

NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

VOL. 25—NO. 2

27 Printed in 100 Percent Union Shop

MARCH, 1980

10c

Editorial Article: CARTER'S DRIVE TO WAR

by Raya Dunayevskaya

National Chairwoman, News and Letters Committees

President Carter's bellicose State of the Union address manifested more than just the instant transformation of a "born-again Christian" into a mail-fisted militarist. So helter-skelter was his rush to plunge the country into Cold War II that the talk of military responses that the war atmosphere created was dominated not just by talk, but by actual landing of the Marines for "exercises" in the oil-rich Gulf region. The Marines, attached to infantry, artillery and armored units, started their round-the-world "exercise" Tuesday, Feb. 12, by flying from Hawaii to the U.S. naval base at Subic Bay in the Philippines. They will number 1,800 by the time they reach the Gulf area in mid-March.

In a word, the President's talk of acquiring bases and facilities, creation of a rapid deployment force, and military ties will stretch all the way from Russia's southern border to Africa as well as the Middle East ports.

U.S. CHRISTENS AFGHANISTAN/PAKISTAN/IRAN ITS "NATIONAL DEFENSE LINE"

All this war hysteria is based on nothing more substantial than Carter's assumption that Russia's invasion of Afghanistan—which is some 400 miles away from the Persian Gulf and would require invading Pakistan to get there—is equal to Russia's already being in the Gulf region. It is not that anyone outside of Russia and its satellites are condoning Russia's invasion of Afghanistan. It is, rather, that Carter's haste with punitive measures discloses him on the prowl, all



Youth nationwide took to the streets in immediate protest against Carter's proposal for draft registration.

prepared to strike "the enemy," using any excuse to promote his imperial designs.

This has become so obvious that even so conservative a former ambassador to Russia as George F. Kennan wrote: "Never since World War II has there been so far-reaching a militarization of thought and discourse in the capital. An unsuspecting stranger, plunged into its midst, could only conclude that the last hope of peaceful, nonmilitary solutions had been exhausted—that from now on only weapons, however used, could count." (New York Times, Feb. 1, 1980.)

Put another way, the President's pugnacious speech created its own momentum so that he felt uninhibited enough to draw a line in the sand, or above the mountains, without even consulting with the Congress, and to declare it the new "national defense line". Though it is thousands of miles away from the U.S. and surrounded by indigenous governments, their natural resources were declared to be the U.S.'s "vital interests". And, of course, Carter named himself the Big Brother "protector".

¹ Russia, which shares a 1,000-mile border with Afghanistan, has always made it its business to have a Friendship Treaty with it. This was true in Tsarist times when their common enemy was Britain which had had two wars with Afghanistan; and it was true in Lenin's day when Afghanistan was the only country in the region to recognize the new Soviet state and Lenin concluded a Friendship Treaty with Afghanistan's anti-British, reform-minded king, Amanullah.

What followed was just as amazing: another instant transformation, this time of that reactionary and bloodthirsty fundamentalist, Pakistan's General Zia, into an ally. This is the general who has been busy secretly building a nuclear device; and who, when exposed, refused to listen to Carter's protestations against nuclear proliferation, and talked of the need for an "Islamic bomb" for defense. This is the general who is so hated a ruler that the Pakistan masses have made his the shakiest regime in the Middle East. Indeed, it was very nearly toppled by the Baluchi people who have carried on a four-year civil war and still actively oppose Zia. This is the man who, just a few short weeks ago, thumbed his nose at the U.S. as he allowed a mob to destroy the American Embassy at Islamabad, where two Marines died. At that point, President Carter felt compelled to cut off both military and economic aid to Pakistan. Suddenly, however, it is this same General Zia, ruler of this same unstable country, who is declared to be the "strongman" for containing Russia, for which purpose Carter is once more propping up that reactionary militaristic regime by arming it to the hilt.

CARTER RENAMES AND EXTENDS NIXON-KISSINGER DOCTRINE

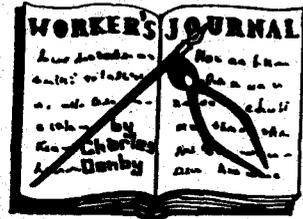
The new, imperially-designated "Carter Doctrine" is a continuation of the infamous Nixon-Kissinger Doctrine, which was just as imperially designated when Kissinger decided to tilt toward Pakistan at the very moment of its bloody suppression of what was to become Bangladesh, just because Kissinger's boss, Nixon, decided to play the China card in the contest with the other nuclear super-power for world domination.

The Carter Administration is doing more than "playing" the China card. Defense Secretary Harold Brown has used his trip to China to announce that the U.S. will now sell China arms. Where even Kissinger-Nixon left it at words, rather than immediately spelling out what their Doctrine meant, concretely, our new super-hawk, President Carter, announced at once that at home, too, politics has been turned into a question of life and death, by announcing the registration of youth for the draft, "when needed."

The answer of the youth throughout the country can be seen in anti-draft demonstrations under the slogan: "No Nukes, No Draft, No War!" (See pp. 1 and 7).

It becomes imperative to examine more closely the long list of concretizations in the undeclared war statement called the State of the Union address. First and foremost is, of course, the christening of the oil-rich Gulf region as the U.S.'s "vital interest," that would not stop short of using military force, for which the draft registration of America's young men and women was required.

(Continued on Page 6)



Black masses always fought militarism

by Charles Denby, Editor

Author of Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal

Any time is a good time to tell the truth about the role of Black people in American history. But with February officially designated as "Black History Month," and coming at a time when we face a growing world crisis, I believe it is critical to look very hard at why Black people as a whole have opposed war.

This question was brought home to me recently with great force during a conversation I had with my granddaughter and her boyfriend who were discussing the future. What started some thoughts to come together very sharply in my mind was the declaration by my granddaughter that, "I don't care what President Carter or anyone else says, I know I'm not going to register for the draft."

We all, of course, have been hearing and reading a lot about the draft since President Carter ordered draft registration. This is the first time in America that women face the prospect of being forcibly drafted to kill and be killed in some foreign land.

But my granddaughter's words had a different impact. These weren't words in a newspaper or coming from the lips of a news reporter. They were coming from my granddaughter.

My feelings were mixed. I felt a great anger that her precious life, like the life of every American youth

(Continued on Page 5)

'No Nukes, No Draft, No War!'

The following stories are from News and Letters Committees members who participated in anti-draft protests across the country.—Ed.

San Francisco, Cal.—Capitalism's war cry, in the personification of Jimmy Carter's State of the Union address, was met by immediate opposition here.

On Jan. 25, 600 students rallied at Stanford University shouting "Peace plus draft equals war"; on Jan. 26, 2,000 protesters gathered at the University of California—Berkeley chanting "We don't want your war"; on Jan. 29, 500 people, ranging in age from high school students to those in their 70s, marched to the Federal Building in San Francisco; and on Feb. 9, 500 marched to the Oakland Induction Center.

The highpoint came on Feb. 11, when over 10,000 protesters participated in a Cross-Campus Anti-Draft Action which included campuses in the northern California region. At UC Berkeley, 2,500 protesters turned out, and the anti-draft movement linked itself with workers who are striking against Standard Oil. One worker asked for student support at an upcoming strike

rally, and added he felt that if anyone should be drafted, it should be the Chairman of Standard Oil.

As one of the speakers at the Feb. 11 rally at San Francisco State, I found the greatest response came when I said: "Women have always opposed war . . . We who speak of women's liberation are demanding the right to self-determination, control over our lives, which necessarily means women and men . . ."

Los Angeles, Cal.—Seven thousand demonstrators greeted Rosalynn Carter in Beverly Hills on Feb. 8 with a candlelight vigil and shouts of "Hell no, we won't go! We won't fight a war for Texaco!"

Many of the demonstrators have been active in the anti-nuclear power movement. The new world situation has so altered the concept of the struggle for many, that some anti-nuke activists who wouldn't hear of "mixing" anti-war into the protests six months ago were now selling bumper stickers reading "No Nukes, No Draft, No War!"

Meanwhile on campuses throughout the southern California area, including Clairmont and Occidental, (Continued on Page 7)

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WOMAN AS REASON

The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History, by Gerda Lerner; New York, Oxford University Press, 1979; \$12.95.

(The following are excerpts from a review-essay on Gerda Lerner's latest work. The full essay is available from Women's Liberation, News and Letters for 25¢ postage.)

by Tommie Hope

For many years, one of the books I would regularly look at when I was thinking about some person or event in the history of American women was Gerda Lerner's **Black Women in White America**, written in 1972. More recently (1977) she added another work, **The Female Experience: An American Documentary**. Both have been very popular collections of documents by and about women in U.S. history. But the difference between those documentary collections and her latest book, **The Majority Finds Its Past**, is the difference between choosing the words of others, and finally presenting one's own perspectives in full.

In the 12 essays written from 1969-79 that Lerner includes, the central focus is on working out "what is the content and meaning of the term 'Women's History'." And since she doesn't want to separate theory from "practice," you get a brief view of her life in the "Autobiographical Notes, by way of an Introduction" . . . Ignoring insults from professors and students, she set out on what she called her "twenty year research plan," a plan that would make women's history accepted, "a plan which I have followed, with only slight detours to this day." (p. xxiv)

Ms. Lerner's research plan sounded great until, three pages later, I found out that what she considers a "detour" was her work on Black women's history. She actually repeats this three times. I might not have believed it otherwise, since she did spend so much effort on **Black Women in White America**, and since three of the 12 essays in the new book are directly on Black women . . .

The problems with Gerda Lerner's method of viewing working women comes out most bluntly when she claims that "lower-class" women did not create a movement for female advancement after World War II, when they were first pulled into the plants for war production, and then thrown out at the end of the war. The failure to create a movement, she says, was "due to a familiar paradox: the women who most need reforms are helpless to enact them; the women most able to work for reforms are not in great need of them." Working

Draft hook baited with ERA

Detroit, Mich.—By the time President Carter announced on Feb. 8 that he would ask Congress to register women as well as men for the draft, women had already been demonstrating and speaking out against the drive to war (see stories beginning on p. 1). A week earlier, several women's organizations, including the Gray Panthers, Rural American Women, the National Council of Negro Women, and others, also met to voice their opposition.

In addition to calling for registering women, Carter also defined his support for the Equal Rights Amendment: "equal obligations deserve equal rights." While there is tremendous opposition from below by women to Carter's war plans, many bourgeois feminists have succumbed to his campaign to "militarize the mind" on this single issue of "equality." Carol Parr, of Women's Equality Action Project, went so far as to say that "until society accepts a vision of women as powerful warriors, we're not ready for equality!"

The dividing line between bourgeois and revolutionary feminism can best be seen in the positions of the National Organization for Women. Eleanor Smeal, president of NOW, stated officially that NOW is opposed to registration of men and women, but that if one sex is registered, then NOW supports registration of both.

NOW has concluded, in its 27-page position paper written with the aid of Defense Department statistics, that with or without ERA, women will be drafted in the event of war. NOW has criticized the draft because it discriminates against minorities and the poor who would be drafted first. But the alternative they promote is volunteer armed service, which, once it is cleansed of sexism and racism, would be of "higher quality" than the draft.

On the other hand, the totally reactionary stop-ERA forces of Phyllis Schlafly have come out against Carter's proposal to register women — but they are not opposed to sending the men off to war.

What is obvious is that Carter's attempts to "militarize" the women's movement can't be fought on the ground of single-issue politics like the ERA, but must envision the total uprooting of capitalism.

—Women's Liberation-News and Letters

Critique of Gerda Lerner

women, under the "triple burden" of work, housework and child care, are "too weak" to organize and struggle. (p. 60-61)

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

This relation to Marx and to working women's "quest for universality" must have been what made Raya Dunayevskaya view those same post-World War II events so differently from Lerner. In Dunayevskaya's 1951 article "On Women in the Post-War World and the Old Radicals," her critique speaks to today's women's theorists also:

"They (new women workers) categorically refused to remain an appendage to the men. They wished to have not only sexual but human relations with them. They were out searching for a total reorganization of society. In that search some women came also to the radical parties. These radical parties failed to recognize this new concrete revolutionary force in society, but that force recognized them, for it had set up new standards by which to judge this so-called revolutionary movement . . ."

(Notes on Women's Liberation, p. 65)

After following Lerner through Black women and working women in history, the last three essays finally focus directly on a method for "placing women in history" . . . No single methodology will fit our historical experience, she says, but she can imagine three stages of the women's history of the present and future. First we will "add some new categories"—like sexuality, reproduction and child-rearing. Then we will "explore the possibility that what we call women's history may actually be the study of a separate women's culture." Here the point she makes is that it would include especially women's consciousness, "which internalizes patriarchal assumptions!" (p. 158.)

At the end of the road of women's history, Lerner tells us, a "synthesis" may develop: "a history of the dialectic, the tensions, between the two cultures, male and female." I could hardly believe it. After all her promises of "method," "dialectics" is only brought in as a figure of speech, with all the work of Hegel and Marx, and all their understanding of 2,500 years of human history, thrown out.

When I reached the end of Lerner's book, I began to re-think what we have learned—and failed to learn—in the Women's Liberation Movement of the last decade. Here was a woman whom many people called the first of the "women's history" writers, and whom I read many times myself. Yet I realized that you can study more than anyone else on the facts of women's history, and produce the fine documentary collections like she did, and still lose your way unless working out a method isn't limited to just saying we should do it, and never getting there.



women-worldwide

In Leningrad, three women dissidents who had contributed to the first issue of **Women and Russia**, an underground feminist magazine, were taken into custody and interrogated. Sophia Sokolova, a writer, Tatiana Momonova, a painter, and Julia Voznesinskaya, human rights activist, were released but were warned that they would be arrested if another issue appeared.

In New York City, over 300 people from groups including NOW, Women Against Violence Against Women and the National Gay Task Force, picketed the opening of the anti-lesbian movie, **Windows**, which distorts and exploits violence against women. In Chicago, at one demonstration against the movie, women protesters were joined by a significant number of gay men who thought **Windows** should get as much negative attention as **Cruising**, an anti-gay male film which the theatre had also intended to show, but cancelled following the demonstration.

(Thanks to Chris R.)

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

(From Courage, Berlin)

Cuba revisited . . .

My mother returned from Cuba recently and her report was one of dissatisfaction. Clothes are hard to come by. When we left Cuba 20 years ago, my Mom left some clothes to her friend. When she went back, the woman still had some of these clothes. Food is also scarce. There are no fresh fruits because everything is exported—some say to Russia.

Education does rate very high. But what she found wrong with the school system is that the young children have to go out into the fields to work. Three of my cousins are in one of these schools, and after three months, they came back with open sores from mosquito bites from working in the fields.

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

—Cuban feminist, Chicago

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Resistance of British labor has now begun

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

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

On Jan. 28, 200,000 Welsh workers struck for a day in protest against threatened closures of steel plants and coal mines. Miners, dockers, railway workers and many others took part, and 15,000 demonstrated in Cardiff, S. Wales. Michael Foot, deputy leader of the Labour Party and a master of Left rhetoric, was booed and jeered when he rose to speak at the rally. People remembered that the Tory closure plans were really just an extension of the policies of the last Labour government.

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

The steelworkers have sent flying pickets far and wide, to dockyards and steel-using firms, in an attempt to stop all movement of steel in the country.

The main union, the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, has now called out its members in the private steel firms in support of the strike in the national-

ized sector. In the Court of Appeal, Lord Denning issued an injunction against the strike in the private sector. Whatever happened to judicial impartiality? However, his ruling was overturned by the House of Lords a few days later. For now, the strike is completely legal, but the government has reacted to the judges' decision by planning a new clause in its anti-union Employment Bill to prevent this kind of solidarity action.

In Slough, 96 workers, most of them Asian women, have been on strike three months to unionize the Chix sweet factory, where pay is a miserable 95 pence an hour. At the Adamsons Containers plant in Manchester, a bitter six-month strike has ended in a workers' victory. The company was forced to reinstate 40 people they had sacked in an attempt to break workplace organization.

In Liverpool, 940 — mainly women — workers are occupying the Meccano factory, which makes the famous top engineering sets, in a fight to save their jobs. Last December, management tried to shut down the plant permanently, giving the workers just half an hour's notice.

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



by John Allison

Before the UAW sanctioned the strike at the Budd Company in Detroit, the workers there were taking a good look at the new management team from Germany.

Prior to the strike, there were negotiations underway to release a worker charged with stealing company property. It was apparently a case of petty thievery, and the worker's first offense. But management refused to negotiate and discharged the worker.

Management has also refused to show any "mercy" for absenteeism and tardiness, and strictly enforced and punished every infraction. It is crack the whip and toe the line—and above all, keep up that production.

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

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

The Budd workers won a new contract as a result of their strike, but they know the pressures will continue. One worker with 30 years seniority said these pressures led him to take retirement.

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

Crisis in auto—be laid off or worked to death

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

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

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

Our neighboring Ford plant in Pico Rivera just closed permanently — meaning 1,600-plus workers out of a job. Already, there is a fight between the regional union people and the local union over \$290,000 in dues sitting in the local treasury. It is the workers' money — but so far they aren't being asked what to do with it.

All together, the UAW has over 200,000 auto workers on lay-off. Plants are closing down, and plants are moving. Meanwhile, GM's so-called "poor" year of '79, with profits down from '78, totalled about \$3.8 billion!

UAW President Fraser is back from the Japan talks on how to stem the importation of Japanese cars, or how to get Japanese auto makers to open auto plants in the U.S. He has promised them "special benefits" in terms of a lower standard contract, if they do so.

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

tives of the five federal agencies that in some way regulate the auto industry — the Environmental Protection Agency, Federal Trade Commission, Departments of Energy, Transportation and Justice. Their goal is to study what role the auto industry and government should play in deciding what kind of a car is to be produced.

So here we have union bureaucrats with each other about workers' dues; the top UAW bureaucrat talking with auto makers in Japan about workers' jobs and contract conditions; and government bureaucrats talking with auto makers in this country.

But in all of this, none want to know what the workers are doing and thinking. What about the tens of thousands laid off, many permanently? What about those working nine-hour days under speed-up conditions, including the Chrysler workers, who are no doubt being told that it is their responsibility to turn around the company's profit through "productivity increases" (read: speed-up)?

Under the present conditions, which is better — to be laid off or to be kept in the plant and worked to death? We have heard this talk before about saving jobs and making the industry healthy. But our contract shows the side that Fraser is on, and it is not the side of the workers. He is fooling no one by saying imports are causing this unemployment problem for American workers. He is only trying to keep workers thinking that the bureaucrats, or the government, or someone will solve their problems. All they need is time.

But the only time our problems will be solved is when we as workers together solve them ourselves. Only together is there a power which can do the job.

How we fight theft of time

New York, N.Y. — As the steel talks opened in Pittsburgh on Feb. 5, management and union officials began to discuss more than wages. Management's objective in the current round of contracts—notably in steel, auto and rubber—is clearly to re-write the pattern of labor relations that have developed since the C.I.O. was created out of the rank-and-file labor revolt.

Management's program for labor in the 1980s seems to be to extract more from workers in the way of profit than is already extracted. Where I work, repairing ships docked in Newark, the boss has introduced another way. For sometime now, workers who are scheduled for work outside the shop are required to be ready for work at 7:45, although no one is getting paid until 8:00. Anyone who is late for the 7:45 deadline is docked one-half hour. This practice, most workers recognize, is outright theft of time. Recently, a group of us began to ignore the rule by showing up at ten minutes to the hour. This way, the restriction will simply be "unenforceable."

The complete re-writing of labor relations and conditions by management, with or without the co-operation of the unions is, however, impossible. Workers will not co-operate because we know concretely what is in it for us—intensification of work, deteriorating conditions and diminishing wages.

—Joe Green

FROM THE AUTO STOPS

Dodge Main (closed)

Hamtramck, Mich. — Many of us who were laid off from Dodge Main, even before it closed, are only getting unemployment benefits, not SUB or the TRA money. You stand in those long lines for four hours and the little money you get is nothing; you pay your rent and that's it. I thought we would get SUB until the TRA money came through, but it's not true. The SUB is yours; you earned it, but suddenly you can't get it.

On when we will go back to work, if ever, there is nothing but a run-around. Now they are saying that in November, 1980, we might be called to the Jefferson Assembly plant. But Jefferson is working two weeks on and two weeks off now. How will they call in an entire second shift? There is a plot to call the lowest seniority people back to work after they have been out for a year and then to work them for two weeks and let them go. The company then has no more responsibility for them.

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

—Ex-Dodge Main worker

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—The last lay-off at Fleetwood has cut back to 1972 seniority, and workers with up to 26 years in the plant are back on the line. When the company scheduled 72 jobs an hour a year ago, we had 5,700 workers in production, but now at 52 there are only 3,000 left. If they cut back to one shift in a month, that will be cut in half again.

The union is doing absolutely nothing. Because of the deep lay-offs they have sharply cut back the number of committeemen. They wouldn't be doing much anyway. There are piles of grievances, but since the International is now responsible for 78s, they are not a strikeable issue for the local now. Many of the older workers faced with returning to the line have been forced to take sick leave or voluntary lay-off.

But the company has not reduced the number of foremen as drastically. They kept extra foremen on last year just to push workers coming back from change-over. I expected they would cut back after production was established, but even after the most recent lay-off they are still for pushing more production as workers return to the line.

—Fleetwood worker, second shift

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Readers' Views

ROSA LUXEMBURG: 'BEFORE AND AFTER 1905 REVOLUTION'

What I appreciated most about "Before and After the 1905 Revolution: two turning points in Rosa Luxemburg's life" was that Rosa Luxemburg comes through so fully herself. It is so unusual to find radicals being able to shed their own views when presenting one with whom they disagree. It's obvious that Raya Dunayevskaya disagrees, at least as deeply with Luxemburg as did the Social Democracy, though from a very different direction, but this did not keep her from grasping the revolutionary nature of Luxemburg's views. Both Rosa and the 1905 Revolution came through loud and clear. I suppose I should say hurray for dialectics, but being a skeptic, I'd rather wait for more chapters.

Intellectual
West Europe

What I found so exciting about the chapter in the Jan.-Feb. issue is how Dunayevskaya makes Luxemburg so alive in her encounter with the new objective situation of imperialism and with the new revolutionary stage of Russia in 1905. But most especially I appreciated how Dunayevskaya brings out Luxemburg's encounter with Marx's philosophy of revolution and shows that that encounter is by no means a simple one, but has its ambiguities, as can be seen where Luxemburg ends up with her *Accumulation of Capital* and in her position on the National Question.

Eugene Walker
Los Angeles

It was very striking to read of Rosa Luxemburg's multidimensionality last month. This had little to do with her erudition — knowing all the "facts" — but it allowed her to face the turning points in her life. Whether it was the way Luxemburg totally confronted revisionism (in 1896) or whether it was her relationship to the 1905 Russian Revolution (with her theory on the "Mass Strike"), her multidimensionality prepared her to face the tremendous challenges in her time. It is for us to have that multidimensionality when digging deep into Marx's whole new continent of thought — to face the challenges of our day.

Diana Lee
Detroit

I heard Raya Dunayevskaya speak in New York on Jan. 27. She took up Rosa Luxemburg in order to open the eyes of people today, that revolution with no philosophy goes nowhere. She showed how great Luxemburg was, involved in everything. She was a great revolutionary and a great theoretician. But she

didn't fully have philosophy, Marx's philosophy.

That happens today too. If you don't keep the philosophy and the revolution together you end up like what we are facing in Nicaragua. After all the people who died there, what happens now? The Sandinistas think the revolution is over. They're telling the people to wait for all they promised. It is something like that that takes away people's hope, people who would fight for something better, as in El Salvador today. Will they fight to get only the same thing again, like in Cuba? That is why it is very important what Raya is saying about Rosa Luxemburg.

Latin American
New York

It saddened me to see that the graphics used to illustrate the first draft chapter, "Before and After the 1905 Revolution," of my book-in-progress, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, did not include a picture of Trotsky. I have been a severe critic of Trotsky's theories ever since I broke with Trotskyism beginning with the Hitler-Stalin Pact at the outbreak of World War II — BUT how can that possibly change the history of 1905, in which he played a most crucial role?

Raya Dunayevskaya
Detroit

Ed. Note: The Political-Philosophic Letter by Raya Dunayevskaya on "The Two Russian Revolutions and Once Again on the Theory of Permanent Revolution" will be an appendix to this first chapter. It is available from N&L for 75c, postage included.

DISORIENTATION ON THE LEFT

There are some incredible attitudes emerging in the anti-draft movement. At our meeting here, the common view of some of the anti-nuke people was that Russia has no intention of moving beyond Afghanistan, but in case they do, they are entitled to a warm water port like any other power. These people are by no means Stalinists, but have adopted the liberal mentality of William Fulbright — dividing the world into spheres of influence for the great powers as a way of insuring peace. This mentality says that the U.S. has a legitimate "sphere" of oil supplies, and that is what leads to wars.

Anti-war activist
Flint, Mich.

The Russian invasion of Afghanistan and Carter's war scares have certainly caused some strange new alignments on the Left Bank of Paris. Thus front page articles have been appearing in *Le Monde* supporting the boycott of the Moscow Olympics. The ultra-right "new philosopher" Bernard-Henri Levy wrote to support the boycott and propose something like the 1936 "Peoples Olympics", held in Barcelona to protest the Olympics then being held in Hitler's Berlin.

At the same time a petition with a similar viewpoint was signed by such an amalgamation that it included Raymond Aron, Simone de Beauvoir, Robert Bresson, Andre Glucksman, Yves Montand, Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone Signoret. The news around the world is quite sobering, but worst of all to me are these Left Bank intellectuals, in their hypocrisy and lack of any historical sense — you would think they would know better.

Student
New York

I think it's bull what some of the speakers at a recent anti-draft rally said. Many say that the draft is the start of all this bloodshed. This country has already been involved in plenty of bloodshed. Not only that, one prominent speaker said that he knows a lot of us are fighting for other issues like anti-nuke, nuclear disarmament or the ERA; but the anti-draft is the most important of all. I think it's more important to realize that all these issues go hand in hand and result from our political and economic system.

Disgusted youth
Chicago

THATCHER'S DEEPEST WISH

Not only is Thatcher waging war on the people of Britain, with attacks on the workers and curbs in education and health services, but she is more loyal to American foreign policy than the most die-hard jingoist from the South. She has probably got measured for her uniform already, since her deepest wish is to be a war leader.

Correspondent
Scotland

A DISSENT ON IRAN

I would like to add a comment on your articles on Iran and the Middle East. Of all the left-wing tendencies in America and elsewhere, yours seems to be among the very few, if not the only one, which hasn't been blinded by the events in Iran. You managed to retain your critical senses in the face of Khomeinism . . .

But even your journal hasn't avoided the pitfalls of the intricacies of the Middle East. No plausible explanation has been given yet by your writers of how millions of people, very many of them not just poor ignorant peasants, have been swayed and are held captive by religious fanaticism, taking them back to the dark ages . . . And how is one to explain the astonishing and frightening revival of Moslem fundamentalism, not only in Iran, but in almost the whole of the Moslem world?

Nahum Sneh
Israel

FREEDOM STRUGGLES: IN SOUTH

On Feb. 1, a celebration was held in "the birthplace of a whirlwind"—Greensboro, N.C. — where 20 years ago four Black men from A&T College decided to sit-in at the Woolworth's lunch counter and demand to be served. This year the same four men met at the same lunch counter for breakfast, remembering the birth of the movement for "Freedom Now," as the sit-ins spread to 54 cities in two short months.

The next day, 5,000 marched in an anti-KKK demonstration organized by a wide range of groups from the SCLC to the Communist Workers Party, whose five members were killed by the KKK in November. While many did come from all over the country to protest the KKK, the four original sit-inners and many in the Greensboro community evidently had some reservations, and did not attend. They said the march was "staged" by so many elite groups and vanguardists that it left no possibility for the free expression of those who did want to re-examine their own beginnings, not just for the history of 1960, but for the 1980s.

Black activist
Cleveland

AND IN PRISON

A wave of protest, including a prison-wide work stoppage and hunger strike by prisoners in segregation, swept the Marion, Ill. Federal Prison in the first days of January. It began against cruelties in the I-unit, the prison's disciplinary segregation unit — cruelties that included beatings, confiscation of reading material, and removal of sheets and blankets. The prisoners also pointed out that some have been sentenced to serve up to one year in I-unit, even though the legal limit is 60 days.

The campaign against the notorious H-unit and I-unit, control units where activist Federal prisoners have been transferred, is continuing. For more information contact:

National Committee to Support
the Marion Brothers
4556a Oakland
St. Louis, Mo. 63110

ALGERIAN WOMEN RESTRICTED

I was appalled to learn that in Algeria this summer the right of women to travel abroad was taken back by the very government which had promised women this freedom and whose constitution demands women's participation in building "socialism."

Now, travel abroad is permitted only for women accompanied by a male family member — with the justification that women traveling alone or with other women will prostitute themselves to make money!

Women's liberationist
Chicago

TODAY'S LABOR BATTLES

Despite continuing violence, striking members of the United Farm Workers stand firm in their struggle to win back the 32 lettuce industry contracts which expired Jan. 1, 1979. The farmworkers' main target now is the notorious Bruce Church, Inc., growers of Red Coach lettuce.

In the Imperial Valley of California, picketing and attempts to win over the strikebreakers persist in the face of obvious collusion between the growers and la Migra. A farm worker now on the Detroit boycott staff related that about two months ago, sheriffs tailing the car of five UFW members did nothing as goons from a 75-car caravan of strikebreakers attacked the five. When other farmworkers emerged from the fields to defend the strikers, the sheriffs arrested the victims, including one who nearly died from a fractured skull because he was denied medical attention so long.

BOYCOTT RED COACH LETTUCE!

UFW supporter
Detroit

Aero-Power, Inc., a small windmill manufacturer in Berkeley, Cal., is an alternative energy firm where the boss-worker relationship is anything but alternative. The company president was taught in business school that to grow you have to squeeze everything out of your workers. For the sake of being in wind energy, he wanted workers to be glad to get between \$3.50 and \$5.00 an hour for work that takes months to learn. At the same time he wanted the social consciousness that brought people to work to disappear at work.

When the workers contacted the UAW and filed for an election, the boss fired the whole shop of eight workers. It is disappointing that wind power's expansion evidently precludes having union protection.

Energy-concerned reader
Berkeley, California

News & Letters

Vol. 25, No. 2 March, 1980

News & Letters (ISSN 0028-8969) is published ten times a year, monthly except for January-February and August-September, by News & Letters, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, Mich. 48211. Telephone: 873-8969. Subscription: \$1 for 12 copies; single copy 10c; for bulk order of five or more—6c each.

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TWO WORLDS

Reason and revolution vs. conformism and technology

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Author of **PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION and Marxism and Freedom**

Among the many serious responses we received to Raya Dunayevskaya's "In Memoriam: Herbert Marcuse", published in the Aug.-Sept. 1979 N&L, were several suggesting that we reproduce her original review of Marcuse's *One-Dimensional Man*, "Reason and Revolution vs. Conformism and Technology", which appeared in the *Activist* (Fall 1964), a journal published by students at Oberlin, Ohio. Excerpts from that review follow.—Ed.

Professor Marcuse's new and highly original book, *One-Dimensional Man**, is not, as the title might suggest, just one more journalistic work on the alienation of modern man. Again, despite its subtitle, "Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society," Professor Marcuse, far from limiting his study to that of ideology, goes to the root of positivistic one-dimensional philosophy, in the automated productive process itself. Indeed, in his attempt to restore the great power of "negative thinking," and to center attention on the dialectical development in the objective world, as well as in the field of thought, Marcuse "subverts" conformism both in being and in thought...

A dualism, however, pervades the book's three major parts: "One-Dimensional Society," "One-Dimensional Thought," and "The Chance of the Alternatives." On the one hand, the author is weighted down by full awareness that the transformation of reality cannot be achieved in thought; it must be consummated in practice: "In other words, society would be rational and free to the extent in which it is organized, sustained, and reproduced by an essentially new historical Subject." (p. 252) On the other hand, Professor Marcuse stresses over and over again, the totality of the conditions that "militate against the emergence of a new Subject." (p. 252)

His pessimism is not merely psychological; it is deeply rooted in his concept of "technological rationality," in his attitude that the proletariat has not lived up to its historic task, in his questioning, where not rejecting outright Marx's concept of the proletariat as the Subject that would negate "the advanced industrial society." No wonder that Marcuse's studies were developed outside of the range of workers' voices opposing the one-dimensional condition of automated labor.

There is one single exception to this pervasive condition of Professor Marcuse's book: a workers' pamphlet, *Workers Battle Automation* by Charles Denby, who happens at the same time to be the editor of *News & Letters*, to which Marcuse likewise refers in the Introduction.

One-Dimensional Man by Herbert Marcuse (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964).

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

Black and white — was being threatened by the first for world power of both the U.S. and Russia.

But I also felt a great pride in the stand she took, because it's very much a part of the whole history of Black people in the U.S. Central to that history is not just what we have been against, but also what we have been for and how we have been most effective in our struggles.

I firmly believe that Black people understand very well and oppose all imperialist policies. By imperialist policies, I mean that some power or nation outside of our controls and dictates what you will do. This is the end of life we have been forced to live under white domination.

It's a short step from oppressing minorities in your own country to oppressing entire nations abroad, and that is what's involved in national expansionist policies. This also leads to war, as it did at the turn of the century with the Spanish-American War and the U.S. invasion of Cuba and the Philippines. America's plunge into imperialism was strongly opposed by Blacks, who joined the whites in the Anti-Imperialist League, as well as armed organizations of their own.

The anti-imperialist movement, however, never gained the mass dimensions required to effectively challenge and halt U.S. imperialism. At the same time, racist policies against U.S. Blacks grew and spread North and South. The response to this was the Garvey Movement that arose after World War I with millions of Blacks organizing not so much to return to Africa, but to demonstrate their opposition to oppressive discriminatory practices.

The big mass movement came later, however, with the collapse of the capitalist system in the depression of 1929, and the rise of the labor movement of the 1930s. It was this movement that Blacks joined, and once again fighting with white labor, again changed the course of American history.

The union movement promised that every member

tion. In referring, however, to the inhuman labor conditions Denby describes, Professor Marcuse not only stresses that "this form of drudgery is expressive of arrested, partial automation" (p. 25), but he leaves out entirely the central point of the pamphlet, the division between the rank and file and the labor leadership in their attitudes toward Automation...

It is a question of the voices one hears, the sights one sees, the feelings one experiences depending on which side of the production line you stand. In the case of Marcuse, the failure to hear this powerful oppositional voice at the point of production itself, has led to the view that the new forms of control have indeed succeeded in containing workers' revolt, to the point of so transforming the antagonistic structure of modern industrial society that "A comfortable, smooth, reasonable, democratic unfreedom prevails..." (p. 1) without opposition.

TO THIS REVIEWER the brilliance of Marcuse's analysis rests, rather, in the sections dealing with thought, literature, and Beat ways of protest. Listen, for example, to this: "The reign of such a one-dimensional reality does not mean that materialism rules, and that the spiritual, metaphysical and bohemian occupations are petering out. On the contrary, there is a great deal of 'Worship together this week,' 'Why not try God,' Zen, existentialism, and beat ways of life, etc. But such modes of protest and transcendence are no longer contradictory to the status quo and no longer negative. They are rather the ceremonial part of practical behaviorism, its harmless negation, and are quickly digested by the status quo as part of its healthy diet." (p. 14)

Professor Marcuse further demonstrates that the one-dimensional thought which is "systematically promoted by the makers of politics and their purveyors of mass information" is by no means limited to the United States, although that is the main focus of his study. "This totalitarian logic of accomplished facts has its Eastern counterpart," he writes. "There, freedom is the way of life instituted by a communist regime and all other transcending modes of freedom are either capitalistic, or revisionist, or leftist sectarianism..." (p. 14)

MARCUSE PROCEEDS FROM the "One-Dimensional Society," which occupies nearly a half of the book, and which already has analyzed the superstructure as well as the structure of society, directly to "One-Dimensional Thought," which focuses on modern philosophy separately.

We had already been introduced to the emergent pattern of one-dimensional thought and behavior: "The trend may be related to a development in scientific method: operationalism in the physical, behaviorism in the social sciences." (p. 12) Now Marcuse restates his

would be a "brother and sister." That promise failed, and as World War II clouds gathered, Blacks were demanding freedom at home in response to being forced into the army to die abroad. A planned Black march on Washington in 1941 was stopped only when President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802, which was supposed to ban discrimination in government defense industries. In practice, this too was a lie, and the Black reply came loud and clear, in the middle of the war in 1943, with Black rebellions in both Detroit and Harlem.

Freedom and equality still were denied Black Americans, and the seething unrest exploded in 1955-56 with the Montgomery Bus Boycott. That in turn paved the way for the Black mass revolt of the 1960s, which inspired whites to join in our struggle. Once again, the face and history of America were transformed by mass Black and white actions.

Today, when war means total nuclear destruction, we face a new challenge. This time it is President Carter who is drawing U.S. defense boundaries around Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan.

Our history has shown that the only way we have made gains in our struggles is through mass actions, actions that are given direction by our demands for freedom, by our philosophy of freedom. This is totally opposed to the nuclear insanity threatened by both President Carter and Russia. Both must be fought, and defeated, if we are to eliminate destruction and realize our goal of freedom for all.

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.

critique within the process of the development of philosophical thought itself from its origins in the dialectics of Plato to the science of Whitehead and the absurdities of Wittgenstein: "The totalitarian universe of technological rationality is the latest transmutation of the idea of Reason... the process by which logic becomes the logic of domination." (p. 123)

As against this, dialectics would reveal the true antagonistic structure of reality and of thought trying to grasp this reality: "If man has learned to see and know what really is, he will act in accordance with truth. Epistemology is in itself ethics and ethics epistemology... To the extent to which the experience of an antagonistic world guides the development of the philosophical categories, philosophy moves in a universe which is broken in itself (*dechirement ontologique*) — two-dimensional. Appearance and reality, untruth and truth (and, as we shall see, unfreedom and freedom) are ontological conditions... Philosophy originates in dialectics; its universe of discourse responds to the facts of an antagonistic reality." (p. 125)

Professor Marcuse presumes a goodly amount of knowledge on the part of his readers. But it appears to this reviewer that this part is especially important to the college students daily exposed to (if not brainwashed by) the pragmatist, vulgarly empiric, positivistic, not to mention the success philosophies of the day. As against Wittgenstein's language games, where ordinary language "is really sterilized and anesthetized" (p. 198), and as against "pure" science, science without telos, Marcuse does appeal to the transcendent view, but from first to last, he stresses that his critical theory is "op-

(Continued on Page 7)

A New Critique of Leon Trotsky

A Political-Philosophic Letter

by Raya Dunayevskaya

"The Two Russian Revolutions, and Once Again, on the Theory of Permanent Revolution"

75¢ (includes postage)

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

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*.

Editorial Article: Carter's drive to war

(Continued from Page 1)

Also needed, said the President, was a five percent increase in an already bloated defense budget, which, moreover, left plenty of loopholes for Congress to further increase militarization, not to mention the unleashing of the CIA for covert operations. (See Our Life and Times, p. 8.)

The hypocrisy of pretending that all these 180-degree changes do not change anything in Carter's "desire for peace", that he is still for SALT II, becomes even more ludicrous at a time when he not only is pressuring NATO (France, especially), to follow him in these measures against Russia, but he suddenly is turning to Khomeini, trying to convince him that it's Russia, not the U.S., that is the enemy.

No wonder the Islamic Conference that just concluded did not stop at condemning Russia's invasion of Afghanistan, but also expressed itself in opposition to the U.S. attempt to use that as the excuse for a massive military presence in the region. The Middle East is capable of defending itself, it stressed, making it clear that it will oppose the U.S. using the Middle East as the battle-ground for the super-powers to decide everyone's fate.

Simply stated, it told the U.S.: Big Brother, keep out! That hasn't stopped the U.S., as we have seen, from continuing with its military build-up and expansionism. Already Kenya, Somalia and Oman have promised use of their bases. All aimed at freeing Afghanistan from Russian occupation? One way to pierce through Carter's martial air as well as his hypocrisy is to look into what happened when Afghanistan tried to free itself from its tyrannical ruler, Daud, on April 27, 1978. **AFGHANISTAN'S REVOLUTION DEVOURS ITSELF**

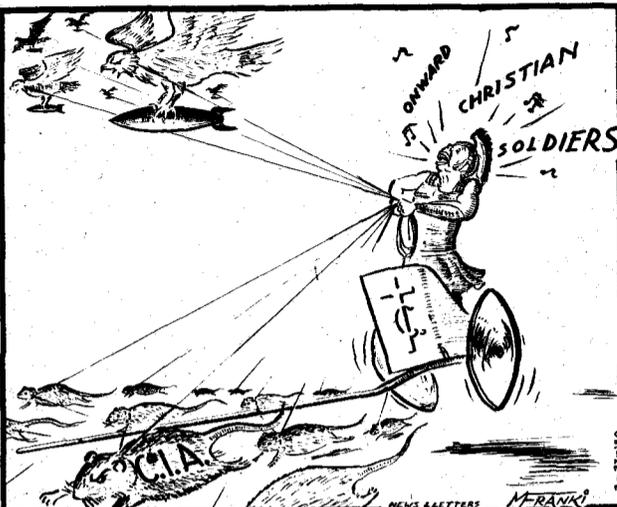
The coup which brought the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) to power had popular support. It established the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, confiscated all the royalist lands and holdings, announced land reforms and the abolition of all feudal and pre-feudal relations.² The party had won power in a single day of fighting because there had been great unrest in that poverty-stricken land, directed against Daud, cousin of the king he had overthrown when he himself came to power in a coup in 1973. The unrest came to a boiling point when one of the leaders of the PDPA, Khyber, was murdered.

The funeral had brought out the greatest demonstration ever in Kabul—15,000. It was distinguished by another unheard of event in a country where women are sold into marriage: a good number of women were marching in the funeral procession. Equality of the sexes was one of the first announcements from the new regime, and the PDPA included a woman in its Central Committee, Dr. Anahita Ratebzad. Even the West had to acknowledge that Afghanistan was experiencing a genuine, national revolt. A State Department official said: "We have no evidence of any Soviet involvement in the coup." Which is why Western imperialism did not at once rush into machinations against it.

Pakistan, however, which had become a haven for all reactionaries³ fleeing the rulers who had confiscated their land-holdings, was at once involved in border skirmishes. A more serious threat to Afghanistan was

² See "Basic Lines of Revolutionary Duties of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan," broadcast over Radio Afghanistan by Taraki on May 9, 1978 and reproduced as a pamphlet by the Government Printing Press of the DRA.

China, adept both in ideological battles and actual guerrilla warfare. The Sino-Soviet Conflict had, indeed, found an echo also in Afghanistan. Instead of having its roots among the dominant nationality, the Pashtuns, as did the leaders of the PDPA—Taraki, Amin and Karmal—China tried to get a following among the minorities—Tajiks, Uzbeks, Hasaras, Turkomans, Baluchis. Small as the Maoist group was, they quickly learned to use the word "revisionism" against the



PDPA. China had no intention of confining their struggle to an ideological level, and began not only training guerrillas but cooperating with the most reactionary regime in Pakistan.

Whether or not Dr. Strangelove Kissinger knew of that aspect of the relationship between China and Pakistan long before the successful 1978 coup, there was no doubt whatsoever that his 1972 tilting to Pakistan was China-inspired. In June 1978 China announced the near-completion of the Karakoram Highway, a 500-mile all-weather road over the roof of the world, linking Sinkiang Province with Rawalpindi in Pakistan. The frontiers of no less than five states—Pakistan, Afghanistan, China, India and Russia—converge at this point on the globe. It is this which was the real purpose of the 1962 Sino-Indian war. China always has the sub-continent of India in its view, as India always has China in view.

At the same time—within a short year—the fratricidal factionalism within the PDPA (also referred to as the Khalq, or Masses, which was the name of its paper) saw the revolution devouring itself.⁴ Land reform lagged behind; women's liberation was hardly begun; disease and poverty were still rampant. And, not too far in the background stood Russia, ready with aid and arms and wanting, above all, not to see a genuine social revolution anywhere.

³ One of those whom the Western media will no doubt play up as if he were a revolutionary—Sayed Ahmad Gailani—is a former landowner and owner of the Peugeot dealership in Kabul and is now head of the Afghanistan Islamic and Nationalist Revolutionary Council.

⁴ See Fred Halliday's "Afghanistan—A Revolution Consumes Itself" in *The Nation*, 11/17/79, and his more substantial study, "Revolution in Afghanistan" in *New Left Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1978. See also "Afghanistan Under the Khalq" by Louis Dupree—author of the 1973 work *Afghanistan*, considered the standard reference work—in *Problems of Communism*, July-Aug. 1979. Another background report is "Afghanistan: The Imperial Dream" by Firuz Kazemzadeh, in the Feb. 21, 1980 issue of *The New York Review of Books*.

Dunayevskaya tour: youth seek revolutionary philosophy

New York, N.Y.—Raya Dunayevskaya drew some of her largest and most enthusiastic audiences ever here in a recently-concluded lecture tour on her book-in-progress, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. But it was not only the number that stood out, it was the diversity of the crowds.

Young people, Black, Latino and white, women as well as men, all braved Carter's Cold War atmosphere because they wanted to hear and discuss a revolutionary Marxist-Humanist presentation. Not since Dunayevskaya's tour just after the publication of her book, *Philosophy and Revolution*, in 1973, has there been such an outpouring of hundreds of new people to hear Marxist-Humanist ideas in New York.

More than 100 people came to her first talk, Jan. 27, at the Workmen's Circle, on "Revolution and Counter-Revolution: The Life and Death of Rosa Luxemburg." Hardly any aspect of Rosa Luxemburg's life and thought was left untouched in both the presentation and discussion— from her 1899 critique of reformism, to her murder by fascist soldiers in 1919; from her breathtaking activity in the 1905-06 Russian Revolution which culminated theoretically in her brilliant study of *The Mass Strike*, through her *Accumulation of Capital* and her failure to grasp the revolutionary character of the

national question; to her relationship both theoretically and practically to Lenin and Trotsky.

At Columbia University on Jan. 30, the large audience was composed to a great extent of young students, a number of whom had participated in that day's 600-strong anti-draft rally on the campus. Here the topic was "On the 75th Anniversary of the First Russian Revolution, In Fact and in Theory: Lenin, Luxemburg, Trotsky." Many new points were developed on the spontaneous worker self-activity which underlied that revolution.

As at the first lecture, the students wanted to relate the theoretical and historical issues to the problems at hand: How do we raise an independent revolutionary banner today? How do we win a new human society in a world divided into hostile imperialist camps? What is the relationship of women's liberation to total revolution?

It was their desire to find a theory for the movement which attracted people to these talks, and which made the 1905 Revolution and Luxemburg's life come alive today for a new generation of revolutionaries. Far from being "apolitical," the youth of the 1980s have learned some of the lessons of the '60s and '70s which the Left never did—for example, they oppose Russian militarism as easily as U.S. war plans. They are the audience for Dunayevskaya's new book.

—Kevin A. Barry

The very first words from Taraki, as he became President and Prime Minister, shows how gingerly the party was moving on the religious question: "In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate . . ."

Both Taraki and one of the Deputy Ministers, Amin, were more independent than Karmal, the other Deputy Minister, who had totally identified with Russia, even at the period when Russia was class-collaborating with the Daud regime. Thus, when the PDPA gained power, Taraki and Amin managed to send Karmal and other such leaders out as ambassadors to foreign countries.

A totally new stage was reached when Taraki, after attending the so-called Non-Aligned Conference in Havana and becoming Brezhnev's favorite, suggested bringing Karmal back to Afghanistan. That evidently signed his death warrant insofar as Amin was concerned. It was he, after all, who, with the help of dissidents in the Army and Secret Service, where he had many roots, engineered the April 27 coup. He had grand illusions about his own power and his ability to remain independent, and made it clear, even to foreign correspondents⁵, that he had no intentions of becoming a mere puppet of Russia. But Russia was taking no chances on having another Tito to contend with. No sooner had Amin engineered the coup in which Taraki lost his life than the Russians invaded Afghanistan.

MILITARIZATION NOT ONLY OF THE ECONOMY, BUT OF THE MIND

Russia's invasion of Afghanistan lit up the sky for Carter-Brzezinski who thought this was their grand opportunity to worm their way into the good graces of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Carter kept sending messages to Khomeini that Russia, not the U.S., is the main enemy of Islam. Clearly, U.S. imperialism was hoping to get more than a foothold in the Gulf region.

Two years ago—that is, long before Russia's invasion of Afghanistan—the Carter Administration embarked on a "study" of a most unholy series of "options" of what to do should Iran threaten its imperial interests in Oil. It is only now, on Feb. 1, 1980, that the 70-page report has been published, played up by the *New York Times* on page one under the chilling title: "Study Says Soviet Thrust in Iran Might Require U.S. Atom Arms."

We have here a display of not only how to make the unthinkable thinkable, but how to spell it out as "necessary": (1) publish a "study," though it concerns Iran, when the headlines are shouting Carter's Cold War hysteria over Afghanistan; (2) accompany the article with a map listing most precisely what could become "three key oil-shipping points in the Persian Gulf—Iran's Kharg Island, and Saudi Arabia's Ras Tanura and Juayma," which "would be 'prime targets' for Soviet attack in the event of war in the region"; (3) turn the discussion into the use of "tactical" nuclear weapons.

The essence of all this talk about nuclear weapons is the Pentagon report's galling assertion that "the Iranians will not soon be able to contribute effectively to their own defense"—so of course Big Brother Carter is ready to be Islam's "protector."

As for Russia's invasion, long, long ago, in the last days of Lenin's life, he carried on his battle against Stalin's Russian chauvinism in the matter of the Georgians. He came to the defense of the Georgian Communist, Tsertsvadze, who said: "It is true that Marx wanted the union of the proletariat of the whole world, but he never claimed that all the Russians ought to unite at Tiflis." With a single word changed—Kabu instead of Tiflis—we have the exact situation of today of any day when a workers' state gets transformed into its opposite, as did Russia into a state-capitalist society.

Carter's policy does more than Stalin in putting down national liberation struggles, be it presently in Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, or India. He has spelled this out in a way that does not let anyone get away from his clutches, not only in foreign lands but a home, especially the youth⁶, whom he intends to dra into the Army, and the Blacks, who will continue to bear the main brunt of the recessions and now the ever-expanding militarization of the economy. As Vernon Jordan of the Urban League put it: "We are the boat people without boats."

Carter's drive to war must be stopped before it gets so completely out of hand that a nuclear holocaust is upon us.

⁵ See "Did Moscow Fear an Afghan Tito?" in *New York Times* Sunday, Jan. 13, 1980, by the scholar, Selig Harrison, who had interviewed Amin in May and August, 1978.

⁶ At his press conference on Feb. 13, Carter waxed so enthusiastic about all the countries he is willing to "protect" that the stretched from Afghanistan to Yugoslavia—should Tito die. The only reporter who brought him back to the reality of the hell and now was the Black woman reporter from Washington, D.C. who asked whether the Black Caucus wasn't correct in saying that the Administration's budget for youth employment was "misleading" since only \$3 million of the \$2 billion claimed was actually for employment.



by Jim Mills

The immediateness and persistence of youth protests, following Carter's call to marshal all 18- to 21-year-olds to fight for U.S. imperialism, proves American youth's profound opposition to the growing militarization of their lives. There is hardly any locality where young people are not forming anti-draft groups or participating in debates and protests against draft registration. (See participants' reports, page 1.) The bourgeois media's vicious attempt to slander those youth, by pointedly featuring others who repeat Carter's war hysterics and by portraying anti-draft activities as isolated "overreactions," cannot hide the undeniable birth of revolutionary new forces.

"No Nukes, No Draft, No War!"

(Continued from Page 1)

rallies of several hundred were held and more are planned.

New York, N.Y.—Several thousand youth attended an anti-draft rally in Times Square on Feb. 9, chanting "Hell no, we won't go!" and listening to speeches from Left and anti-war groups.

One thing I noticed immediately was a sharp split in the crowd. One group aligned themselves with most of the Left, Trotskyist or Stalinist, who incredibly support the Russian invasion of Afghanistan as somehow "progressive." Worst here (but only because the most explicit) were the so-called "Spartacists" with their disgusting banner "Hail the Red Army." Their very name is an insult to the great German revolutionaries, Liebknecht and Luxemburg.

However, this type of mentality was opposed vociferously by many of the independent young people who made up about half the crowd. It was only Marxist-Humanists and the anarchists who offered an independent anti-war position to these young people. Many were attracted to *News & Letters* precisely by the fact that we offer a total revolutionary opposition to war.

Chicago, Ill.—We participated in a memorial march and service on Feb. 9, to revive the memory of those killed and maimed during the Vietnam War, and to protest planned reinstatements of draft registration. A

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

posed to all metaphysics by virtue of the rigorously historical character of the transcendence." (p. xi) The transcendent is not in heaven, but on earth; the historic is transitory, human, actual as against only the potential and inherent.

It is precisely, however, when Marcuse reaches the stage of freedom where he once again questions Marx's concept of the proletariat as the liberating force, and where pessimism once again overcomes his view of "The Chance of the Alternatives" which forms the last part of his work . . .

TWO ELEMENTS — one from theory, and from the objective world—save the critical philosophy that Professor Marcuse expounds. One is that the critical theory refuses to abdicate and leave the field "to an empirical sociology which, freed from all theoretical guidance except a methodological one, succumbs to the fallacies of misplaced concreteness . . ." (p. 254) If even the philosopher should see only the hopeless, Marcuse maintains, he would nevertheless, wish "to remain loyal to those who, without hope, have given and give their life to the Great Refusal." (p. 257)

The other movement of hope is of much greater import since it is both objective and subjective and has the force to undermine the status quo: ". . . underneath the conservative popular basis is the substratum of the outcasts, and outsiders, the exploited and persecuted of other races and other colors, the unemployed and the unemployable . . . their opposition is revolutionary even if their consciousness is not. Their opposition hits the system from without and is therefore not deflected by the system; it is an elementary force which violates the rules of the game and, in doing so, reveals it as a rigged game." (pp. 256-57)

There are those who think that the time for the all-dimensional man passed with the Renaissance. There are others, like this reviewer, who think his time is first coming. And there are the conformists whose total indifference to discussion of anything pluri-dimensional is likely to bury *One-Dimensional Man* without ever getting a serious dialogue around it started in the academic world. I trust the youth will not let this happen. Thereby they will become part of history-in-the-making in the realm of thought.

Will new youth anti-militarism flower into total opposition?

Will this new upsurge flower into an anti-militarist movement knowing itself as a total opponent to capitalist crises in all their myriad forms, only one of which is youth conscription? Already the Left would-be leadership is avoiding a self-critical view and truncating its conception of the human forces in the movement.

At a time when Russian military repression—now only in Afghanistan—is a fact of life, many youth question an anti-draft leadership which chooses to ignore that fact. There is an open split between the new youth who have suddenly overwhelmed the Left at anti-draft rallies, and the "organizers" who will do anything to avoid seeing U.S. and Russia as twin militarist powers. Further, many of the Leftist anti-draft "organizers"

take the lead in claiming that any controversy outside of opposing the draft and registration alienates potential participants. In a recent debate in Detroit's Coalition Against Registration and the Draft, Trotskyists voted down a stand against all forms of militarization. Now there is nothing to distinguish that group from MX missile proponents such as Ted Kennedy, nor from proponents of the class-oriented "poverty conscription"—the so-called all volunteer army, whose enlistees join out of necessity, for a job, for training, but not to fulfill the military's true preparations, for fighting and dying.

The vision of a society free from warfare surely is rooted also in the struggle of opponents to the police murders and murder cover-ups against Black and Latino youth. An anti-militarist movement can find an expression of itself in the groundswell of anger—and full-blown rebellion—such as that following the police complicity in the racist murder of 15-year-old Henry Lee Johnson in Idabel, Okla. in January.

In 1972, calls for ending the draft stemmed from resistance inside the military—the soaring AWOL rates, overflowing military prisons, "fragging" deaths of racist field officers—as well as young men refusing en masse to report to induction centers and local draft boards. That revolt the government tried to undercut with "free choice" enlistment. But eight years later, as a measure of the revolt in the so-called volunteer services, the military strategists' only thought is to reinstate the draft in their search for "reliable" troops.

Thus, on the eve of the March 22 national anti-draft rally in Washington, D.C., the anti-draft movement will know itself as a total opponent of draft registration only if it also rejects the "volunteer army," whose alienated and rebellious population today acts more like workers ready to strike than robot-soldiers ready to kill—a phenomenon which makes the military planners scramble for the draft button.

Onorato Damen 1893-1979

We mourn the death of Italian revolutionary, Onorato Damen, felled by a heart attack at the age of 85. Active until the day of his death in fighting against capitalism's wars and barbarism and for a truly human, socialist society, Damen began the first of his many long imprisonments when he was jailed from 1917 to 1919 for distributing anti-war leaflets, as part of the left-wing opposition to war within the Second International.

His fierce battle with fascism began as soon as it appeared. He was jailed again—now as a member of the Third International—from 1926 to 1933, only to be expelled from the Communist Party the year he was released for his opposition to Stalinism. Rearrested at the end of 1935 for activity on behalf of the Spanish Civil War, and again at the outbreak of World War II, he built his own party, the POI (Partito Comunista Internazionale), from inside the prisons of Italy.

WITH HIS RELEASE when Mussolini fell, Damen's revolutionary activity against the Communists intensified, both theoretically and practically. He had long recognized that the first workers' state had been transformed into a state-capitalist society. Nothing had angered the Resistance more than the class compromiser policies of the CP, and the slogan of all who saw that World War II was an imperialist war that solved nothing quickly became: **Neither Moscow nor Washington.**

At the new critical point the world reached in 1958, with DeGaulle's coming to power and the growth of neo-fascism everywhere, Damen attempted to establish an International Correspondence Committee among all those who now expanded that slogan to include the fight against DeGaulle. It meant opposing not only the Stalinists but the Trotskyists who continued to tailend Stalinism by making a distinction between Russia and the world of private capitalism.

THE CONFERENCE DAMEN succeeded in calling brought together the Italians as well as the Spanish revolutionary, Munis; the French as well as the American revolutionary, Raya Dunayevskaya; Tony Cliff sent a telegram of solidarity. A special section of Damen's theoretical journal, *Prometeo*, was set aside following the Conference, for an ongoing international discussion of analysis and theory.

Nothing, however, better demonstrates Damen's commitment to a genuine concept of "democratic centralism" than the serious work he did to help make possible an Italian edition of *Marxism and Freedom*, though he disagreed with it, believing that Marx's Humanism was but an "early stage" of Marx's development. He undertook that task, not only because he agreed with the analysis of state-capitalism, but because he wanted a multi-dimensional discussion of all questions among Marxists.

His death is a loss for the entire movement. His life, and his contribution to both theory and practice, will continue to enrich it.

coffin draped with an American flag was carried through the corporate business and shopping districts followed by a procession of 700.

The march was diverse, with Gray Panthers marching alongside young women. The women were particularly angry at Carter's intention to draft women. Some came from as far away as LaPorte, Ind., just to participate in the march. All that we spoke to said they would refuse to register.

At the service, the best talk was given by Mary Dear, a Gray Panther, whose Chicago chapter issued a statement opposing the draft. She said that as a feminist she is against the draft for women and men, and that while she wants her freedom, "I won't get my rights by going out and killing someone else."

Carter's war hysteria throws light on the realities of today's armed services. Many of the over 150,000 American women in the "volunteer army" were forced to enlist because it is the only job available.

In January the army was forced to begin hearings on sexual harassment at which one woman testified she was subjected to worse sexual harassment than when she was a go-go dancer.

Racist practices by officers, like side-tracking Blacks out of training programs, fuel the permissive atmosphere towards open KKK activity. Black GIs have organized against the Klan, very often taking matters into their own hands.

So fearful of the consequences of an enlistees organization inside the military are government strategists, that stiff penalties are in store for any GI (or any person helping a GI) for so much as distributing petitions to a Congressman on shipboard. Though the military recruiters say it's "more than a job," anger over working conditions worse than industry — from radar microwave radiation to noise hazards—is universal.

Stop police war on Blacks!

Los Angeles, Cal.—The police murder of Blacks and Latinos in the Los Angeles area is continuing into 1980. On Feb. 1, 19-year-old Cedric D. Steward was shot down while partially handcuffed. This, the third such killing in Los Angeles County within the past three weeks, brought the controversy in the Black community to a new high.

The controversy has been raging as well over the Garvey shooting of Dec. 29, with eyewitnesses reporting how sadistically it had been carried out by county sheriffs and L.A. police. It was followed on Jan. 6 with the brutal slaying of Donald Schlittler, age 26. Schlittler, a diabetic, was spotted by a sheriff's deputy walking down a street with a knife, acting in an unusual manner. He was shot three times after he didn't comply with a police warning. The autopsy showed he had a high blood sugar count.

In all the cases the officers have stated that the killings were in self-defense, but witnesses contradict these statements. Witnesses said Steward was beaten with flashlights and batons, then handcuffed on the ground, and finally shot in the back of the neck. The Sheriff states there was "no serious error" and that he cannot "second guess" the officers' actions.

A neighbor of Steward commented, "The police sneak down the street with their lights off, then shine them on your porch. If they tell you it's to catch a criminal, that's a lie. They are just here to make people afraid."

The Los Angeles Police Department and the County Sheriff will continue to stand together in all such controversial shootings against the people they claim to "protect and serve." The loss of life has become a common practice through this everyday abuse of human life. This state horror is one that is condemning us all, but the drive to be free cannot be stopped and will end up destroying any state which is built on unfreedom.

—South Los Angeles community member

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

Will Central America's bloody rulers overreach themselves?

The waves of revolutionary ferment reverberating from the revolution in Nicaragua are still very much alive in Central America against both U.S. imperialism and their own corrupt governments. This is most evident in the bloody events of recent months in Guatemala and El Salvador.

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

dered in Guatemala since 1966.

Peasant demonstrations in Nebaj were also murderously put down by the police, and in Quiche peasants took over two radio stations, demanding the release of jailed colleagues and issuing a call to go to Guatemala City to denounce the government. Young people are flocking to the mountainous Quiche province to join Leftist guerrillas.

In neighboring El Salvador, over 100,000 anti-Junta protesters marched through the streets of San Salvador on Jan. 22, the anniversary of the 1932 peasant insurrection. Army troops fired on the demonstrators, and over 60 people were murdered. Two days later, thousands joined the funeral march chanting "No one can stop this revolution."

On Feb. 12, government troops stormed the

headquarters building of the Christian Democratic Party, which had been occupied since Jan. 29 by Leftists demanding that the Party withdraw from the ruling Junta. Five died in the shootout that followed. And during a protest march by students in downtown San Salvador that same day, police shot five more people.

The spectre of the Nicaraguan revolution is what is driving the ultra-right governments of Central America to overreach themselves in a desperate attempt to halt revolution in their countries. Out of every massacre, new revolutionists emerge. The continuing and deepening resistance in Guatemala and El Salvador has shown that all the weaponry in the world will not assure the continued rule of a class whose end has come.

France

The last month in France has seen several shocking racist incidents. In Amiens, Camara Salif from Senegal was pushed into the river by white teenagers, who proceeded to watch while he drowned. This took place Nov. 4, and only in January did the police begin to act as if it were other than an accidental death or suicide. Now several Left organizations have begun to call for the defense of foreign students in the face of government expulsion orders.

But the most important student protest—and one which may signal the birth of a new student movement—was at the University of Angers. Since Jan. 10, students there have been on strike and have held a 3,000-strong demonstration to support two Moroccan students threatened with expulsion from France.

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

Taiwan

Since Dec. 10, when thousands of troops with tanks broke up a mass rally of 10,000 under a human rights banner in Taiwan's industrial city of Kaohsiung, secret police have arrested well over 300 public critics of the Kuomintang government who now face a death penalty in a military court.

Taiwan has been under martial law since Chiang Kai-shek's army fled there in 1949, and no opposition parties or organizations are permitted. The dissidents arrested include the group around the independent *Formosa* magazine, women's activists, and even preachers and non-Party legislators.

We have heard no appeal for human rights on Taiwan from Carter, who is still supplying millions of dollars worth of "defensive" arms—without serious objection from China, which must be aware those arms are directed at the people of Taiwan.

Taiwanese in the U.S. are commemorating on Feb. 28 the 1947 revolt which Chiang Kai-shek's army suppressed by massacring 20,000 Taiwanese. They are trying to bring to light the bloodbath that his son is now carrying out.

Eritrea

Despite overwhelming odds the Eritrean people and their national liberation movement, led by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, not only have maintained control of Nacfa, but in January, defeated 30,000 Ethiopian troops northeast of Sahel and seized the airstrip at Mahmimet as Ethiopian troops were evacuated by the Russian navy. "Fascists" is what the Eritreans dub the Russian cluster and parachute bombs whose remains are scattered on the countryside.

There has been little attention paid to Eritrea ever since the counter-revolutionary regime of Colonel Mengistu launched a genocidal offensive against Eritrea in November, 1978 with massive Russian and Cuban help. Now armed opposition is spreading to new provinces like Tigre.

Many Cubans are dying in aiding Russia to bolster its interests in Africa. With 45,000 troops in Africa, Cuba's foreign involvement and casual-

ties are on a greater scale for its size than was the U.S.'s in Vietnam. Black Cubans are singled out for the African wars. Cuba at home has stagnated as industrial production rose by less than one percent last year when a four percent growth was projected. In the middle of January, leaflets and posters attacking the government showed up in Havana.

CIA unleashed

President Carter's State of the Union speech, which included "removal of unwarranted restraints on our ability to collect intelligence", was in effect a call to unleash the illegal dogs of war.

There has been no evidence that the legal work of the CIA has been hampered by the four-year restraint placed on them by Congress: end wire taps on citizens, stop opening their mail, stop covert operations that aid military dictatorships around the world. The CIA warned Carter what would happen if he invited the Shah to New York. He ignored the advice. The CIA told him what the situation was in Afghanistan. He ignored the advice and was surprised when Russia moved in.

No, Carter's problem is not lack of information. He has all the legitimate hunting licenses he needs. But to pursue his real aim, World War III, he needs more unchecked power to spy on the anti-draft movement, to prepare covert operations to overthrow the new government in Grenada, to prop up Savimbi in Angola, to feed arms to Latin American dictators, to provide military and political support for the dictator in Pakistan.

Senator Moynihan has introduced a bill that would put the CIA back on a war footing and wipe out the Congressional restraints. He should not be permitted to prevail.

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

The Negroes in America, by Claude McKay: Kennikat Press, 90 South Bayles Avenue, Port Washington, N.Y. 11050; 1979, \$10.00

In recent years there has been a growing interest in the literary career of Claude McKay, a leading Black poet and writer of the 1920s Harlem Renaissance. Wayne Cooper, in the course of researching his book *The Passion of Claude McKay*, discovered that the Slavic section of the New York Public Library had a disintegrating manuscript of McKay's monograph, *The Negroes in America* — in the Russian language.

McKay had written *The Negroes in America* during his Russian pilgrimage of 1922-23, at which time he had attended the Fourth Congress of the Third International as a visiting delegate. (McKay was permitted to attend and to address this Congress after the intercession of the Japanese member of the Communist International, Sen Katayama). The published Russian edition of *The Negroes in America* has long been out of print, and McKay's original English manuscript was either destroyed or lost years ago.

When McKay left the United States to attend the Fourth Congress, his leaving coincided with his resignation from *The Liberator* where he was co-editor with Mike Gold. The disagreement with Gold revolved around the amount of space to be allotted to the "Negro Question" in that magazine.

At the Fourth Congress, McKay became a very popular figure, and was commissioned to write *The Negroes in America*. It is obvious that McKay wrote his book to familiarize Russian readers with Black liberation struggles in America. But at the same time, he used the

Review of rediscovered book by Claude McKay

book to critique the utter failure of both the American radicals — specifically the U.S. Communist Party — and the American Black intelligentsia to understand the nature of the Black mass struggles for liberation.

Although McKay attempted to cover the entire scope of what it meant to be Black in America in 1922-23, he always returned to his central theme — the timidity of radicals in the presence of American racism. He said: "Some white comrades would sooner agree to go to the barricades than look squarely at the reality of the Negro question in America." And, "In an age of the greatest industrial development, the American workers' movement finds itself at the crossroads. It must choose one of the following two paths: The organization of Black workers separately, or together with white workers, or the defeat of both by forces of the bourgeoisie."

He understood and had personally experienced the poison of this racism of white workers. To him, this had to be openly fought by the American Left, and not swept under the rug, because the struggle against racism is inseparable from the class struggle against capitalism.

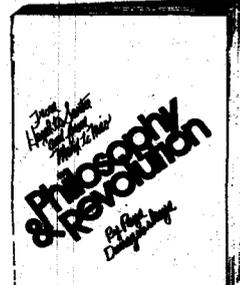
The limitations of *The Negroes in America* are partly imposed by McKay's elitist concept of the role of the "Negro Communist," who has theories "far ahead of the masses of his own race," and partly due to McKay's incomplete understanding of the revolutionary and international quality of the national movements for self-determination that were erupting around the world in the 1920s.

The writing of *The Negroes in America* was a response both to Lenin's concept of colonial and national revolutions, and the fact that these revolutions were happening in Europe, Asia and Africa in the early 1920s.

While Lenin supported these national struggles, he understood that they were filled with class contradictions and that the workers and peasants had to combat their religious leaders, landlords and native capitalists who, of course, would use the struggle against imperialism to strengthen their own positions of exploitation and rule.

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—Alvin Z. Rubinstein, University of Pennsylvania
from CURRENT HISTORY, March 1976



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