New opening to the Left in Europe

Socialist victory in French presidential election

by Peter Mallory

The May 11 victory of Francois Mitterrand, leader of the Socialist Party, over Giscard d’Estaing, for the post of President of France by over a million votes was celebrated in the streets at the Bastille, symbol of revolutionary France ever since the great French Revolution. Whether the present little revolution in electoral affairs will develop into any such great revolution is to be doubted. But, compared to the reactionary antics of the Reagan-Haig Administration here and that of Thatcher in Britain, the Socialist victory in France does create a new opening to the Left.

Mitterrand campaigned on the platform of a 35-hour week, a 10 percent increase in the minimum wage, a 20 percent increase in aid to the elderly and 50 percent increase in unemployment assistance for the poor. He called for nationalization of all banks and certain sectors of industry. With unemployment officially reaching 1.66 million people and inflation at 14 percent, his victory was not a great surprise.

WHAT ABOUT THE COMMUNISTS?

Mitterrand’s victory came with the help of the 500,000 member Communist Party, which has been steadily losing influence among French workers. Over the last year they have lost 100,000 members and their vote declined by 25 percent. They still control the largest union federation in France, the General Labor Confederation (CGT), with its two million members. However, there is no reason to give the Communists the two million membership. Quite the contrary. Just as May, 1968 revealed how deep were the divisions between the Communist leadership and the rank-and-file so that they forced the CP to join the near-uprising of the students, so, present­ly, the CP members have just shown in union elections that many thousands of them voted for the Socialists.

A look back into history will show that the Communists, like the Socialists, run back to capitalism embrance when the masses really hunger for workers’ power.

In Great Britain


In this extremely moving book, a Black worker, formerly known as Matthew Ward, recounts his life from lowly beginnings in the semi-slavery of the U.S. South to the hurly-burly of the giant motor firms at Detroit in the North. The book is a vivid account of the racism and exploitation he suffered and witnessed. Against this sombre background it is not without humor, and one finds it difficult not to laugh at many of the incidents he recalls when the situation he is in is enough to bring tears to your eyes.

While Denby has every reason for feeling bitter about his experience, he is not without hope. He was involved in many successful struggles of workers against the motor bosses and union bureaucrats. Particularly interesting is his account of the civil rights movement and such things as the Montgomery Bus Boycott and other campaigns in the 1950s, and the massive civil rights march on Washington in 1963.

Denby’s optimism is reflected in his editorship of the American Marxist Humanist paper News & Letters, while treating their everyday subject matter in quite a theoretical way, he never loses touch with everyday experiences of ordinary workers. To British readers who are perhaps not versed in the sections on the various political groups in the book, such as the Communists, Trotskyists, etc., are very similar to the situation over here where these groups are constantly jostling for power in the union and other movements, often trampling over the interests of the shop floor workers engaged in day to day struggles against management and union bureaucracy.

We cannot recommend this book too highly. It is available in a British edition from Pluto Press; unfortunately the title has been changed to A Black Worker’s Testament and not Journal.

---Reprinted from Hyde Park Socialist

In Germany

In the Richest Country in the World

published by Rotbuch Verlag, Berlin
available from News & Letters

German title: Im reichsten Land der Welt

In America

Throughout the book Denby wants to show how the Blacks were suppressed both in the North and in the South. In the South it was done openly, whereas in the North it was more sophisticated.

Denby returned to the auto factory again in Detroit in 1963, and by this time the auto industry had unions. The unions were controlled to a large extent by the bureaucrats. The union leaders were no longer so willing to help the whites. The Blacks never got a fair deal. The Black workers had

In 1960 the Popular Front government under Leon Blum had a clear mandate from the workers, a clear majority in parliament, the backing of a general strike and wave of sit-down strikes, the first in French history. Clearly the question of workers’ power was high on the agenda.

That was the last thing that the leadership of the Socialist and Communist Parties wanted. The Communists refused support except on specific issues. Blum vacillated and the opportunity was lost. The Popular Front was consolidated in Germany. Stalin signed the Hitler-Stalin Pact, which was supported by the French Communist Party. Germany occupied the Ruhr, and the Popular Front government, and produced the Vichy regime, the French government that served the German fascist masters.

Closer to our day, the election seven years ago showed a solid block of voters’ votes for Mitterrand, when Giscard won the parliament in the Wahlen votes. That election was lost due to the betrayal of the Communists and the pusillanimity of the Socialist leadership.

What remains great, and gives cause for optimism, is that a solid block of 50 percent of the electorate is fed up with the status quo and is ready for a change. The French capitalists and the Reagan-Haig Administrations are quite alarmed that a Socialist is assuming power. Mitterrand promises to nationalize all banking, French banking is now 83 percent nationalized and seems to survive. He has also promised to nationalize some segments of French industry. Twelve percent of French industry is nationalized, and it is feared that Mitterrand has indicated are due for nationalization are consumed, it will bring the grand total of French nationalization to only 17 percent of industrial capacity. Government ownership of industry is not, by itself, the solution to the problems of any country. Without workers’ control of the factories, the same exploitation of the worker continues with the state in the role of the exploiter in place of the individual capitalist. Stalinist Russia, Maoist China and the string of their so-called Communist satellites bear witness to these facts of life. Nationalization, without workers’ control, can only strengthen and reinforce state-capitalism, not build socialism.

LEFT OPENING IN ITALY AND GERMANY? Surprisingly, the French elections came the referendum on abortion in Italy. There, an overwhelming majority of the workers voted to retain the liberal abortion law. The bill to abolish abortion was backed by the Pope who was loudest, all the Catholic hierarchy and the neo-fascists. One woman who interviewed said, "Abortion is a matter too important for a mere man, not even the Pope to decide." And the woman was a Catholic! There is no doubt whatever that the Women’s Liberation Movement is a force in Italy.

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(Continued on Page 10)
Fanon and women's liberation

work. It is rather to say that 20 years later it is evident that the concept of women's liberation is now so deep that we must never separate the concept of woman as a whole from the concept of revolution. No separation between her activity within the revolution, her liberation as a woman, and her creativity as a thinker in her own liberation struggle for a new society, can any longer be tolerated.

It is this grasping of woman as revolutionary subject and as a thinker that is particularly crucial. Black women, nationally and internationally, historically and today, have continually represented this unity of thought and activity, of reason and revolution.

What sharply brought this to my mind recently was the experience I had in giving a presentation and listening to the discussion in a sociology class in New York. Attended by 15 working women, Black and white, who are interested in the Women's Liberation Movement. Part of the discussion centered on Black women in Africa and America. The white women asked several questions—one of them being: "Why do we discuss Black women's struggles? There are many women who struggle. This includes Native Americans, Hispanics and poor white women."

BLACK WOMEN'S EXPERIENCE

One Black woman responded by saying, "That is definitely true, but I would like to talk about my own experience on how Black and white women are separated. I joined the army for economic reasons. Yet, when I entered, the jobs weren't any better for Black women than anywhere else. White women were always upgraded and given the lightest duties in clerical work. But the Black women in hospital jobs were also forced to do more menial tasks—even something as trivial as picking leaves off of fences."

Everyone agreed that this was an important example.

Still, a White woman, who earlier raised the question of getting a career, asked, "But isn't it true that all Black and white women are separated? And, then, try to live in her place for one week!" But another White woman said, "You can't concentrate on the separation. Are we not Black women?"

This exchange brought into focus that there are specific conditions that Black women are forced to live under and that is the reason. If we do not talk about these specific conditions, we will never know how Black women have fought historically, and are fighting now, to overcome their oppression. And more importantly, there will only be an abstract unity or a false unity of Black and white women's liberationists: not a unity that can help to overcome the racist, sexist, class-ridden reality we all face.

The idea of women's liberation is beginning to be discussed today by women, Black as well as White, who see it as concrete in their lives. Women's liberation is an idea whose time has come. This discussion by many working women, Black as well as White, shows that the idea of Black women as revolutionary will move that idea forward towards its full social realization.

International Women's Day
March 8, 1981
Dedicated especially to the working women of South East Asia

Missing now, the shouts and cries of a subordinate consciousness, of a people emerging in the braces of a long-felt dream of sameness—

we could have been molded together as leaves caught in the same branches of a long-felt dream of sameness—

we knew our sisters—One young Black woman heatedly responding by asking, "If that is so true—why don't you go down to 118th street, knock on someone's door and say 'We are sisters.'" And then, try to live in her place for one week!"

Hundreds of women rallied at the state capital in Lansing, Mich., on May 20 to protest national and state government attempts to eliminate public funding for Medicaid abortions, even in cases of rape and incest.

In Bombay, India, the Forum Against Rape is calling for the exchange of ideas, in the form of books, magazines, films, etc., with the women's movement in other countries. The group was formed by 100 women in November, 1980, to discuss demands relating to women in the workplace and in Solidarity. Contact Krasowna Krawczyk, 313 University Warszawski, Klasa Sigma, 4, Krakowski Przedmiescie 84, 00-325 Warszawa.

(Courage, West Berlin)

NY protest links feminist, anti-militarist struggles

New York, N.Y.—On May 16, a day designated International Day of Action for Reproductive Rights by numerous women's organizations, over a thousand people marched and rallied, expressing their support for the struggle of women to control their lives, and showing their opposition to all of the vicious attacks against human beings perpetrated by the Reagan regime.

Although the rally's participants were mostly white, middle-class women, and very few high school students, the speakers—Black women, Latina women, gay women—did not limit themselves to raising the single issue. Their refusal to separate the issue of self-determination for women from other struggles for liberation brought a depth and special spirit to the gathering.

The mother of one of the children murdered in Atlanta spoke about the connections between the presence of the Reagan administration, and the racist attacks against Black people in this country, and said that racism and militarism must be fought on all these fronts. "We come from the American Heritage Action Committee said, "The dynamic of events in El Salvador cannot be considered apart from the actions taken in the U.S. We cannot buy phony divisions between races. There is only one viable option—resistance." A young El Salvadoran woman talked about the fact that the money that is being used to kill the poor in El Salvador, destroying the pervasiveness of the crisis that we all face, but also the massive attention to war that has arisen in the U.S. and all over the world.

Their determination to confront the immoral minority on every level was expressed in a very moving way by a friend from El Salvador, who, upon hearing the chanting and seeing the banners outside his window, while he was at work, rushed out and joined the marchers.
Seattle, Wash.—Here at the Terminal Annex, the main mail distribution point for the city, there has been a lot of national strikes to the surprise of the con­tract in July drags near. But what many of us, especially those classified as “part-time flexes,” are thinking about is the daily deterioration we face that seems to be beyond remedy by anything the union might do with contract bargaining.

Stones against the post office are illegal. Added to this is the fact that perhaps as many as 40-50 percent of the workers here are non-citizens, mostly Koreans and Filipinos. The working conditions are terrible. One Chinese woman, who speaks little English, is very worried about her job because she has heard that if there was a strike all of the non-citizens would be the first laid-off, or worse, deported. I asked a shop steward about this and he said that the problem would be less severe with the new job classification.

We have no rights’

“Part-time flexes,” such as myself, are on the bottom of this scale. As far as I can see after a few months working here, we have no rights. We are “guaranteed” only four hours work per day. But we can be forced to work ten days in a row, ten hours per day, without a day off. They can change your shift with only one day’s notice, making it impossible for workers who have to arrange child care. We are not encouraged to join the union by even the union itself.

UMW rank-and-file force better contract

Uniontown, Pa.—“This new contract wasn’t negoti­ated by President Sam Church,” said a rank-and-file coal miner following the UMWA District 5 contract informa­tion meeting held Tuesday, June 3.

“We threw out the Church contract, just like we threw out the national negotiating committeemen who approved Church’s first contract. We wasted a lot of time and money to get back what Church gave away in the first contract.”

Church’s first contract was rejected by a two to one vote during the end of March. In subsequent UMWA dis­trict elections, miners threw out virtually every national negotiator who had approved the first contract, which miners considered to be a sellout and “guaranteed” only four hours work per day. In talking to one worker I could see that program­ming is part of this whole society. This worker told me, “I’m real happy he won. The worker was telling me, “I’m real happy he won. The

No safety from NY transit

New York, N.Y.—The recent fire under a train on 53rd Street where 23 people were hurt was terrible, but not surprising. The problem is the garbage on the tracks. When the wires under the cars are worn, a fire can start. When the trains are running in an enclosed area like that, the smoke can be very dangerous.

Another thing that came up recently is these ridicul­ous complaints in the media and by the politicians that the workers are not doing their job. Supposedly because the repair workers will all be on vacation. The truth is that we have to take our vaca­tions when the city gives the O.K. We have to pick a time they want.

I believe it’s all a maneuver to get a subcontractor to do the job if they think they can get away with it. That is exactly why robots were intro­duced to the plant. The workers see that they are being replaced by a near image of themselves, by cap­i­talistic new dead bees and unfeeling robot.

Everyone programmed

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Factory planners try to program us like robots

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

In the six weeks since we have been back to work at GM under auto's new stage of production—unification—I can see that these robots have really changed the think­ing of the workers. They see that management has been trying to program them for all these years, just like the robots.

Management has always told workers what to do and when to do it. That is exactly why robots were intro­duced into the plant. The workers see that they are being replaced by a near image of themselves, by cap­i­talistic new dead bees and unfeeling robot.

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WHOLE SHIP ON OVERTIME

With all this “dead wood,” the company never­theless continues, in its own perverse way, that it is not those robots but the workers who produce the real value of the car. That is why workers have begun referring to both the robots and management as “dead wood.” When GM finally put the sales prices of its new cars it blew the workers’ minds. All of them said that they would rather stick to their old cars than buy one of these “small gas-guzzlers” for $10,000. Only politicians and bureaucrats can afford them.

We all agreed that it’s very hard to get any real change in society simply through elections. Only when the whole mass of workers and poor are out in the street day after day, when the whole country goes on strike like in Nicaragua and makes a revolution, then there is a chance for real change.

By John Marcotte

There was a lot of talk in my shop about Socialist President Mitterrand’s election in France. A Dominican worker was telling me, “I’m real happy he won. The people there want a change from the unemployment and inflation, like here. But I don’t really expect him to do what he promised.

Look at President Antonio Guzman of the Domini­can Republic—a Social-Democrat, We elected him to really change things, to bring land reform to the peasants and a different life for workers. But what has he done in his three years? He’s only made himself rich and given power to his follow­ers. Now he’s going to be fighting for the eight-hour day. A shorter week would also create jobs for a lot of unemployed blacks and single women. They are many in my shop and they refuse to work overtime on principle, though we all need the money. And every contract negotiation, some workers say, is like a game.

But as my Dominican friend pointed out about politi­cians like Guzman and Mitterrand, “They always use the poor to get into power, and then turn to the monied class. In a way they have to, because that class holds the economic and military power and can overthrow or assas­sinate us. We can’t forget the experience of Allende in Chile.”

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Middle East women: liberation and social revolution

by Neda Azad

Much has been said about the numerous obstacles Middle Eastern women face in their struggle for liberation. These three prisons: the father's house, the segregated school, and the husband's confinement. But there are times—revolutionary times—when Middle Eastern women crack some of these prisons. They begin to break the walls of illiteracy, total economic dependence, hunger and poverty, and the "women's issues," which are often defined as physical and mental abuses towards women as well as sexual division of labor. This is particularly pivotal because we are within—and even the United Nations has been forced to describe—what is known as the International Women's Decade.

Last July's Copenhagen conference—the U.N. mid-decade conference on women—will throw some light on the situation of Middle Eastern women. The delegation of women sent by the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) has not been allowed to enter the conference. This is in contrast to some of the other delegations, such as those of Palestinian, Iranian, and Algerian women. As well as wanting to see how the struggles of women are related to the liberation of the entire Middle Eastern region, this delegation is part of the Palestinian resistance movement. Using its political weight, the PLO was able to force the conference to cancel any resolutions which could have "legitimised" the PLO's resistance movement during the war. As one Algerian woman active in the political movement wrote, "For them (the men) the only worthwhile issue is the Palestinian struggle against the occupation, and they are unwilling to put any of us into the liberation of Palestinian women. Why . . . Without this struggle Palestinian women could end up in the same condition as Algerian women. Today Algerian women are still in their homes, just like my mother, like my grandmother." This is really the crufty of the matter. If all the question is not only the Palestinian women, but, as we shall see, in Iran as well.

Women and the Palestinian Movement: living contradiction?

Perhaps nowhere more sharply than with the Palestinian question does the conflict between the conflicting currents and necessary interrelationships of competing nationalisms, of class, and of women as revolutionaries become evident. Last July's Copenhagen conference—the U.N. mid-decade conference on women—will throw some illumination on these conflicts. The delegation of women sent by the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), far from raising issues of women in the Middle East, especially in a struggle where the liberation of Palestinian women is inherent in the liberation of the entire Palestinian people. The delegation of women, saying, "What (is) the point of striving for liberation of the Palestinian people and simultaneously for my emancipation as a woman." Perhaps nowhere more clearly than with the Palestinian question does the conflict between the conflicting currents and necessary interrelationships of competing nationalisms, of class, and of women as revolutionaries become evident.

But there are Palestinian women who are raising questions other than "anti-Israel." Raymonda Tawil, a Palestinian journalist, participant and organizer of a number of strikes and sit-ins against the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories, writes: "Women have always been active in the Palestinian Movement, instead of allowing the universal demands of that Movement to help pose a way out of the Middle East maze by asking ourselves: 'What (is) the point of striving for liberation of the Palestinian people and simultaneously for my emancipation as a woman.' But let us ask ourselves: 'What (is) the point of striving for the liberation of the Palestinian people, if every one of us is oppressed as a woman—whether we are in a liberation movement or live in a 'liberated country.' There is no alternative which will encompass the liberation of all, including the Palestinian women?"

As if this were not enough, when the same delegation of women vehemently denied that the right of the Palestinian woman to control her own body was even an issue, Khamsin, for example, a weekly newspaper published in the same delegation, spoke as follows: "It is not a priority to speak about abortion . . . every society has its own priorities. We don't think it matters to think about feminist problems."

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Egyptian women demonstrate March 8, 1979. "In the dawn of freedom there is no freedom."
A 1981 view of Marx's 1841 dialectic

Middle Eastern women: liberation and social revolution

Fadela Mrabet, an Algerian feminist who comes from a family of Ulama (elders of Islam) and is a writer, states in Women's studies in the Middle East: "I am among the many women who bitterly attack the narrow religious concept of women's development and strive to nullify it. I am trying to break with the tradition of phallic phallicism that just as Algeria was once a colony for the French, so women remain a colony which exists for the benefit of men." Mrabet points out that, "The bourgeoisie in pre-tending to maintain the oppression of women seek in exaggeration proof in order to create other women." All of which, she adds, "takes place under the cloak of Islam or its variants, 'sacred tradition,' glorious past."

In her quest for a theory of revolution, she rejects the concept of "evolution" of women's role in the context of constant small changes in the social and economic relations of production, and she calls for a more radical approach to the problem.

Mrabet also criticizes the failure of the Western feminist movement to engage in the "Ruthless criticism of all that exists, ruthless in theory, ruthless in practice, ruthless in every institution and every custom and every policy." She sees this as the key to the role the young Marx is history. The contemporary history which was pulling at the student Marx was in his thesis as stated if it were only through an analysis of the historical context which it was expressed in his so-called Notebooks makes it clear that it was actual history — the crisis in contemporary Germany. For, as he himself has written, it was Hegel and society that was so, it was both Hegel and the Left Hegelians (of whom he was one) that Marx was breaking from. His point was that if the master (Hegel) had accommodated himself to reaction­

ary reality, one must analyze the accommodation not merely to explain it, but in order thereby to discern the inadmissibility of the philosophical principle which com­

RESSARICLE

Middle Eastern women: liberation and social revolution

(Continued from Page 4)

and women after the revolution. Alexandra Kollontai, the Russian revolutionary, is praised because of her dedication to women's liberation and her initiative in raising the status of women. Rather than taking the dialogue between Zetkin and Lenin as the point of departure for today, we need to recreate the dialectics of liberation with women's liberation as an integral part of the whole. Lenin and Zetkin did not only see that, was human. Lenin for his "time when he singled out the movements of the national minorities for self-determina­tion. We need to realize that the writing of the Notebooks makes it clear that Marx has feminism within it and genuine feminism finds its most critical, that is revolutionary, expression within Marxism."

One way of seeing what happens when you sub­ordinate women's liberation to the struggle as a whole, stands out glaringly in the unfinished revolution in Algeria.

Algeria: Unveiled and Re-veiled

The self-sacrificing descriptions by Frantz Fanon in A Dying Colonialism, the revolutionary transformation which took place in the life of Algerian women when they began to participate in the national liberation movement and began to work for their liberation as well, the Front for National Lib­

eration (FLN) — a group that was grounded in a full revolutionary theory that would involve women as revolutionary force, nor had any clear vision as to what." We now know that, he wishes to create one the colonizer was overwhelmed by the magnitude of the insur­

Germany, 1840, the great irresolvable contradiction between Hegel's Absolute Idea and Prussian reality.

Deb Dear CD:
The latter is the usual starting point for the part of the book' on Marx in 1841 rather than 1843. The latter is the year Marx broke with the bourgeoisie and its state, so the Philosopher-Economic Essays, 1843-44, was a new "— a new "Humanism" — and a new concept of revolution — proletarian revolution.

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U.S. LABOR BATTLES: COAL MINES TO GARMENT SHOPS

Despite the election of Bobby Sands to parliament, the British government refused to offer any concessions whatsoever to the hunger strikers, even when they went on strike for the last time to protest against the lifting of internment. The unions rejected their demands.

The single most disgusting thing about the hunger strikers is that they dare to call themselves a "beginning," while the British government simply refuses to offer any concessions whatsoever to the hunger strikers, even when they go on strike for the last time to protest against the lifting of internment. The unions rejected their demands.

One guy even stood up in the New York City council chamber and shouted, "Why do the unions allow these cap-" But he was quickly interrupted by the presiding officer, who said, "Mr. Speaker, order!"

The newspaper headlines read, "Another contradiction in a union contract." It seems far less convinced than the inter-union leaders, who have produced this stockpile in the form of a new contract.

The question of abstract justice or humanitarian sentiment is the first condition of any society. The single most disgusting thing about the hunger strikers is that they dare to call themselves a "beginning," while the British government simply refuses to offer any concessions whatsoever to the hunger strikers, even when they go on strike for the last time to protest against the lifting of internment. The unions rejected their demands.

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On Jan. 25, after gasoline had been poured around Ms. Smith's house, Henson and several other white men cursing and shouting came in through the broken window, hurling at her with karate moves. She shot him. To contact the defense coalition, write to:

Anna Smith Small Defense Fund
P.O. Box 23234
Cincinnati, OH 45229

WOMEN'S POWER
STAVES ITULY'S
POLITICIANS

In a stunning upset victory over the ruling Christian Democrats and the Catholic Church, Italian voters defended a pro-choice, pro-abortion law in a national referendum, 68 percent to 32 percent. The terrorist attack on Pope John Paul II, who had campaigned personally and actively against abortion, had led to "certainty" in the press that abortion would be repealed.

As stunning as the site of the pro-choice vote was its geographical location — almost as much in the rural South as in the industrialized North of the country. Italian feminists, who for years waged a militant campaign against both sexism on both the Left and in the larger society, winning the legalization of abortion. The present law allows abortion only in a hospital for women over 18 in the first 90 days of pregnancy.

In terms of Italian politics, the vote on abortion has been as great a landmark as the French elections. Women and youth, surged by the thousands into the streets of Rome and other cities to celebrate when the results of the vote were announced, many of them carrying red flags.

Observer
Paris

JAPANESE NUCLEAR CRISIS

One of the greatest Japanese political crises since the Lockheed scandal, if not since the 1960s, is now brewing. Most shocking to the Japanese people was the revelation in May that U.S. nuclear weapons had been transported across Japan, and that even after这个人 had gone to a secret understanding. So opposed are the Japanese masses to nuclear weapons that even their patrons, the military and the general population, that even the conservative governments in power since the 1960s have never dared openly to allow U.S. nuclear weapons on Japanese soil. Japanese public opinion was already furious over another incident with U.S.

nuclear weapons on April 9 — the way in which the 0.001-ton George Washington nuclear submarine rammed a Japanese fishing boat — but now the damage and the threat of nuclear weapons have pierced the heart of the nation without stopping to help drowning fishermen.

In addition, N&L's "Three Mile Island" is possible at the Tsunaga nuclear power plant, one of 21 plants already in operation. A accident on March 9 contaminated at least 55 workers.

Anti-nuke activist
New York

FROM READERS OLD AND NEW

I am most interested in the articles in N&L about women's struggles, and what divides old/young, middle class/workng class women. Also, I appreciate the international dimension of your content. The U.S. press is woefully remiss in this regard! I especially love "Women Worldwide". And congratulations for taking the viewpoints and problems of young people seriously. I am enclosing $3.50 for a year's renewal of my subscription.

Manhattan, New York

We find your publication valuable because our patrons, the staff, faculty and students of this school, find it to be a helpful and informative source of information and editorial viewpoint not found in the conventional press.

Librarian
Sacramento, Calif.

I first came across N&L in the International Directory of Little Magazines and Small Presses. I was very happy to correspond with you on what is going down in Oregon. You should understand, on this side of the Pacific, the issues are very conservative. However, many communities have a substantial concentration of "hippies." In Portland, there is a large and vocal gay community. I am sure there are some Marxist-Humanists, although I have not met any yet.

New reader
The Dalles, Oregon

Please enter a one-year subscription for me. I have been reading your paper on and off for a few years now, picking one up whenever I could. I have also read Raya Dunayevskaya's book Philosophy and Revolution, and feel that the 1960s need to provide a much-needed perspective. Keep it up!

New subscriber
Battle Creek, Mich.

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This year marked the 20th anniversary of the Freedom Rides, a pivotal moment in American history when young people stood on the barricades of Black and white freedom fighters out to uproot racism in the South. The courage of these riders set an example for all people who would fight against injustice and oppression. This is the story of how the Freedom Rides came to be and how they continue to inspire us today.

The Freedom Rides, as they are known today, began in May 1961, when a group of white students from more than 100 colleges and universities joined with African American students and civil rights activists to ride interstate buses into major southern cities, including Atlanta and Birmingham. The purpose of the rides was to test and challenge segregation laws that had been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1954.

The Freedom Rides were met with violence and harassment. Buses were attacked, riders were beaten and arrested, and the news media ignored the story. But the Freedom Riders persisted, and their courage and determination helped to bring about changes in the Civil Rights Movement.

Today, the Freedom Rides are remembered as a turning point in the struggle for civil rights. They helped to bring about the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which outlawed discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

In conclusion, it is necessary to stress that this collection of Biko's writings is not the whole but a selection of his works that shows the depth of his thought and the importance of his work in the struggle against apartheid. Steve Biko's ideas and his vision of a new society have continued to inspire people around the world.
Iran: the struggle continues

Interview with young Kurdish revolutionary

( Editor's Note: Below we print excerpts from an interview with a Kurdish revolutionary.)

Today the hatred of the people of Kurdistan towards the ruling regime of the Baath has reached its peak. The Kurdish masses have also rejected the compromising tendencies within the Kurdish movement. Meanwhile, the suppression of the Kurdistan region in Iraq, the formation of the Baath regime in Iran and the call of the Islamic Republic of Iran to "support" the agenda of the Islamic Republic, Tehran will keep talking about peace, and they send commissions, report on their actions, they are continuing their vicious attacks.

There was a heavy clash just a few weeks ago. Even the few remaining hostages were no longer able to endure the quantity of the suppression by the regime. After the war started, the regime sent even more forces to Kurdistan. On the same day that the armed forces of Iraq were bombing Abadan, the Iranian regime was bombing Mahabad. The army of the Islamic Republic, while it had gained the upper hand in Iraq, was showing Mahabad with 13 napalm shells every minute.

This WAR HAS NOT had any effect on the policies of the revolutionary forces of Kurdistan toward the government of Iran. The Kurdish Democratic Party announced that if the government accepts our six points it would be premature to talk about peace. This was the truth. The people of Kurdistan have experienced the crimes of the Baath regime, the government of Iraq, the crime of the war in the southern part of Iran and the war in Iraq. The murderous acts of the Iraqi army in Kurdistan have shown the true face of the Baath regime to the Kurdish masses more than before.

The slogan of the Kurdish people has always been struggle for self-determination. We have two demands: freedom from Iraq. This means that self-determination for Kurdistan cannot be separated from democracy for Iran, and we cannot say that in one part of Iran self-determination should be made and in the upper parts of Iran, people should live under this kind of dictatorship. Of course, if this is the case, we will say this is a demand that people do not do any activity around it, this will eventually lead the struggle astray.

WE SHOULD struggle for today is self-determination in every area in every region of the area, from self-determination in every country to revolution in the whole region. During the 1977-78 fight of grapefruit pickers, against the undocumented immigrants in these times of war, we're not allowed to say anything else. I interrupted him and said, "He doesn't let us speak." It was then that they said, "We're not alone, we're not alone." One other problem is that the factory has become like the "thousand family" (a reference to the Shah's family that controlled everything) in Iran. We're not alone. Our elected council has allied itself with the managerial board, they do whatever they want and we have no say.

For example, they can hire whoever they wish. Last month they hired someone with a high school diploma. A month ago they don't even have a double shift and hire a few more workers. We gotta get into a fight with the engineer. We gathered other workers to go and talk to him. The engineer then came and said, "This factory is in debt. You have to work double shifts to solve this problem."

We objected and raised 14 demands, some of which were met and some were not. They paid the workers about 32,000 rials. This shows that matters are not under our control. This council is not beneficial to us, and all the workers in Mahabad now have a strike.

As for the others, the people of Kurdistan should have the right to choose whether they want to be a part of Iran or not. You cannot force self-determination in Iran on these people. Making the decision under the conditions of oppression is not truly making a decision.

Immediately after the toppling of the Baath regime, the Kurdish revolution against the despotism of the big landowners and in many areas, peasant councils were created. The government also suppressed these peasants and landless people who did not want to leave Kurdistan. That is because the Kurdish people have always been under suppression and have always been repressed by their central government.

As I said before, self-determination in Kurdistan is not separated from the freedom of Iran or Iraq or Turkey. This is very much felt by the people of Kur­distan.

An Iranian metal worker

( Editor's Note: The following story is from a young metal worker who labors in a factory outside Tehran, Iran.)

One of the big problems in the factory concerns our pay. This factory pays 32,000 rials but doesn't allow us to do work, we're not allowed to say anything else. Last month they hired someone with a high school diploma. In a month his wage was raised from 30,000 rials to 34,000, while I, with four years seniority, get only 32,000 rials. This is an exceptional instance in the experience of illegal immigrants in this country, yet one cannot miss the greatness of the examples of revolt, coming as they do in the middle of Sasha G. Lewis' study of their conditions of life here and the oppressive measures under which the most exploited layer of the U.S. workforce is kept hidden and silent.

She based her book on lengthy interviews, accounts from the daily press, government documents and her own experience as a farm worker in the Southwest, and goes a long way toward presenting a clear picture of immigrant labor.

We accustomed to the scare tactics which right­ wing groups, union bureaucrats and the government use to confuse public opinion, turning out racist legislation, and confining the Mexican border into a war zone complete with heat sensory devices and air patrol. Yet, few realize the extent of this country's vast unemployment.

The trade routes cross the U.S. map, delivering the desperate not only to farm fields and garment sweat­ shops but wheat fields in the Midwest, irrigation projects in Montana, docks in Seattle, the steel mills on the East Coast and many untold points in between.

RACIST POLICIES OF U.S.

Between the impoverished homelands and the jobs here are the smugglers, racketeers, document forgers and preying landlords of food and shelter — a vicious circle. A new job is secured in part by the arbitrariness of the policies of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

― Contrary to its title — Immigration — the chief function of this branch of the so-called Justice Department is not that, but deportation. Lewis documents the continuing and systematic enforcement of the INS' policies of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

― the New Hope Peasants' Association, have been arrested for occupying lands belonging to the National University. The peasants said that the government had given them a lifetime lease, which they could even have a piece of land to raise their children. They said they would fight to the death for this land, which formed a part of their ancestral home. They will fight for their parents and grandparents.

We are not out to overthrow the party or government, but rather with the bosses and have a privileged position — it doesn't defend our rights anymore. What is at stake is creating a second power to defend us.

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(Continued from Page 1)

first time with eight percent of the vote. It is this which so enraged Helmut Schmidt that he made a mad dash for Washington, D.C., to beg for support from the Reagan-Haig Administration.

At the end of the visit in which he bowed completely to the Reagan Administration, from whom he elicited promises of new punitive sanctions against Mitterrand, Schmidt announced "100 percent agreement."

Schmidt may agree with Reagan, but Reagan doesn't agree with Schmidt, as was once clear as Reagan-Haig complained of "unprecedented" French "subversives." And, if done, it is in fact done as an excuse for allowing U.S. imperialism to use Germany for keeping nuclear weapons there.

At home, Schmidt is faced with strong opposition from the old Social Democrats, lack of housing and of jobs. It is not only that his days as German leader may be numbered, it is that there is an alternative there too. Anyone who understands the youth movement as well as the anti-nuclear and Women's Liberation Movements has blindeled himself to the actual forces in this period of economic and political crisis in decadent capitalism.

BACK TO FRANCE: ITS CONTRADICTIONS

This is no time for illusions, be it in West Germany where the Social Democrats have lost in some elections or France where the Socialists won. Thus, though there is open opposition to the neo-liberal policies of the Social Democrats in Germany, it is now quite clear that Mitterrand will have a very different policy in relation to the Third World, let us not forget Mitterrand has been in power since 1981. When the Algerian Revolution started and he opposed it and held, like all the reactionaries who opposed self-determination, he reversed his policy. It is that by 1987 he shifted his position and in 1988 opposed De Gaulle's coming to power and declared himself for the "antagonism of nations."

The cabinet he has now appointed clearly shows that there will be no "leap to collectivism." Mitterrand leans heavily to the right in his own party, especially when it comes to policies of defense and economy. For the latter he named the former governor of the Bank of France, Jacques Delors. Nor should anyone lose sight of the fact that Mitterrand will immediately initiate a 35-hour week or 10 percent rise in minimum wage. By the time he is finished talking to the union leaders "the employers," little will be left of his promises. All the more reason for the American Trotskyist to let it mean "leaders" but make sure of keeping the power in the hands of the masses.

'Thoughts on the Hearts' review

(Continued from Page 1)

...they didn't always know how the unions and the industries worked, but they fought for their rights within the broader movement. They fought for workers' rights to have collective bargaining, to have a protective code of defense and economy. For the latter he named the former governor of the Bank of France, Jacques Delors. Nor should anyone lose sight of the fact that Mitterrand will immediately initiate a 35-hour week or 10 percent rise in minimum wage. By the time he is finished talking to the union leaders "the employers," little will be left of his promises. All the more reason for the American Trotskyist to let it mean "leaders" but make sure of keeping the power in the hands of the masses.

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Handicapped oppose Reagan

Chicago, Ill.—On May 7, about 400 people, a majority of whom were women, took to the streets in a demonstration against Reagan's budget, which was to be voted on that day. By passing the budget the Congress showed the same insensitivity to the handicapped as Reagan.

A Black man in a wheelchair said: "I came out here to protest the cuts. Those cuts are going to hide quite a lot—especially us handicapped people they are going to hide. They are going to hide the fact that what we get likes to cut, cut, cut to the bone. They are going to spend all this money getting weapons. I am on a fighting, though. I don't give up."

A Mexican-American, also in a wheelchair, talked about how much more it will cost to have people institutionalized now that many services will be cut. "We have a lot of physical barriers—enough to deal with already, and then to deal with the financial part of the matter. Why have to beg, borrow and steal to survive, to pay your rent, pay a few bills."

"Guns will never be controlled if the budget cuts go through, especially those for the Department of Health and Human Services. We are going to get a gun in order to sustain a family. If I have to carry a gun to feed my family, what do you say?"

"I am very much against U.S. aid to El Salvador. We need the money here. Today is D-Day for us. Today they are taking a vote on what will happen to humanit."

What excited me was the clear opposition to Reaganism just at the time when all the out-all attack by the Right has disoriented so many activists. Yet the opposition is so broad and democratic in likeness to this. This is why it is that in 1987 he shifted his position and in 1988 opposed De Gaulle's coming to power and declared himself for the "antagonism of nations."

In the South, the Blacks formed a union among themselves. They fought together for their rights. Only the unions were made by leaders and leaders. They are made by the masses, Black workers, railroad workers against the wholesale "cutting" of nuclear armaments. In fact, it is only an expression of the new wave of activism. It is a marvelous change in the consciousness of this period of economic and political crisis in decadent capitalism.

Who We Are and What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, stand for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private property form or as the new state capitalism of the Third World, or China. News & Letters was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard, not compromised. The situation of liberation. A Black production worker, Charles Dunayevskaya, National Chairwoman of the Committees, is the author of Marxism and Freedom and the editor of News and Letters. She has brought out "The Generalissimo's concept of the sexual division of labor: "Engels regarded the sexual division of labor as only "masculine" and did not see its effect on the historical process.""

Most of the authors seriously seek to unite "traditional Marxism" with gay liberation; all are influenced by some form of "radical humanism," "radical democracy," or "radical socialism"; most feel that the vanguard parties are inadequate to varying degrees. The Gay Left Collectives, for example, argue that we need a both theoretical clarification and the constant testing of theories in practice.

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Anti-draft movement: what is anti-imperialism?

The problem is not that the authors do not "believe" in revolution. On the contrary, they assert that only the destruction of capitalism holds any hope for humanity. However, the authors year after year were marching against registration and now against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. As the May 3 demonstration of over 50,000 in Washington, D.C., showed, many young people were marching against registration are now beginning to see that their protests against U.S. imperialism is inseparable from the effort to revive the anti-war movement.

The authors of this attempt to "provide an anti-imperialist perspective for the anti-draft movement" begin their pamphlet by showing how the effort to revive the draft is inseparable from U.S. imperialism resurrecting its might overseas. "Therefore," they write, "the struggle against the draft becomes a critical focus in the struggle against imperialism at this historical moment."

But it very quickly becomes clear that the authors have a limited idea of what struggle against imperialism means. For them, the question is simply seeing to it that anti-draft youth support national liberation struggles overseas — as if the needed work of solidarity can be separated from the effort of fully uprooting imperialism by making a social revolution at home.

The authors write that "the final defeat of U.S. imperial forces must be accompanied by the popular movements against which the draft is directed. This is only half true, for history has shown that it is the combined might of movements for national liberation and struggles for social revolution inside the imperialist behemoth that brings such systems down.

When Lenin looked to the anti-imperialist revolt like the Irish as bascill for proletarian revolution, was he not trying to deepen the movement for freedom in Tsarist Russia? And yet there is not one word in this pamphlet about efforts to bring imperialist policies here at home to stay the hand of U.S. imperialism abroad.


Woman escapes Navy 'alive and sane'

I am a woman receiving a Bad-Conduct discharge from the Navy. A Bad-Conduct discharge (BCD) is one of the most severe punishments a service person can receive. It is considered an "infamous" discharge, because a person receiving a BCD is barred from speaking with any more public officials and has his name removed from the rolls of the service. I received my discharge after two captain's masts. If this were enforced, I would be a political outcast for the rest of my life.

I've witnessed 'three people lose their minds because of Navy policies. I've seen a whole family get into trouble because of my attitudes. I couldn't follow orders of anyone. Every time I was brought to captain's mast I'd say: "I am a woman receiving a Bad-Conduct discharge, and I am a woman receiving a Bad-Conduct discharge."

I was found guilty of wearing my hair in braids! I was found guilty of possessing about a joint's worth of marijuana. I was found guilty of making a comment about the Navy. I was found guilty of making a comment about the Navy.

Within my first six months in the Navy, I started crying at the slightest whim of your superior. For a discharge person like me, the slightest whim of your superior could cause a discharge. I was found guilty of making a comment about the Navy.

I got easy, I'm out of the military, alive and sane. I've witnessed 'three people lose their minds because of Navy policies. I've seen a whole family get into trouble because of my attitudes. I couldn't follow orders of anyone. Every time I was brought to captain's mast I'd say: "I am a woman receiving a Bad-Conduct discharge, and I am a woman receiving a Bad-Conduct discharge."

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NARROWNESS HINDERS REVOLUTION

The narrowness of such "anti-imperialism" hinders the effort to develop a revolutionary banner for the anti-draft youth to move along in any direction. As long as it "opposes" U.S. imperialism, even if that imperialism’s effects are being felt directly, it is not possible for the anti-draft youth to make any effort to separate their struggle from the struggle against imperialism at home.

The breadth of this movement will have to studiously consider if the struggle is move forward.

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Irish masses raise new questions for independence movement

by Peter Mallory and Kevin A. Barry

Throughout the month of May, the attention of the world was focused on Northern Ireland, where the Ulster police state, police thus insured later to "kidnap" the body of a second IRA hunger striker, In their attempt to prevent another massive show of jewels and in support of 11,000 — one of largest demonstrations in Irish history.

The sickening attempt by Ulster police ten days later to "kidnap" the body of a second IRA hunger striker, Frankies Hughes, a song was shown on television worldwide. In their attempt to prevent another massive show of opposition to the Ulster police state, police thus insured the turnout of 20,000 in Hughes' home town in rural South Derry. Similar huge crowds accompanied hunger strikers Raymond McCrea and Patsy O'Hara to their graves in Armagh and Derry City.

M. N. Dargan's death may 5 outpourings for Irish freedom and the array of military demonstrations in Irish history.

The prison's "H-Blocks," was followed not only by youth demonstrations in Irish history. The death May 5 outpourings for Irish freedom and the array of military demonstrations in Irish history.

In the strike. After 30 days, the law allows Pinochet to claim there will be no democracy until the year 2011! The 11,000 miners at the even larger Chuquicamata open-pit mine sent messages of solidarity and with starvation, flocked to join the Red Army, leading China is far from "solving" the problem of feeding the working class areas as centers of political resistance.

The Peasants' Revolt 600th Anniversary

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