Bat my granddaughter’s words had a different impact than Carter’s assumption that Russia’s invasion of Afghanistan—which is some 400 miles away from the Persian Gulf and would require invading Pakistan to get there—is equal to Russia’s already being in the Gulf region to recognize the new Soviet state and Lenin continued a Friendship Treaty with Afghanistan. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was the only country in the region to recognize the new Soviet state and Lenin continued a Friendship Treaty with Afghanistan’s anti-British, reactionist Zia, ruler of this same unstable country, who is deplorable.

When I read this thesis . . . I was reminded of what Karl Marx said about the relation between oppression and thought: that "the system tries to fragment you, the greater your 'quest for universality.'"

A week earlier, several women—members of the Anti-Draft Movement, the National Organization for Women, and others, also met to voice their opposition. NOW has criticized the draft because it

In Detroit, Mich.—By the time President Carter announced on Feb. 8 that he would ask Congress to register women— but they are not opposed to sending the men off to war. The

The Paris feminist bookstore des Femmes was completely burned out in the fifth such attack in three years. A group called the Alliance of Women Against Abortion claimed "credit" for the attack. des Femmes plans to reopen.

My mother returned from Cuba recently and her report was one of dissatisfaction. Clothes are hard to come by. There are no fresh fruits because everything is exported—some say to Russia.

Draft hook baited with ERA

Detroit, Mich.—By the time President Carter announced on Feb. 8 that he would ask Congress to register women as well as men for the draft, women had already been demonstrating and speaking out against the idea of women being included in the draft. For a long time, I might not have believed it otherwise, since she did spend so much effort on Black Women in White America, and since three of the eleven essays in the book are directly on Black women . . .

The problems with Gerda Lerner's method of viewing women in history is that she claims that "lower-class" women did not create a movement for female advancement after World War II, when they did, but that they were "in the hands of plants factories," and then thrown out at the end of the war. The failure to create a movement, she says, was "due to a family system" in which "workers are helpless to enact them; the women most able to work for reforms are not in great need of them." Working

...women, under the "triple burden" of work, housework and child care, are "too weak" to organize and struggle. (p. xiv)

"Food is also scarce. 'There are no fresh fruits because everything is exported—some say to Russia.'

My mother returned from Cuba recently and her report was one of dissatisfaction. Clothes are hard to come by. There are no fresh fruits because everything is exported—some say to Russia.

When I reached the end of Lerner's book, I began to re-think what we have learned—and failed to learn—in the history of the last decade. Here was a woman whom many people called the first "women's history" writer, and whom I read many times myself. Yet I realized that you can study the "women's history of the present and future. First

As far as the women go, Cuba is like Israel. There is the women because they need the man power (sic), not because they want to be equal. They need them in the army and they need them to work in the factories, but equality is very far off. There is no one we know of who is a woman in the government. We hardly know any of the women doctors.

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Resistance of British labor has now begun

Thanks to our British correspondents for the following article—Ed.

With the strike now well into its second month, the industrial conflict in Britain is now at its highest point since 1974.

On Jan. 28, 200,000 Welsh workers struck for a day in protest against threatened closures of steel plants and coal mines. Miners, dockers, railway workers and many others took part in the strike called in Cardiff, S. Wales. Michael Foot, deputy leader of the Labour Party and a member of Left rhetoric, was booed and jeered when he appeared when Labour leaders remembered that the Tory closure plans were really just an extension of the policies of the last Labour government.

There is real support for the steel strikes in S. Wales, because it means the loss of so many jobs in the valleys and mining areas. Now, the miners are to come out independently against the steel and pit closures.

The steelworkers have sent flying pickets far and wide, to dockyards and steel-using firms, in an attempt to stop all movement of steel in the country. Meanwhile, the Steelworkers militant that the Tory closure plans were really just an extension of the policies of the last Labour government.

In Liverpool, 940 — mainly women — workers are occupying one of the Meccano factories, which makes the famous top engineering sets, in a fight to save their jobs. Last December, management fired 100 girls who were during a bit of a strike—has ended, giving the workers just half an hour's notice.

In the nine months since the Conservatives came to power, workers, women and racial minorities have been hammered by economic austerity and political authoritarianism. Now the resistance has begun.

Crisis in auto—be laid off or worked to death

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

I have just finished a work week in the body shop at the GM plant in South Gate, Calif., working an eight-hour-plus 18-minute day. Coming home this week, I have had to lay down on the floor for an hour or more just to recover. My back and right arm are hurting so from work that I can hardly put pen in hand to write.

Two weeks ago, we were out of work the entire week because of low sales of the big cars we are making. In the shop, a full shift has been shut down at the plant for a day. Almost all the women are out of the plant; you need 12-plus years just to be a "new hire." Many of those in the shop are back on the line for the first time in years and it is killing them. Meanwhile, rumors are flying about this plant closing permanently.

Our next job is making the Rover Riviers just closed permanently — meaning 1,600-plus workers out of a job. Already, there is a fight between the regional union people and the local union over $250,000 in dues sitting in the local treasury. It is the workers' money — but so far they aren't being asked what to do with it.

All together, the UAW has over 200,000 auto workers on lay-off. Plants are closing down, and plants are moving. Meanwhile, GM's so-called "poor" year of '79, with profits down from '78, totaled about $3.8 Billion! UAW President, who went 5000 to the Japanese talks on how to stem the importation of Japanese cars, or how to get Japanese auto makers to open auto plants in the U.S., is a "new hire." He is trying to keep workers thinking that the company is "turn around the company's profit through "productivity increases" (read: speed-up work)

Under the present conditions, which is better — to be laid off or to be kept in the plant and worked to death? We have heard this talk before about saving jobs and making the industry healthy. But our contract shows the side that Fraser is on, and it is not the side of the workers. He is fooling no one by saying imports are causing the company problems. Firms in America doing similar work have refused to sign a lower seniority contract, if they do so.

The Carter Administration has now formed a new automobile committee made up of top representa-

from the auto stops

Dodge Main (closed)

Hamtramck, Mich. — Many of us who were laid off from Dodge Main, even before it closed, are only getting laid off again. We are "laid off" for the first time. You stand in those long lines for four hours and the little money you get is nothing; you pay your rent and then you're it. If you're lucky, the TRA money came through, but it's not true. The SUB is yours; you earn it, but suddenly you can't get it.

On when we will go back to work. If ever, there is nothing but a threat of a move. When I was there in November, 1988, we might be called to the Jefferson Assembly plant. But Jefferson is working two weeks on and two weeks off, and we sit on the autoworkers second shift! There is a plot to call the lowest seniority people back to work after they have been out for a year. The UAW sits on the list and then to accept the plant. The company then has no more responsibility for them.

Today, the whole UAW leadership is acting like a bunch of figureheads by going to Congress and to Japan. They boast of how the rank-and-file ratified the Chrysler contract but the truth is that at Dodge Local 3, very few people voted to vote in the four hours I was there. It was fraudulent.

Ex-Dodge Main worker

Dodge Main (closed)

Detroit, Mich.—The last lay-off at Fleetwood has cut back to 1972 seniority, and workers with up to 20 years employment are back on the line. The company scheduled 72 jobs an hour a year ago, but they had 5,000 workers in production, but now at 92 there are only 3,000 left. If they cut back by one shift a month, that will be cut in half again.

The union is doing absolutely nothing. Because of the deep layoffs they have sharply cut the number of members at the local. There are piles of grievances, but since the International is now responsible for 784, they are not a strikeable issue for the workers. There is a feeling that the union with returning to the line have been forced to take sick leave or voluntary lay-off.

But the company has not reduced the number of foremen as drastically. They kept extra foremen on the line—and above all, keep up that production.

In addition, the new management didn't like the idea of workers taking in a quick beer at their lunch break, and frowned on games workers played to relax during their breaks. They wanted all energy to go into production—and their productivity.

This situation can only last for so long. Just as the Honda workers in California and the Volkswagen workers in Pennsylvania and West Virginia demonstrated, these tactics quickly result in wildcat strikes. The new BUd management has discovered a similar response from the Detroit workers when they struck.

The Budd workers won a new contract as a result of their strike, but they know the pressures will continue. One worker with 30 years seniority said these pressures are "unbearable.

The language of production speed-up is the same in every country. But the reply of the workers is also the same. Wherever, and whenever, they are laid off. They are hiring a long way off from being through with talking that language to management.

How we fight theft of time

New York, N.Y.—As the steel talks opened in Pittsburgh on Feb. 5, management and union officials began to discuss more than wages. Management's objective in the current round of contracts—notably in steel, rubber—is clearly to rewrite the pattern of labor relations that has developed since the C.I.O. was created out of the old craft unions in 1935.

Management's program for labor in the 1960s seems to be to extract more from workers in the way of profit than in the way of wages. The result is a steady depletion of the steel industry. Workers are a long way off from being through with talking that language to management.
ROSA LUXEMBURG: 'BEFORE AND AFTER 1905 REVOLUTION'

What I appreciated most about "Before and After the 1905 Revolution" was that Rosa Luxemburg comes through so fully herself. It is so unusual to find radical politics so well integrated into the personal views when presenting one with whom they disagree. It's obvious that Rosa Luxemburg disagrees, at least as deeply with Luxemburg as did the Social Democracy, though from a very different direction, but this did not keep her from grasping the revolutionary nature ofLuxemburg's views. Both Rosa and the 1905 Revolution came through loud and clear. I suppose I should say hurray for dialectics, but being a skeptic, I'd rather wait for more chapters.

O. Damaaski Managing Editor

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Charles Denby Editor

... everything. She was a great revolution­

visionism (in 1898) or whether it was

New York on Jan. 27. She took up Rosa

have that multidimensionality when dig­
erudition — knowing all the "facts" —

position on the National Question.

that encounter is by no means a simple

philosophy of revolution and shows that

Accumulation of Capital and in her

wait for more chapters.

Latin American

It saddened me to see that the graphics

used to illustrate the first draft chapter.

"Before and After the 1905 Revolution," of my book-in-progress, Rosa Luxemburg,

Women's Liberation and Marx's Philos­

of Revolution, did not include a piece

of Trotsky. I have been more critical of Trotsky's theories ever since I

broke with Trotskyism beginning with the

Hitler-Stalin Pact at the outbreak

of World War II — BUT how can that

possibly change the basic point in which

he played a most crucial role?

Raya Dunayevskaya

Ed, Note: The Political-Philosophic

Letter by Raya Dunayevskaya on "The

Two Russian Revolutions and Once

Again on the Theory of Permanent

Revolution" will be an appendix to this first chapter. It is available from N&I for 75c, postage included.

... DISORIENTATION ON THE LEFT

There are some incredible attitudes

emerging in the anti-draft movement.

At our meeting here, the common view

of the speakers was the anti-drafters

that Russia has no intention of moving

beyond Afghanistan, but in case they do,

they would defend the state, not the

people. These people are far from

skeptics, but have adopted a defense

of their own. They are calling this

state "socialism." In a way, it is

true, but more like a cult, and a

court, than any other power. These

people are not just poor ignorant peasants, have

been swayed and are held captive by

religious fundamentalism, take them to the
dark ages. And how is one to explain the

astonishing and frightening revival

of这两个fundamentalism, not

only in Iran, but in almost the whole

of the Muslim world?

Nahum Sokel

... FREEDOM STRUGGLES: IN SOUTH

On Feb. 1, a celebration was held in

the "birthplace of a whirling"—Greensb­

oro, N.C. — where 20 years ago four

Black men from A&T College decided
to stand against the Woolworth's lunch

counter for breakfast, remembering

the birth of the movement for "Free­

dom Now," foreign policy as the most

powerful weapon. This mentality says that the U.S. has a legit­

mate "sphere" of oil supplies, and that

is what leads to wars.

Anti-war activist

Flinn, Mich.

... THE RUSH VISION AND CARTER'S WAR

have certainly caused some strange new alignements on the

Left Bank of Paris. Thus front page articles have been appearing in Le Monde

supporting the boycott of the Moscow

Olympics. The ultra-right "new philos­

opher" Bernard-Henri Levy wrote to

support the boycott and propose some­
things like the 1905 "Peoples Olympics," held in Berlin to stop the 1905

Olympics then being held in Hitler's Berlin.

At the same time a petition with a

similar position was signed, which was

an amalgamation that it included Raymond

Arnon, Simone de Beauvoir, Robert Bres­

son and a whole list of active, well known

Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone Signoret.

The news around the world is quite

turning points in Rosa Luxemburg's life.

In Cuba? That is why it is so im­

portant what Raya is saying about Rosa

Luxemburg.

Raya Dunayevskaya

Detroit

I heard Raya Dunayevskaya speak in

New York on Jan. 27. She took up Rosa

Luxemburg in order to open the eyes of

people today, that revolution with no

philosophy goes nowhere. She showed

how great Luxemburg was, involved in

everything. She was a great revolution­

ary and a great theoretician. But she

didn't fully have philosophy, Marx's

philosophy.

I think it's bull what some of the

speakers at a recent anti-draft rally said.

Many say that the draft is the start of all

this bloodshed. This country has al­

ready been involved in plenty of blood­

shed. Not only that, one prominent

speaker said that he knows a lot of us

are fighting for other issues like an­
imokracy, ecology, libertarian manage­

ment, material, and removal of sheets and

handcuffs. The prisoners also pointed out

that in two months time the prisoners

will have reached one year up in one year in 1980, even though

the legal limit is 60 days.

The campaign against the notorious

H-Unit and I-Unit, control units where

activist Federal prisoners have been wrongful­

ly held in solitary confinement for

Forty days. I was appalled to learn that in Algeria this summer the right of women to travel abroad was taken back by the very go­

government which had promised women equal rights in 1978. The govern­

ment commands women's participation in build­

ing "socialism."

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TWO WORLDS

Reason and revolution vs. technology and conformity

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Author of PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION and Marxism and Freedom

207 pages, $1.50 (includes postage)

(Continued from Page 1)

We had already been introduced to the emergent pattern of one-dimensional thought and behavior: "The trend may be related to a development in scientific methodology pertaining to the philosophical sciences." (p. 12) Now Marcuse restates his critique within the process of the development of philosophic thought itself from its origins in the dialectics of Plato to the science of Whitehead and the subordinations of philosophical thought to the scientific method of modern empiricism. The latter's "ontological rationality is the latest transmutation of the idea of reason...the process by which logic becomes the logic of domination..." (p. 10)

As against this dialectics would reveal the true antagonistic structure of reality and of thought trying to grasp this reality: "If man has learned to see and know his material world clearly and with satisfaction, it is not because he is a true materialist. Epistemology is in itself ethics and ethics epistemology...To the extent to which the experience of an antagonistic form of reality is not possible in a philosophically powerful objective world, philosophy moves in a universe which is broken in itself (dechirrement ontologique) - two-dimensional, irreversible and in a state of constant appearance to and disappearance from the totality, and as we shall see, unfeared and unfeared freedom are ontological conditions...Philosophy originates in dialectics, its future corresponds to the facts of an antagonistic reality..." (p. 155)

Professor Marcuse presumes a goods amount of knowledge on the part of his readers. But it appears to me that this part of the book, and perhaps the part on the Black Mass revolt of the 1860s, might be reprinted for the college students daily exposed to (if not brainwashed by) the pragmatist, vaguely empirical, positivistic, and, in the so-called "radical" philosophy of the Left, as against Wittgenstein's language games, where ordinary language "is really sterilized and unesthetized" (p. 198), and the consequences of which are felt in the very heart of Marcuse does appeal to the transcendental view, but from first to last, he stresses that his critical theory is "op-

(Continued on Page 7)
China, adopt both in ideological battles and actual guerrilla warfare. The Soviet Conflict had, indeed, found an echo also in Afghanistan. Instead of having its roots among the dominant nationality, the Pashtuns, as did the leaders of the PDPA—Taraki, Amin and Karmal—China tried to get a following among the minorities—Tajiks, Uzbeks, Hazaras, Turkmenas, Balus, and others. Small as the Maoist group was, they quickly learned how to use the word "revisionism" against the PDPD, China had no intention of confining their struggle to Afghanistan. Yet the Soviet Conflict was still for them a useful weapon in training guerrillas but cooperating with the most reactionary regime in Pakistan.

In a recent interview, Aleksandr Alekseev Kissingler knew of that aspect of the relationship between China and Pakistan long before the successful 1978 coup, there was no doubt whatever about its independence; nor did it lag behind; women's liberation was hardly begun; disease and poverty were still rampant. And, not too far in the background stood Russia, ready with aid and protection.

At the same time—within a short year—the fraternal factionalism within the PDPA (also referred to as the Khalq, or Masses, which was the name of its paper) saw the revolution devolving itself. Land reform lagged behind; women's liberation was hardly begun; disease and poverty were still rampant. And, not too far in the background stood Russia, ready with aid and protection.

One of those whom the Western media would no doubt play up as a potential future leader of the people's resistance in Afghanistan is Dr. Ahmad Shah Karmal, a former deputy prime minister. He had been deputy prime minister and foreign minister under President HafizullahAmin, and is now head of the Afghanistan Islamic and Nationalist Revolutionary Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). Karmal is considered the standard reference title: "Study Says Soviet Thrust in Iran Might Require U.S. Atom Arms."

We have here a display of not only how to make the unthinkable thinkable, but how to spell it out as 'necessary,' in order to mobilize public 'study,' though it concern Iran, when the full scale of 'Cartesian's drive to war' among the Persian Gulf—Iran's Kharg Island, and Saudi Arabia's Ras Tanura—would become "three key oil-shipping points in the Persian Gulf." (See "Pakistan, Iran, or India. He has spelled out his predictions in "Problems of Cooperation," his study of the Third World: "The Imperial Dream" by Finis Dunaway, in the Feb. 21, 1980 issue of The New York Review of Books.)

Carter's policy does more than Stalin in putting down national liberation struggles, be it presently in Afghanistan or Vietnam. It is the policy of the Georgians. He came to the defense of the Georgians, Tetsavardze, who said: "It is true that it is necessary to send the revolutionist, the proletariat of the whole world, but he never claimed that all the Russians ought to go to Tiflis." With a single word changed—Kabul instead of Tiflis—this state of affairs existed a number of years ago. It would make the situation worse, the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the increasing threat to world peace.

The essence of all this talk about nuclear weapons is the Pentagon report's gallant assertion that "the United States has a policy--" which is the equivalent of a man's self-defense."—so of course Big Brother Carter is ready to be Islam's protector."

As for Russia's invasion, long, long ago, in the last days of Lenin's life, he carried on his battle against imperialist threats—in the matter of the Georgians. He came to the defense of the Georgians, Tetsavardze, who said: "It is true that it is necessary to send the revolutionist, the proletariat of the whole world, but he never claimed that all the Russians ought to go to Tiflis." With a single word changed—Kabul instead of Tiflis—this state of affairs existed a number of years ago. It would make the situation worse, the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the increasing threat to world peace.

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Will this new upsurge flower into an anti-militarist movement knowing itself as a total opponent to capitalist aggression? Or will youth conscription? Already the Left would-be leadership is avoiding a self-critical view and truncating the [Continued from Page 1] over working conditions worse than industry—-from sweat shops to night clubs. The police murder of Blacks and other races and other colors, the unemployed and the homeless. It is an elementary force which violates the human forces in the movement—-both theoretically and practically. He had long commitment to a genuine concept of "democratic centralism" than the serious work he did to help make the concept of the CP, and the slogan of all who saw that MSE. The death of Mussolini. His fierce battle with fascism began as soon as it appeared. He was a tireless advocate for American workers ready to strike against all forms of militarization. Now there is the bourgeois media's false "progressive" view of the Left, Trotskyist or Stalinist, who increasingly support the Russian invasion of Afghanistan as somehow "defensive." Their very explicit) were the so-called "Spartacists" with their gaggle of armchair revolutionaries. Their very infamous banner "Hail the Red Army." Their very disgusting banner "Hail the Red Army." Their very disgusting banner "Hail the Red Army." Their very disgusting banner "Hail the Red Army." Their very disgusting banner "Hail the Red Army." Their very disgusting banner "Hail the Red Army." Their very disgusting banner "Hail the Red Army." Their very disgusting banner "Hail the Red Army." Their very disgusting banner "Hail the Red Army." Their very disgusting banner "Hail the Red Army." Their very disgusting banner "Hail the Red Army." Their very disgusting banner "Hail the Red Army." Their very disgusting banner "Hail the Red Army." Their very disgusting banner "Hail the Red Army." 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The waves of revolutionary ferment reverberating from the revolution in Nicaragua are still very much in evidence and in their impact on imperialism and their own corrupt governments. This is most evident in the bloody events of recent months in Guatemala and El Salvador.

Thirty-nine people were murdered on Jan. 31 in Guatemala City when police stormed the Spanish embassy to break up a demonstration by leftists who were protesting for the second time in four months against Army murders of their family members and leaders. The Spanish ambassador, who survived the massacre, called the police action "brutal and irresponsible," and Spain broke diplomatic relations with Guatemala. Amnesty International has reported that over 22,000 people have been murdered in Guatemala since 1966.

Seventy-two young Cubans were shot to death in one night, the waves of revolutionary ferment reverberating from the revolution in Nicaragua. It is obvious that McKay wrote his book to explain the need for a new political party or parties or organizations are permitted. The dissenting groups include the group around the indespensable Alexei thank, who has been unable to hold a large enough demonstration to sign their leaflets, but by Jan. 21, the government was forced to back down, re-admitting two Moroccan students.

France

The last month in France has seen several shocking racist incidents. In Amiens, Camara Sall from Senegal was pushed into the river by white teenagers, who proceeded to watch while he drowned. On Jan. 4, and only in January did the police begin to act as if it were other than an accidental death by drowning. Over 70 people have been murdered in France after the massacre, called the police action "brutal and irresponsible," and Spain broke diplomatic relations with Guatemala. Amnesty International has reported that over 22,000 people have been murdered in Guatemala since 1966.

French authorities have begun to call for the defense of foreign students in the face of government expulsions.

The most important student protest—and one which may signal the birth of a new student movement—is at the University of Angers. Since Jan. 15, students have been on strike and have held a 3,000-strong demonstration to support two Moroccan students threatened with expulsion from France.

The leaders evidently do not belong to any traditional political parties. One of them explained: "We have been through all the political organizations, but what's important is justice." Not only did they avoid such organizations as the Communist Party and the Anti¬archists to sign their leaflets, but by Jan. 21, the government was forced to back down, re-admitting two Moroccan students.

Taiwan

Since Dec. 10, when thousands of troops with tanks broke up a mass rally of 10,000 under a hu¬man rights banner in Taiwan's industrial city of Kaohsiung, there have been well over 300 public criticisms of the Kuomintang government who now face a death penalty in a military court.

Taiwan has been under martial law since Chiang Kai-shek's death in 1975, and the opposition parties or organizations are permitted. The concentrations included the group around the indespensable Alexei thank, who has been unable to hold a large enough demonstration to sign their leaflets, but by Jan. 21, the government was forced to back down, re-admitting two Moroccan students threatened with expulsion from France. McKay's eloquent call for the defense of foreign students in the face of government expulsions.

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