity of any kind. By inviting him here, Reagan can only encourage Chon to further repress the Korean people, since he is planning to provide him with more arms.

Los Angeles was not the only city that protested Chon's visit — there were rallies in New York and Washington, D.C. as well. But we do not yet have a nationwide organization. We would like to have one, though I think it is important to maintain spontaneity in our activities. We are not trying to be big leaders, but just encourage the spontaneity — for we are humanists.

Chon is not the only one we are against. He is just a deep rooted expression of profound social injustice that today rules South Korea. Myself and many of my friends have become more politicized because of the growing power of the enemy, and so we must fight on. —S. Lee

## Gen. Westmoreland denounced

Los Angeles, Cal. — When General William Westmoreland, the notorious commander of U.S. troops in the Vietnam war, came to Cal State LA for a speaking engagement Feb. 10, he was met with one of the largest and most creative anti-war demonstrations this school has seen in a decade.

Over 600 students demonstrated against his visit in the Free Speech Area — considerably more than who went to hear his talk — despite the fact that many ROTC students from different colleges were brought in to fill up seats at his lecture. Other students entered the hall he was speaking in to attack the student government for paying him \$1,300 to come here. A number of questions and comments denouncing Westmoreland for arguing in support of greater military buildup were aired.

If Westmoreland's visit brought back memories of U.S. barbarism during the Vietnam war, the demonstration was anything but a repeat performance of anti-war protests held here in the past. As soon as news of his visit was made known a number of campus groups, including Cal State News & Letters, formed a Coalition to Stop Westmoreland, and plans were made for holding a rally that would not only attack his visit, but the entire drive for war his speech here was intended to encourage.

In no time the rally became a focal point of opposition to the entirety of today's new militarization. The Asian students, at first not even a part of the Coalition, took the initiative of issuing their own leaflet for the rally, attacking Westmoreland's racism and the treatment of minorities in the armed forces, and the rally itself included speakers from the Chicano community as well as supporters of the ongoing freedom struggle in El Salvador. Another speaker attacked the coming draft and the draft that already exists—the poverty draft.

Many students felt it was only natural that a demonstration aimed against Westmoreland would spontaneously develop into an attack on the totality of today's crises of militarization. Therefore, within days of the rally, students who helped organize the event planned a follow-up activity: two days of meetings on, "Women Against the New Right and Militarization," to be held the week of International Women's Day.

—International Marxist-Humanist Youth Committee

## THEORY / PRACTICE

(Continued from Page 4)

from movements from theory in a world that is totally capitalistic and imperialistic — there is absolutely no way to escape the capitalistic, imperialistic framework.

In any case, all that was left for Mao to do after he put down the self-created turmoil called the Cultural Revolution — and after he not only "rehabilitated" Deng, but what is a great deal worse, started to play with U.S. imperialism — there was no sort of revolutionary legacy he could possibly leave the Chinese masses. Thus it was that in 1975, while staying away from the National People's Congress run by Zhou and Deng with its "four modernizations," Mao met with Franz Josef Strauss!

It is wrong, however, to think that, because the scholars were deluded by Mao, the journalists have done any better in presenting the opposite side of the coin. Instead of overestimating Mao, they underestimated the entire Chinese revolutionary experience, though that was national.

In the New York Times of Jan. 2, 1981, Flora Lewis came up with the most superficial of all scenarios: "Winston Churchill got it backwards when he described the Soviet Union as a 'riddle wrapped in a mystery inside of an enigma.' It's the other way around; inside is the infighting to be expected, and the mystery wrapper is to conceal the fact that there really isn't much higher meaning . . . I think we'll manage understanding better if we remove the veils from our own dazed eyes. . . ." The only trouble is that it isn't the eyes that are dazed, but the thought. The crisis in China would hardly be as intense as it is now if it had no "higher meaning" than the "infighting to be expected."

When the first spontaneous mass demonstration in Mao's China sprang up on April 5, 1976 — in honor of Zhou Enlai who had died and was still being slandered by Mao, Jiang, et al. — Mao embarked on his last hurrah.<sup>5</sup> Whether inspired by Jiang or otherwise, he ordered the demonstration put down and Deng, who was blamed for instigating it, removed. Within a few months, Mao himself died and Jiang was left to hold the bag. In no time at all, she was arrested.

Whether or not Jiang escapes death now in order, as Deng put it, not to make a martyr of her and whatever punishment is meted out to Lin's adherents, the point at issue is not those few who are now in the dock. What is at issue is where is China going now, nationally and internationally? Are there still illusions that when one has some H-bombs the backwardness of the economy, including the military, doesn't matter half as much as who becomes the ally, be it back with Russia or with the U.S.?

The truth is that it's not what is being decided at the trial that is decisive. The truth is that the only way to change direction, be it Maoist or Dengist, is to listen to the voices of revolt. China has a history of peasant revolt that is second to none, and it has a history of proletarian and youth revolts that have not stopped, either with Mao's last hurrah or Deng's removal of the Democracy Wall. It is they who have not yet said their last word.

—Jan. 12, 1981

5—"Mao's Last Hurrah" was the title of my Political-Philosophic Letter of Feb. 27, 1976; "Post-Mao China: What Now?" the title of my analysis in New Essays, a 1977 N&L pamphlet. For an analysis of China's development over the last three decades, consult my *Marxism and Freedom*, Twayne, 1958; "Mao's China and the 'Proletarian Cultural Revolution,'" in *New Politics*, Spring 1968; "The Thought of Mao Tse-tung" in *Philosophy and Revolution*, Delacorte, 1973; and a whole series of *Perspectives Theses* (see especially, "Nixon and Mao Attempt to Throttle Social Revolution," 1971); *Political-Philosophic Letters*; and columns in *News & Letters* (see especially "Confucius Who?" April, 1974 and "How New is China's New Constitution," March and April, 1975.) The most complete selection of Marxist-Humanist writing on China is within the *Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism 1941-1980*. Archives of Labor History, Walter Reuther Library, Wayne State University, Detroit.

## YOUTH

## CARD: Contradictions in anti-military movement

Detroit, Mich.—During the weekend that fell between the Feb. 8 television reenactment of the Kent State anti-war protests ending in massacre and Reagan's televised declaration of war on the poor Feb. 18, the Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) sponsored a national conference here. The gathering brought over 1,200 people together from as far away as Seattle and San Francisco. We met people who remember the protests against the Vietnam War as well as youth for whom this was their first anti-war action. All were there to create a national organization that would at least oppose revival of military conscription.

At the mass rally which opened the conference, people were arriving from all over the country. Blacks, many from right here in Detroit, attended the rally. The audience inside the auditorium heard high school students, Latino revolutionaries, veterans, Black activists, trade unionists, women's liberationists — all contributing their particular message to fight the Reagan-right.

The feelings of solidarity with the freedom fighters in El Salvador came out when the speaker from the Frente Democratica Revolucionaria received standing ovations and chants of "No Draft! No War! U.S. Out of El Salvador!"

The conference proceedings over the next two days, on the other hand, were halting and confounded any battle of ideas. From the very first session on conference procedures, debates were frequently cut short supposedly to expedite the conference schedule.

One person who spoke from the floor told the whole conference he thought much had been decided before anyone ever got to Detroit. Many agreed.

The parliamentarianism which stifled discussion from the floor could not deter one of the few youth present who had refused to join Carter's 1980-81 registration from taking the floor to demand that the five-hour long session on "Principles of Unity," which were anything but, be halted and the separate session on "Future Actions," where principles are tested, begin immediately.

Another draft-age youth challenged the conference decision to permit Republican and Democratic Party participation in CARD—disregarding the militarist history of each — by challenging CARD's aim to become a "broad-based operation" at the cost of not involving



—News & Letters photo  
revolutionary beginnings for an anti-militarist movement—and world.

—Jim Mills

deep participation by 18 and 19-year-olds. Although over a million youth have confronted federal laws and refused to register, the conference actually had very few high school students in attendance, and the actual conference sessions, as opposed to the opening rally, had few minority participants.

News and Letters youth participated in the conference in informal discussions by seeking to point out the necessity of finding the new voices of revolt among the youth, and showing what revolutionary opposition of our society has meant in the past decade. We developed a display of issues of *News & Letters* which showed the youth revolt of the past decade and our participation in it. The display began with "Nixon's Wars at Home and Abroad" including the Jackson State and Kent State massacres of 1970, through the Vietnam Veterans Against the War marching at the 1972 Republican Convention to the Total Amnesty Now conference for all war resisters in 1977, as well as the movement of '77 opposing the Kent State gym, and a GI paper such as *Enlisted Times*.

There is a long way between an "organization" such as CARD and a full movement, though some at the conference thought they were one and the same. But there were as well many who felt that they wanted their voices, thoughts, activities to be part of the new

## Kent State film: why now?

Detroit, Mich.—I was 12 years old when four students were killed by national guardsmen at Kent State University on May 4, 1970. They were protesting Nixon's invasion of Cambodia. Seven years later when Kent State students raised a new protest against plans to build a gymnasium on the site of the murders, I went down to join their demonstrations, and talked with some of the students, parents and one former guardsman who had been stationed on another part of the campus when the killings occurred.

It was from this experience that I was anxious to see the made-for-TV film, "Kent State," shown on Feb. 8. The acting was very good, the '70s music as well as some actual news film clips helped set the scene, and the last 45 minutes were gripping emotionally, especially the last scene as the epilogue flashed on the screen saying no one to this day has been found guilty of any criminal action at KSU.

But some things in the film made me angry, especially the depiction of the Black students. I objected when a Black student was shown only twice in the whole movie. Once, on May 3 anticipating trouble when the KSU ROTC building was burned, he said, "We're gonna move all the brothers out and let the white kids have their party." At the very end as students in shock looked at four dead, he reappeared again only to say, "I told you they're always loaded." I cannot believe this reflected the mood among Blacks at Kent State.

To show the difference in how *News & Letters* saw events in May, 1970, all you have to do is look at the June-July, 1970 issue, which was the first 12-pager we ever had. The cover picture was a bullet-riddled dormitory at Jackson State University where racist police shot insanely, on May 12, first at the dorm and then at a group of unarmed students, killing two Black males. Campuses throughout the country had walk-outs in protest of the four whites massacred at Kent State, Ohio. And yet, the murders at Jackson State did not bring the same outraged protests.

Racism was the major division between linking up the Civil Rights and anti-Vietnam War movements in this country. Black students were against the Vietnam War, they were protesting, they were outraged by KSU. It was not the Black students who abandoned the whites. It was the whites, too caught up in racism, who rejected the Blacks.

One question I kept asking myself during the movie was, "Why now?" Was this an attempt on the part of today's new right to show that police can kill unarmed youth indiscriminately and nine years later not one person is tried for murder? Was this done to scare us? Was this perhaps a tribute to the four students, now that a huge gym, after a long battle, lies over the murder site? Was this done so as not to forget them? What it did do was make me angry—not scared, not nostalgic.

The movie made me think of my preparation for the 1980s, not because of the movie as an end in itself, but because of last weekend (Feb. 13-16) at the first national CARD (Coalition Against Registration and the Draft) Conference. It was the largest gathering of young people I've participated in, next to the several thousand who turned out to protest the building of the KSU gym, several years ago. The chant which brought people to their feet was, "No Draft, No War, U.S. Out of El Salvador." I think the youth realize what Reagan represents to us all. The struggle continues and it's not going to get any easier. We can't let the same divisions which kept us apart in the '60s and '70s separate us in the freedom movement of the '80s.

—Rickie Rae

## West European youth: 'The Disaffected Movement'

by Peter Wermuth

A new wave of massive and militant street demonstrations and riots swept through West Germany and Switzerland in early February, bringing to international attention the revolt of a new generation of European youth — the "Disaffected Movement."

That is the name adopted by youth involved in protests in a number of European cities, stretching from West Berlin and Frankfurt to Copenhagen and Zurich, over shortages in housing, jobs, and health-care and over-abundance of police abuse and administrative hostility to the needs of the young.

## WEST BERLIN

The latest events included three nights of riots and looting in West Berlin at the beginning of February, as well as a clash between youth and police in Zurich, who were trying to break up a demonstration called to protest a government seizure of an underground newspaper.

The depth of anger expressed in these revolts, and the speed with which they have spread from city to city, have stunned the European ruling parties and press. The movement of the disaffected youth has spread in the course of a mere nine months to four nations and dozens of cities, taking in squatters in Holland occupying abandoned buildings and unused estates of the rich; women in Switzerland attacking the patriarchal system that only granted women the right to vote a decade ago; unemployed youth demanding adequate shelter and youth centers in West Germany; and working youth disgusted with being funnelled into dead-end, low-paying, boring, and meaningless jobs.

## ZURICH

The revolts actually began last May, when the Zurich city council voted to appropriate \$30 million to renovate a city opera house, while ignoring a plea to put aside funds to build a youth center. That touched off several nights of protest which soon spread to several Swiss cities.

The movement's rapid growth is purely spontaneous: in fact, a favorite slogan of the youth is "No Leaders." But that does not mean their activity is limited to riots

nor that the action is void of ideas. The youth have set up numerous assemblies and conferences to discuss the problems and perspectives of the movement; one such conference in Hannover last November drew 300, while Zurich youth hold weekly, sometimes daily, assemblies. At the same time, a flood of new youth publications have appeared, such as the "Zuricher Boycotter" which claims a readership of 12,000 after only weeks in existence.

The movement has now spilled over into other ongoing youth struggles, such as the anti-nuclear movement and support for the El Salvadoran revolution. Last month's demonstration in Frankfurt against U.S. aid to the El Salvadoran junta drew 25,000, many of them immigrants and unemployed youth.

The European bourgeois press has strongly attacked the Disaffected Movement, presenting it as chaotic, void of ideas, goals, or purpose. But as one West German youth said, "We don't want to destroy, but rather stop the destroyers" and pointed to rows of leveled homes in an urban renewal project as proof. Indeed, one favorite slogan is "No Police, No Riots" and "We have enough to cry about without your tear gas."

## THE LEFT

The bourgeois press, however, is not alone in seeing nothing creative in the movement. Much of the West German Left has likewise either extolled or condemned the movement simply on the basis of the violent forms it has so far been forced to adopt.

Both attitudes fail to see what can develop from the present struggle: new pathways for creatively changing the world. The view of occupations or strikes as simply "chaotic," clashes with an experience I had in 1977, when I took part in an occupation by students at Hostos College — a Latino school in the South Bronx — of an unused building adjacent to their school. While to many it looked like a "simple" occupation of one building, for the students who took it over and ran it themselves as their own school, something much more creative was felt—a sense of the power youth have for transforming reality.

The European youth will experience many new strikes, occupations, and protests in coming weeks. Where this movement will go very much will depend on singling out and building upon those moments of mass youth creativity that surely are arising in the course of the struggle.

Study  
'n  
Struggle

## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Kevin A. Barry

# Marxist philosopher Markovic under attack by Yugoslav government

The post-Tito government in Yugoslavia has launched a new campaign of harassment and repression against its independent Marxist opposition, especially the world-renowned Marxist philosopher Mihailo Markovic. When Markovic returned to Yugoslavia in January from teaching at the University of Pennsylvania, his apartment was searched by the Yugoslav police who claimed they wanted to seize and revoke his passport. He has been forced to work abroad ever since he and seven colleagues involved in the journal Praxis were banned from teaching in the universities, and their journal was banned in 1975.

As of now, Markovic can no longer leave Yugoslavia, nor can he teach philosophy in the universities. This vicious police-state measure gives the lie to claims that Yugoslavia is fundamentally different from the rest of East Europe.

The following is an excerpt from Mihailo Markovic's article, "After the Death of Tito," written in May, 1980 and published in L'Alternative (Paris, Sept.-Oct., 1980). We translated it from the French. For our view, see the Editorial article, "Tito's non-alternative," N&L, June, 1980.

An objective observer would be able to ascertain that a considerable number of politicians and intellectuals — including some who mourned Tito — view the present historic moment as the end of a period of dangerous stagnation and as an opening for new possibilities for the development of Yugoslav society.

The truth is that Tito held an almost absolute power for too long. The moment for him to retire or to allow a democratic process to reduce him to an ordinary President of the Republic, elected democratically, was the Eighth Congress of the Yugoslav League of Communists in 1964.

At that moment the democratization of Yugoslav society, the development of self-management in the political sphere, the withering away of the state apparatus,

the reduction of the role of the Communist Party to an educational (not a directing) organ — in a word, the realization of the politics of the Yugoslav League of Communists, formulated in its 1959 program — had reached such a point that it had become incompatible with the existence of an absolute central authority which directs political life in its entirety, which controls all of the cadres and which directly commands all of the organs of police and military power.

The platform of the Working Peoples' Socialist Alliance for the 1963 election had already announced that, under well-defined conditions, the citizens themselves (not only the Committees of the Alliance) had the right to propose candidates and that it would be possible to have several candidates for each seat in the Assembly. In this way the Party bureaucracy reaffirmed its monopoly over all political institutions.

Yugoslavia in 1980, without him, is materially richer than in 1964 but morally weaker, with a leadership which is much older and which is deprived of a great number of competent and honest cadres. But I am quite far from stating that the balance-sheet of these last 16 years is completely negative. Yugoslavia was developed, industrialized and enriched. She maintains a growth rate of five percent per year, which is better than what occurs in countries which are economically comparable such as Spain and Greece.

Also thanks to Tito, Yugoslavia played a political role in the Third World far out of proportion to her size and her power. Politically, she experienced a remarkable stability after a tumultuous period from 1968 to 1972.

Despite all this, Yugoslavia has paid very dearly for having had as its leader such a very old and very authoritarian father-figure for so long. A new middle class and also a new bureaucracy, young and cynical, have emerged, both of them protectors of the status quo

and without any vision of the future. In 1980 the future of Yugoslavia is thus very uncertain.

The fundamental political problem and the most urgent social problem in Yugoslavia at this moment is the absence of a genuine democracy. As we have seen, all of the apparently democratic forms — the system of delegating authority, of self-management, of the affirmation of the pluralism of the various self-managed interests, federalism, and the regulation of development with self-management by "agreements" and "covenants" — find their limit in the absolute monopoly of an authoritarian political party and its centralized leadership.

Finally, the lack of political democracy has quite serious repercussions in the areas of culture, the arts, social sciences, philosophy and the mass media. A large number of journals and newspapers have been suppressed since 1972. The case of the philosophical and sociological journal Praxis is only one example. A growing number of intellectuals find themselves black-listed, deprived of the right to publish or to express themselves in public.

The problem which confronts the Party leadership after the death of Tito is to know how to improve an extremely bad atmosphere in the sphere of culture. There is an extraordinary lack of debate on the important questions of social life in Yugoslavia. There is a profound crisis of Marxism, the study of which has become required in the schools and which is in the hands of careerists without talent, without culture and without conviction.

The only response of the youth to this type of study is almost identical to that of their fathers and grandfathers when faced with obligatory religious education before the Revolution. Everything created which is lasting in the present Yugoslav culture has nothing in common with the official ideology, does not support any social commitment, and expresses the spirit of a very great alienation.

## Philippines

In January, U.S.-backed dictator Ferdinand Marcos suddenly announced that he was ending martial law — just in time for Pope John Paul II's February visit. The Marcos regime started immediately to try and spruce up the city's vast Tondo shantytown. Houses were hurriedly constructed and even grass and trees planted to replace the shacks and garbage dumps in the small area the Pope was to visit.

A few days before the Pope landed, the People's Assembly for the Pope's Arrival (PAPA), a coalition of 32 religious and political groups, held a demonstration against the dictatorship calling for an end to the exploitation of students, workers and national minorities.

In fact, Marcos' lifting of martial law has not lessened his power one iota, which may be why the masses did not exactly celebrate when he made the announcement. Their reaction was stony silence. Tim McGloin, National Coordinator of the U.S.-based Friends of the Filipino People, wrote recently that Marcos: "may well be down to the last trick in his bag . . . This latest bit of 'hokus-pokus' is designed to keep the Philippines under martial law without the formality of the name, as Marcos will maintain his control over the military, his power to arrest anyone he deems 'subversive,' the authority to veto any laws he doesn't like, and will continue to rule by decree . . ."

"In addition to the New People's Army and the Moslem War, the emerging labor resistance, signified by the demonstration of over 30,000 workers last May 1 and the increasing visibility of the Catholic Church, through groups like the Christian Nationalist Alliance, as well as new alliances among traditional political groups, all are signs that the Filipino people have had enough."

In rural areas, the Muslim rebellion in Mindanao continues to fester, while the Maoist New Peoples Army (NPA) continues to grow, with some 3,000 to 5,000 guerrillas operating in the villages, despite the dramatic arrests of several of its key leaders. The NPA gains support by redistributing land to the peasants, by executing moneylenders who prey upon them, and by loaning money without interest. One peasant who joined them stated: "I would sooner be killed by a bullet than die of hunger."

While not all of the opposition groups want radical change in the villages, most of the various tendencies in the opposition want not merely the overthrow of Marcos, but an end to economic domination by the multinationals and the elimination of U.S. military bases. Since those bases are a springboard for U.S. imperialism, not only to East Asia but to the Persian Gulf oil fields, it is unlikely that the U.S. will give them up very easily. But it

is also clear that the 48 million-strong Filipino people have never stopped struggling against U.S. imperialism, from Teddy Roosevelt's day — when they fought a guerrilla war against U.S. troops and gained the support of American Blacks — to today.

## Southern Africa

Apartheid South Africa (Azania) has recently embarked on a series of desperate moves as its hour of reckoning with the Black masses grows closer. In January, the South African racists suddenly broke off negotiations with the leaders of the South-West Africa Peoples' Organization (SWAPO) who have been fighting as a guerrilla movement for over 20 years to free Namibia (South-West Africa) from South African rule. Even the U.S. and the NATO powers had urged South Africa to accept UN-sponsored elections, but, remembering the Zimbabwe elections and cheered by the election of Reagan, they balked and refused SWAPO's offer of an immediate cease-fire.

Instead, at the very time the negotiations were taking place in Geneva, South Africa stepped up its murderous raids across the Namibia-Angola border. Angola, which gives SWAPO bases, claims that 3,000 Angolan soldiers and civilians have been murdered by South African raiders since 1976. The South Africans call these raids, which also disrupt food and water supplies and cause mass starvation, "Operation Cowboy."

Late in January, South Africa suddenly turned its murderous attention to Mozambique, which has given the exiled African National Congress (ANC) an office in the capital of Maputo. South African commandos destroyed the ANC headquarters and killed seven people.

Inside South Africa itself, the government shut down two Black newspapers and banned the leaders of the Black Media Workers' Association, which had just ended a lengthy strike. In industry, the government is confronted with the growth of both strikes and large and militant new Black unions. One such union, the South African Allied Workers' Union, has seen its membership grow from 1,000 to 15,000 in six months. Inside Namibia, SWAPO, far from being broken, continues the fight more strongly than ever.

Another new development that did not make world headlines was the quiet founding, in 1980, of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (External Wing), regrouping activists from the new generation of Black revolutionaries who came out of the Black student movement around the martyred Steve Biko and the Soweto uprising of 1976. The new group seeks a concept of organization and revolution based on the self-activity of the Black masses inside Azania.

## Racist London bombing

On Jan. 18, at the home of a Jamaican family in Lewisham, South London, a bomb was thrown into a party of Black teenagers, killing 13 and injuring 30 others, some critically. The party was being held in the home of Mrs. Amza Ruddock, for 60 young people between the ages of 14 and 19.

This act of racial violence is but the latest incident that has aroused London's hundreds of thousands of Blacks. A public rally was held at the Moonshot Community center by Black organizations — including Race Today Collective, Black Youth Movement, Alliance of Black Parents Movement and others — to form a national alliance to combat the white racist National Front.

England, which always claimed it had no race problem, has had an influx of Black British citizens from the West Indies, where unemployment has driven thousands from their homelands to seek a better life in England. They found, instead, no jobs and a white racist attitude of violence, as the poor and unemployed compete for housing and jobs — a problem ignored by the Thatcher government.

## Mexico and Venezuela

More than 12,000 Mexican peasants recently blockaded all roads to the country's richest oil-producing region, in the states of Chiapas and Tabasco. Their action comes in a long fight with PEMEX, the state oil monopoly, which has been seizing their lands at will and devastating their crops, their livestock and their health with refinery pollution.

Meanwhile, the two-week old student rebellion in Caracas, Venezuela has spread throughout the country. What began as protests, occupations, and street fighting over the police shooting of a student on campus, has become demands by high school youth ranging from better school buildings, books for the libraries, and athletic fields, to more open admission to universities, and lower bus fares for youth.

The revolt has spread from Caracas to Valencia, where five students were shot by police; to Barcelona and Puerto La Cruz, where marchers blocked traffic for hours; to Cumana, where the students of Emilio Tebar Industrial School set up street barricades; and to Maracay, where students seized 15 buses.

These revolts by students and peasants, precisely in those two Latin American countries claiming to be exceptional in their oil wealth and supposed democracy, put the lie to such notions and show the Latin American revolt to be both continental and ceaseless.