

Draft Perspectives, 1980-1981

TOMORROW IS NOW:

U.S. IMPERIALISM IN THE IRANIAN DESERT, AND AT HOME, IN DEEP RECESSION AND RESURGENT RACISM

In this special issue we are publishing our Draft Perspectives Thesis, part of our preparation for the national Convention of News and Letters Committees over Labor Day weekend. We are asking you to join in the discussion of these Perspectives with us. We have done this every year since 1975, breaking new ground for the Marxist movement as we work to overcome the barriers between "inside" and "outside", workers and intellectuals, theory and practice, philosophy and revolution.

I.

1980, though only six months old, has shown itself to be so perilous, fantastic, as well as contradictory, that it's very nearly impossible to see ahead without speaking in such extremist terms as **Apocalypse Now**, and **Tomorrow is Now**. Already the U.S. is in deep recession, and when it comes to the Blacks, nothing short of a depression will describe their situation. Still, the Carter Administration continues to act as if the Black Revolt, which burst open in Miami—where an all-white jury acquitted the four racist, murderous cops who beat a Black man to death for supposedly disobeying the speed laws—is unrelated to this depression, this unemployment, this American racism which elevated police brutality to National Guard stature, putting the Black community to the torch. Furthermore, the "Midwest's" affinity to the South was glaring with the attempted assassination of Vernon Jordan, head of the Urban League, in Indiana. We can be sure of a long hot summer.

The endless number of tragic fiascos of this Administration keeps bringing us to the brink. Carter's specific brinkmanship in the Iranian desert, which could have brought on nothing short of World War III, was hardly accidental. This was so, not because of the revelations of its long-term planning in the "rescue mission" for the hostages, but because of what wasn't revealed, that no one can go it alone, not even when a "born-again Christian" heads a nuclear Titan like U.S. imperialism! Neither the prior sudden declaration that Russia's invasion of Afghanistan aimed at the "U.S.'s national defense line" for which U.S. youth must be ready to lay down their lives, nor the desire for maintaining his power in the White House, can possibly excuse the thoroughly irresponsible U.S. imperial adventure in the sand. Under those circumstances it is "lucky" that the supreme commander himself aborted the mission. (The Political-Philosophic Letter of April 29, 1980, "The Carter/Brzezinski-Ordered Imperialist Intrusion into Iran—and What About Khomeini/Bani-Sadr's 'Holy War' Against the Left?", is to be included as part of this thesis; excerpts were published in **News & Letters**, June, 1980).

Just as Carter had deluded himself with his analysis that Russia's invasion of Afghanistan would induce Khomeini to transfer the title of "the Great Satan" from himself to Brezhnev, so his ignorance of what Europe is plus his distorted remembrance of what U.S. power in Europe was in World War II, convinced him of Kissinger's and Brzezinski's idea—in this there is no difference between the two war hawks. West Europe, however, hurried to teach Carter a lesson as to whose interests are only "regional", and whose global. The speed with which the Allies backed off from identification with Carter, either on the issue of the American hostages, or Carter's intrusion into Iran, must have finally forced Carter to see that U.S. imperialism is a great deal more isolated than his personal, perennial, self-willed isolation each week at Camp David. For what the latest turn of events has proven is that the one who does live again is De Gaulle.

De Gaulle's concept of Europe "from the Atlantic to the Urals," (making sure to exclude Britain as not really part of Europe, and the U.S.,

as its "daughter" being a provincial young lady who doesn't know the score), carried out Giscard d'Estaing-style, in its turn, tops Carter in delusions. From his intervention in Zaire to participation in the Moscow Summer Olympics, Giscard d'Estaing has shown how he hopes to emulate De Gaulle with the Great Illusion that it is France, despite its anemic economy, that is the superior to the economic giant, West Germany, in a new Franco-German axis. In trying to go against Germany as well as against the U.S., Giscard is indeed rushing in where angels fear to tread, since this would invite nothing short of a global shifting of power away from the U.S. Giscard may have gotten such illusions from Brezhnev, and then again he might not. After all, Brezhnev has plenty of troubles of his own in East Europe, which has been in revolt for nearly as long as three decades and, in Poland, it has even got a mass proletarian base and has been involved in large strikes. Why dissipate France's Great Illusions that could aid Russia's global aims?

Ever since the Hitler-Stalin Pact,* we are certainly aware of shocking reversals of international policy on the part of the Big Powers that become



Black protesters marched on the Dade County Justice Building in Miami, on June 14, carrying signs such as "Racism begets revolution".

a matter of life and death for millions. But no matter how many "scenarios" we project in peace time, we can be absolutely sure that when the Big Power Games end and the nuclear button is pushed, we will not only have to face a reversal we hadn't counted on, but the holocaust itself.

Take a look at China, now that it, too, has successfully tested an ICBM that can reach both Russia and the U.S. Ever since the mid-1960s, it has held Russia to be "Enemy No. 1." This did not change with Mao's death and the ouster of the "Gang of Four." Quite the contrary. Not only was the Red Carpet that Mao had rolled out for Nixon when he was in power repeated by Deng even after Nixon was out of power, but it was followed by an invitation, first to Schlesinger, who was then Secretary of Defense. The most recent embrace of U.S. imperialism was the agreement with the Secretary of Defense, Harold Brown, who promised them everything.

*1939, the year of the Hitler-Stalin Pact which gave the green light to World War II, was also the year that brought about the multiple splintering of Trotskyism when Trotsky declared that, though "degenerate," Russia must be "unconditionally defended." The theory of state-capitalism was born both in opposition to such a position and for re-establishment of the Marxism of Marx. See "The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, Marxist-Humanism from 1941 to Today," available from the Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Walter Reuther Library, Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich., 48292.

Theory/
Practice

NEWS & LETTERS

"Human Power is its own end"—Marx

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Nevertheless, out of a clear blue sky, there suddenly appeared an article in the Chinese press which said that it was wrong to consider that Russia will forever be "revisionist", implying that it could again become "socialist." Andre Fontaine, in *Le Monde* (in *The Manchester Guardian*, May 4, 1980), claimed that the Soviet ambassador to Paris, Stephan Chervonenko, had said that President Carter "would have some jolly firework displays on his horizon over the next few months, particularly in the Middle East, but suggested that a thaw in Sino-Soviet relations was in the cards."

It is true that immediately thereafter an "official" press release was put out restating the "principle" that Russia is "Enemy No. 1," and hitting out against the "fantastic error" made by a subordinate. No doubt that is the prevalent "principle." However, what is the greater truth is the duality—China telling the U.S. that if they don't accept the Chinese interpretation of how to fight Russia in Afghanistan, then it's not excluded that China will not forever continue to be the U.S.'s "China card."

On the other hand, what makes the Iranian revolution, despite all contradictions, still a determinant is that it has brought an entirely new dimension into the Middle East. No longer is the Middle East equivalent to oil only, and no longer does the Middle East stop at Arab-Israeli conflict. Indeed, what has shaken up the oil kingdoms and made them even more distrustful of U.S. imperialism than its fathering the Egypt-Israeli Treaty, is that it couldn't "protect" that Shah of Iran. Once an actual revolution upsurged and rid Iran of the Shah, it undermined the U.S. empire in the Middle East and lighted the way for dissidents within their own empires, as witness the occupation of Mecca in Saudi Arabia.

To this day, we do not know who inspired the Nov. 20, 1979 occupation of Mecca. The fact that Saudi Arabia still has its throne cannot hide its fragility, much less get to the root of the occupation other than throwing sand in one's eyes about the "religious fanatic who thought himself the Imam." "The religious fanatic who thought himself the Imam" was not alone; his followers were not all his kind; he was not unarmed; he was not out of communication with his adherents; in a word, the attack was masterfully planned, had a variety of tendencies within it, and most surely was not limited to Saudi Arabia. Though Saudi Arabia was claiming them all to be indigenous, an insignificant fanatical minority, the truth is that all regions were shaken up, including North and South Yemen, Iraq, Syria, Kuwait and Bahrain. Even Oman, whose ruler had allowed his territory to be used by the U.S. for refueling, has abrogated that agreement.

The point is that so affected is the Middle East on the one hand, by the U.S.-failed intrusion into the Iranian desert, and on the other hand, so influenced by the undercurrent of dissatisfaction in their own lands, especially the takeover of Mecca, that it is impossible to sweep either historic event under the carpet. Whether the Islamic world, as Khomeini envisions it, or the pseudo-Islamic-Russian-influenced, as South Yemen sees it; whether Iraq, which certainly itself hungers to become "the leader of the Arab world," was in any way involved in the Mecca occupation, or whether there is an actual youth movement that people thought about as far back as 1975 when the nephew murdered the King, none believed Saudi Arabia's explanation that it was only an isolated

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religious fanatic who did it. In many respects, short of the Iranian revolution itself, the Mecca occupation is the most significant phenomenon, both religious and social, that has occurred in the Middle East and relates to global problems. The very fact that Khomeini, too, knows how to use the deep Black revolt in the U.S. for his purposes, shows that it is impossible to separate the religious from the power politics, as witness the mass demonstration in Iran "in support of the oppressed Blacks in the U.S."*

II. Uniqueness, Peculiarities, and Grave Contradictions in the Iranian Revolution

Everything in the world changed with the Iranian revolution. It wasn't limited to the Shah's ignominious downfall, and U.S. imperialism's decline. No. What was involved was that Iran was a genuine social revolution and therefore Saudi Arabia was a great deal more disturbed by it than by Kissinger's 1974 sabre-rattling.

The reality is that no matter how contradictory, no matter how unfinished, no matter how even counter-revolutionary elements are within the Iranian revolution, it is that upheaval which is, at one and the same time, the greatest event not just of the year but the decade, far outdistancing in its implications the other Middle Eastern hotspots, including the Arab-Israeli wars of 1967 and 1973, shifting the locale of the possible superpower confrontation. What is genuinely new is that this possible pivot of superpower confrontation is, as we have pointed out, by no means one only regarding oil.

Heretofore, i.e., ever since the 1973 war and the 1974 quadrupling of oil prices, oil seemed to be the focal point for Western imperialist politics. Furthermore, it revealed deep divisions within "the West," between the European powers and Japan, on the one hand, and the U.S. on the other. Oil was considered the "ultimate" divide, and none of the Big Powers expected from Iran that it was more than oil.

The European powers may have been more sophisticated than Kissinger's imperial arrogance of deluding himself that he can reverse all that by sabre-rattling. But it was still just ordinary intra-imperialist, intra-capitalist jockeying between "the West" and the oil kingdoms themselves. Saudi Arabia, first and foremost, wasn't scared out of its wits. It knew it had the commodity everybody wanted. Different national interests, in vying for that commodity, gave the Middle Eastern kingdoms plenty of room for maneuvers. In that period, none was more positive and megalomaniacal about it than the Shah of Iran. None gave him more reason to be so and more sophisticated weaponry to feel himself the holder of the key to "stability for the West" than the U.S.

Up to 1978, the Shah even flirted with the idea of moving into Afghanistan when it had its revolution. At that time, the West, including the U.S., held him back. The reason for U.S. caution was not any concern for Afghanistan's independence. Quite the contrary. It was total belief in Iran's might as "protector" of the Gulf oil region. Once the Shah was no longer in power in Iran; once there was no Shah holding the key to "stability" in the Middle East; once a revolution against the Shah had succeeded, everything was changed, including how the April, 1978 uprising in Afghanistan was viewed.

It is true that some illusions remain because the Imam and the mullahs were "anti-atheistic Communism." It may even be true that they remembered the dualism of the role that the mullahs played in the 1906-09 revolution when, at one and the same time, it was counter-revolutionary,

as well as revolutionary, so that its "anti-imperialism" was not always just anti-West. Its 1906-09 role was anti-Russia and anti-Britain, but mainly anti-Russia. While they were instrumental in throwing out the Shah, and elaborating the Constitution, once the revolution gained a momentum of its own—which included the revolutionary role of women—the mullahs had turned around and so "modified" the Constitution that the Shah, in returning then, very nearly regained all powers he had before the ouster.

With the mass movement, however, when a totally new revolutionary movement against the reigning Shah developed which gave force also to the isolated guerrilla groups, both Mujahedeen and Fedayeen, which had been functioning for nearly a decade, the greatest part of all was the spontaneity and the proletarian nature of the actual mass movement that carried on an organized resistance for a whole year before the Imam arose to usurp it. We don't know the relationship ideologically and numerically of the trade unions and the genuine Left to the actual membership in the mosques and what became the Islamic Republican Party.

And while we do not know the exact relationship within the Left between the various nationalities, the Kurds have the longest fighting record. They have always been revolutionary nationalists, whether they were part of Russia, part of Iraq, part of Iran, part of Turkey, or part of anywhere else. And the Arab revolutionaries who rose to the front during this revolution were deeply rooted in the trade unions and rose to leadership of the oil strikes. While none had the organizational advantage of the mosque as both haven, sacrosanct places, and ideological discipline, with the emphasis on discipline, the movement emerged, developed and persisted long before Khomeini rose to be in sole command.

Whatever the Grand Illusion of Khomeini, that his Shi'ite "primitiveness" can inspire a total return of the Arab world to Shi'ism, not to mention the Grand Illusion of a reorganization of the rest of the world, that isn't what throws fear into the reactionary monarchies such as Saudi Arabia—and the so-called moderates of the modern stripe like Bani-Sadr—to follow him. What throws fear is Shi'ite activism in their own country, that is all the more intensified as they see that Khomeini has demonstrated that he knew not only how to capture the mass movement in Iran, but to influence much of the Arab world.

Insofar as China is concerned, however, although it is busy trying to convince West Europe that the key to the world situation presently lies there and not in the Middle East, it, too, is overwhelmed by the "Will" of Khomeini. Nevertheless, China keeps claiming that Russia's concentration on the Middle East is a "diversionary" tactic, that Russia's global aim is the entity of West Europe. But is West Europe an entity?

III. Is West Europe a Single, Unified Entity?

The sudden expression, "we**," the Europeans, as if Europe really was an entity, unified as one, is not to be bypassed just because one could prove the divisions within Europe and the differences as well as likenesses) between each country and the U.S. While there is no point to having the illusions that having a "European Parliament" makes it an entity, there is also no reason to bypass either the fact that America is not a whole continent, much less a world unto itself; that its strength has eroded even if it is still the biggest single nuclearly-armed Titan. The truth is that if there was no U.S.-Russia conflict, Europe could stand on its feet, and in fact, it already does insofar as monetary (rate of exchange) matters are concerned. The combination of Germany and France is a power that all the rest of the Europeans certainly pays attention to as the stronghold no one better minimizes.

It's easy enough to point to the vulnerability of Europe were Russia to threaten nuclear war-

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fare, and to point to the fact that Europe is very well aware of it, since they not only accept it, but actually urged that U.S. nuclear power (TNF-NATO's theater nuclear forces) be stationed in Europe. "NATO's decision last December to start producing . . . and deploying 108 Pershing II and 463 cruise missiles on the European continent was a triumph of alliance diplomacy," as The Sommer puts it in his article, "Europe and the American Connection."***

Far from any "alliance triumph" signifying credibility in U.S. leadership, the truth is that no one is now laughing as they did when De Gaulle announced back in the late 1950s that unless the U.S. was directly threatened, it would not defend Europe. Now nearly all of West Europe acts as if that were, indeed, a proven fact. Thus Sommer quotes Kissinger's 1976 speech at Brussels, that "the introduction of new nuclear weapons predestines five European countries to become special objects of Soviet blackmail . . . After which he adds, "Western Europe ought to start thinking about the organization of a true European deterrent with far more determination and zeal . . ."

The decisive point is that Western Europe definitely does not wish any return to the Cold War. Whether it does or does not think nuclear holocaust "unthinkable," it has so little faith in the U.S. that it will not leave such "timing" in the hands of a U.S. President who has lost all credibility, pointing to the remark that Carter made that it was Russia's invasion of Afghanistan which first revealed to him the "true nature of the Soviet nation." Though no one wants to believe such naivete on the part of the President, they also want to make sure that their connection to Russia does not get disconnected by the U.S.

And, indeed, we need to say that if Carter was really so naive, that is to say, ignorant, of Russia's global aims, that it took Russia's invasion of Afghanistan to wake him up to the threat "to the peace of the world," i.e. to something so crucial that he had to declare it to be the most critical moment since World War II, why was he so totally silent the previous year when the Daesh regime had been overthrown, and the new regime that came to power openly declared itself close to Russia? Indeed, so eager was the U.S. not to intervene in any way, that they even played down the murder of U.S. Ambassador Dubs. What then changed between 1978 and 1979, when Russia invaded the faction-ridden regime that was definitely "within its sphere"? A deeper look at the difference between 1978 and 1979 is needed.

The real difference is that when the Afghan revolt first occurred, the Shah was still in power and Carter was quite confident that, as he kept assuring us, Iran was "the island of stability" in the Middle East. The only one that was worried by the situation in Afghanistan, and wished to intervene, was the megalomaniac Shah. The whole West—and not just West Europe but the U.S.—put a stop to this megalomania of the Shah before it could express itself militarily. In a word, it was not Russia's invasion of Afghanistan, but the revolution in Iran, which changed everything.

This revolution was nothing as "simple" as the quadrupling of oil prices that followed the Arab-Israeli war of 1973, nor, in the eyes of Carter, Sadat and Begin, was it as grandiose as the Egypt-Israeli Camp David agreement. At that moment, instead of being concerned with what Russia had always considered "its sphere of influence"—Afghanistan—they were positive that with Sadat and Begin, they were holding the turnkey to Western dominance in the Middle East, where all supposedly understood that Russia was Enemy No. 1 in the Middle East and a revolutionary Iran was nowhere on the horizon.

After the Iranian revolution, however, when everything planned from the height of superpowerdom had fallen to pieces and only after the new Iran was not just oil but a possible new social order, it was only then that Carter's proposal that American youth be registered for war was met-

*The Trotskyists have evidently become so enamored of the "students following the Imam's line," that they have reproduced the students' statement on the Blacks (Intercontinental Press, June 9, 1980): "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate . . . It continues that "Iran has captured the Great Satan—the American beast—inside its own country, the United States," and Blacks should follow "the great Khomeini . . . our Imam . . . But the uncultured government of Carter not only does not respond to this rightful demand of ours so that he can save the lives of the hostages, but he militarily attacks our country—a country which has already given so many martyrs."

**The emphasis is added, not because we think that Western Europe as an entity is a joke, but because Western Europe is truly under the delusion that it could become an entity totally independent of the U.S.

***See Foreign Affairs' special issue on "America and the World," Vol. 58, No. 3 (1980).

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NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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Latin American revolts deepen in wake of Nicaragua

by Eugene Walker

In this Presidential election year — when Carter declares an undefined line somewhere east of the Persian Gulf, half a world away, as "vital" to U.S. security; when he pushes Western Europe to rush headlong as the U.S.'s ally towards possible war, not excluding nuclear confrontation with Russia, over Iran, Afghanistan, the Middle East; when he reenters Asia via the "China card" which now includes supplying military hardware — Latin America once more remains our invisible continent.

It is a continent which, apart from the alleged threat of Cuba to the Caribbean and Central America, the U.S. refuses to acknowledge seriously as any more than a geographic entity for its plunder. But the truth of Latin America is that far from being invisible, it is a continent seething with revolt, revolt against the U.S. and against its own ruling class.

NICARAGUA: THE NEW DIVIDING LINE

The new dividing line for Latin America has been the Nicaraguan Revolution, which, in throwing out the U.S.-backed Somoza dynasty which had ruled more than 45 years, has sent a tidal wave of hope throughout Central America. El Salvador most especially, but Guatemala and Honduras as well, have felt its power.

Nicaragua's own revolutionary process faces tremendous obstacles. The heritage of U.S. imperialism and Somozaism had left an impoverished country. Somoza's



Nicaraguan women played a major part in the revolution overthrowing the Somoza dynasty.

murderous last defense meant an overwhelming destruction of life and productive resources.

The first major reconstruction campaign undertaken has been to make Nicaragua a literate country. Some 50 percent of the population was illiterate under Somoza. Since March a nationwide movement to wipe out illiteracy has been undertaken. Worker Literacy Militias have been created to teach one million to read. Youths of 12 and 13 are teaching adults in the countryside. The campaign has meant an interchange between city and rural areas. The literacy workers are, as well, being encouraged to keep diaries to write the new history in the making.

A number of other mass organizations have been created since the overthrow of Somoza. Among them are the Sandinista Workers Federation, the Rural Workers Association, the neighborhood Sandinista Defense Committees, which had arisen spontaneously in the insurrectionary days of the war, and the committees of women, Association of Nicaraguan Women, and of youth, the July 19th Sandinista Youth.

The Somoza holdings of land and enterprises have

been nationalized. The country faces the job of clearing away the destruction that Somoza launched against the entire country in the last days, as well as the destruction still present from the Managua earthquake of 1972 which Somoza hardly touched. Many factories are closed, but in some instances the workers have proceeded to take over the factories and have begun to run them again.

From abroad the U.S. is constantly talking about the dangers of Communism and Castro, and has been stalling on the modest sum of \$75 million in aid which is supposed to go for rebuilding the country. The U.S. Congress has been insisting on the addition of "moderates" to the ruling junta. This is the same U.S. which contributed millions upon millions for Somoza's troops who conducted a decades-long campaign against the people of Nicaragua.

OPPOSITIONS FROM WITHIN

Within the country there is opposition from the right in the form of such groups as the Superior Council of Private Enterprise which calls for protection of private investment and halting of any peasant confiscation of land expropriations. There is no doubt that both the U.S. from without, and from within, segments of the bourgeoisie, are dangers to the Nicaraguan Revolution. However, the only way to oppose those threats is to engage in a full, deep, revolutionary process. Here there still remain many question marks.

Thus, though women are involved in the literacy campaign, and there has been some attempt to discuss questions of responsibility for paternity, other questions such as abortion, divorce, and birth control have thus far remained untouched subjects.

The advantage of nationalizing all the holdings of Somoza in land and in industry does not yet answer the very difficult question of genuine workers' control of production. Naturally in an impoverished very small country the obstacles are enormous, but Nicaragua's

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Unemployment deadly, U. S. drives to war

by Charles Denby, Editor

Author of Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal

Many people know how bad unemployment really is today, but do not really realize the horrible effect it is having on those who are out of work — especially on their minds. The government gives us statistics each week of how many more thousands have been added to the unemployment rolls, but they never mention how many are out of compensation, or how many have never had a job. They are not counted but they are still human beings.

Whatever the statistics say, you can bet there are at least a third as many more unemployed, especially here in Detroit. With Black people, unemployment is twice as desperate as for white people.

The City and State are cutting or eliminating most social programs. Yet one high state official was saying on the news that they were expecting some 10,000 to 15,000 deaths due to the heavy unemployment, because being out of work and seeing so many others in the same predicament does something to some people's minds.

The State of Michigan budget is cut to the bare bones and it's getting barer. The State Deputy Budget Director said it is much worse than it appears and as far as he knows, this is the first time since the 1929 Depression that a reduction of this type has occurred. The Social Service and Mental Health Departments are being asked to absorb the largest cutbacks.

That is why Michigan's Governor Mihiken has decided to punish people on welfare by making them accept any job that is offered to them or they will be penalized by not being allowed to apply for aid again for three months. How do they expect those people to live for three months with prices what they are today? How can anyone live on \$240 a month?

I was talking to some retired auto workers and they were saying that companies are also trying to eliminate workers filing for workmen's compensation.

Not only are the capitalists trying to force us to live in what is becoming permanent unemployment, but the real madness of this society is the government's drive closer and closer to war.

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An urgent appeal for your help!

So ominous is the drive for war—which has been spelled out both in greater and greater nuclear militarization and in the first ever draft registration of youth in peacetime; so deep is the recession—which is actual depression for Blacks; that the intervention of the masses, whose lives are the stakes, becomes an imperative. In that, revolutionaries have a critical role.

The expansion of News & Letters to a 12-page journal—one that combines theoretical analyses of the crucial issues of our age of revolt at the same time that it remains the only forum of its kind for workers, Blacks, women and youth to speak for themselves—is urgent if we are to recreate the kind of revolutionary journalism our age demands.

Along with the expansion of the paper goes the expansion of all our activities and their deepening both philosophically and politically. But we cannot do it without your help. This year the fund we hope to raise is the largest we have ever attempted. We need a minimum of \$35,000 to sustain a new 12-page paper and to assist our organizational work—to help pay our rent, our postage, our supplies and the mammoth bills for printing we will face monthly.

Because we knew how difficult this would be for a small organization like ours, a special May Day appeal was sent out to close friends of News & Letters, and that has already raised \$7,500 toward the goal we have set ourselves. We are now asking you, our readers, to help us raise the additional \$27,500.

* * *

The first issue of News & Letters came off the press in June, 1955—on the second anniversary of the June 17, 1953 East German revolt against Russian state-capitalism calling itself Communism—as an expression of our solidarity with freedom fight-

ers, abroad as well as at home. In 1980—the 25th anniversary of News & Letters—we represent a quarter of a century of development of Marxist-Humanism.

You have already been witness, through the draft chapters printed in N&L, to the manner in which Raya Dunayevskaya's new work-in-progress on Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution illuminates the burning issues of our day, from the Iranian Revolution to revolutionary journalism itself. Our books, pamphlets, paper, and active participation in all the freedom struggles of our age over the past 25 years are not only the ground on which we stand to meet the new challenges, but the contribution to revolutionary history-in-the-making that gives us both the confidence and the right to ask for your help.

With the Draft Perspectives Thesis for our coming National Convention which we print in this issue of our paper—a practice which still remains to be done by any other organization—we ask you for two things: 1) your contributions to the discussion about these ideas; and 2) your help in raising the funds needed to carry on our work.

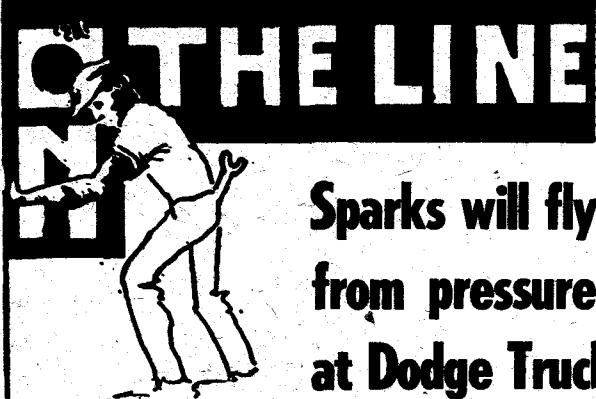
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Sparks will fly from pressure at Dodge Truck

by John Allison

The Dodge Truck plant in Detroit is being turned into a real hell hole for the workers. It is the only Chrysler truck plant still working, since the company shut down its St. Louis truck plant.

Work in a truck plant is different, and harder, compared with an auto plant. And that's under normal conditions. Now, with the huge layoffs and plant closings by Chrysler, the pressure for production is greater than ever.

The contract calls for a unemployed workers' pool to be kept by Chrysler, and that seniority workers are to be put to work when openings come up. Many workers from the closed Dodge Main plant have gone to work at Dodge Truck, and making the change from auto to truck production is very rough.

Management has made it clear that workers either make production or are fired. And if a Dodge Main worker can't make it, then a laid-off Dodge Truck worker next in line is called back. The result is a deadly speed-up among the workers, with all of them doing all they can to try to keep their jobs. The production there is the highest of any Chrysler plant.

In addition to this situation, unimated robots are also taking workers' jobs away from them, and more robots are on the way. You can ask any worker in the plant just how much the robots have "lightened" their work load, and they'll tell you what every worker knows in his or her bones — that the work pace is faster and harder as production climbs higher and higher.

The Dodge Truck workers have a long record as fighters against company harassment and intimidation. And one unusual feature at Dodge Truck is that the workers have voted to give the local union a continuous strike authorization all year round. In this way, when the workers take action against company oppression, they don't have to waste time with local union strike votes. It's already there, and can be used any time.

It's true that auto is in a depression, and no place is worse than Detroit. Workers are worried about their jobs, if they have one. Many will do things they never did before. But they're finding out that no matter how much they do, it is never enough. Nobody can put up with that for too long. And that's when the sparks will fly. You can bet on that just as sure as you can bet the sun will come up in the East.

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UAW mis-leaders offer no solution to crisis

Los Angeles, Cal.—With its speeches, slogans, resolutions and the hoopla of electioneering, the 26th Constitutional Convention of the United Auto Workers International met here the first week of June. Although shadowed by the inescapable fact that over 250,000 auto workers are now without jobs, the proceedings failed to deal seriously with this and other problems facing the rank-and-file membership.

The six-day meeting was a full scale example of what goes on in unions when rank-and-file workers are not included as direct participants. The area set aside for "guests" was less than a quarter the size of the space assigned to delegates. It was hard for workers who were not delegates to get guest passes, and by the third day they were told none were left. Once inside, the atmosphere was indistinguishable from that of a Democratic or Republican Convention.

Exactly what was accomplished during the period resolutions were proposed and ratified begs answering. One worker said, "Everybody told us about the problems

we face but no solutions were offered other than 'write your Congressman' to support legislation regarding plant closings and lay-offs." The walls of the convention were decorated with banners saying "Buy an Import—Lose Your Job" and "Foreign Imports—Sell Here! Buy Here!" These were the extent of the solutions to the massive problems of unemployment, lay-offs, and increased automation, offered by the union bureaucrats.

An opposition caucus, UAW Network, showed up at the convention to protest the lack of any serious discussion on how to stop the lay-offs and plant closings sweeping the industry. About 25 Network members organized a picket line in front of the convention on its second day, attracting about 125 other workers at one point. The protesters shouted slogans calling for a shorter work week, guarantees against lay-offs, and rank-and-file involvement in the effort to stop plant closings. But the impact of Network's action was restricted by their organizers, who chose to march through the Convention Hall only once, when the convention was not yet in session!

The key is that at no time in the convention was the need for workers' control of production introduced by anyone. But how could the union leadership be expected to see this when it believes workers should be outsiders to the decision-making of their own union? This attitude was displayed when a resolution was passed giving Regional Directors and Executive Boards say-so on the ways and means by which a contract will be voted upon. This means that instead of ratifying contracts at each local, one central place will be chosen where all must travel if they wish to vote. Or, ratification will be done via the mail without any opportunity for the kind of debate that takes place on a local union floor.

The solutions to the problems that face the nearly 800,000 auto workers, a third of whom are unemployed, remains with themselves as it does with the hundreds of thousands of steel and rubber workers hit hardest by the recession. Only that kind of collective power can create a pathway out of the crisis in auto which the union bureaucracy has shown itself incapable of producing.

—Laid-off auto worker

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NY transit fight continues

New York, N.Y. — The Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) are the vampires of New York State. They're taking out \$78 each week from our pay under the anti-strike Taylor Law. It comes out of our take-home pay, not our gross pay. The MTA has also taken away passes for school children's weekend half fare, and now they want to raise the fare again to 60 cents.

At 207th Street, the equipment and working conditions are terrible. We have tools and machines from the nineteenth century. Once, 36 workers for car repair had only one electric drill — and yet, they talk about productivity.

For 1,100 workers, we don't even have a lunchroom. A while ago, the drinking water was found to be bad and they finally installed a water filter. The MTA says no one's to come and inspect this place. The MTA inspects itself. The Fire Department can't come in to check for a fire hazard. OSHA can't come in to check for safety. Once New York Times reporters were allowed in, but they wouldn't let us talk to them about conditions there.

The union does nothing. We never see them. They have people on the so-called Safety Committee, but they don't do anything; it's a company job. The only way we might be able to do something is to change the union leaders. But look at what happened to George MacDonald. He was the man elected mostly from votes at the 207th St. and Coney Island repair yards to oppose John Lawe. Now Lawe's given him a vice-president's job at \$27,000 a year plus a car and expenses. These unions are all fake, they sell their people out.

—Transit worker, 207th St.

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Permanent unemployment all over the U.S.

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

The GM plant I worked in was closed down. After 19 years of labor, I found myself out of a job, I decided to go back home to Kentucky and found that it was bad there. Having crossed the country from Los Angeles to the coal fields of southeastern Kentucky, then north through Ohio to Detroit, the one thing that struck me was that the unemployment situation is every bit as bad in all parts of the country; in some parts it is as bad as during the 1930s Depression.

With nearly all the mining and logging industries shut down around Harlan and Hazard, Ky., unemployed workers would say: "Why look for a job? There are no jobs to be had." A young white worker in a rest stop in Ohio pointed to his car and told me: "I have everything I own in that car. So far I have been lucky enough to keep gas in the car with my Oklahoma credit card. Now, I have to get a job; my unemployment has run out."

Most workers I've talked to in crossing the country talked differently than workers during the 1974-75 recession. Then, bad as it was, they had hopes. But now they say: "We won't see any more good times. Times will get worse."

The day I arrived in Detroit, the UAW convention began in Anaheim, Cal., 2,000 miles away from the unemployed auto workers here.

As against what concerned the bureaucrats at that convention (Fraser's re-election), the workers — whether at Fleetwood here, or at South Gate in California — were talking about the latest capitalist fad: unimation. A single look at what automation has done during the past 25 years will tell you what unimation will do — create a permanent army of unemployed. Rouge plant, for example, had 70,000 workers then; now, only 9,000 are employed.

The same thing has happened in rubber, steel, mining and all industries. Today, the companies and the labor leaders blame everything on foreign imports. The truth is that in every

country, workers face the same unemployment and conditions of labor as in this country.

But one thing that gave me hope was when one Black worker, in talking about the Miami Revolt and comparing it to Detroit in 1967, said: "The next time a movement happens, it won't be like 1967. This time it will be Black and white moving together."

This is the mood of the whole country. How can people live in this high price system with no job? The difference between having a job and no job under this system is that with a job you can barely feed your family and yourself; with no job, if you eat, you are forced to steal. All this system offers us is more police and more jails. It is exactly what we'll refuse to fill.

Plans to sell Uniroyal

Detroit, Mich. — Those of us who used to work for Uniroyal here before it closed down got a big surprise Thursday night, June 19. Louis Poole, the Local 101 vice-president, got on TV and said that a group of unnamed investors from California were interested in buying the plant and re-opening it with preference-hiring for the old employees. Some high-seniority people even received letters about it. It looks like the union is playing salesman to sell the plant.

The big thing, according to this, is that an entire new contract has to be negotiated. Everyone knows what this means — that if the plant re-opens with new management, the working conditions there will be much worse.

The biggest subject of talk is that most people don't ever want to go back in there anyway under past conditions. The kind of work we did in there isn't fit for any living thing on earth. But it sure would be funny if some of these managers and investors, and whoever in the URW is trying to sell this screwball idea, had to actually make tires themselves!

— "Discarded" Uniroyal worker

nobody was hired at Fleetwood between 1958 and 1963. That is why there are so many people eligible to retire now, almost half the plant. This time, some people who have worked here for 12 or 14 years will never get back.

— Fleetwood worker

Huber Foundry

Detroit, Mich. — At Huber Foundry they have just begun a new layoff, which will soon take us down to only 400 workers. A year ago there were 2,500 workers here. It is true that Chrysler is not selling cars, and that a lot of our work is going to a foundry in Indiana, but that is not all. I have watched the new machines they bring in kill jobs, little by little.

Many people may not know about how the workers in the "core room" were worked overtime for the last two months. It was 10 hours a day or nine hours some days, never less than 48 hours a week. All this while we were laid off back to May, 1972. Now it is cut back to July 1971, and core room is still working overtime. The union is doing absolutely nothing; in fact, there is no union. The one thing the union was good for was to get you back if you were fired. Now, if Chrysler's computer says you are fired, you stay fired.

Core room is steady, busy work, with gas and sand. You have really worked, if you work 10 hours in there. But Chrysler has everybody worrying about whether they will have a job tomorrow, so there has been no explosion yet.

— Huber foundry worker

NY job crisis worsens

New York, N.Y. — The situation for the New York jobless is desperate and getting worse. The few factories that are not on lay-off want all kinds of experience, and then look you in the eye and offer you \$3.25 an hour. That's the going rate even in union shops — Teamsters, Carpenters, and so on. I called one factory in New Jersey which had an ad in the paper. They told me, "The work is very heavy and dirty and you have to work very hard." I asked how much they paid. "\$3.10 an hour," they said, and I said, you're crazy.

But even this minimum wage is no longer a reality in New York, if it ever was. A young Black friend was doing extremely heavy work at a construction supplies yard, long hours for a flat \$100 a week. A Dominican friend was working 45 hours a week at a jewelry store for \$60. Then she paid \$1,000 to a computer training school, only to find out when she graduated that key-punch is a minimum wage job.

It is just as Karl Marx wrote over 100 years ago. With the permanent unemployment so high, the wages of those left working are pushed down to below the value of their labor power — that is, below what it costs workers merely to survive and live to work another day. Only through state-capitalist intervention in the form of food stamps and ADC do countless N.Y. workers barely survive in miserable conditions. But for over a million undocumented workers even this is not possible.

These workers, employed and unemployed, are the very ones we will hear from when Miami comes to N.Y. in Black-Out III.

— Unemployed

Cops harass 'Flint Voice'

Flint, Mich. — Sgt. Faye Peek of the Flint Police Department telephoned Michael Moore, a co-editor of the *Flint Voice*, a free, monthly independent newspaper, on May 21, to say that the police might obtain a warrant to search the premises of the *Flint Voice* unless Moore disclosed the source of a story that appeared in the November, 1979 issue. This story had reported that the City of Flint Ombudsman, Joseph Dupcza, had released a report criticizing Flint Mayor James Rutherford for coercing CETA employees to campaign for and contribute money to the Mayor's re-election.

The Flint Police Department had already obtained a warrant to search the Lapeer County Press where the *Flint Voice* is printed. Sgt. Peek claimed that he was investigating a possible misdemeanor committed by the Ombudsman in releasing his report before releasing it to the Flint City Council. (The paper was printed four hours before the report was officially released.)

On June 6, the *Flint Voice* went into Genesee County Circuit Court to ask for a restraining order. The judge refused because the police were now vigorously denying that they intended to obtain a search warrant. He did require that the police go to him personally or to the Michigan Supreme Court to obtain a warrant.

One of the specific evils that the First Amendment was designed to eliminate was government searches of newspaper offices. The *Flint Voice* has been frequently critical of various local politicians and the attempt to intimidate the *Flint Voice* and its sources was obvious enough.

What is perhaps not so obvious is the connection between the threatened search of the *Flint Voice* and the unemployment rate in Flint, the highest in any metropolitan area in the country. The rate of unemployment among Black youth is estimated to be 50-60 percent. The Flint police are not unaware of the important Black dimension in the 1937 Flint sit-down strike or of the 1967 rebellion in Flint, not to mention the much more recent Miami rebellion.

The *Flint Voice* has won a partial victory. Still, the police have succeeded in reminding the *Flint Voice* and others in Flint of their presence at a time of potentially explosive rebellion.

FROM THE AUTO SPOTS

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — GM announced that it will close down both Fleetwood and the main Cadillac plant on Clark St. and was looking for a 100-acre site to build a new plant for complete car assembly. But at full production this new plant will employ only 3,800 workers, just 27 percent of the workforce from the two plants before the deep lay-offs. Only 900 or so of the 1,900 workers left at Fleetwood could get work in the 1983 model year, and that is down from 5,500 a year ago.

Before the announcement everyone was worried by rumors. There was talk of closing Cadillac and making the whole car at Fleetwood, but that would cost them \$300 million. For \$500 million they intend to build a plant from the ground up with the latest in automation and robots. This shows that Pete Estes of GM was not just talking when he promised to catch up to the Japanese technology by 1989. In some Japanese plants you can walk as far as a football field between workers. This new plant sounds like that, you will need walkie-talkies to talk to another worker.

I don't see unity among the workers because they feel the union is with the company on this. Many workers are talking about how Carter should stop the Japanese imports. That is a scapegoat the union has created because the workers have to be mad at somebody. Nationalism is very easy to conjure up when you want to divert attention from something. The UAW did not oppose automation in the 1950s, and

Readers' Views

A WORLD IN CRISIS: FROM IRANIAN TURMOIL . . .

The "Two Worlds" column in N&L last month on "Carter's Intrusion, Khomeini's 'Holy War'", seemed to me to be posing the question of what new type of relationship you want to work out between the Iranian and the American Left. Take Ramsey Clark. When he came back he said there were many different power centers in Iran, which is true, but what Raya is pointing out is that all these different power centers got together to attack the Iranian Left. Why? Because Marxism does represent a power of ideas which can be a real opposition pole to the Islamic Republic.

I don't think that we have enough communication with the Iranian Left on the level of the new kind of dialogue that is developed in that column.

Marxist-Humanist
Los Angeles

* * *

Most people give too much credit to the religious leaders for starting the Iranian Revolution. In fact its real mass beginning was six months before the events in Qom, in the summer of 1977, when the regime tried to bulldoze a working class district where people had set up makeshift homes on the outskirts of Tehran. A young boy was killed "accidentally" by the bulldozers, and the people of the district rioted and fought the Shah's police. Even the Shah had to fly back suddenly from East Europe where he was having cordial talks with leaders there.

I believe this was the first time the masses began to gain the confidence to overthrow the regime completely, and it should be noted that it was a social and not religious, question that was the beginning. I want to learn more what you have to say about Iran and what is the history of your group in the United States.

Iranian woman student
New York

* * *

The situation in the Middle East after Carter's intrusion into Iran is dangerous. I don't believe the Russian leaders intend to withdraw from Afghanistan either. It is possible that the forces resisting the Russian invasion will be defeated in a comparatively short time, but we could be on the brink of nuclear war as a result.

The most disturbing thing is the lack of news about the resistance to the war by the Russian people. N&L tells us of the opposition in the United States. Here in Glasgow, there have been several processions against nuclear development. I am worried about the danger of war.

Harry McShane
Glasgow, Scotland

. . . TO U.S. RACISM

I liked Charles Denby's and John Alman's columns last month very much. It is good what Black people did in Miami, because they are tired and disgusted. They want to be treated like human beings. It could happen in New York any time, and here it will be Black and Latin together. The Spanish speaking people here are tired of the police brutality too. There have been many young Latins killed by the police, for example in Brooklyn.

I had so many illusions when I came to this country. So many of us paid a lot to schools that gave us the illusion we could get better jobs. But after we paid all the money, still the only jobs for us are minimum wage factory jobs.

There is always a white with better education, better jobs over us. Just to try to keep our mouths shut they let one Black, one Latin get in a good position. But these get middle-class ideas right away; as soon as they get their position they turn their backs on their people.

Latin American
New York

* * *

I recently heard a spokesman for the National Black Assembly, the organization which came out of the failure of the 1972 Gary, Ind., Black leadership convention. If there was any doubt that retrogression, like revolution, has a logic of its own the ideas of the NBA was enough to dispel it.

On every single burning issue facing Black people today that Ron Daniels, their spokesman, took up—whether on the depression conditions of Black America, the crisis in Black leadership, Carter's drive to war and militarization, or Black youth unemployment—everything was reduced to "tactics and strategy".

No wonder one of the leading academics in the NBA, Manning Marable, attacked Charles Denby's *Indignant Heart: A Black Workers' Journal*, when Denby criticized the 1972 Gary Convention as a "still-birth". After listening to the NBA and reading its program for Black America, it may have been a still-birth in '72, but with those same old formulas in 1980, like "the leadership of the Black movement comes from the bourgeoisie," it seems more like the living dead.

Black and disgusted
Detroit

. . . NUCLEAR NIGHTMARES

Japan has the fastest growing nuclear power industry in the world, and with 21 nuclear plants constructed since 1966 it is now second only to the U.S. At Tokyo Electric's Fukushima No. 1 plant, famous as the most contaminated in the world, the plant safety director told one worker who received a 90 millirem overdose: "You have been commendably irradiated."

Even more frightening is Japan Atomic Power's Tsuruga plant, where the pocket radiation meters which measure each worker's daily dose register 2,000 millirems (the International Commission of Radiological Protection has set the maximum "permissible" dose for nuclear workers at 5,000 millirems per year). Tsuruga has trouble finding Japanese workers, even for very high wages; and some of the most dangerous work is performed by a "foreigners squad" of Black workers from the U.S., supplied by General Electric and Westinghouse. Is that how the U.S. workers are supposed to "catch up" with Japan? The light at the end of this tunnel seems to be a blue glow.

Frightened
Illinois

* * *

On June 2 there was a rally for a "Nuclear-free Midwest" in Chicago. A thousand people came out in rain and golfball hail to voice their concerns. Many of them came from places like Baily, Indiana; Kansas and Iowa. There was going to be a march followed by a peaceful die-in at Commonwealth Edison's headquarters but it was called off because of the rain.

During a radio call in show the next night several people said that they would have gone to the rally but did

not know about it. Unless we get off our asses nuclear power will be around for a long time.

Anti-nuclear activist
Chicago

. . . AND PERMANENT LAYOFFS

It was quite a shock to go on a tour of the Inland Steel mill last week. The Basic Oxygen Furnace (BOF) they installed outproduces 24 open hearths, and the whole operation seems to be run by 3 or 4 workers. Another plant—the hot strip mill—is a solid half-mile of gargantuan machinery. Here I don't think I saw more than a half dozen workers. Thousands of tons of steel come out of here every hour, all run by computer. They are constantly tying in more operations to the computer to "compete with Japan." After seeing this, I wonder whether the shakeout in the steel industry, when complete, will make the Great Depression look like good times.

Reader
Chicago

APPEAL FOR PETR UHL

Shortly before his arrest in May, 1979, Czechoslovak activist and socialist writer Petr Uhl completed an important work setting forth his views on the socialist alternative to Stalinism in Czechoslovakia and all East Europe. The work is entitled *Czechoslovakia and Socialism*, and we hope to raise £ 2,000 by this summer to publish it in English. Since we have no wealthy backers or ready cash, we hope that you will generously support this effort to advance the distribution of ideas of socialist oppositionists in East Europe. Please send your check to:

"Alternatives in Eastern Europe"
328-9 Upper Street
London N1 2XQ, England

LABOR REALITIES

All of you in Detroit did not miss a thing in missing this UAW Convention in Los Angeles. What a shameful election! Even a general election kicks the rascals out.

Disgusted
Los Angeles

* * *

When the story in your June issue was distributed at the 207 St. yard many workers were reading it. You should know that it sparked a lot of interest. Someone even put it up on the bulletin board.

Transit worker
New York

TWO VIEWS OF MARXISM

I have read Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom* and completely disagree with its conclusions. Rest assured that I have no doubts about the sincere devotion of her followers to the cause of the working class. But while it is true that the Soviet Union has made colossal mistakes and that Stalin's dictatorship was awful, I still consider the Soviet Union as the major bastion of workers' power. So do millions of workers throughout the world.

Reader
Sacramento, Calif.

* * *

I'm a young Black prisoner doing time in Attica. I've been studying Marxism, dialectics, for about 16-18 months. After reading *Indignant Heart*, I feel as if I've gained a good friend. I just want to say that I agree with you to a great degree,

if not completely. It's good to see that you're very much aware of not only politics (read: games people play) in the U.S., but the fact that the so-called Black "leaders" are all in government or state posts, and consequently don't want to rock the boat.

I have studied Marxism intensely (and completed *Capital, Vol. 1*) and agree with your contention that there is no such thing as a Socialist or Communist worker-controlled state in existence. I would mention in passing that where technological development is the primary state interest—superseding the cultural transformation of people recently leaving the womb of capitalism, a philosophical, ideological, and hence political deterioration will inevitably transpire. In other words, state capitalism sets in.

New reader in prison
Attica, New York

MORE ON 'THE WALL'

I noticed your Readers' View on music in South Africa. Is Pink Floyd's "The Wall" what you would term a new beginning? I don't know. My very good friend the nihilist loves it. As encouraging as it is to see the South African revolt, I'd love to see N&L publish some examples of the revolutionary art that must be being created there.

Long-time reader
Bass River, Mass.

NEWS FROM CHINA

The editors of the last two issues of *Minus* are now beginning a new publication—*Undercurrent*. This will be basically a newsletter on current Chinese affairs published on an irregular basis, in the hope that the articles and translations it carries can be timely and not overdue, so that there may be more response. Readers who are interested please send us their names and addresses to *Undercurrent*, c/o 1984 Bookshop, 1/F, Wanchai, Hong Kong. We shall appreciate donations and contributions. Please make check payable to *Undercurrent*.

The '80s Front
Hong Kong

Ed. note—The '80s Front has just published the latest issue of *Minus*, excerpting or reproducing in full 17 major documents from the Peking Spring, 1979, opposition movement. N&L readers can get more information on how to order *Minus* directly from the '80s Front at the above address in Hong Kong.

FEMINISM AND IRISH FREEDOM

As resistance to British imperialism in the northern Six Counties of Ireland continues, Irish Republican prisoners bear the brunt of the repression. While nearly 400 men in Long Kesh camp exist in appalling conditions, conditions for their women comrades in Armagh jail have worsened greatly this year. Since February some 32 women have been refused change of clothing, washing facilities, confined to cells, cannot empty their chamber pots and are denied adequate medical facilities. Several have been seriously injured in mass assaults by both male and female warders.

At present two women from a feminist group supporting the prisoners, arrested while protesting outside the jail, are doing two and four month sentences themselves. There is increasing awareness of the importance of women and the contribution of feminism towards creating the new society among republican activists both male and female.

Eibhlis Ni Sheidh
Dublin

As Others See Us**'Journal of Negro History' reviews 'Black Thought' pamphlet**

The following excerpted review by James H. Randall of Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought appears in full in *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. LXIV, No. 3 (Summer, 1979).

* * *

Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought. By Lou Turner and John Alan (Detroit: News & Letters, June 1978. 55 pp. \$1.00—See ad, p. 10.)

Lou Turner and John Alan's News & Letters pamphlet, *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought*, aims to trace a triangular development of class conscious and race conscious ideas and achievements of liberation based on a Marxist-Humanist view . . . The authors are astutely careful to differentiate between Marxist-Humanists (the faction they laud that "as organization, as body of thought, as activists, have never developed separately from the black masses in motion")

Murder of Walter Rodney

For the third time in the past seven months the Forbes Burnham government of Guyana has answered the mass opposition to its repressive regime with the death of a leader of the Working People's Alliance (WPA). This time assassination struck down the Black revolutionary, Walter Rodney. Killed in an explosion set-up on June 13, Walter Rodney and two other WPA members were awaiting trial in August for alleged illegal activities against the ruling People's National Congress.

The true opposition to the Burnham regime, however, didn't come in the form of any one intellectual or party. It sprang from the class and national consciousness of the Black and East Indian nationalities of Guyana who make up the WPA which Walter Rodney headed.

But, just as the mark of all despotic or imperialist rulers, when faced with the sharpest mass opposition, is to assassinate the visible leadership and intellectuals — whether it be a Lumumba, a Malcolm X or a Steven Biko — so the real measure of a revolutionary intellectual who has rejected the armchair theory of academia is what Walter Rodney expressed in a speech, called "The Groundings with My Brothers," he gave in 1968 after being banned from lecturing in Jamaica for his activities in the Black Power movement in the West Indies.

Although Rodney's Marxism was certainly very different from Marxist-Humanism, that cannot take away from his beautiful words: "The black intellectual has to move beyond his own discipline to challenge the social myth, which exists in the society as a whole . . . the black intellectual, the black academic must attach himself to the activity of the black masses."

The explosion in Miami and the new stage of revolt in South Africa are not unrelated to the tragic death of Walter Rodney. Rather the two converge to show us how immediate is the task for intellectuals, who have finished with the false ideology of this decaying society, to work out as serious and organizational a relationship to the philosophy of revolution as to the ceaseless movement of the "wretched of the earth".

—Lou Turner

and other Marxist groups (which "have given a lot of lip service in the fight against racism, but as a matter of political policy, Black Liberation has been jettisoned or submerged when it does not meet their political necessities"). Though much debate in contemporary Marxist thought may be devoted to the class question versus the race question in theory, the authors here aim to portray the two as inter-related in this study.

Part I ("Soweto, Black Consciousness and Steve Biko") presents an overview and analysis of black student opposition to oppressive dictates of the South African government . . . Soweto 1976 is underscored as "the highest point of integrality with Black Consciousness and the first mass opposition to apartheid to break into world view since the bloody Sharpeville massacre of 1960" when thousands openly protested against the pass laws. Excerpts of Biko's philosophy of Black Consciousness are cited . . . "What is powerful and new about Biko's ideas is that he always centers the possibility for change within the subject of the oppressed . . ."

Part II ("Black Struggles in the United States"), focusing on activities of the 1960's and 1970's, notes critical social problems suffered by American Blacks. Unemployment, and especially unemployment among Black youth, is noted as a prime critical factor. The blame for this situation is placed on the "economic and cultural racism [that] is still part of the day-to-day life in this country" . . .

The authors compare the "mass character" of the U.S. Black revolt and the South African revolts, the student involvement in both situations, and ideological concepts of the Black Awareness/Black Power awakening in the U.S. and the Black Consciousness movement in South Africa . . .

Part III ("Frantz Fanon, World Revolutionary") makes the point that Fanon's influence is felt over the Afro-world in particular and over the Third World in general. Having accused American intellectuals of presenting truncated versions of Fanon's thought, the authors go on to apply concepts from Fanon's *Black Skins, White Masks* and *The Wretched of the Earth* to Black revolutionary movements.

The Wretched of the Earth is credited with re-creating "the dialectics of liberation for the colonial world as it emerged out of the actual struggle of the African masses for freedom." In echoing Fanon's criticism of the separation of leaders from masses after independence was won in African states, the authors allude to a comparative conflict between middle-class leadership and Black masses in the U.S. . . .

In re-establishing central ties to national culture, which was suppressed by colonialism, revolutionary strides can be made by not losing sight of political reality. Cultural roots and identity are vitally important, but the point must not be forgotten that "culture and political struggles define each other, and feed on each other, all the way." Though copies of the works of Fanon, Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X were circulating among the Soweto youth, the oppressive political reality of the South African situation itself triggered the revolt.

Part IV ("American Black Thought") traces some historical aspects of Black ideology and includes some

statements by contemporary students, workers, and prisoners. The authors feel that DuBois failed to perceive the greatness of Garvey's "revolutionary nationalist substance" behind the superficial trappings and thus a great synthesis of far reaching potential was lost. King is discussed as having correctly noted that rather than the other way around, the movement created him, and he is credited with keeping in close contact with the people, a stance that the older civil rights organizations could not maintain as completely because of their professional advocacy natures. Malcolm X is credited with expanding Black consciousness and with challenging class-conscious "house Negro" leadership and ideology. Some of the younger Black activists are censured for "various types of vanguardism" which divert energy from more positive action. More attention could be given to Black activist groups in this section . . .

There do exist problems with a study of this scope, however. Though brief and sketchy in sections perhaps for the necessity of format, valuable and important overviews are presented. The reader is prompted to contemplate the issues, and the booklet is quite readable. Thus its mass-access is an asset. Though, for more complete coverage, we might expect that Section IV especially should be expanded . . .

What is of prime importance, however, is that Lou Turner and John Alan have given us a provocative study which increases our awareness of conditions in South Africa, invites us to re-evaluate situations in the U.S., provokes us to think in some international terms, and prompts us to remain ever concerned about humane conditions.

Washington State University

James H. Randall

Alioune Diop

We mourn the death, on May 2, of Alioune Diop, whose creative presentation introduced a whole generation of French intellectuals, from Picasso to Sartre, to African life, culture, politics, philosophy. With the founding of *Presence Africaine*, in 1947, he universalized this African presence for the whole world, though it took the Black intellectuals in America more than a decade before they issued an English-language edition of his journal.

While it is true that nothing by an African was looked at with indifference by Diop, it isn't true that the journal was limited to contributions by Africans. Quite the contrary. Its dynamism of ideas reached out to the whole world without ever stopping to look at whether any contribution was considered authoritative by the ruling ideologues; I am proud to say that my essay on Marxist-Humanism was published in 1963.

And it certainly isn't true that only "culture" predominated in Diop's life. All one needs to do to see Diop's multi-faceted character is to read his speech to the first Africanist Conference in Boston in October, 1961. Neither the fact that it was on culture nor the fact that it polemized against another famous African writer, Ezekiel Mphahlele (who had criticized Diop for his continued concentration on Negritude, as if that were as relevant in the 1960s as it had been in the 1930s), diverted Diop from his view of the integrality of revolution and literature.

One of his favorite poets, the great Martiniquan, Aimé Césaire, wrote:

"Those who invented neither gun-powder nor the compass,
Those who never learned to conquer steam or electricity,

Those who never explored the seas or skies,
But they know the farthest corners of the land
of anguish."

But Diop's point was that it wasn't only "suffering" that required Black consciousness. The very universalization of culture required de-Westernization and needed to be "cultivated in the cultural genius of the emergent world."

What will soften the blow we all feel at Alioune Diop's death is the rich heritage he left us by creating a two-way road between the Third World and the Western world.

—Raya Dunayevskaya
June 1, 1980

COMING IN THE NEXT ISSUE

"The Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.: on the 25th Anniversary of News and Letters Committees"

A new essay by Raya Dunayevskaya

NEWS AND LETTERS COMMITTEES were founded in 1955 in the midst of McCarthyism, on the one side, and, on the other side, the most creative new forms of revolt—from the Detroit wildcats against Automation, to the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation and the Hungarian Revolution against Russian state-capitalism.

The first issue of N&L — which came off the press on the second anniversary of the June 17, 1953 East German revolt, to express our solidarity with freedom fighters everywhere—created a forum for the new voices of revolution—the rank-and-file workers, the Blacks, the youth, the women. N&L began then, and remains today, the only publication of its kind to have as its editor a Black worker, Charles Denby, author of *Indignant Heart: a Black Worker's Journal*.

* * *

THERE HAS NOT BEEN a single activity since our founding—from the anti-Vietnam War movement of the '60s to the anti-draft registration movement today; from the Freedom Rides and sit-ins of 1961 to the Miami explosion of 1980; from the first

appearance of the Women's Liberation Movement to this year's Reclaim the Night marches—that has not been recorded in our pages by the participants.

Whether as Workers Battle Automation or as Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves; whether as The Free Speech Movement or as Working Women For Freedom; whether as France, Spring 1968 or as Polish Shipyard Workers Revolt—the movement everywhere from practice that is itself a form of theory has not only been heard in N&L, but has been presented inseparable from the philosophy of liberation for our age—Marxist-Humanism.

* * *

OUR ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO Marxism, and the self-development of theory those contributions represent, are marked by the milestones of Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution, and Raya Dunayevskaya's new work-in-progress, Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

Her coming essay on the past 25 years of objective world events and Marxist development will illuminate the challenges we face in the 1980s. DON'T MISS IT!

Living history of U.S. revolutionary forces
THE RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA COLLECTION

Marxist-Humanism: Its Origin and Development in America, 1941 to Today
Available on microfilm from Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State U., Detroit, MI 48202.
Order 26-page Guide to the Collection from News & Letters. Price: 50¢ plus postage.

WOMAN AS REASON

Russian women expose lie of 'Socialist' state

"In a vast and degenerate land, it is hard to trace the stages of degradation."

Women and Russia: An Almanac by Women About Women is the samizdat journal that recently made its way to the West (see News & Letters, March, 1980). It reveals, in striking phrases, what it means to be a Russian woman.

The maternity clinics are revealed to be filthy places—"a mockery of humanity"—where a woman "is treated like a cow that doesn't know itself why it goes 'moo'." The much-touted day care centers are places where healthy children are taken and "we get sick children back;" where children's food is stolen or adulterated. Abortion is a horrible experience starting with "the humiliation when she must go to the women's counseling service to collect the mountain of papers . . ." The women call the Leningrad abortion clinic "the mincing machine."

The women authors do more than describe the horrors of Russia. They are telling the world that they aim to change their conditions. The first sentence of their editorial begins: "Today understanding must realize itself in action . . ." They speak of "the common struggle to recreate the world." N. Malakhovskaya ends her article thus: "So woman passes through all the deaths which nature and men have ordained for her, and with inexhaustible strength makes herself into all: not only physical, but spiritual creator of the future world."

While one Leftist paper (*Socialist Worker*, May, 1980) dares to say, "The reaction of Women in (sic) Russia to (their conditions) is emotional, not political," the very publishing of this journal — complete with the authors' names and photographs — was a highly political act, an act for which the women have already been threatened. These women are saying that Russia is no "socialist" state and that the proof is the unfreedom of Russian women.

The authors, unlike many Russian dissidents, don't deprecate the Russian Revolution or trace its transformation into opposite to Lenin — quite the contrary. Significantly, this appears in their editorial statement: "the best advocate of Soviet Russia really had an objective approach to the Woman Question; Lenin never forgot women when he turned to the masses. The demand for equal rights for all human beings must not exclude half of humanity. In fact the Russian Revolution brought about not bloodshed alone, but the elevation of the people and of individuals as well . . . (It) reverberated throughout the entire world and it changed the world . . . This process came to a standstill during the period of the personality cult of Stalin."

Not all the essays in *Woman and Russia* are ones I would agree with. Yet where some Leftists claim that it is "not political," certainly the Russian state recognizes the deep challenge of this feminist magazine. Not only have they threatened the authors so that the publication of the next issue has been delayed; but their fellow travelers in West Germany have instituted a coordinated letter-writing attack against *Courage*, the West German independent feminist magazine that was the first, as far



A Russian scene: mothers have to line up to be able to buy fruits and vegetables.

as we know, to publish significant translations of *Women and Russia*.

Women and Russia is a beginning. It is important that beginning is in Russia — that state-capitalist monstrosity calling itself socialist — where women have again made it clear that no society dare call itself socialist if women are not free and that even the weight of the Russian state — with Russian men thrown in — cannot crush women's "quest for universality."

(My thanks to David Wolff, who did extensive translation of *Women and Russia* from *Courage*, March, 1980. The German translation from the Russian was done by Irmtraud Gengenbach.)

—Terry Moon

Anti-abortion Hyde picketed

Oak Park, Ill — About 75 demonstrators picketed the office of Henry Hyde, author of the infamous Hyde Amendment, on May 31. Signs and slogans supported women's right to self-determination and opposed sterilization abuse and genocide.

The Hyde Amendment of 1976 allows the use of Medicaid funds for abortion only when giving birth might harm a woman's health or when the pregnancy results from incest or rape. A current version would, if approved, outlaw funding unless full-term pregnancy endangered a woman's life.

Concurrent demonstrations of similar sizes were held in Boston and Washington, D.C. All three demonstrations were sponsored by the Reproductive Rights National Network to focus attention on an upcoming Supreme Court ruling. The plaintiffs in the case would like the Hyde Amendment declared unconstitutional.

Some orthodox social scientists have recently claimed that there has been no increase in the number of deaths from illegal abortions since the Hyde Amendment took effect. However, a doctor from Cook County Hospital in Chicago reported that the number of women admitted there with complications from illegal or self-induced abortions has doubled.

—Frederick

From our readers on our essay-article

I liked the essay on "Women's Liberation in search of a theory" (June, 1980 N&L) very much. It was good to start out with the objective movement, bringing in the international and minority women dimensions, both because it is the objectivity of women's fight for freedom that so many theorists leave out, and also because it sets the ground for the importance of working out precisely what is theory.

What I especially loved was the critique of Simone de Beauvoir's *Second Sex*. I always hated that book, and Olga Domanski's essay really points out what an anti-woman book it is. There is absolutely nothing in the *Second Sex* that explains how there could be a Women's Liberation Movement. WLM "veteran", Chicago

* * *

The section on Simone de Beauvoir was very important for me. The quotes from *The Second Sex* were so shocking. Even though it was written 30 years ago, somehow the WLM has not figured out what is wrong with it. I got to wondering, does Simone de Beauvoir actually lay the ground for the Gerda Lerners and Sheila Rowbothams of today?

Working woman, New York

* * *

The outpourings at all the Women's Liberation Conferences I have attended really do show how deep is the hunger for ideas. That is what makes the question "what is theory" so objective. Along with the demand to end exploitative sexism is the

testing of whether theorists meet or satisfy that hunger for ideas. Is theory going to examine the nature of oppression only, or is it going to point to liberation?

I also wanted to say I very much liked the point you made about the impact of the *Second Sex* being the topic itself. That greatly demystifies the book's influence.

Socialist-feminist, Detroit

* * *

The framework that Olga Domanski developed, namely "what is theory", is so crucial for all revolutionary movements that the essay has a universal as well as a particular relevance. It is worth mentioning that within the Women's Liberation Movement, all the questions about sex/race/class are still being debated, discussed, exactly as they were 10 years ago. There has been no serious theory that, basing itself on the movement from practice, has an inkling of an idea that there are not separate "categories of oppression" to be "integrated" theoretically, but rather the struggles of Black and working women lay new ground for feminist theory.

Even Sheila Rowbotham brings nothing, absolutely nothing, from objective reality into her recent essay, "Beyond the Fragments". Nothing, for example, about women's self-organization in Portugal, and yet she wants to talk about "forms of organization" . . .

Socialist-feminist, Boston



women-worldwide

Voting on the Equal Rights Amendment in the Illinois House of Representatives on June 18, fell five votes short of the three-fifths majority needed to pass. Illinois, the only major northern industrial state not to pass the amendment, had been the target of organizing by feminists all Spring. Their work was opposed by Phyllis Schlafly and her many right-wing supporters.

* * *

On May 29, police in Salisbury, Zimbabwe charged into a crowd of 500 mostly women, clubbing some women with babies strapped to their backs. The demonstrators were outside Parliament demanding an end to police brutality and the elimination of the all-white police force.

* * *

The Midwest Conference of the Society for Women in Philosophy will be held in Detroit, Mich., Oct. 24-26, 1980. Suggestions for panels and papers being submitted should be sent by Sept. 1 to Zjemi Moulton, Dept. of Philosophy, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY 40506.

* * *

In Japan, 50 feminists staged a sit-in at NHK, Japan's public broadcasting station, to demand cancellation of a program called, "The Dutiful Housewife," which "gives false information about the discriminated situation of Japanese housewives." The program was telecast as planned, as an "English language instructional" and the International Women's Year Action Group is calling for international letters of protest. Write IWYAG, c/o Mit-sue Yamada, Green Mansion, Apt. D, 1-10 Wakaba Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo.

(Information from Longest Revolution, San Diego)

* * *

A bank in St. Joseph, Mo., was forced to scrap a new ad campaign for its automatic 24-hour teller machines after the local NOW chapter launched protests against such slogans as, "What you do with Mary Anne after hours is your business." Hopefully, the fact that such machines are eliminating thousands of jobs done by human tellers, most of whom are women, was also part of the protest.

(Information from New Women's Times, Rochester)

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 as in the U.S. or its state property form as in Russia or China. *News & Letters* was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard not separated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation. A Black production worker, Charles Denby, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, is the editor of the paper. Raya Dunayevskaya, National Chairwoman of the Committees, is the author of *Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution*, which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa.

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation — activities which signalled a new movement from practice which was itself a form of theory. Vol. 1, No. 1, came off the press on the second anniversary of the June 17, 1953 East German revolt against Russian state-capitalism masquerading as Communism, in order to express our solidarity with freedom fighters abroad as well as at home. Because 1953 was also the year when we worked out the revolutionary dialectics of Marxism in its original form of "a new Humanism," as well as individuality "purified of all that interferes with its universalism, i.e., with freedom itself," we organized ourselves in Committees rather than any elitist party "to lead."

In opposing the capitalistic, racist, sexist, exploitative society, we participate in all class and freedom struggles, nationally and internationally. As our Constitution states: "It is our aim . . . to promote the firmest unity among workers, Blacks and other minorities, women, youth and those intellectuals who have broken with the ruling bureaucracy of both capital and labor." We do not separate the mass activities from the activity of thinking. Anyone who is a participant in these freedom struggles for totally new relations and a fundamentally new way of life, and who believes in these principles, is invited to join us. Send for a copy of the Constitution of News and Letters Committees.



by Jim Mills

Just four days after the Senate finally approved registration for the draft, there was a meeting called on June 16 by Detroit CARD (Committee Against Registration and Draft) which I attended. It was almost unbelievable to me that at such a late date in Carter's drive for war, there was a debate at the meeting over whether or not to aggressively oppose registration.

We came close to war without a legally conscripted army when Carter invaded Iran, April 26, and when a computer twice erroneously signalled a Russian missile attack in June. And when South Korea reported that it had sunk a North Korean spy ship, June 21, the comment from S. Korea's Gen. Chon was that "a war could be touched off at any moment."

There can be no doubt that draft registration is a step towards war itself. Any illusions that registration is just a "technical" act are dangerous ones indeed.

As we have shown frequently in this column, the crisis within the "all-volunteer" army—whose poverty conscripts are more like workers ready to strike than

Youth in Revolt

Black students at the University of Pennsylvania succeeded in preventing neoconservative Sen. Daniel Moynihan from speaking at commencement this spring. At Vassar, 301 of 560 graduating seniors signed petitions preventing another rightwing voice, William Buckley, from addressing their commencement. They listed his support for the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy and a host of reactionary causes as reasons why he was an "inappropriate" speaker. And McGeorge Bundy, major planner of the Vietnam war, received a hostile reception June 5 at the City University of New York commencement exercises.

A set of photographs which showed violence to women and which were housed in a university collection were destroyed in early April by a University of California at Santa Cruz student, Deborah Spray, who commented: "Violent pornography is the theory; rape is the practice. To expect women to tolerate the protection of this sadistic chic in their school library is unreasonable."

When police moved in to demolish "Free Republic"—an anti-nuke village built on the proposed site of nuclear waste facility near Gorleben, W. Germany—12,000 people gathered in protest. The protests peaked June 7 when 15,000 bicyclists jammed Gorleben, (near Hannover), where 100,000 demonstrators last year forced suspension of the project.

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

The military coup d'état in Liberia that ended in the death of President William Tolbert, and the subsequent execution of a number of prominent Americo-Liberian officials after a drumhead court-martial, may have awakened memories in an older generation of African-Americans.

Many will recall that some of the people executed by Master Sergeant Samuel Doe's "People's Redemption Council" were educated at Howard University. Liberian students of that generation were more conservative and far less passionate about ideas of freedom than those Black students who came from the British colonies. It was their political conservatism and total absorption in Western capitalist values that set the Liberians apart from all other African students.

It was generally known that Liberia, "Africa's only republic," was dominated by the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company. In the many hassles that Liberia had with Firestone and with the U.S. government, Black Americans always supported the Liberians. But this support was always tinged with ambivalence. This ambivalence was given substance when George Schuyler wrote a series of articles for the Pittsburgh Courier in the 1930s, exposing slavery and forced labor in Liberia.

Schuyler's articles were motivated by an investigation of the League of Nations that discovered that Liberian soldiers were periodically raiding tribes, kidnapping children and selling them to the vice-president of the Liberian Republic. Some of these children worked on the coastal plantations of the Americo-Liberians and others were exported to Portuguese São Tomé and Spanish Fernando Po.

The exploitation and mistreatment of the original Black population of Liberia began on the very first day the American Black settlers landed at Cape Mesurado. The chiefs were forced at gunpoint to sell tribal lands and move back from the coast to make room for plantation-type agricultural society. These Black settlers were not just bringing themselves back to Africa for "the

Draft call: CARD debates while youth resist

robots programmed to kill—compels the Administration to draft military personnel, less poor, less Black, who they dream will be more "efficient." And the militarization that permeates the lives of young people is fomenting all kinds of youth rebellion, from the "bad" attitudes to work created by dead-end CETA-type job mills or from hopeless unemployment, to Miami and other Miamis ready to erupt. It should then come as no surprise that even Administration officials speculate that hundreds of thousands of youth will stay at home rather than join Carter's war machine.

Everyone at the CARD meeting talked about the draft-age youth they hope to meet this summer. Some veteran organizers actually said those youth don't have thoughts in their heads about the draft and war, that CARD's responsibility was to place those thoughts there. Against that thinking, I took the floor to point out that any anti-draft organization which fails to go and give itself over to the anti-militarist youth it meets cannot rightly be called an organization.



"No sweat . . . He assured me he has no intention of sending us to market. He just wants to know how much meat is available."

One young woman voiced her anger over the hypocrisy raised in CARD's position, that it needs to employ "safe" tactics while eliciting "illegal" responses from draft-age youth.

After the vote to organize a "non-registration" campaign passed—thanks to those who were there for the first or second time and spoke up—I wondered if everyone understood the vote as a response to militarization which may bring in many, many other young people who are already against it. That kind of new participation requires a view now as to how anti-draft activities relate spontaneity to organization and, indeed, philosophy to leadership. When those young men and women discover an organization for their opposition to militarization, will there be room for them where now the anti-war "experts" and vanguardist "organizers" dominate? Or will they have to create their own organization?

Liberia's history, Doe's coup

love of liberty"; they were bringing a whole new form of culture, a new economic and class organization.

The Americo-Liberians drew a sharp class line between themselves and the indigenous peoples by assuming all political and economic authority and reserving for themselves the best jobs and education. The "country people" could only penetrate this class barrier painfully and slowly, by a process of assimilation which entailed giving up their own culture, language, religion and the concept of tribal ownership of property.

In this long historical exploitation of the "country people" can be found the roots of the present coup. Twice before the "country people" had revolted: the Grebo people in 1855 and the Kru revolt in 1915-16. During this latter revolt the U.S. Navy was called in to help the Americo-Liberian military forces.

The idea to repatriate free Blacks to Africa was not founded solely on humanitarian ideals, nor was it an idea rooted in freedom for all Black people. As the numbers of free Blacks increased in the U.S., the white organizers of the American Colonization Society recognized that as long as there were free Blacks in the United States, the institution of slavery was not secure.

It was on this burning issue of the continuation of slavery that the overwhelming majority of free Black Americans, in meeting after meeting, refused repatriation to Africa. Even Martin R. Delany, who for years had advocated the colonization of Blacks outside of the U.S., denounced the American Colonization Society as hypocrites who wanted to eliminate free Blacks from the U.S. That was their purpose in setting up a government in Africa which was "not independent but a poor miserable mockery—a burlesque of a government."

For the present time, the coup by Master Sergeant Doe (a "country person") has threatened that 148-year-old mockery. But within Liberia there still remains the same problem besetting all African nations today. With what are the neo-colonial elitist governments of Africa to be replaced? How, and when, will the revolutionary aspirations of the African masses be concretized?

This kind of reorganization became more urgent when I found out that CARD decided nationally to refrain from a sharp attack on the two major parties by not mobilizing national protests at the party conventions this summer. Is the leadership asking draft-age youth to trust "friends" higher up? There was no visible dissension to that decision by the CARD leadership in Detroit—where Republicans will nominate their own "no draft" presidential candidate, Ronald Reagan!

Whether it is the born-again militarist Carter or else the super-reactionary Reagan who is driving towards war, American youth will seek total solutions to crises of a military society and its wars. Will CARD and like organizations reorganize as totally?

LA anti-draft protests grow

Los Angeles, Cal. — Over 100 protesters marched in front of the Federal Building within 24 hours of the Senate's June 12 capitulation to Carter's plan to reinstitute draft registration, expressing their refusal to go along with registration, the draft, or this nation's growing drive towards war.

On June 13, students from Pasadena City College picketed in front of the city's main Post Office, where 19-and 20-year-olds will have to report for registration in July. And at UCLA, several dozen students demonstrated their opposition to the draft June 15.

The demonstration outside the Federal Building was called by the May 4 Coalition, formed only one month ago to hold a commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the student killings at Kent and Jackson State. In addition to opposing registration, the demonstrators chanted slogans opposing Carter's drive to war and the threat of U.S. imperialist intrusion overseas.

The rapidity with which these small rallies were called stands in contrast to the lethargy shown by the more established anti-nuclear, anti-draft groups. Several months ago, the area's major anti-nuclear group, Alliance for Survival, threw its energies into opposing the draft, drawing as many as 7,000 to one demonstration. But since then, the Alliance has ended its involvement in anti-draft activity, asserting the issue "is too political."

Meanwhile, many young activists have expressed impatience and dissatisfaction with the established Coalition Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) over its refusal to take a stand opposing the racist, sexist "volunteer" army in addition to registration.

In the weeks ahead, new anti-draft struggles are bound to arise as the deadline for 19-and 20-year-olds to register approaches. With these struggles will come new challenges to broadening opposition to the draft into a movement opposing all elements of this class-ridden, racist, sexist, nuclear-mad society.

—Anti-draft activist

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 3)

I was watching a national news reporter question some members of the CIA, and they admitted to crimes against governments all over the world. None were without the U.S. President's knowledge. They were sent to any country whose government opposed the interests of the U.S., to try to get the "opposition" to overthrow the popular leaders. They did this to protect the interests of the rich, because most of those foreign governments had begun to nationalize U.S. property.

The reporter asked the CIA members if the heads of those governments were really Communists, and they said no, not even Chile's Salvador Allende.

The CIA member also said that in Iran, the Shah was not a strong supporter of the U.S. government until he was overthrown the first time. When Iran then began to nationalize the U.S. oil companies in 1953, the CIA-U.S. government put the Shah back in power, and he was then responsible to the U.S. government.

One of the CIA members said he was sent to Africa to kill Patrice Lumumba after he had come to power. He said he refused to kill Lumumba, but did turn him over to his enemies who killed Lumumba and his associates. The CIA agent said Lumumba was not a Communist but that the U.S. government and the CIA claimed he was, in order to "justify" his murder.

What is most disturbing about all of this is that even the CIA agent said that any of these incidents could have started World War III. The U.S. imperialist drive to war is so total that they have come many times to the brink of destroying us, without our knowing what is going on.

More and more people are talking about the life-and-death need to change our society now, for we may not have another chance. As the title of News and Letters' 1980-81 Draft Perspectives says: "Tomorrow is Now" for us to uproot the kind of society that sees human beings only as permanently unemployed statistics or cannon-fodder for their imperialist wars.

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

Massive strikes, demonstrations mark anniversary of Soweto revolt

Massive demonstrations and strikes which broke out across South Africa on the fourth anniversary of the great Soweto uprising of June, 1976 have shaken that country to its foundations. Though each anniversary of Soweto has been commemorated with demonstrations and memorial services, the depth and mass character of this year's events can be attributed to one word—Zimbabwe.

Just as the 1976 Soweto rebellion was sparked by the waves of hope for revolution emanating from the revolutions in Angola and Mozambique, so the resurgence of hope for freedom took heart from the recent defeat of white supremacy in neighboring Zimbabwe.

Black workers at 16 companies, 10,000 strong, struck on June 20 in South Africa's industrial center of Port Elizabeth. They were striking at multinational companies like Goodyear where workers were demanding a raise from \$1.35 an hour to \$3.75 an hour. Auto plants like Ford, GM and Volkswagen were surrounded by the army's Hippo armored cars, as police fired tear gas and gunshot into crowds of striking workers. In this militarized state that regulates every aspect of the lives of Black labor, the world was shown the U.S. capitalist-imperialist connection.

The strikes followed days of revolt by "Coloreds" (as those of mixed-race ancestry are called) in the Cape Town ghetto townships like Elsies River and Ravensmead and Black townships near

Bloemfontein. Stores were emptied and burned along with a white-owned factory in these areas where there is over 25 percent unemployment. Protestors threw up barricades of flaming tires and overturned cars against police squads who, given General Geldenhuys "shoot-to-kill" order, poured out of armored vans and opened fire on crowds. Hundreds were wounded and officially 32 lay dead, while hospitals reported there were at least twice that number.

The very category, "Colored", who number about 2.7 million (there are 19 million Blacks, 400,000 Asians, and 4.5 million whites), is indicative of this society's totally racist character. The rebelling "Coloreds" now call themselves Black. They are treated little better than the Blacks by the white minority that has a totalitarian grip on this country.

As the fourth anniversary of the Soweto uprising approached, the government's answer was to try to erase that history, and its own murder of over 600 unarmed demonstrators, by police edict—a banning of commemorative meetings of more than ten. When over 400 Blacks showed up anyway outside Soweto's Regina Mundi Church on June 15, designated as Stephen Biko Day, they were met with police dogs, night sticks and tear gas.

On June 16, thousands came out in different areas of the country to commemorate the anniversary. In Cape Town a two-day general strike by Black workers shut down most major industries

from textiles to the docks. Many demonstrators suffered gunshot wounds, and skirmishes with police developed at night into open rebellion among Cape Town "Coloreds".

Like Soweto, the present rebellion began over two months ago with a boycott by the Cape Town "Coloreds" of their grossly inferior educational system. Just when the leaders were calling off the boycott in the face of mass arrests of students, teachers and clergy, it not only persisted but spread nationwide as many Black schools joined it. There was also a wave of strikes, from 4,500 gold miners braving helicopter tear gas attacks in Stilfontein to 6,000 textile workers near Durban. More than 3,000 meat industry workers in Cape Town were supported by a complete boycott of red meat in the Black townships and student supporters ventured into white suburban markets and overturned display counters.

Many youth who fled after Soweto have joined a guerrilla group around the banned African National Congress, and on June 1 staged a spectacular blowing up of oil-from-coal plants in three different locations, one a hundred miles away.

The brutality of this white minority regime is matched only by the totality of the opposition. Each time there seems to be a lull, the movement comes back with new vigor and draws in new layers of the population pointing to a revolutionary transformation of South Africa that isn't too far ahead.

lowing the Polish mine disasters last fall when several dozen miners were killed.

"... You miners," he wrote, "understand well that our system has nothing to do with socialism, it is state-capitalism in which there is no concern for workers' well-being... the only thing that counts is the coal that can be exchanged for dollars. The red bourgeoisie profits by your sweat, your injuries and often your lives... The Party excuses itself with lack of resources but does not spare money to develop the police forces which recruit healthy young men to spread fear and lawlessness in society instead of employing them in useful work. There is no money, however, to spend on work safety..."

Another dimension of the movement is the independent publishing house, NOWA, headed by Miroslaw Chojecki. Their brochure features a quote from Marx: "Censorship, like slavery, can never be legal, even if it is embodied a thousand times in laws and regulations."

New Zealand (Aotearoa)

New Zealand's Maoris, the original inhabitants of the country before it was occupied by whites, are demanding a better deal from the three million Europeans that dominate the country.

They want the name changed from New Zealand to Aotearoa which was the Maori name of the country. They want to replace the Maori land court with three people who can speak Maori in order to prevent further encroachment of the whites on their tribal lands. They want equal status for the Maori language with English; establishment of an independent Maori radio station; promotion of Maori culture in the school system; and more Maori representation in local politics.

The movement, called Mana Motuhake (Maori Self-Reliance and Liberty Infinite), is led by Matiu

Rata, a former Labor member of parliament who resigned last November in protest of the Labor Party's attitude towards Maoris.

Poland

In spite of constant government repression, the Polish freedom movement continues to spread and deepen and develop its own direction. Extraordinary discussions are being carried on in Robotnik (The Worker), which is put out in several different cities.

Robotnik takes issue with the narrow nationalism of the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) and supports many workers who speak out—like the miner Kazimierz Switon—for which they are constantly picked up and their apartments searched. Switon, who founded the Committee of the Free Trade Union in Katowice, wrote an appeal fol-

Latin American revolts deepen in wake of Nicaragua

(Continued from Page 3)

vanguard role need not stop at its great overthrow of U.S. imperialism and Somoza; it can as well begin to illuminate for us pathways toward a human society if it sees the fight against imperialism as being waged by genuine social revolution at home.

EL SALVADOR IN MASS REVOLT

Today it is El Salvador where the battle is raging against the military and oligarchy. To stop that revolutionary process, the U.S. aided a coup last October which was supposed to bring "moderate" generals and others to the fore. The U.S. promised \$5.7 million in arms to "stabilize" the government. But far from any stabilization, the new government brought such destruction that even the civilian supporters it had have almost all dropped away.

Thus far 1980 has already witnessed over 1,200 deaths, the majority peasants, most at the hands of the ruling junta or paramilitary groups such as ORDEN, which is tied to the state apparatus at different levels.

Almost all sectors of El Salvador's society have now taken a stand in opposition to the new junta. The left has attempted to go on the offensive against the continued slaughter the government has been inflicting. A number of groups have been waging guerrilla warfare to bring down the series of military governments the country has been living under. No peaceful opposition has been allowed.

Today, the major new characteristic of the situation is the tremendous mass support for the overthrow of the military. Over 100,000 marched Jan. 22, on the 48th anniversary of the peasant uprising in El Salvador. The demonstration was attacked by the army and the police, resulting in deaths and injuries. In response some 300,000 agricultural workers and 150,000 industrial workers went out on strike. Soon after this declaration came the murder of Archbishop Romero, a main focal point of opposition to the junta, no doubt killed by

right-wing elements closely linked to the government. This was followed by attacks on the thousands upon thousands who came to express solidarity at his funeral.

Most recently a Democratic Revolutionary Front which combines Marxist-led peasant, labor and student groups, as well as Social Democrats and some Christian Democrats, has been formed. But the key for overthrow remains the mass character of the struggle and the moves that can be made to stop continued U.S. support of the junta. This is certainly an area where those in the U.S. can lend support, and move to stop continued U.S. military aid to the junta.

GUATEMALAN POLARIZATION

In Guatemala, too, there is new opposition. Fifty thousand workers in cane and cotton plantations have conducted a total work stoppage. On the Pacific Coast, a Committee for Campesino (farmerworker) Unity of poor Indians and Mestizos, demanded an increase in wages for the harvest. There have been strikes on many plantations and occupations of sugar mills. The cane workers received support from other agricultural workers in cotton, coffee and wood. Barricades were set up at the entrances to sugar mills. Security forces were sent into the area, and peasants were thrown out of the occupied mills. Finally, the government of General Ronco Lucas, facing a growing opposition movement, intervened and established a new higher minimum wage for workers on cane and cotton plantations.

This is the same General Lucas who has initiated a campaign of political repression ever since he took office. This is the same General Lucas who sent hundreds of heavily armed police against a peaceful occupation of the Spanish Embassy by Guatemalan peasants which resulted in 39 persons being burned alive. Some 15 professors have been murdered at the University of San Carlos alone.

Amnesty International has estimated that over 2,000 deaths from political violence have occurred in the last

18 months. The country is now so completely polarized that there is no middle ground. There has been a growth of rural rebel groups, including some among the Indians in the mountains of western Guatemala.

And the U.S., in the middle of all this violence, sends two of its ships on a "courtesy" call to Guatemala. Faced with a Central America of oppression and revolt, the U.S. response has been one of continuing support for oppressive regimes, failure to make reconstruction money for Nicaragua rapidly available, and the creation of a new U.S. military command based in Key West. For 1980 the people of the Caribbean and Central America are being treated to "Solid Shield 80," U.S. Naval maneuvers in the Caribbean.

The duality of oppression and revolt that is true for Central America is equally true in South America. Most recently this has been seen in the metal worker general strikes in Brazil, the largest open opposition to the military government in many years. And in Peru, while the left's percentage in the presidential elections dropped over last year's constitutional assembly, Hugo Blanco and other leftists still were able to draw considerable support.

As a new decade opens, Latin America is anything but an invisible continent. We will hear and see its sound and fury throughout the decade. Nicaragua was but the opening of an era.

FRANTZ FANON, SOWETO AND AMERICAN BLACK THOUGHT

by Lou Turner and John Alan

Price: \$1.00 plus 50c postage

Order from: News & Letters, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Rm 316, Detroit, MI 48211

News and Letters Committees

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ing resistance; was only then that the word Afghanistan, suddenly was said to be a threat at the "national defense line"; and it was only then that Carter gained his greatest illusion—that he could convince Khomeini to accept Brezhnev instead of Carter as "the Great Satan."

And, having learned nothing at all from all his failures, our born-again Christian President is busy grooming another Shah-like military autocrat, South Korea's General Chon.

IV. A New Type of Shah, Fully Militarized, This Time In South Korea

To be fully militarized this time we mean that General Chon Too Hwan isn't giving up any of his absolutist power, not even to a general staff that follows his orders. He alone heads the total counter-revolution; and by total we mean not only the declaration of full martial law in South Korea, but getting the U.S. Ambassador to approve the General's declaration of martial law, and by getting the U.S.-Korea Joint Command to approve his withdrawal of Korean troops from the Joint Command to put down the Kwangju revolt. At the same time, the U.S. kept its 39,000 troops on full alert.

Though the tyrannical General Chon has slandered the genuine social revolution in his country against himself as if it were North Korean inspired, and though Carter knows that to be a lie, he nevertheless hurries to issue a warning to North Korea. Out of all the lies, slanders, hypocrisies on the part of both South Korea and the U.S., let us view what has been really happening in the revolt in South Korea.

On April 30, the Japan Emergency Christian Conference on Korean Problems issued a Korea communique in which it detailed no less than 10 months of political ferment which began with a peaceful meeting of 800 people in a church on Aug. 6, 1979 to protest the illegal detention of a member of the Catholic Farmers Association. It was followed on Aug. 11 by a peaceful sit-in of 250 unarmed women protesting the loss of their jobs, whereupon the Korean rulers sent in no less than 1,000 riot police who so brutally dragged them out of the offices, that one woman was killed. It was this police brutality which transformed the protest into mass demonstrations including by then both students and workers. How very popular the revolt was on the part of both workers and students and ordinary citizens can be seen by the fact that it touched even the upper reaches of the military with President Park's assassination on Oct. 26.

While in November there was supposed to have been some change in the military martial law that existed with the announcement that the universities would be allowed to reopen, the police raids under the new military regime continued so brutally this year that the so-called parliament walked out, the workers in both steel and other industries went out on strike, and again the police put them down brutally. By the middle of May the regime extended martial law throughout the land, and it was only then that the students in Kwangju decided to so massively resist as to inspire the whole population. On May 21, no less than 200,000 Kwangju residents surged through the streets, seized arms and drove out the police and the army and formed citizens committees to take over control of the city. It was at this point that the U.S. military in this country had the gall to say that the martial law was just temporary, that "democracy" (sic!) was sure to be restored, but "first, law and order must be restored."

The "law and order" is the counter-revolution of the General who is being propped up by the U.S. in the exact manner in which the U.S. propped up the Shah. There not only is no democracy—whenever has there been democracy ever since the U.S. put in the first tyrant, Syngman Rhee?!—there isn't even a pretext now to any aspect of any civilian life with Kim Dae Jung—who is the presidential candidate who got the majority of votes in 1971—in jail, and the most ghastly type of putting down the insurrection in Kwangju char-

acteristic of the control in the entire country. The Christian Science Monitor reports no less than 1,740 detained after the revolt was put down.

* * * * *

There is no place on the globe where U.S. imperialism's tentacles don't penetrate, whether that is indirectly as with massive investments in South Africa, whose rulers are busy now putting down the most massive Black revolt since Soweto in 1976, or directly as in the Maldives Islands. This time in South Africa the revolt is not only by students and by workers, and not only not just in one center, but in Cape Town, in Durban, in Johannesburg, in Pretoria, but this time—and this is the very first time when that apartheid regime had to face a totally new phenomenon—it includes the blowing up of an oil installation, which had been inspired, said one of the exiled mem-



South Koreans commandeered military equipment as hundreds of thousands of residents took over Kwangju in opposition to the government's massive imposition of martial law.

bers of SASO, by Mugabe's victory in Zimbabwe after a decade of guerrilla fighting.

U.S. Blacks, of course, need not go to South Africa to experience racism. What was especially galling to them this time in Miami, besides their own subjection, was to look at the way the Administration acted toward the Cuban refugees and the disdain and non-action towards the refugees from Haiti. Carter's token gesture to the Haitians—after the Miami explosion—did not fool Black America.

Let us look at one more trouble spot. It is the Maldives Islands in the Indian Ocean, only 450 miles north of Diego Garcia, presently the sole U.S. base in the Indian Ocean. (*Business Week*, May 19, 1980 has a map.) It turns out that in April the Russians and the Moslem nation of the Maldives signed a cultural agreement appearing innocent enough. What worries the U.S. is that the Russians' real objective is the abandoned British air station on the Island of Gan, at the southernmost tip of the 1,192-island Maldives archipelago. U.S. imperialism remembers that in October 1977, just before the Somalis broke with the Russians, the Russians offered to lease Gan for \$1 million a year. But at that time the Maldivian government did not wish to get involved with either superpower.

Now just as the Russians lost the port of Berbera, the U.S. finds that the Sultanate of Oman is so mad that its territory was used to stage the U.S. failed attempt at Iran, that it has reneged on its offer of bases to Washington. Since Gan would offer the Russians a very good listening post now that the U.S. intends to maintain a permanent presence in the Indian Ocean—all the so-called Allies from World War II having left the area (including Britain, who evacuated Gan in 1976 as part of their "retreat from East of the Suez")—so now the U.S. sees Moscow's projected use of Gan as drawing a net around the Indian Ocean. Its imagination runs wild because Russia also has bases in the Horn of Africa, Aden and Afghanistan.

V. Back To The U.S.: Once Again, Tomorrow Is Now

There is no way to measure the myriad crises when one knows that not only will other crises emerge that one did not expect, and not only will this election year increase the idiotic ex-

Draft Perspectives, 1980-1981

pressions of the two power-hungry capitalistic parties vying for the White House, but more crucial is that it's not a quantitative matter at all but a class relationship. That, not the idiocies, will be sure to burst open. The deep undercurrent of revolt in labor; the open revolt of Black America; the passion of the Women's Liberation Movement for a great deal more than the stalled ERA as they not only "Reclaim the Night" and demand equal wages for the working day, but display a passion for philosophy matching that of the Youth resisting draft registration—none of these forces will stand still throughout this Administration-induced deep recession supposed to "cure" inflation. When, on top of this, we have to confront the endless, irresponsible militarization—not to mention the holocaust that would have descended on humanity had the alleged "computer errors" in the "nuclear shield" not been reversed—we can see how, in returning to home ground, the totality of the crisis very nearly spells out **Apocalypse Now**.

With the latest figures showing that 10 of the 12 economic indicators experienced the greatest decline in 32 years, even *Business Week* of June 16, 1980 says the economy is in a "free-fall . . . Since February, it has been falling at a faster rate than that of the worst months of the steep 1974-75 recession." Just as it was clear from that deep recession that no new boom would come, and just as it is clear that there have been the greatest structural changes with this stagflation—that is to say, where even an economy that is stagnant gives vent to the highest inflation—so it is obvious that state-capitalism as a world phenomenon has reached a stage, as seen in Japan, where robots are the talk of the industry, and multinationals are the supposedly quiet form of this type of imperialism.

As we expressed it when we summed up the 1974-75 recession, it wasn't only the quadrupling of oil prices that led to the crisis and the decline in the rate of profit.* Rather, our statement that there would be no next boom meant that, far from being a cyclical downturn, this deep economic recession was internal, deeply decadent, and that the foundation for it was laid with the Vietnam War and the continuing, endless, militarization, so that today we have reached a completely retrogressive economy.

Japan, at the same time, has now become involved in high stakes economic investment in industrialized countries: in the last five years, their investments have totalled no less than \$33 billion, and Japan thinks that will be quadrupled by the end of the decade!

When it comes to its own factories, like Datsun, one plant is so fully automated that 67 workers on each of two shifts produce 1,600 autos a day. It is this which GM, Ford, and Chrysler are trying their best to emulate and we can see even at its start, this automation has already resulted in so great a permanent army of unemployed that here, too, it has outdistanced the deepest recession since the depression, i.e. that of 1974-75.

As against seven percent average unemployment in 1974-75 we now at midpoint have eight percent as average, which is sure to go to 10 percent, and actually in the most highly industrialized cities like Detroit it is officially already 14 percent, and has by no means reached its end. Even in an election year, Detroit unemployment is predicted to be 18 percent; in Flint it already is 17 percent.

The depth of the crisis in the U.S. is not only economic; it is equally, crucially, political, both nationally and internationally. It becomes imperative to stop the insane drive to war that Carter has initiated, and that Reagan is sure to exacerbate, over Russia's invasion of Afghanistan. Everything from Carter's disastrous economic policies and unconscionable rate of unemployment as well as raging inflation and total lack of credibility, has led the Administration into turning away from what Carter himself, but a few months back, declared to be pivotal on a world scale—SALT II ratification.

*See Marx's *Capital* and Today's Global Crisis by Raya Dunayevskaya, available from News & Letters for \$2.

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Neither West Europe nor Japan, however, are willing to toy with the revival of the Cold War or to link the Middle-East crisis to detente. They accept neither Carter's analysis of the hostage crisis in Iran, nor Russia's invasion of Afghanistan as the determinant for any revival of the Cold War, much less going to World War III. It goes without saying that Khomeini is not the man to fall for Carter's attempt to push him to recognize Brezhnev rather than Carter as the "Great Satan." The U.S. giant is, indeed, threatened with impotence abroad and totality of crisis at home. It is high time to work hard at realizing new alternatives to degenerate capitalism and imperialism that have long since outlived their usefulness.

Unfortunately, the Iranian Revolution has soured so consistently that in no way can we use that as the alternative to U.S. imperialism. For the Left to keep repeating the truth of the monstrosity of U.S. imperialism as if that meant that Khomeini's "anti-imperialism" equals social revolution is to bring on self-paralysis. This has blinded the Left from seeking out the genuine sources of revolution in Iran that have been consistently put down by Khomeini, Bani-Sadr, and Ghotbzadeh as they continue to use the phrase, "American imperialism," in order to hit out instead against the genuine Left in Iran itself. Thus, the Left is closing the doors to an actual social revolution.

As the Political-Philosophic Letter of April 29, "The Carter/Brzezinski-Ordered Imperialist Intrusion into Iran—and What About Khomeini/Bani-Sadr's 'Holy War' Against the Left?" made clear, we will not, of course, permit the grave contradictions in the Iranian revolution to stand in the way of the need for solidarity with the Iranian masses against American imperialism as well as the retrogression in Iran itself. But this solidarity must be built on the solid foundation for genuine freedom—a class-less society.

At this very moment, the open Black rebellion in Miami which erupted when an all-white jury acquitted the four racist, murderous cops who beat an innocent Black man to death for nothing more serious than alleged speeding, has at once made anti-racism integral to labor and 23 percent unemployment. Furthermore, the very fact that Black youth also are in no mood to listen to Black leaders either, when they urge end to the rebellion without ever asking actual freedom, shows how very inseparable is the passion for philosophy of liberation from the freedom struggle itself. It becomes crucial that Marxist-Humanists are active in the mass intervention in this highly volatile situation, and not just philosophically but politically and actively. Needed most urgently now, therefore, is the relationship of our activity to the 1980-81 perspectives and its organizational ramifications.

(1) First and most important, of course, is the expansion of News & Letters into a 12-page, which, at one and the same time, calls for the creation of a nucleus to write theoretical analyses of burning issues as they happen, and a forum for workers, Blacks, women and youth to speak for themselves.

(2) Naturally this means expansion of all our activities, especially with the unemployed; especially with the youth in its fight against the proposed registration for the draft; especially with the Black masses as a whole, who are the greatest victims of the present recession and who have already demonstrated their passion for revolt and totally new human relations; and especially with the Women's Liberationists, internationally as well as nationally, who have not only deepened and expanded their activities but are everywhere also involved in the most serious theoretical reconsideration.

(3) Neither the expansion of the paper nor the deepening of our activities can materialize unless we first of all establish a Sustaining-Organizing-Publishing fund of \$35,000. Because that is an overwhelming sum for a small organization like ours, we have not waited until after the Convention to begin raising such a fund. A special

Appeal went out to close friends of News & Letters who, because they recognized the urgency of the objective situation and our historic contributions, have sent in \$7,500. Such an Appeal will now be sent to all our readers, simultaneously with the publication of these Draft Perspectives, to help us meet the remaining goal of \$27,500. While the main responsibility remains that of Marxist-Humanists, there is no doubt that News & Letters readers will, as usual, help generously. The 12-page will also mean that the price of each copy will have to be raised to 25 cents.

(4) From the vantage point both of the objective situation and of the need to assure a new stage of organizational development, we need to bring the Archives of Marxist-Humanism up to date, with the completion of the draft of the book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. There is not a single problem today which is not illuminated by that study. This holds for such widely divergent topics and periods as the Iranian Revolution of 1906-09 and that of today, and Women's Liberation—which both in its origins and in its 20th century appearance relates not only to Rosa Luxemburg but to Marx's philosophy of revolution.

Looking at the book as a totality (write for a copy of the *Convention Call* for a full listing of the contents), let's single out a few chapters and see how they relate to the burning issues of the day. The first chapter, "Two Turning Points in Luxemburg's Life, Before and After the 1905 Revolution," acquainted us not only with Rosa Luxemburg's revolutionary attack on the very first historic appearance of Revisionism as well as her participation in the 1905 Russian Revolution, but it illuminated the Iranian Revolution, both of 1906-09 and 1979-80. At the same time, in the Appendix to the chapter, "Once Again on the Theory of Permanent Revolution," we could see why Trotsky's theory remained a stillbirth as against Marx's, when Trotsky's theory was tied to, and obstructed by, rejection of the revolutionary role of the peasantry. In a word, to play down a force of revolution as if it could not also be Reason ineluctably led Trotsky to transform revolution itself into an abstraction.

The section of Chapter 2, "The Break with Karl Kautsky, 1910-1911: From Mass Strike The-

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ory to Crisis over Morocco," which had to deal with the hushed-up "Woman Question," revealed the male chauvinism within the German Social Democracy, which our age can certainly not only understand better than Luxemburg's, but is the age that has unfurled a totally new banner of Woman as Reason. Not only has "The Interregnum of Luxemburg, and an Excursus into Marx's New Continent of Thought" (Chapter 3), especially on the National Question, laid the foundation for us to bring Karl Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* (which were unknown to Luxemburg) into the Appendix, and contrast them to Engels' *Origins of the Family*, but irretrievably leads to the final chapter, on the totality of Marx's philosophy which is by no means limited to Women's Liberation. Rather it encompasses the whole of Marx's philosophy of revolution, which the final chapter rightly entitles "Philosophy of Revolution: The Development of Marx from a Critic of Hegel to the Author of Capital and Theorist of Permanent Revolution." There we will not only come face to face with Marx's new continent of thought, 1843-1883, but the labor of working it out for our age.

(5) To co-ordinate the activities and the writings on a national as well as international scale, we need, at one and the same time, to reorganize and expand the work at the Center, as well as schedule a lecture tour for the National Chairwoman.

(6) Both the urgency of the objective situation and the uniqueness of our own contribution to the Marxism of our age determine the nature of the classes this year, not on a book, but on the Political-Philosophic Letters as well as their relationship to, and development of, the Marxist-Humanist Archives. "The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection," 1941-1981, which will develop a theoretic nucleus for revolutionary journalism of the expanded News & Letters. On this, the 25th anniversary of the founding of News and Letters Committees, the REB will reissue the "First Conference Bulletin of the Marxist-Humanist Tendency" of April, 1955, for which the National Chairwoman will write a new Introduction which will illuminate the uniqueness of Marxist-Humanism's contribution to theory and to organization from its very beginnings through the past quarter of a century.

War is always the decisive life-and-death question, whether we look at this year's Draft Perspectives, which, in projecting next year's tasks, needs to concentrate on this year's, and Carter's drive to war; or whether we turn back to our very first bulletin in 1955, when, on the one hand, war clouds threatened over Quemoy and Matsu, and, on the other hand, we saw a new world arising with the Bandung Afro-Asian conference; or whether we turn to the end of the 1960s, when revolution didn't materialize in 1968, though the near-revolution then made us think we would finally be participants in revolution rather than having to witness Nixon extending U.S. imperialism's mailed fist and bombers raining death on Cambodia. As against capitalist-imperialist war, what was new in the three periods we singled out above—be it this year, the decade, or a whole quarter century of Marxist-Humanism—is the inseparability of theory and practice. Revolution is more than just a banner. To succeed it needs a vision, a philosophy of revolution, which is the unifying force of theory and practice.

While it is impossible to concentrate on the full quarter-century of Marxist-Humanism, much less the 40 years these Archives represent—and while it becomes necessary to limit ourselves to the last two years, but having the opportunity to see the draft of the book-in-progress as a totality—such a study will relate Marxist-Humanist origins, as News & Letters newspaper, as News and Letters Committees, and as that movement from practice that reconnects with the Marxism of Marx, in book form, in philosophy of revolution, and, we trust, in its actualization.

THE RESIDENT EDITORIAL BOARD
Detroit, Michigan
June 12, 1980

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by Raya Dunayevskaya

"The end result of this relationship of capital to the lot of the working class is the great, the insoluble contradiction which is wrecking the entire system—the unemployed army. Marx calls this 'the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation.' The greater the use of machinery, or constant capital, the lesser relatively the need for variable or living labor power . . . Thus, on the one hand, capitalism keeps reproducing the wage laborer; on the other hand, he throws him into unemployment." (p. 68)

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