Today's UAW pale shadow of yesterday's

by Charles Denby, Editor
Author of Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal

Recently I was reading about this being the 100th anniversary of the founding of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and that the UAW Executive Board had met and decided to rejoin the AFL-CIO. It made me think about the type of union movement we have today, particularly in the UAW. Compared to a kind of union the UAW was in the late 1930s and 1940s when I joined it.

"One can see that the AFL has been around much longer than the UAW and the CIO. The UAW was organized in 1935, some 45 years ago, and at that time it did not have anything in common with the AFL. We were told by many of the older leaders in the UAW that the AFL had not been interested in organizing production workers. They were only interested in skilled workers, and practically all of them were white workers.

UAW IN THE EARLY DAYS

I have discussed with many younger workers what the UAW meant to them, and what the workers meant to the UAW back in the early days. The younger workers cannot believe that we ever had those kind of working conditions where we really had some control of production. They compare it with today's conditions and ask, if it was true, then how do you explain this turn around in the UAW to what it has become today?

(Continued on Page 10)

Protest Agent Orange, lack of treatment

Los Angeles, Cal. — On the same day Ronald Reagan was at West Point calling an end to the "temporary aberration" — his phrase for this country's alleged neglect toward war preparation in the post-Vietnam period — hunger-striking war veterans were entering the VA hospital in protest against the government's disregard for the health and sanity of Vietnam-era survivors.

On May 20, veterans gathered at the Wadsworth VA hospital, which had independently begun two protests — a temporary curfew for veterans and a campaign to cover up.*

By the middle of the second week, the occupation on the lawn had grown to include several dozen tents. The two groups quickly issued a statement of unity and soon were receiving messages of solidarity from all corners of the country.

SUICIDE OF VET

This action followed the suicide of James Hopkins, who, on March 14, had driven a jeep into the hospital lobby to protest the administration's refusal to treat Agent Orange sickness and post-Vietnam stress syndrome. The veterans are demanding a full review of Hopkins' case, an independent investigation of the VA hospital system, full and serious research of the effects of herbicides on humans, implementation of a delayed re-entry program for all veterans wanting medical screening for disabilities related to military service, and an in-person meeting with Reagan.

By the middle of the second week, the occupation on the lawn had grown to include several dozen tents. The camp organized committees to maintain the group's cool under the hawkish surveillance of local authorities. A welcoming committee was established, and one that had come to join or express support and an information booth was erected which displayed newspaper clippings on veteran health problems as well as telegrams of solidarity.

One veteran explained why he had driven out as soon as he had heard about the protest: "I served as a medic in 1966 and went up in the helicopters spraying chemicals. After I got out I was getting sick on and off and was depressed a lot. Later I started having trouble with my hearing. I used to play the guitar but by 1971 I could no longer fret it right so I gave it up. I'm always weak, tired and dizzy. Over the years I've gone to 23 or so doctors and clinics but I found out about Agent Orange only through the veterans' groups. I came down from Northern California in 1979 and found out a good friend had died unexpectedly three months earlier.

"When I read how they were glorifying the hostages it really burned me up, and I wrote a letter to Reagan saying what was going through. All I got was a card saying to go to a veterans' outreach center. I already know what the problem is, which is what they're trying to cover up."

An older veteran, who had been disabled during the Korean War, remarked that camping near the hospital was nothing new to him since he hadn't been able to make rent with his benefits and spent six months of the last year living out of his car, sleeping on the VA grounds or in neighborhood parks.

A NEW VETERANS' MOVEMENT

In the course of the occupation, many were getting a sense of what could be the beginning of a new veterans' movement. Yet as one activist described it, "There are many difficulties involved — a lot of differences among the marchers that the Tories must go, few seem to believe that a mere shift back to the Labour Party is any answer. One marcher with the Postal Workers’ contingent called the march, for all its enthusiasm, "ritualized" and far "too contained" to suit him. Another, marching with no particular contingent, argued that you can't "contain" what 150,000 represent, and exulted in the "spirit" of the throng surrounding us.

Yet all agreed that the sudden convergence was no accident but as a vet in the lobby expressed it, "a culmination of ten years of frustrated efforts to get justice."

On June 20, after 20 days of protests, the veterans were removed from the hospital grounds on the charge they were hindering hospital operations. Twelve local churches had earlier agreed to shelter the hunger strikers (two were hospitalized). A rally of several hundred was held in St. John's Church with the protesters planning a motorcade to Washington to take their protest to the White House gates.

A Marxist-Humanist eyewitness report on England, France

Participants in March for Jobs, which began May 1 in Liverpool and ended in rally of 150,000 in London.

Labor, Women, Blacks on the move

by Olga Domanski
National Organizer, News and Letters Committees

Trafalgar Square was already full as we waited to greet the March for Jobs, when the 500 unemployed men and women who had started out from Liverpool on May Day arrived in London exactly one month later, singing with clenched fists held high, followed by 150,000 more determined marchers holding banners from almost every union and every part of Britain. Nothing better told the mood of Britain, 1981, than this massive demonstration, the most widely backed the trades union movement had held since World War II.

Nothing, however, better tells the permanence of the unemployed army they represent than the Thatcher government's prediction on June 24, less than a month later, that unemployment, which has now risen to 11.1 percent — nothing like the 1,000,000 new unemployed in a 30 year high since 1981 — will rise to over three million by the end of the year. Nor does anyone believe that even these official figures are a real measure of the depth of the crisis. The statistics, rather, hide the truth: whole families are out of work, but only one "breadwinner" is counted for the unemployment doles; and over 100,000 jobless new school graduates do not appear on the rolls because they cannot claim benefits until September.

Little wonder that the marchers were met with the same kind of solidarity and support that had greeted the Jarrow Hunger Marchers in 1931. While the North, Wales, and Scotland suffer the worst levels of unemployment, the rate of increase has been greater in the Midlands and London. And all are aware that the twin crises of unemployment and inflation that are now a worldwide phenomenon of capitalism cannot be blamed, in Britain, on any "oil crisis"; Britain is now self-sufficient, with North Sea oil. The crises are integral to capitalism itself.

Thus, despite the rhetoric of many of the speeches at Trafalgar Square, and despite the determination of the marchers that the Tories must go, few seem to believe that a mere shift back to the Labour Party is any answer. One marcher with the Postal Workers' contingent called the march, for all its enthusiasm, "ritualized" and far "too contained" to suit him. Another, marching with no particular contingent, argued that you can't "contain" what 150,000 represent, and exulted in the "spirit" of the throng surrounding us.

Still another, a 24 year old unemployed youth from the North, said that all of those he knew who had left school at 16 to take apprenticeship training (which once (Continued on Page 9)}
**WOMAN AS REASON**

*Manushi*: women's creativity, revolt in India

by Terry Moon

What is so great about the internationalism of the Women's Liberation Movement in Detroit? It is that it reveals how truly universal is women's fight for freedom.

One example of the internationalism I am talking about is the struggle of the women of India. It is true that the women's liberation movement in India began well after the movement in the West. But it is even more true that it is the women's liberation movement in India that reveals how truly universal is women's fight for freedom.

In the summer of 1977, hundreds of women from the Detroit area traveled to India to participate in the second national conference of the Women's Liberation Movement in India. This conference was held in the state of Maharashtra and was called the Maharashtra Women's Liberation Conference. The conference was attended by women from all over India, as well as by women from other countries, including the United States.

At the conference, the women discussed a variety of issues, including the need for women to be involved in political decision-making, the importance of women's education, and the need for women to have access to health care. The women also discussed specific issues, such as the need for women to be able to divorce their husbands, and the need for women to be able to vote.

One of the most important decisions made at the conference was to call for a general strike by Indian women on the day of the conference. This strike was held on the day of the conference, and it was supported by women all over India.

The strike was a huge success. It was estimated that over 10 million women participated in the strike. The strike was a powerful demonstration of the women's determination to fight for their rights.

As a result of the conference, the women of India were able to establish a network of women's liberation groups throughout the country. This network has been very effective in organizing women to fight for their rights.

The women of India have been able to achieve many important victories. For example, they have been able to get laws passed that protect women's rights, and they have been able to get women elected to political office.

The women of India are a model for other women around the world. They have shown that women are capable of achieving great things, and that women are capable of fighting for their rights.

The women of India have also been able to inspire women all over the world. The women of India have shown that women can achieve anything that they set their minds to.

The women of India have also been able to inspire other women to fight for their rights. The women of India have shown that women can be strong, and that women can be powerful.

The women of India have been able to achieve these victories because they have been able to organize and to mobilize. The women of India have been able to use their creativity and their determination to achieve their goals.

The women of India have also been able to achieve these victories because they have been able to work together. The women of India have been able to form networks, and they have been able to work together to achieve their goals.

The women of India have also been able to achieve these victories because they have been able to use their creativity. The women of India have been able to use their creativity to think of new ways to achieve their goals.

The women of India have also been able to achieve these victories because they have been able to use their determination. The women of India have been able to use their determination to keep fighting, even when the going has been tough.

The women of India have been able to achieve these victories because they have been able to use their creativity, their determination, and their organization.

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Miners go back but plan to remove Church

Morgantown, W. Va. — "This isn't any new contract, this is the old one warmed over," yelled a rank-and-file miner at his local union meeting scheduled to review the terms of the "new" contract negotiated by UMWA President Sam Church and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association. "What we've got to do is get rid of Church and the whole damn national negotiating committee because they approved this mess," the miner continued. "They've endangered you. That's the only way we can get the message through that their job is to represent us and what we want, and they sure didn't do it.

A point that especially angered the miners was that the "new" contract was a package "take it or leave it" deal rather than separate agreements. If the UMWA national negotiating committee spent in Washington, D.C. centered on Church and the BCOA pressuring the companies to give in to a union dictate.

BEAT COMMITTEE INTO LINE

As one union officer described it, there was no give-and-take in the negotiating committee discussion at all. When a negotiating committee member asked questions about any provision, he was told that was the way the operators wanted it. In fact, the negotiating committee didn't have a thing to do with the new contract, they were in Washington, D.C. just to be there, the committee member said. The miners felt that their ideas and contributions were dismissed from frustration rather than support for the contract. It is true that several of the most objectionable provisions in the first contract were removed in the second. However, the provisions that the miners opposed were kept in the second contract. Among the most objectionable provisions is the retention of the UMWA-BCOA committee to review their respective agreements. The UMWA-BCOA agreement stipulates a three-year term, or until the current agreement expires, that will carry over to the next term. The agreement also provides for the appointment of a new committee to negotiate the next contract. It is only a matter of time before the union is faced with the same problems it has faced in the past.

Women are being told now if their machine is down because they have to spend some time with their families. After nine hours a day, five days a week, I shouldn't have to accept the new contract clearly resulted more from the fact that they have consistently taken steps — at least in the negotiations that I was a part of — to get rid of Church and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association. "That's the only way we can get the message through that their job is to represent us and what we want, and they sure didn't do it.

In one local union meeting, the rank-and-file became so disgusted that instead of discussing the contract, they began to yell and argue. "Get rid of Church!" "Get rid of the operators!" "Get rid of the whole damn thing!"

Some of the people who voted to end the strike are now saying that they made a mistake. "We were misled by the company," one miner said. "We were misled by the union." The miners have come to realize how much they were being exploited by the company and the union. They are no longer willing to accept such conditions. The miners are determined to stand up for their rights.

The union will say it is OK to do something and then not do it, and then say it is OK to do something else, and then not do it. You can't stand up for them. The miners have to be on their own.

The other day a Haitian woman who had worked here for three years was fired. Her machine broke down, and since her foreman was not around she sat down and waited. After a few minutes, she got up and went back to work. But later the big boss came up, shut off her machine and fired her for sitting down before it broke down. The foreman was not around, and the woman was not protected. She was never hired back.

Men have come to realize how much they are being exploited by the company and the union. The miners are determined to stand up for their rights.

That's how they fire you. They punch your card, take it to arbitration. But we knew he would never win. That's nonsense about there being no women's jobs and that there are only men's jobs. The miners have come to realize how much they are being exploited by the company and the union. They are no longer willing to accept such conditions. The miners are determined to stand up for their rights.

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El Salvador: Reagan's genocidal war and the unfinished Latin American revolutions

The one's who smelled the rat of expansionism at once, and who were among the first ones to establish an Anti-Imperialist League which said: When we had finished the Civil War and were suppressing the genuine revolution in the USA, that was the KKK. We saw the regression in the way in which the Reconstruction period was ended. Now, in the 1980s, the fact that America is a banana republic, really means a new imperialism even though it is going to be directed against Latin America rather than being against, the American Blacks.

From the very beginning you had this sense that U.S. imperialism was connected both with the racism in this country and with the imperialism throughout the world.

I will return both to the 1952-54 period of revolutions, as well as to what I call Marxist-Humanism in all periods of liberation struggles. Here I pointed to this period only to make sure that, while looking at today’s situation, we not only the past nor the ideas of freedom which inspire the present.

Take the new period of revolt that started in Guatemala in 1978. Here we have altogether new elements: for the first time a woman was a leader of the Indian movement; and there was a new philosophy of revolution—a sense and appreciation of their own culture. Just as in Salvador you had the “Catorce,” so in Guatemalan forms of organization, new forms for what happens in a revolutionary situation.

We must not let them repeat today what they achieved in 1954, and from which to this day we suffer. Nor must we allow them to forget the true possibility of working-class anti-imperialists—and have them say that the two opposites are Russia and the U.S. The U.S. and Russia are only two varieties of the same exploitative society—one private capitalist and the other state-capitalist. It is true, however, that insofar as Latin American Communists are anti-imperialist, this is a class question, and the oppressive side that was rich enough in Lenin to think of the infamous McCarthyism of the 1950s. And thus you have the U.S.-engineered counter-revolution in Guatemala in 1954.

1981 EL SALVADOR REMEMBERS 1932
BOLIVIAN REVOLUTION AND 1954 U.S. COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN GUATEMALA

But it was in the post-WW II period that U.S. imperialism got its worst scare. It was then when the Bolivian revolution succeeded to oust the primitive military, propped up by U.S. imperialism, that controls 70 percent of the arable land, had actually matured when it finally broke in 1952, put down the great peasant revolution in a most genocidal war. It was exactly at that time when U.S. imperialism felt safe. It had plenty of money to invest in the Latin America, except that it was impossible in the Depresion not to pay attention to its own rebellious masses at home, and the same was true in the then rising Mexico. Mexico was able to nationalize its oil and move away from U.S. imperialism. As well, many mass movements began to grow in Latin America as a conscious Marxist movement finding its roots there.

1981 Try Again To See That We Can't Now, Naturaly First on the agenda is to oppose Reagan's counter-revolution there; to oppose Reagan's support of the military intervention against the unfinished revolutions, we cannot leave it at the fact of solidarity, or exposure of the two percent—the aristocracy—that means Guatemala as well, and thus the counter-revolution of 1954. And for our age—and herein is the urgency for El Salvador — it meant that when they saw the revolution succeed in Nicaragua, their "never again" meant they wouldn't even take any chances with any type of ever so mild reform as the civilian junta has originally proposed. So the counter-revolution in El Salvador is assuming outright genocide.

The reason that I went into the unfinished revolutions, and not only in Bolivia. "Never again" for U.S. imperialism,
Azanian movement shakes Botha regime, exposes Reagan policy

Two very different South African anniversaries, coming within weeks of each other—the 20th anniversary of the South African “Republic” and the fifth anniversary of the start of the Soweto Rebellion—both starkly revealed the absolute oppositions within that land, and forced the Reagan administration’s policy on Southern Africa out into the open.

For months the apartheid government of South Africa planned celebrations of the 20th anniversary of its formal break with the British Commonwealth, scheduling lavish festivities in an assertion of “national unity.” Instead, the last week in May saw the beginnings of a new stage in the liberation struggle against that racist police state. A week-long protest against the celebrations swept the Black townships and so-called “colored” (mixed-race) ghettos.

When police stormed into a Johannesburg high school May 29, breaking up a protest hunger strike by students who had barricaded themselves inside, and arresting 31 “ringleaders,” they unleashed a storm. Thousands of students—Black, mixed-race, and even including a few whites—took to the streets to demand the release of Aziz Jardine and other student leaders. So widespread were the demonstrations that government officials openly feared “1976 all over again.”

BLACK UNIONS GROWING

It was not only the bravery of the high school students that had the government worried. It was also the explosive growth in size and militancy of the Black union movement in areas as widely separated as Port Elizabeth, Pretoria and Boksburg. For the last several months, Black workers at many of the largest plants of the multi-nationals have been blazing into new unions. Not even the sweeping arrests of 60 Black union leaders in the last month have been able to stop it.

A week after the Motor Assembly and Component Workers Union were fired at a Firestone tire plant for protesting government changes in their pension plan, solidarity strikes broke out at Ford and General Motors plants. Over 5,000 workers were involved at one time, and the union, organized less than a year ago, leaped from a handful at Firestone to nearly 100 percent signed-up. And no sooner did the strikes in auto and tire plants end, than Black workers at Colgate-Palmolive’s Boksburg plant, wearing “Boycott Colgate-Palmolive” stickers on their overalls, announced plans for a strike there.

By June 18, on the fifth anniversary of the start of the Soweto rebellion, all the resources of the Botha government had been mobilized to repress another outburst. Arrests of Black students and trade unionists multiplied. When 5,000 gathered at Soweto’s Regina Mundi church to commemorate the uprising, the police response was one of tear gas and whips. But they were powerless to stop the massive stay-at-home action that day by over 50 percent of Soweto’s workers.

What the workers’ actions underlined was the powerful challenge they pose to the heart of the South African system—its industrial and mining super-profits, extracted by not only South Africa’s ruling class, but by corporate power centers in the USA, Britain and Germany.

Thus, U.S. Deputy Secretary of State William Clark’s meetings in Pretoria with South Africa’s Prime Minister Botha just five days before the Soweto commemoration could not be viewed as any routine diplomatic visit. Under the facade of U.S. support for Namibian independence, what the Reagan administration has now undertaken is a campaign to “end South Africa’s police state in the world”—whether or not they ever allow Namibians the “free elections” South Africa is committed to postponing for that colony.

NAMIBIA BETRAYED

Indeed, so far to the ultra-right has Reagan’s Southern Africa policy taken him, that the administration is now mortal at one and the same time toward revival of the military alliance with South Africa and the linking of Namibian independence to imposition of “democracy” on the “African” leader Jonas Savimbi into the government, that Angola will never allow Namibians the “free elections” South Africa is committed to postponing for that colony.

In taking to the streets this month, Azanian liberationists had a far different 20th anniversary in mind, one that linked the struggle against the pass laws in this country to their own. For months the Reagan administration meshed its support for South African apartheid with its assault on Black America at home, that Reagan’s nominee for Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights, was an outright racist, Ernest Lefever. And while it is true that revelations that Lefever believes Blacks to be “genetically inferior” finally forced the right-wingers in the right-wing U.S. Senate to back away from his appointment, Sen. Jesse Helms had more than a grain of truth in his statement that attacks on Lefever’s politics were really attacks on Reagan.

Reagan and his advisers have planned their “South Africa strategy” carefully—in South Africa and in the USA. They know full well that the cuts in social programs are not “evenly shared” burden; that they are aimed most directly at Black America. But such plans, like those of Botha and his regime for their 20th anniversary commemorations, have a way of being upset by history.
LADY DRIVER \(2,000,000\) for the death of a man. However, the driver is still alive and was able to drive the car.

While this is a sad story, it highlights the need for better safety measures in cars. The driver should be given a stern warning and perhaps a license suspension to prevent such accidents in the future. It is a matter of concern that the driver was able to drive the car after the accident.

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**Middle East Women:**

The essay by Neda Azad on "Middle East Women: liberation and social relations" is a powerful and insightful piece. It critiques the Western cultural imperialism and the impact of the revolution in Iran on women's liberation. The essay highlights the contradictions and complexities of the situation and calls for a deeper understanding of the issues.

Azad argues that the Western liberation movement has been dominated by the concept of "women's liberation," which has often been used to justify and legitimize Western cultural imperialism. She points out that the liberation movement in Iran has been characterized by a wide range of perspectives and has been shaped by the unique historical and social context of the country.

Azad's essay is a call to action for a deeper understanding of the issues and a more nuanced approach to women's liberation in the Middle East. It is a must-read for anyone interested in the liberation movement and the complexities of social change in the region.

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**Middle East Women:**

The essay by Neda Azad on "Middle East Women: liberation and social relations" is a powerful and insightful piece. It critiques the Western cultural imperialism and the impact of the revolution in Iran on women's liberation. The essay highlights the contradictions and complexities of the situation and calls for a deeper understanding of the issues.

Azad argues that the Western liberation movement has been dominated by the concept of "women's liberation," which has often been used to justify and legitimize Western cultural imperialism. She points out that the liberation movement in Iran has been characterized by a wide range of perspectives and has been shaped by the unique historical and social context of the country.

Azad's essay is a call to action for a deeper understanding of the issues and a more nuanced approach to women's liberation in the Middle East. It is a must-read for anyone interested in the liberation movement and the complexities of social change in the region.

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**Reform Activists:**

The article on "Reform Activists: the 1968-1980 experience" is a valuable historical account of the activism during those years. It highlights the challenges and successes of the reform movement and provides a rich context for understanding the current situation.

The article points out that the reform movement was characterized by a wide range of perspectives and approaches, and that the success of the movement was largely dependent on the local context and the specific issues being addressed.

The article also highlights the importance of grassroots organizing and the role of activists in creating a movement that was inclusive and representative of the broader community. It is a must-read for anyone interested in the history of reform activism and the challenges facing activists today.
THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

Thank you for printing that magnifi-
cent story by the woman ex-sailor in
the last issue of N & L. It was the first
during the Vietnam War, and heard
story by the woman ex-sailor in the
fluid in Poland. It is needed more than
ment Reagan's brigands have put it
to the war preparations of our govern-

military when, but rarely with the kind
in Poland is the self-development of the
ter-revolution will not succeed" on one
of the development in Poland was some
in Poland as though the only determinate
threats to the Polish leadership and

asks myself why we were not organizing
union officers will never
only one who has told the truth and told
Charles Denby to know that he is the

the struggle for freedom in both main-
peared. It is issue number 10 of

New reader

Los Angeles, Calif.

POLAND: BALANCING
ACT OR WORKERS' DEVELOPMENT

The media focuses on the latest events in
Poland as though the only determinate
of the development in Poland was some
sort of a balancing act between "Solidar-
y," the Polish Party, and Russia. That
is what the latest reports on the Russian
threats to the Polish government and
Kania's promises to Moscow that "cou-
ter-revolution will not succeed" on one
hand, and the history of the Party on
the other, are meant to project.

What this view completely misses is
that central to the development of events in
Poland is the role of the Polish workers.
Time after time they have ac-
complished the "impossible." One of
the theories that mostcrime was a vital
of the Party. The party itself is under-

freedom of books from the beginnings of
the Polish workers' rebellion. Almost

Ziagn Press
San Francisco, CA 94104

READING "INDIGNANT HEART"

In the last week I have spent most of
my time reading "Indignant Heart: A
Black Worker's Journal." It is the most
important book I have ever read. I say
because I have seen a lot of trouble
and struggle in my life, but I want
Charles Denby to know that he is the
only one who has told the truth and told it
fully. The soldiers out here who will never
lead us out of the hell we are in, and

New reader and friend

New York

FREEDOM FIGHTS CONTINUE

in CHINA, in TAIWAN...

A very important new publication on

the struggle for freedom in both main-

and Taiwan has ap-
ppeared. It is issue number 10 of
SPEAKBACK (P.O. Box 1312, NY, NY
10003), which contains Part 1 of the
transcript of the 1979 trial of Wei Jing
sheng, editor of Explorations, as well as
testimonies from Taiwanese prisoners of
conscience Ch'en Chu and Chang Ch'un-ian.

Listen to what Wei Jing sheng told the
court: "I know I have committed a
sin in no way the Marxists of Marx and
Engels. Marxists' role has been similar to
that of someone with a number of
lifeguards. With the passage of time, the
reversal of society is quietly
abandoned, while the doctrines are
depedly adapted by those in power as
tools to deceive and quell. China's struggle
doing democracy is bound to provoke
restance, but I am prepared to make
any sacrificial sacrifice." Wei Jing sheng is
now serving a 15-year sentence in
Beijing Prison No. 1.

Whether or not we would agree with
all of Wei Jing sheng's ideas, the
struggle going on in China is one that will
light on the real events inside China
today. I hope many people will read this
document.

Concerned

Michigan

... AND IN GUATEMALA

The State Department recently an-
nounced that it is considering the re-
sumption of military aid to the Guate-
man government of General Efrain
Lucas Garcia. Vernon A. Walters, former
director of the CIA and senior ad-
sor to the Secretary of State, has returned
in Guatemala in May. The Guatemalan
government has not officially asked for aid,
although it has expressed interest in
spare parts for its American-built heli-
copters. These Huey helicopters are
being used as part of the army's de-
struction of entire villages and indo-
ermination of the rural popula-

Please contact U.S. Congresspeople
urging them to oppose all military as-

tion on. Rather I think that both the
problems and the solutions need to be

N & L to the philosophy of revolution. Can we have

the situation of the 1960s and 1970s, and what the events of the years

business on how Marx worked

position on. Rather I think that both the
problems and the solutions need to be

more discussion on that?

Long-time reader

New York

Ed note: Readers may order our new
discussion on "The Left and Anti-
Theory," by Michael Connolly, from
N & L for 50c.

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☐ American civilization on Trial. Black Masses as Vanguard
Statement of the National Editorial Board. By Raya Dunayevskaya
by Charles Denby
by Raya Dunayevskaya
by Angela Terrone, Maria Dignan and Mary Hyslop
by Charles Denby
by Raya Dunayevskaya
by Raya Dunayevskaya
by Joaquin Paniagua and Ana Blanco
by Lourdes and John Alan
by Raya Dunayevskaya
by Raya Dunayevskaya
by Raya Dunayevskaya
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by Raya Dunayevskaya

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Enclose $ for the literature checked. Please add 50c for each envelope.

☐ Name
☐ Address
☐ City
☐ State
☐ Zip
Milan, Italy—The Italian economic crisis that has been destroying the country—yes—one might better say political decadence of both the traditional right and left parties that have governed in Italy for more than 30 years, and which represented the spontaneous revolts of the working class that has almost forced Italy into the modern worldwide crisis can be very useful for understanding those questions that have become a challenge to all of the people of the world.

**POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT**

During the 1970s the government managed to maintain a kind of orderly "de facto" parliament, but the parliament was divided, then, and if it did vote on a pertinent law, the government fell because it did not receive a majority vote. Since 1977-78 there has been an almost total political vacuum. The only class which has received the approval of all of the parties is the Anti-Communist Party (ACT), which is the only party that can possibly make the "historical compromise" with the Catholic Church and the state, has more or less taken over the government. One cannot compare this to a juridical, rather than military, coup d'etat.

The leading party—the Christian Democratic Party—succeeded in factionalism that it can rarely agree on a new party leader. The party has been trying to move itself as so corrupt, that it is difficult for anyone to consider credible that the proposals of the leaders could possibly be in the interests of the people. The party that gives favors in exchange for favors and most of the persons involved in this corruption are the leaders of the party, as so corrupt, that it is difficult for anyone to consider credible that the proposals of the leaders could possibly be in the interests of the people.

The second major party—the Communist Party—is now losing ever more votes both at the national and regional levels, because it has lost a large part of its base. The party has been trying to move itself as so corrupt, and who are the blackmailers, but international capital is involved.*

The basic social and economic programs of the party have been supported by the capitalist class and the Catholic Church. Their electoral majority comes from the middle and upper-middle class that identifies itself with the party, and the communists are not as popular as the Christian Democrats as the only democratic party for workers and poor.

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The new left—the Communist Party—is by now losing even more votes both at the national and regional levels, because it has lost a large part of its working-class base. The new Left in Italy that has emerged in the last few years is that the theory of "third worldism" as their ideological base, and also the theory that Eastern Europe was dominated by real socialism instead of state-capitalism. This led to a political line of chauvinist reformism that sought to unite the proletariat in the West in order to "aid" the "third world" in its revolutionary struggles and at the same time to form an avant-garde to lead the masses. (The masses are, of course, not considered a retrograde in the struggle that was taking place in Italy and in the first world.) Both current contained within themselves many theoretical and practical contradictions that it is worth the trouble to criticize in order to avoid a recurrence of similar errors and to decide on new solutions in the future.

The spontaneity of the autonomous groups—which grew like mushrooms in the forest during the 1970s and which is now being attacked by the capitalist state—was not capable of creating the fundamental political structures essential to the construction of new forces that could take the place of the social and economic decadence of capitalist society.

The new left—the Communist Party—sought to do so, and the new social movements was very similar to that of the actual "disaffected movement" (see article by Peter Wermuth, NAL, March, 1981) in that it was in conflict with the state and the perception that the two movements is that it is only now that the Italian youth and Left are beginning to understand what "police state terror" and the social-psychological control of the mass-media means in an advanced industrialized country. It is only during the 70's that the Italian capitalist elite has begun to use those means of semi-Maoist, semi-Stalinist, semi-German Social Democrat to control the thought and the action of the masses.

The social movements were very similar to that of the actual "disaffected movement" (see article by Peter Wermuth, NAL, March, 1981) in that it was in conflict with the state and the perception that the two movements is that it is only now that the Italian youth and Left are beginning to understand what "police state terror" and the social-psychological control of the mass-media means in an advanced industrialized country. It is only during the 70's that the Italian capitalist elite has begun to use those means of semi-Maoist, semi-Stalinist, semi-German Social Democrat to control the thought and the action of the masses.

The theoretics of autonomia operaia (there has been no lack of first class Marxist theoretics and intellectuals in the movement) have for the most part ignored the question of the internationalism of the left. They tended to base their analysis on the societal and social economic struggles that were taking place in northern, industrialized Italy while the rest of the world, and even unindustrialized, Mafia-controlled southern Italy, were left to make their own struggles with the hope that one day or another measures, as well as the inability of the Left to cope with it, was bringing into being, has brought the Left to a sort of stop for the moment. With many of its leaders (and many of its members (in Italy), the most pressing problem in the last years has been prison conditions and the attempt to free those prisoners that have been falsely accused. As we have already seen, the government has almost ceased to exist, but the magistrature with its judges and police forces have represented the spontaneous revolts using the means they have at hand—mass arrests and police state terror.

By 1970 the Left in Italy had divided itself into two different currents. One supported the spontaneous of the people of the world would meet together in a new harmonious land.

The Marxist-Leninist groups proposed strongly organized, avant-guardism, presuming that only a small elite should and could lead the proletarian revolution. Generally, Lenin's theory of democratic centralism was accepted as the basis for political organization, and Mao's "cultural revolution" was adopted as the ideal for social struggles. Stalinist and Maoist nationalism has also had a strong effect on the line of the Marxist-Leninists.

The Italian working class was supposed to have, as its duty, that of supporting the poor of the "third world," since industrialized Italy, along with the working class, was earning its bread exploiting the poor of another country, the Marxist-Leninists were forced to support the demands of the Italian working class and the social struggles—forming their own feminist and youth movements.

OTHER THAN theoretical errors, there were serious defects in the organizational strategy of the current. The autonomous movement offered a great deal of theory but very few practical ideas or structures for a revolutionary content. In the Marxist-Leninist groups theory was almost ignored, while the detachment of the leadership from the masses and the personalism in organizational practice and the control of the movement was a small elite. This brought many to believe that only clandestine terrorism, that is semi-military organizations, could defeat the capitalist system.

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Thus terrorist groups calling for a proletarian armed revolution grew in Italy. At first they concentrated on the industrialized, urban centers of the North, and now they are trying to find support in the southern, earthquake-shaken Naples. The terrorist groups seemed to have a large following for a certain period, but real mass support for their movement was impossible just because the isolation of clandestine terrorism enforces on its members, and above all its leadership, results in a political line which is almost always completely detached from the social and economic reality in which the vast majority of people live.

Despite the depressing picture painted above, the struggles that the Left has realized in the last few years have not been fought in vain. The recent referendum on the abortion law is an example of this, and it is also an example of how these struggles have entered into the consciousness of the people. The Radical
Eyewitness report on England, France: Labor, Women, Blacks on the move

(Continued from Page 1)

It was supposed to guarantee you a job upon completion and a steady job. We were to take a lesson from Brixton—200 burning down a block got more attention than 200,000 marching in order fashion in the streets.

BRITON'S DEFENCE CAMPAIGN

The Brixton Uprising of April 1981 was called a white-wash and cover up, that they are urging a boycott of the inquiry. “These injustices have been going on for years. Thatcher knows it, Scargill must know there is a need to feel with a public enquiry” they demanded.

“Brixton was not one outbreak,” the chairwoman to the rally. “It has to be seen nationally and internationally as a turning point in the events not only in Coventry and Bristol and New Cross, but to Black conditions and Black revolt from the streets the world over. We have to demand that it was not only "the racism of some ultra-rightists" that had to be fought. It was the "state repression, seen in such horror here, and who denies people their humanity, and the racism of the police, which the state fosters" that the rally made clear it was determined to stop.

MITTERRAND AND "LEFT OF THE LEFT"

If it was the determination to end Thatcherism, as spelled out both in the March for Jobs and the Brixton defense campaign, the victory of Hackney local government in London, Spring 1981, it was a "wait and see" (what Mittrrand will really do) attitude that characterized many I spoke to in Paris. "They are a long way from here" was an 'in' the part of the women, who are being referred to by many "as the left of the Left".

Thus, in the interval between the election of Mittrrand and the election of the French parliament, a special "bread and roses" meeting of women was called at La Mutualite—and several hundred women showed up. The discussion was the diversity represented by the women, who are being referred to by many "as the left of the Left". The meeting showed that the right to live in freedom was won in one's own country, France, and as Reason. The meeting at Africa Centre had been organized by the Black Consciousness Movement, and organized by 13 all-Black committees in the U.S.

The campaign, headed by Monica Morris, a leader of the Black Women's Group, is demanding: "First and foremost an end to
The Black struggle: north, south U.S.; Britain

The 'New South'

New York, N.Y. — My husband and I, believing in those stories about the "New South," moved back to this home state of Georgia a few years back. We soon found out that the same old South we originally came North to escape.

I was making good money as an accounting clerk for the state government, but I was doing the same thing, but for less money. On top of that, I had to train white women who went on to become my superiors — all in the Georgia state government. I told them that I was nobody’s fool and left.

Then I was sent by an employment agency to see about another job. It just so happened that the job was in the same building as the agency but on another floor. I went up and as soon as the man saw I was Black, he said it was only the first floor he was interested in. The first floor was where the agency had sent him up to. My husband fared no better in his efforts to find a decent job either. So after a few years working in New York, So 17 when you hear about the "New South," you will know that for Black people it is a lie.

—Black woman office worker

British Black youth vs. Nazis

Oxford, England — Local Black youth handed out a well-reasoned statement to the American student worker movement of the British Movement, a blatantly Nazi organization, when the Nazis tried to hold a demonstration here on June 6. The Oxford Movement, which had just announced their intention of marching either in Oxford or the nearby town of Abingdon, found an unsympathetic reception waiting for them.

About 25 of them were sighted drinking in a pub near the railway station. A group of about 60 mainly Black youth took part in a counter-demonstration called by the Anti-Nazi League, and when it became known that two people had been arrested in connection with the fascist, a protest was held outside the police station.

The local newspaper, the Oxford Mail, takes a liberal line on race, and is reasonably sympathetic when Blacks are the victims of racist attacks. This sympathy stops short of Blacks taking the initiative in running raids on towns where they do any harm. The paper condemned those who fought the British Movement as violent thugs. The fact is that by taking strong measures against the Nazis now, before they get a hold in Oxford, the youth are saving lives in the future. The British Movement now call Oxford a "Red City" and have sworn to return—next time without warning.

Earlier attempts to start fascist organizations in this town, such as the National Front, have been successfully resisted by a combination of the Black and Asian communities, workers, students, women’s groups, gay groups and the Left. What is new is that Black, working class youth have got together in the forefront of the struggle against this latest menace. Their determination and combatively give good grounds for hope that the British Movement drive to colonize Oxford will be beaten off, and that this "city of dreaming spires" really is on its way to becoming a "Red City."

—Dick Abernathy

Reagan’s war

New York, N.Y. — With these budget cuts President Reagan is planning to start the first "Red City" here in New York City. It's creating the basis for a war whether he knows it or not, because people are not going to take this mess anymore. And I will be right on the front line because he’s hurting me too.

Two women retired at my plant recently, one because her husband had been fired due to her being on the job. You know, she will only get $11 a month from her pension. The other woman retired after years of being out of production, but she wasn’t going to get a $10 a month from her. What I want to know is what do we have this union for? It’s just one more thing we have to fight, another war.

—Black woman electric worker
Black student sees racial division in school survey

by Jim Mills

Two worlds clashed in Japan in early June — that of Prime Minister Suzuki’s thinly veiled drive towards re-militarization of Japan, and the counterattack against it by the revolutionary youth determined to transform their country’s economic and political crises into a mass movement to create a new, free society. The “two worlds” are a private, Catholic, all girls’ school. The Black student body includes about 25 percent of the student population. The question now becomes Black and white, not city versus suburbs. One prime example I can cite is the possibility, which I have repeatedly argued, that there is a private, Catholic, all girls’ school. The Black student body includes about 25 percent of the student population. The question now becomes Black and white, not city versus suburbs. One prime example I can cite is the possibility, which I have repeatedly argued, that the militarist, capitalist rulers with a new, free society.

Japanese youth vs. U.S.-Japan nuclear collision

by Jim Mills

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Why teachers drop out

by Jim Mills

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El Salvador revolt continues

by Jim Mills

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The Middle East: Begin’s bombs and counter-revolutionary mind ...

The Irrfan revolution, which has been steadily deteriorating under the religious leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini, is now headed toward a dictatorship of the majority. The present attempt to prevent the press from being abolished for all but government papers.

Bani-Sadr, who was elected by 75 percent of the popular vote, has had his paper banned, been removed as head of the main army in a series of coups, and is reported to be in hiding, fearful for his very life at the hands of Khomeini’s fanatics. Wholesale executions have been carried out by the Khomeini regime, in addition to the death sentences handed down by the Islamic Republic’s courts.

The war with Iraq is at a stalemate, the economy is in ruins, the oil refineries bombed out of existence. Khomeini’s message of Islam has done nothing to provide jobs or to lay the foundation for an Iranian state that will represent the needs of the Iranian people. On the contrary, what is happening is that the move is all against the very masses—to give Iran Ever the road paved for Khomeini’s return. Whichever all goes to show that religion is hardly a substitute for a true philosophy of life, a new and true human relations. Quite the contrary.

It is not only against Bani-Sadr that the charade of legitimism now going on in the mullah-controlled parliament is aimed. Backed up by the armed goons, claiming to have a direct line to “God,” who are surrounding the President’s office and calling for his death, the religious fanatics calling themselves fundamentalists and heading the single totalitarian Party are busy trying to implement their self-serving murder.

It is called “Bill of Vengeance,” and is most specific in its gory logic. It is being distributed here by Iranian agents. Three words—revolution (counter-revolution), labor, oil—dominate the talks between Mexico’s Jose Lopez Portillo and Ronald Reagan when they met last month. They are alide in their efforts by conservative groups inside West Germany. For its part, the Turkish working class inside Germany continues its tradition of militant worker activism, both in protesting the racist policies of the state and in supporting the class struggle in Germany itself, where they are the most militant section of the working class.

Turkey’s right-wing terror

The attempted assassination of Pope John Paul II by Turkish fascist Mehmet Ali Agca brought world attention to the cycle of rightist terrorism (sometimes answered freely from the Left) which has gripped Turkey since 1976. Displaced to a certain extent by the new military government of General Kenan Evren, although there is still one murder per day —the rightist terrorists of the neo-fascist Turkish Nationalist Action Party (NAP) have reorganized in Western Europe, especially in West Germany.

There the Grey Wolves of the NAP terrorize the one million strong Turkish worker community—attempting to control both its politics and its “morals,” especially regarding any effort by Turkish women to live an independent life. They are aided in their efforts by conservative groups inside West Germany. For its part, the Turkish working class inside Germany continues its tradition of militant worker activism, both in protesting the racist policies of the state and in supporting the class struggle in Germany itself, where they are the most militant section of the working class.

By far the largest concentration of political refugees anywhere in the world —the 1.5 million Somali who fled the Ethiopian-dominated Ogaden region in fear of their lives in the first years of the Ayatollah Khomeini’s Islamic Republic of Iran.

Japan’s anti-nuclear protesters demonstrate against the arrival of U.S. aircraft carrier Midway. See story, page 11.

Mexico

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While the Turkish Army may (as is claimed) have crippled the NAP since its September coup, its real target has been the Left and the militant labor union DISK. The coup has been widely criticized by the West, but those who have criticized the coup, only 2,000 have been of rightists and the rest leftists or Kurdish nationalists. The leftists in jail since the coup are now being subjected to a new wave of arrests.

The NAP still rules, the Turks in despair, what about the revolution? In the south, the Karsh� kości are not only playing the cards they were dealt, but they are also trying to start a new movement.

The present tensions in the Middle East and U.S. imperialism trying to have both Begin’s Israel and royal Saudi Arabia on its side in the world holocaust-to-be are symptomatic of the weakness of the Soviet Union and the USA as well as the PLO, which is hardly capable of challenging the Israeli and American strategies. The U.S. has been playing a very positive role in bringing about a new Middle East conflict.

The war with Iraq is at a stalemate, the economy is in ruins, the oil refineries bombed out of existence. Khomeini’s message of Islam has done nothing to provide jobs or to lay the foundation for an Iranian state that will represent the needs of the Iranian people. On the contrary, what is happening is that the move is all against the very masses—to give Iran Ever the road paved for Khomeini’s return. Whichever all goes to show that religion is hardly a substitute for a true philosophy of life, a new and true human relations. Quite the contrary.

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