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

by Michael Connolly

The 6,000 in Buffalo who gathered Oct. 19 to protest the racist murders of six Blacks in that city, told more of the truth of this election campaign than any of the hoopla, campaign rallies or rhetoric of Carter, Reagan, or Anderson. As Nov. 4 approaches, amidst a saturation of the three candidates in the newspapers, and on radio and TV, what has openly puzzled the media commentators even more than the deadening character of the campaign is the attitude of the electorate toward all the candidates. Where two dates in the newspapers, and on radio and TV, what has openly puzzled the media commentators even more than the deadening character of the campaign is the attitude of the electorate toward all the candidates. Where two years ago, "fast" was the obvious word; an attempt to characterize the American mood, by mid-October "dis- gun, "fear" and "hated" were the extreme terms they used to say. Some polls showed a record number of "undecided" voters; others pointed to a growing intensity of opposition within Black America and among women to Ronald Reagan's "New Right" platform. And as Reagan toured the country, the two forces that confronted him again and again were first Black students in the South, who expose his decades-long friendships with the most rabid segregationists, and then women's liberationists, following NOW's announcement that it would protest Reagan's vicious anti-ERA, anti-abortion program at all his rallies.

In the midst of all the campaign charges and countercharges, three persistently repeated themes have propelled Carter, Reagan and Anderson into a world far removed from any experienced by the American masses: the drive for ever-greater "military preparedness"; the call for a "re-industrialization" of U.S. capitalism; and the virtual exclusion of the crisis facing Black America from the campaign. What is needed for our protection, the contenders assure us, is vast new sums for the military — especially for missiles, nuclear missiles. What they promise, as they trade competing tax schemes and de-regulation proposals, is that a "revitalized" manufacturing sector will crowd American workers back to work. Where they are silent, is on the murderous racism that has reached a new, horrifying stage since the shooting of Vernon Jordan four months ago. It is no wonder that such a descent into fantasy-land serves to focus attention all the more on the deadly realities our societies face. It's on the newest expressions of opposition to those realities.

THE DRIVE TOWARD WAR

The truth is that it was Carter who continued the thoroughly bi-partisan escalations of the race to nuclear war with Russia. The year 1980 alone has included, in quick succession: Egypt's "Egyptian Employment Force," designed for attack anywhere on the globe; the shipment of massive quantities of arms and supplies for the Reagan administration's re-introduction of draft registration; the decision to go ahead with the $80 billion MX missile and the establishment of a new "military targeting" policy that would supposedly allow "limited" nuclear war.

Yet where Carter charges that Reagan's finger on the "trigger" of the nuclear war "is a real weapon" open to the world, a universal audible assent is heard, even into the highest ruling circles. And not only from such hardened militarists as Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, but also from nearly all the Western allies, themselves veterans of years of NATO war planning. They do not doubt Reagan's commitment to the fact of military preparedness that has reached a new, horrifying stage since the shooting of Vernon Jordan four months ago.

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

DRIVE FOR REINDUSTRIALIZATION

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

ON THE INSIDE

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Jobs to protest "low wages, the speed-up of machines, mills. But the stories aren't only about forming a union that is a damning indictment of the industry. Men and poor working conditions." —D. M.

When half a million textile workers walked off of their oppression, women today should only struggle for diversion from the national one against Japan.

"...to invest in Argentina is to have blood on your hands," before being forced out.

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

In Toronto, Linda Grobovicka and Virginia Smith discussed feminism as defined by the Nova Scotia Labor Women's Coalition which decided to invite 400 delegates to a conference promoting trade between Canada, Latin America and the Caribbean. Members of the Coalition for the Defense of All Rights in Argentina. The women protested the appearance of Argentina's secretary of Industrial development as guest speaker by setting the microphone and shouting that...
McDonnell-Douglas

Los Angeles, Calif. — A UAW meeting of the McDonnell-Douglas workers was held Oct. 17, at 12 noon, with one shift having dropped and more than 3,000 workers gave up their afternoon pay to discuss the proposed contract—and either accept it or go on strike.

Workers voiced their opposition to many aspects of the contract, including the seven consecutive days which represents only percent in real wages since 1980.

The majority of the workers vigorously protested the proposed contract, and the union leadership who were forcing them into accepting another bad deal. One worker said, "The union gives us the contract 45 minutes ago, and wants us to make a decision right now. Why didn't they give us our contract two, three days ago to give us some time to think about it, We have people up there who can't finish their sentence in 45 minutes. It's a company contract again."

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

The next day we heard that the contract was ratified by a small majority although only one-sixth of the workers showed at the meeting. Even one union delegate in the bargaining committee expressly rejected the contract from the speaker's platform, since many of the meetings, he said, were held behind his back.

Nurses wildcat in N.Y.

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

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

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

Because of the turnover in nurses, the aides are the only ones who are familiar with the wards and how to treat patients. I don't blame you if you try to tell a new RN how the ward works, she says, "Who are you to tell me?"

Don't allow the nurses or the doctors to take money and poor working conditions which they say imperil the patients' care. They had been working without a contract since the beginning of June 30. I know their complaints about understaffing, lack of supplies and equipment and mismanagement are true at Jacobi Hospital in the Bronx.

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

—Unemployed South Gate worker

Fleetwood

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

The union immediately put out a leaflet saying that everybody who participated in a picket line would be fired. The union had done nothing to stop the workers from losing their jobs, but was doing the company's work by reminding them that even if you are laid-off you can still be fired. That Saturday morning at 5:30 several women were fired. They didn't want to go in. I've also heard about the first-ever 100 percent "employee-owned" company in this country. It is South Bend Ball, a factory of 500 workers in South Bend, Ind. After five years, the workers now find themselves on strike "against themselves."

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

PRODUCTIVITY STILL CENTRAL

Any worker at Chrysler or Inland Steel can tell you that this competition and this increased productivity can mean the unashamed mass-speed-up and fewer workers left on the job.

As long as productivity is central and not the human being, especially the worker, will we ever end this crisis of lay-offs and plant closings. A change of ownership on paper is not any real way out. It means just another speed-up and dehumanization in many imaginative ways every day. It may seem to some like a small everyday struggle. But it is this same struggle that can grow into something as magnificent as the recent Polish plant occupations that shook that whole system to its roots and created a new form of struggle, the free trade union. In this daily struggle lies the only way out. What forms will it take in America, no one can predict.

Art Steel fight goes on

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

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

Another problem is when we petitioned the union president to raise our $15-a-week strike benefits, all we got was a runaround about "they would study the matter" for next week. When in effect all they said was "no no." The union tells us that anyone working an outside job during the strike will be brought up before the committee. How can we be expected to live on $15 a week?

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

Art Steel workers
WORLDWIDE REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENTS:

A great deal more was involved than writing about this in the Two Worlds column of the November issue, "Ideology and Revolution: A Study of What Happens That Happens After," which discussed Cuba's tail-ending of Russia. And more was also involved than editorializing that "Kennedy was on the Point of No Return," in the same issue. In this life and death question, with death looming as the more likely outcome, and in life as it exists now, the world had already come to an end and nothing could be done about it. On the contrary, new eyes were needed to see the new forces of revolution. It was a question both of reality and of philosophy to look at the whole globe for new points of departure.

As 1963 ended, with a new confrontation between India and Pakistan, the "peaceful coexistence" in Asia, we were opening new relations with freedom fighters in Africa, dissidents in China, the young people in the U.S. and the Third World. It was a question of nuclear armament in England. But what lowered above all others as masses in motion was the Black dimension in the U.S.

1963—The power of negativity

"The power of negativity — the dialectic — never ceases to amaze me," I wrote on Feb. 12, 1963. The reference was to the process by which the statement we had identified in Emanuel Durkin's Emancipation Proclamation had been transformed into American Civilization on Trial and signed by the whole National Editorial Board in a single day.

Since 1963 was the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, once the immediate missile crisis was over, Kennedy rushed to take advantage of that year. But more than the U.S. to have bases in Turkey. We demonstrated a doctrine could protect it from European invasion, there was no standing against European aggression for which the Doctrine was designed" (p. 10), or whether one brought it all the way to 1963. It was clear that instead of writing a mere statement on the Emancipation, American Civilization on Trial served as the beginning of a new development, which delved, at the same time, into Karl Marx's relationship to the Civil War and the post-war struggles for democracy and to Lenin's relationship to the Negro in the U.S. who was made integral to his 1920 Resolution on the National Question.

The pamphlet came off the press on the eve of the June 23 "Walk to Freedom" in Detroit when over a quarter of a million poured down Woodward Avenue to join their Black brothers and sisters. The point that had been made at the beginning was to look at the whole globe for new points of departure.
25 YEARS OF MARXIST-HUMANISM IN THE UNITED STATES

(Continued from Page 4)

met in 1959. An Italian edition of Marxism and Freedom for which I had written a new Introduction came off the press. And at home the intensification of activity among the youth which the Black revolt had inspired was matched by the publication of a new pamphlet, The Young Marxist-Humanist, and its extension as a regular broadside on the UCLA campus.

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

Just as we were making introductions, News & Letters for a special Mississippi issue in May, 1964, as well as in 1964, we published a special Hazard, Ky., issue. As soon as we had learned that the striking Kentucky miners had organized themselves into an Appalachian Committee for Full Employment, we sent down as our own reporter and designer, Kathy Ryan, the first woman who had been active in the historic 1940-50 General Strike and was now an editor of N&L. At the same time that we were working with the miners in Kentucky, we were also involved in new activities in Mississippi—the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project.

No sooner had the white students returned from their Mississippi Freedom Summer experience to their northern campuses, especially Berkeley, California, than they were at once thrown into a struggle with the administration over every question from the civil rights movement to what was at one time the most mass student revolt ever—the Free Speech Movement. Mario Savio, the philosophy student who had been thrust into the leadership of the FSM, contributed his "Berkeley, Fall", and Eugene Walker contributed "Mississippi Freedom Summer to our pamphlet The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution. By now we never separate on-the-spot "reports from below" from philosophy; the pamphlet carries two very different types of appendices: "Inside Sproul Hall" by Joel Pinsker, and "The Theory of Alienation: Marx's New Strand" by Bert Bendit, the gestures that had most frequently requested of me.

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

The very time that these great movements from practice were developing—in class battles, in the civil rights struggles, and in the student movement—a second (paper-back) edition of Marxism and Freedom came out which included a totally new chapter on the matrix for us by the celebration question had been posed: "Can There Be War Between, Russia and China?" As soon as the year 1965 as the crucial year of the collapse of Mao's aim for a Djakarta-Peking axis. Far from any new axis, what resulted was the bloody counter-revolution that would completely destroy the Communist Party of China.

Second, the group in Japan which had been singled out in 1959 for Yang's defamation of Marx's Humanist Essays, that she saw as the missing link of a philosophy of liberation as the 1960s were drawing to a close and guerrilla wars appealed to young people. Where all others in the New Left had their eyes fixed on the Cultural Revolution—accepting it as it was portrayed by Mao—we pointed to the year 1959 as the crucial year of the collapse of Mao's aim for a Djakarta-Peking axis. Far from any new axis, what resulted was the bloody counter-revolution that would completely destroy the Communist Party of China.

As for the Black uprisings that covered the U.S., it became ever more imperative to rediscover the main forces of revolution could become part of the new forces, and of course in our case that included women. We had also begun circulating draft chapters of Philosophy and Revolution/under the whip of the tanks rolling into Czechoslovakia came the very moment that the report we had received direct from Prague, "At the Crossroads of Two Worlds," was coming off the press. In our Aug.-Sept. 1968 issue, we printed an article written jointly by myself as Chairwoman of News and Letters Committees in the U.S. and Harry McShane as Chairman of the Marxist-Humanist Group, Glasgow.

It has become clear that although the one factor above all others that had motivated my trip to the East was the attempt to find collaborators for a new book on the relationship of philosophy to revolution, that task was mine. It took form as Philosophy and Revoluti...
AGAINST MILITARIZED SCIENCE & RELIGIOUS REACTION

The events of the last month, since I got my copy of Raya Dunayevskaya's article, "Against militarized science and religious reaction," have only served to make me think how far we have come, or have we? Poland, as an example, I wonder if you believe that religion can be revolutionary for Black Americans, but I got genuine excitement from your discussion of the road between Poland and the U.S.A. The way you expressed the word "labors" in the last section was also provocative. One hundred years after Marx's death it really seems that something is happening in his thought as a whole. They certainly don't do it in the political science program at my school.

Black student
Wayne State Univ., Detroit

... I found that the section "missiles, missiles, missiles . . . . but what about jobs?" in "From Poland to Miami" (Oct. N&L) was very interesting. I work as a freight handler on a loading dock in Los Angeles, and much that we unload from trucks is military hardware destined for local defense plants. Last spring we were out on strike with a sharp drop in the amount of freight coming onto the dock, and we were all worried about losing our jobs. But we didn't lose too many. After all, they have learned something about the war from their own experiences, and we have seen our comrades die in the fighting.

But we should still keep in mind that war causes people to be more patriotic. In fact, the war has played a big role in helping the forces may turn to nationalism and forget the international movements. They may support their reaction, not their movements, by aiding them overcome their enemies.

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

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

Iranian woman
California

Everyone is talking about how surprised they are that the Iranian army is putting up such a good fight. But in no way can their actions be considered a continuation of the revolution. Right at the very moment when Iran is fighting Iraq the Iranian army is putting up on the wall a copy of a Danish translation of the "17th of March" statement. This plant will be the first attempt by the government to industrialize the war causes people to be more patriotic. The endorsement of Reagan by Rev. Abernathy and Hosea Williams was the last straw for me in a long line of betrayals by the civil rights leadership.

But in any case, I've decided to get involved. I've felt for some time that I've been doing my job and that the women occupiers leave the hospital and that the anti-war movement succeeded in getting the old plant shut down. Guess I'm a little late to the party. Pine Bluff, Ark. I'm certainly not alone in wondering if the whole anti-war movement succeeded in getting the old plant shut down. Guess I'm just a little late to the party. Pine Bluff, Ark.
American women are fighting for the right to work, while Polish women are fighting for the right not to work. Here, one person can make enough to support a family, while for the average family in Poland it would be possible to survive — particularly if the family does not belong to the Party. Thus, responsibility for supporting the family falls on both the man and the woman. In addition to bearing and raising children, women also have a responsibility for working.

Everyone knows the economic situation of Poland. Not only is the majority of Polish women in the workforce, but they are working long hours in factories and mines. The struggle for the right to work is a crucial issue for both women and men in Poland. The Polish government has been trying to implement policies that would limit women's participation in the workforce, but this has met with strong resistance from the workers.

The National Women's Committee is one of the groups that is fighting for the right to work. They are supporting the workers in their struggle for better working conditions and higher wages. They are also advocating for a change in the law that would allow women to work longer hours.

The struggle is not just about economic issues, but also about freedom and democracy. The Polish government has been suppressing dissent and limiting freedom of speech, but the workers are fighting back. The struggle is not only for the right to work, but also for the right to organize and for the right to express their opinions.

The Polish government has been trying to suppress the workers' movement, but the workers are not giving up. They continue to fight for their rights and for a better future for all. The struggle is not just for the workers, but also for the entire society of Poland. The Polish government needs to listen to the workers and to the people of Poland, and to give them the freedom and the rights that they deserve.
Election fantasies vs. war realities

(Continued from Page 1) Without the capital to re-industrialize. If only U.S. industry, which could moderate its technology to the manufacturing wars, were told, American workers now on lay-off would be coming back to work by the hundreds of thousands. The measure of the government's National Minority Advisory Council on Criminal Justice could not conclude that the U.S. criminal justice system is used to control minorities.

We hailed Chrysler out with our pension money, our tax money and our wage cuts, they took the money and because of that they're writing authentic human beings. They only wanted a few of us. Most of our brothers and sisters are still on the street, while we are in here working to defend Chrysler. Chrysler's plan to compete with Japan is to end up with one workers would like to know: will that one worker have to support all the while collars and all the Solidarity House reps out of one paycheck?

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

Ford, for its part, is leading the way in internationalization of automated production, making its "Escort" a truly world car. Steering gears are to be made in Japan. Apheres are to be taken to ensure that a strike in one country will not halt production. Such internationalized factories are designed to drive the last of those "refractory hands," and replace them with machines.

What is clear in the string of racist murders of Black women and men is that we have a choice: do we continue the race wars, or do we begin to rid itself of all those "refractory hands," and replace them with machines.

No, the reality of Black America is a truly world car. Steering gears are to be made in Japan, so universal is that demand, especially as it comes from the Far East. What neither the corporate heads nor the candidates have understood is that each new stage of production brings forth a new, fuller stage of revolt. The internationalization of production can only rid the car factories of the last of those "refractory hands," and replace them with machines.

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Peoples’ uprising in Kwangju, Korea

The Kwangju events

On May 18th, more than 20,000 students of nine Kwangju-area universities and technical schools gathered at the square in front of the Cholla-namdo Provincial Building after peacefully marching, and held "a rally for national democratization." The situation changed completely when Martial Law was extended throughout the whole country on May 18th. In Kwangju students protesting the military move gathered in front of the school gate. The military suddenly raided the rally, stabbing a student leading the rally to death with a bayonet, and beat to death on the spot a professor who protested. Very rapidly the indiscriminate injuring and killing of citizens and students by the troops spread to the whole city, and the screams of the citizens and students watching the scene could be heard everywhere.

Of Kwangju’s population of 800,000, some 200,000 went into the streets on the 19th to demonstrate and confront the military. On the evening of the 18th, all telephone and public transportation services in the Cholla-namdo Provincial Building — were occupied by citizens, and all means of transportation including buses and taxis were manned by citizens.

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

There were many urgent problems to be tackled: the city had to be defended; the military, thousand of dead and wounded had to be buried or cared for; peace-keeping and administrative functions of the government had to be performed; students had to be cleared; and information had to be properly gathered, arranged and disseminated.

The people were now able to enjoy the freedom to stage demonstrations and rallies day after day — a freedom they had won on their own through their resistance to the government. No one shouldered the responsibility for autonomous control of the city.

As by as May 23rd, a Struggle Committee was organized together with a total of ten subcommittees.

May 26: "We Oppose Military Rule". 68,000 Kwangju citizens demonstrate

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

On May 26, one day before the takeover of Kwangju by the military, 40,000 citizens gathered demanding Chonnam University in Kwangju.

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

From a Kwangju leaflet

On the night of May 17, Chun Doo Hwan and his party extended Martial Law to cover the entire country and either arrested or detained all those from among the politicians and citizens and the masses who had seen and dared to speak up. The military measures were extended throughout the whole country on May 18th. Of Kwangju's population of 600,000, some 200,000 people were arrested and killed. What kind of theory, or what relation of theory to practice, is adequate for connecting the struggles of women for national democratization?

The students of Chonnam University, Chosun University, junior colleges and high schools and democratic citizens were stung to fury and carried out peaceful demonstration against the military. But Chun Doo Hwan’s group mobilized more than 30,000 riot police, surrounded the demonstrators, narrowed the entrance to the city, and cut off water and food to the people's retreat. And more than 3,000 paratroopers has­sledly sent from Seoul brandished bayonets like mad dogs, stabbing people randomly as if they were sticks, without regard to their sex or age. The military occupied the Cholla-namdo Provincial Building after peacefully marching, swept down on the people there, killing citizens and young girl students with their bayonets.

This barbarous killing provoked the wrath of the citizens, leading them to rise up in resistance. The paramilitary forces, frustrated by the citizens' resistance, stopped city buses and cars and arrested young people inside them, kicking and trampling on them at random with their combat boots. Now in the city of Kwangju, merely being a young man is itself a death sentence. At the time of this writing, those paratroop forces have been driven out by the citizens' uprising. All government buildings in Kwangju were burning, and all transportation and communication lines have been cut. The citizens are in charge of maintaining order throughout the Cholla-namdo province. But the military still leave this task to the police and soldiers who are killing their own people.

Kwangju, Korea — May 22, 1980

The U.S. and Korea

When General Chun Doo Hwan took over South Korea in his midnight coup of May 18 and sent his crack parachute troops into Kwangju to crush the people's uprising, the U.S. ignored it on the grounds that the appeal did not come through official channels. What constitutes a crisis in U.S. foreign policy? In fact, the U.S. did not reply simply because human rights are not its concern. The U.S. of course is afraid that should Chun Doo Hwan’s government win the spontaneous support of the South Korean people, South Korea may become another Iran. But as long as Chun's steel fist keeps South Koreans in line, whether by torture, arrests, Martial Law or "political development," Chun Carter, feels, should be supported.

Voices from Korea

We are writing in a situation in which people are afraid to talk to politicians, professors, friends, or even to each other. Our government calls up students and young people, and no one can dare to stand up straight.

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

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

June 18, 1980

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

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

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

July 21, 1980

Can feminist and anti-draft movements meet?

by Peter Wermuth

At many of the demonstrations against the war, women have been conspicuous... by women's liberationists on the same topic, as in the Los Angeles Women's Congress of Oct. 3, 5, where a day was devoted to the question 'Should Women Be Drafted?'

WOMEN, WAR AND FEMINISM

An important contribution to the discussion was provided in the Nation (July 16, 1980) entitled "Women, War, and Feminism," which has important ramifications for youth involved in anti-war movements.

Elshtain advances beyond the earlier arguments over whether or not women should be drafted and how women can play a greater part in the struggle against the new militarism.

These discussions criss-crossed with those being held among the people's liberation groups, and the military has to report on an hourly basis, preparing lists of the students who are joyous and reliable and, naturally, those who are not reliable.

THEORY FOR FEMINISM, ANTI-DRAFT

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

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

Clearly, much more is needed to involve women in youth struggles. Is not feminism's vision implicit anti-militarist? Can the movement develop a critique of this anti-militarist vision, in the light of the mid-1970s reassessment of its anti-draft stance?

Elshtain from the side of feminism has begun to assert that there is a need to develop a theory articulating the anti-militarist dimension of women's liberation. She states: "Such a feminist politics and theory, in my opinion, will mean that we can no longer accept the idea of women's liberation as simply one more stage in the continuing debate over women's place in the family..."

It is not only women who need such a "conceptual framework," but all anti-draft groups, which have to move beyond the "official channel" in a besieged city? In fact, the U.S. did not reply simply because human rights are not its concern. The U.S. of course is afraid that should Chun Doo Hwan’s government win the spontaneous support of the South Korean people, South Korea may become another Iran. But as long as Chun's steel fist keeps South Koreans in line, whether by torture, arrests, Martial Law or "political development," Chun Carter, feels, should be supported.

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NEWS & LETTERS
**ESSAY ARTICLE**

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

by Bob McGuire

Two events, China's H-bomb test in the atmosphere and the recent trial of the Gang of Four are in the headlines. However these cannot be separated from what is behind the headlines: the new labor aristocracy created by Mao and the resultant conditions of labor. Instead of the whitewash that articles such as those in *Autumn Fruit*, one of the many underground papers in what has been called Peking Spring, reported in April, 1979 how workers live in the factory housing and dormitories of Beijing No. 1 Cotton Textile Mill.

More than 500 married couples have no rooms at all, but live separated in exclusively male and female dormitories. Female workers with children have to stay in the "Mama Quarters"—each room occupied by two female workers, each with one or two children. One woman worker said, "After working our shifts, we cannot eat nor sleep. Usually, when one child gets ill, all the children in the quarters get ill, too; when one cries, all the others cry. Every day is an exhaustion for us."

More than one-third of the workers have heart disease or other occupational diseases, and the workers' children have not escaped either. The overcrowding has led to problems such as sexual molestation and causing accident. The winter homes for this project have been arrested—but only one student from a recent class had been accepted into the city's teachers' colleges, and only one athlete because he was very one-dimensional. "Back those workers with one child each. One woman worker said, "We do not want to substitute machines for hands. The eight-character policy is the current language for the primitive accumulation of capital in China."

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

The pretext for this transformation of the economy, the need to be in conformity with "objective laws"—that the law of motion of capitalist society is not new that state-capitalist China is subject to it. What is different is the rising number of relations with the world capitalist market, and so with the world economic crisis as well. Like the U.S., China is demanding "reindustrialisation", even though its first industrialisations in agriculture is still performed with hand tools.

Economist Xue Muqiao has declared (Beijing Review, Feb, 1981) that the "iron rice bowl", or right to the land formally eliminated the possibilities of discontent. The Business Week article mentioned above has a good deal to report on the eight-character policy, but it fails even to mention the military.

Even if we turn away from this reality and look at what the leaders are saying, we see that they can't avoid talking about the workers in production. But if we look away from the leaders, we find that the one, even at this year's Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, to wrap current economic against using only money incentives without political crisis as well. Like the U.S., China is demanding campaign of harassment and arrests. While invoking the Business Week article mentioned above has a good deal to report on "industrialisation", even though its first industrialisations are not new that state-capitalist China is subject to it. What is different is the rising number of relations with the world capitalist market, and so with the world economic crisis as well. Like the U.S., China is demanding "reindustrialisation", even though its first industrialisations in agriculture is still performed with hand tools.

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Quebec march to end War Measures Act

Montreal, Quebec—On Oct. 16, the tenth anniversary of the War Measures Act, I marched in a massive demonstration to demand an end to this anti-humanitarian, anti-democratic law. Ten years later, it has not been repealed. This, despite the fact that in the Duchaine report released Oct. 9 even the government admitted that “the War Measures Act of October, 1970 served as a “pretext for repression.”

There were at least 5,000 of us on the march, 15 abreast, of all ages and occupations. But there was not one visible sign that any of us were young. The march started from the site where the “1873 Patriotes” were imprisoned and stretched up to the Police Headquarters, the prison where the “1970 Patriotes” were held. Along the way people chanted and sang revolutionary songs. Then, when the marchers heard from speakers who were victims of the 1970 repression, the crowd responded, “What is life like in Quebec? What is making Trudeau keep the War Measures Act in reserve? Unemployment, automation (with a new name: “l'lnformatique”), and revolt demand the scene. Many of the youth are discouraged, and with good reason. The two-year CEGEP colleges and universities have become giant “knowledge factories.” Unemployment is so high that it can hardly be measured. But there are also voices of revolt and ideas of freedom in Canada today. Canada is not simply an intellectual question seeking an answer out of one of many signs of change. Labor struggles have been intense. More than 2,500 federal clerks from Quebec, Ontario and the Maritimes met with Trudeau and his cabinet ministers in front of their union offices in Ottawa to demand the resignation of union president Andy Stewart. Stewart was appointed for a six-month period, and refused to negotiate in working hours, terrible pay, and no protection from retaliation for those who participated in the strike.

Russell Means distorts Marx

Detroit, Mich.—At the Black Hills International Survival Gathering this past July, former American Indian Movement leader Russell Means delivered a scathing attack on what he considers to be “Marxism.” (Akwesasne Notes, Summer, 1980) It is a tragic setback to Native American liberation, which both Indians and others could work out theory and concretely the differences expressed in these essays. Russell Means is trying to close off the very pathways by which both Indians and others could work out theory and concretely the differences expressed in these essays. Russel demands that any theory be based on an objective situation, and to search for a unifying philosophy for the various conceptions and tendencies surrounding the Indian question.

Two views on Black Thought

by John Alan

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

Although both essays appeared to be dealing with the same subject, they do not seem to be as different in content as night is from day. The rebellion of Black youth in Miami last spring points out sharply and succinctly both the justice and relevance of their points.

That rebellion in Miami was not a remnant of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, either in theory or in practice. Nor is the youth there had categorically rejected the old “theoretical” ideas of the 1960s as shown by their defiant refusal to even listen to the established “experts.”

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


In an unusual show of unity, the Japanese-American community has openly condemned “Shogun.” Even the Pacific Citizen, a liberal national-Japanese-American newspaper, published an article titled “Outraged by Shogun,” meaning Outraged Outshun. This was heartening, but then I read In These Times, the social democratic weekly, in an editorial review about the aesthetic and magnificent pageantry of Japan, and it made me wonder.

"Shogun" is being denounced widely by the Japanese-American community, and it points that it painted an elaborate and fascinating portrait of early 17th century Japan, it went overboard Hollywood-style, in typifying an "orientalized" Japan.

First of all, it was a very bad idea not to translate the Japanese language for viewers. I understand that this was done in order to dered whether the screenwriter thought that this would convince the American public that Japanese culture cannot be modeled this way.

The portrayal of the Japanese women, including even Mariko, the heroine, as pure and perfectly "feminine," and with swelling and flat chests and the idea that all Japanese women are only to be taken and enjoyed.

Thirdly, the overwhelming message was that Japan is an insidiously militaristic culture, where citizens are likely to kill themselves at the drop of a sword. Of course. Japan had its feudal culture, and perhaps even the Bushido, but it was not laughed at, or questioned, by the people when the lords weren’t looking.

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

- Teru Ikki

Shogun stereotypes Japan

New York, N.Y. — I waited impatiently for the television showing of "Shogun" because it was about my country of ancestry, and because I hoped that it would show the Japanese-American community the real nature of the Japanese people and open the door to a better understanding of what the Japanese-American community has been speaking about all the time.

For Dr. Marable, the problem is to find the right strategy to direct the Black masses leftward, i.e. the right ideology. He proceeded to trace the "ideological roots" of the Black Nationalism movement in this country. Black suffering in Africa to "Marxist-Leninism-Mao tse Tung Thought" as if ideology was spun out of the head of a Baraka or a Malcolm, out of the heads of those ideologies are related or not related to Black reality.

The reality is that the problems and failures of the past 40 years is not due to some simplistic concept of integrationist vs. nationalist, but are within the relationship of leadership to Black masses. In other words, within the Barakas and the Nationals, the practices of the masses at each new stage of cognition—Black Power, rebellions in the cities, Black on Black violence—were translated into those ideologies.
Stop murder of Kim Dae Jung!

South Korea's new self-appointed tyrant, General Chun Doo-hwan, carried out a military coup in South Korea on Sept. 17 and has now arrested Kim Dae Jung to death on Sept. 17 and gave severe sentences to 23 equally-framed co-prisoners. Kim is a focal point of forces opposed to the new U.S. milit­ary presence in South Korea. His real crime is that he won a relatively free election against former dictator Park in 1971 and was bombarded and kidnapped by him in 1979 in Japan where he had been to protest on his behalf.

In 1980, General Chun put Kim in jail and, against the mass demonstrations demanding popular presidential elections, issued a draconian martial law decree. When the whole population of Kwangju revolted, he brutally murdered hundreds with the help of Korean police forces. Chun, supported by U.S. armed command, was in jail when the revolt he is being blamed for took place. By his own count Chun now has arrested over 46,000 in a law and order campaign against the P.L.O., and now jumping openly to take sides with the Khomeini regime, the mullahs' moves against the P.L.O., and now jumping openly to take sides with the P.L.O., in the position of being forced to choose sides between two of its most "radical" allies.

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

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

U.S. imperialism is, as usual, playing both sides, supplying Saudi Arabia with the most sophisticated weapons, deploying naval forces for alleged "defensive reasons," but it will allow neither side to win. It cannot openly declare "favoring" the Iranian revolution, nor can it declare "favoring" the regime in Iraq which it favors, so long as the U.S. elections are in progress. The unsolved hostage situation in Iran reflects declarations of neutrality, provo­cations of parts supplies, and stern warnings that Russia had better follow suit.

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

The war, if it continues as it seems to, will succeed in provoking the refinery capacities not only of Iran but, also of Iraq, that it will take no less than five years to restore. The damage to the economy of Iraq will more than frustrate the objectives of the Iran-Iran war and its ramifications: points for discussion

The attempt to portray the military dictatorship as a neutral authority above class antagonism, striving to free the working class from "terrors of the Left" and from the League of Iran and Syria is a "non-partisan" but hides the fact that the coup represents the militarization of an already very repressive state. The Turkish state has been supported from 1923 onwards by the Christian fascists; Britain helped the coup in both the Greek civil war and the Iraq war, and the French and Italian fascists have been individually and collectively involved with France in both the war against the Red Army, and in Morocco, and in the war in Abyssinia. In 1928, the Chinese dictatorship had been supported by the Japanese army, and in 1931, the Japanese had been involved in the war in Manchuria. By 1938, the Japanese army was already involved in the war in China, and in the war in Manchuria. 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