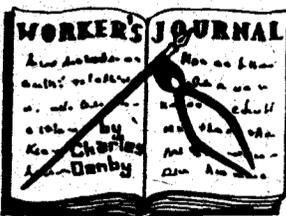


ON THE INSIDE

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Biko, Fanon and American Black thought

by Charles Denby, Editor

(I am pleased to give my column to the following contribution from a Black worker-student relating to our forthcoming pamphlet, "Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought."—C.D.)

On Sept. 13 Steve Biko died while being held in detention by the South African police. Since then there have been demonstrations after demonstrations within and without South Africa; no less than 20,000 attended his funeral (there would have been more if police had not turned others away).

As witnessed by its crackdown, the South African government thinks it can kill Biko's thought and legacy just as it killed him. However, as the German philosopher Hegel said in *The Philosophy of Mind*, "When individuals and nations get into their heads the concept of full blown liberty, there is nothing like it in its uncontrollable strength, just because it is the very essence of mind and that as its very actuality . . ."

On this note let us look at Biko's Black Consciousness, Frantz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought.

What is new in the South African revolt of today that distinguishes it from 1956 and Montgomery is the maturity of the age. For although it is a "local situation" (as Vorster put it), because we live in a crisis-ridden, state-capitalist, imperialist world, it could not help but have an international impact. At a time when the African nations were still in disarray over the splitting of the OAU over Angola, playing around with the super-powers of Russia, China, and the U.S., this "local situation" not only shocked the rulers but unfolded a new banner of freedom and fired the imaginations of the world revolutionaries.

The South African revolt exposed the lie of Kissinger's safari to Africa to offer the Black African nations the crumb of "majority rule" in Rhodesia, while leaving racist South Africa intact, just as today it exposes the lie of Jimmy Carter's (and his Black flunkey Andrew Young's) concern over "human rights." As Biko said, "Carter is smarter than Nixon; he uses Young's color as a special passport to the Third World, to further the American system in the world."

INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION

It is no accident that the events in South Africa take on an international dimension. In his article on Black Consciousness, Biko states:

"It is often claimed that the advocates of Black Consciousness are hemming themselves into a closed world, choosing to weep on each others' shoulders and thereby cutting out useful dialogue with the rest of the world. Yet I feel that Black people . . . choosing to reject colonialism and white domination and to build around themselves their own values, standards, and outlooks, have at last established a solid base for meaningful cooperation amongst themselves in the larger battle of the Third World against the rich nations."

What I have been trying to show so far is that there is a dialectical relationship between theory and practice, that each by itself is one-sided. There is a movement from practice to theory as well as a movement from theory to practice, and revolution happens only when these two movements meet.

(Continued on Page 9)

10¢ NEWS LETTERS  
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Editorial article: War, peace or revolution

Shifting alliances in the Middle East

by Raya Dunayevskaya

National Chairwoman, News & Letters Committees

The two months that have elapsed since Sadat's spectacular peace trip to Jerusalem on Nov. 9 saw it all very nearly collapse in Ismailia Dec. 26. There the initiator of a possible new stage for Middle East relations, Sadat, and the guest super-hawk, Israeli Prime Minister Begin, far from coming out with a joint statement of agreement, produced an expression of irreconcilable positions, all couched in diplomatic but unmistakable language.<sup>(1)</sup> Two days later Begin spelled out the euphemisms "Palestinian administrative autonomy" and "self-rule" in language that brought approval from his Knesset.<sup>(2)</sup> All others, however, could not but read those 26 points as but one non-euphemistic imperialistic point: continued military occupation both of the West Bank of Jordan (which Begin persisted in calling Judea and Samaria) and the Egyptian Gaza Strip.

We must now modify the expression, "all others" to

<sup>(1)</sup>The key paragraph of the Ismailia statement, Dec. 26, reads: "The Egyptian and Israeli delegations here discussed the Palestinian problem. The position of Egypt is that on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip a Palestinian state should be established. The position of Israel is that Palestinian Arabs in Judea, Samaria, the West Bank of Jordan and the Gaza Strip should enjoy self-rule."

<sup>(2)</sup>The N.Y. Times, 12/29/77 ran the 26 point Begin Plan on p. A8.



—LNS Photo

Palestinians—key to Mideast crisis.

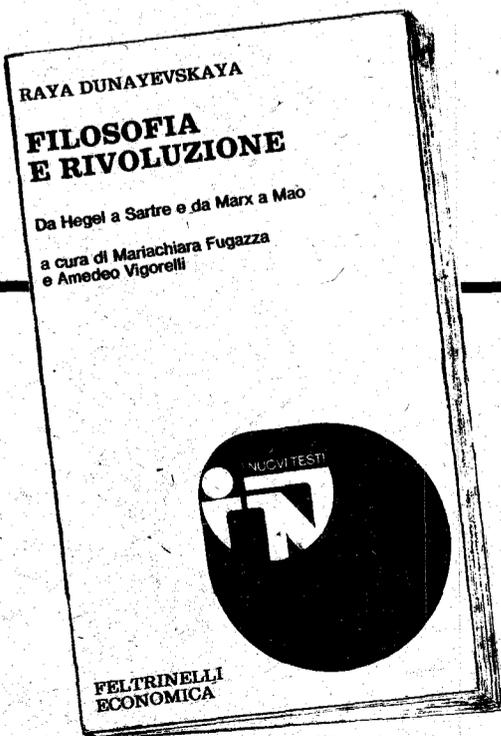
read all others "except President Carter." He managed to find "self-rule" under Israeli guns "flexible"! Where upon President Sadat must have burned up the private line to the White House. What he publicly declared "made my job more difficult" must have been concretized more precisely on the private line, sufficiently shaking up Carter's scheduled six-nation nine-day whirlwind tour to make room for one unscheduled stop at Aswan. It is this that became the focal point of the whole, not only the Middle East whole, but globally, from India to France.

Just as the question of Palestine was raised at the very start of the trip in Poland, and just as Helmut Schmidt was found hovering in the shadows in Egypt, (as did King Hussein in Iran and elsewhere), so Saudi Arabia held the reins to world oil while Carter ended the trip beefing up NATO, Jan. 5, 1978—all readying for confrontations world-wide, with very different and unequal weapons, it is true; but the same exploitative class goals. In any case, by the time Carter reached home shores on Jan. 6 he declared Sadat to be "one of the most courageous men in the world," and one definitely in favor of another euphemism — "principles" — under which the irreconcilable positions are allowed to flounder while U.S. imperialism makes the final decision.

Lest we forget Sadat's equally hawk-like past, especially the Yom Kippur war he launched in 1973, Sadat made sure that Begin knew he is no different now. Thus on the very day of the Ismailia statement when both leaders still smiled, Mustafa, editor of *Akhbar al-Yoni*, wrote: "The meetings in Ismailia were not with delegates of the state of Israel, but with Shylock . . . Jewish usurer exacting his pound of flesh."

JOINT U.S.-RUSSIAN STATEMENT AND CARTER'S ZIGZAGS

No, it wasn't courage or any other psychological characteristic that brought both hawks together . . . "for peace," any more than it was the characteristic of being hawk and extreme Rightwinger that enabled Nixon to open this decade with his spectacular visit to China. In all cases, it is the concrete, not the "general," which drives to action. In the case of Nixon it was the Vietnam war that the U.S. was losing, not only on the battlefield, (Continued on Page 8)



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## WOMAN AS REASON

**Rosa Luxemburg, revolutionary theoretician**

January is the month of the brutal murder of Rosa Luxemburg, the only woman history records as a great Marxist theoretician as well as revolutionary leader. When Luxemburg was savagely executed by pre-Nazi vigilantes on Jan. 15, 1919, at the age of 48, the German Revolution then in progress was beheaded as well. The uniqueness of Rosa Luxemburg as a beacon for our day is not due to her martyrdom, but to her theoretical revolutionary legacy, which is solid ground we can build on today.

In the 59 years since, Luxemburg has been relegated to martyrdom by Marxists, and stripped of her sex by feminists who ignore her because she supposedly didn't write about women. Although Luxemburg spent three months speaking for suffrage in the very period of her most intense battles with the leadership of the Second International over its fatal reformism, we have only one 1912 speech on "Women's Suffrage and Class Struggle" preserved and translated into English.

I disagree with many of her theories, especially her position on the National Question. But none matched her view against bureaucracy, against imperialism, for elemental revolution. Therefore it is vital for today's women's liberationists to know Luxemburg's life and works — first and foremost her dedication to working out revolutionary theory for her historic period.

**FIRST FIGHT AGAINST REFORMISM**

From the start, when she arrived in Germany, 1898, as an exile from her native Poland, Rosa Luxemburg immediately entered the battle of ideas within the first mass Marxist party. Her essay *Reform or Revolution?* brilliantly exposed the tendency in the German Social Democracy that substituted economic and legal changes for the revolutionary self-development of the masses.

She was vilified by the German party for being female, young, Polish and Jewish. But most of all, she was attacked for holding fast to the self-activity of the working class — its spontaneity and creativity, its forms of revolt like the mass strike and its revolutionary Reason — at a time when the advent of monopoly capitalism and imperialism had led a whole generation of Marxists to reformism.

In fighting Bernstein, the leader of those who wished to remove the "dialectical scaffolding" from Marx's "materialism," she pointed out that he was "really attacking the specific mode of thought employed by the conscious proletariat in its struggle for liberation . . . For it is our dialectical system that shows the working class the transitory character of its yoke, proving to the workers the inevitability of their victory, and has already realized the revolution in the domain of thought."\*

**SEXIST EVASION OF THEORY**

Throughout her life, Rosa Luxemburg was the target of sexist attacks, by the capitalist world that slandered her as "Bloody Rosa," and by her party, in which she and her colleague Clara Zetkin were called "witches" and "bitches." Luxemburg refused to respond to such attacks, because she considered them an excuse not to debate the fundamental issues she was raising about socialist revolution. The leadership of the Social Democracy wanted nothing more than to shunt her off to the

\*See *Reform or Revolution? The most comprehensive selection in English of Luxemburg's writings is Rosa Luxemburg Speaks, Published by Pathfinder Press.*

**Supreme workers end strike, but still get few benefits**

Chicago, Ill. — Workers at the Supreme Life Insurance Co. went on strike on Dec. 6. By Dec. 16 a contract was signed with a 26 percent increase in pay over 33 months, and two new holidays, Martin Luther King's birthday and Christmas Eve. The following are comments from a striker *News & Letters* talked with as we were out supporting the picket line:

"Most people here make \$100 a week gross, and in the branch office some make \$92 a week. We have to pay our own life insurance and hospitalization. One man has worked here 32 years and makes \$132 a week. The union was just recognized Sept. 1. We have been negotiating since then, but the company did not move at all until we went on strike.

"Nearly all the workers here are women and the majority do not have anyone to help them financially except themselves, and many have big families. Supreme is 100 percent Black — the employees, policy holders, and the management. Ray Irby, the president, takes the money and lives out in Flossmore, Illinois. He has got four limousines. Here we barely make enough to ride the bus to work.

"When people have an insurance claim, it takes them forever and a day to pay. They are supposed to pay within 30 days, but it takes them at least two or three months. Some poor people who live in this neighborhood even have to get a collection agency to get money out of them. But if you live on Lake Shore Drive or in the suburbs, you get paid right away."

—Woman striker

Rosa Luxemburg 1910



women's organizations, far from any theoretic work, so Luxemburg made sure she "knew nothing" about women.

By refusing to recognize what we have to learn from Luxemburg — most importantly, the need and ability of women to develop Marxist theory for our age — today's feminists are imitating the Social Democracy's kind of compartmentalization of women. It seems it is easier to sit around in elitist groups speculating on whether or not Shakespeare had a sister, than to study a revolutionary theoretician so great that even her mistakes can teach us more about our capitalist world and the revolution than most theoreticians of either sex.

Like Rosa Luxemburg's time of crisis, ours is a time to study the roots of capitalist society so that we are prepared to transform it totally. After 100 years of perversions of Marxism, first with reformism and betrayal, secondly with state-capitalism, all permeated with sexism in the fore in every country in the world, we cannot allow the exclusion of women as Reason as well as force from any revolutionary theory. Just as Luxemburg turned to Marx himself to fight those who failed to meet the challenge of the mass strike and imperialism, so we need Marx's philosophy to work out an alternative to all the so-called socialists who exclude half the population from creating their own destinies.

In our recent pamphlet, *Sexism, Politics and Revolution in Mao's China*, by exposing both the sexism and alienated labor in China, we laid down a challenge to all theoreticians who separate the two. Now, by publishing Marx's *CAPITAL* and *Today's Global Crisis*, Raya Dunayevskaya is also challenging all feminists to become Marxist theoreticians. We can afford to do no less if, so many years after Luxemburg's death, revolution is finally to lead to freedom for all.

—Anne Molly Jackson

**Penn cleaning staff victory**

Philadelphia, Pa. — The cleaning staff at the University of Pennsylvania, which was fired without notice last summer, has won its fight to be rehired (see *News & Letters*, October, 1977). All 343 workers, except for a few who are going to retire, will be back on the job in January, with back pay, a five percent raise and full benefits. The victory was due in part to the state cutting off the university's appropriation because of publicity about its union-busting.

This fall, there were two campus rallies in support of the workers, members of Teamsters Local 115. They were attended by students and staff members, including some from the secretarial-clerical organizing group. There was also a Teamsters Union demonstration on campus; I know of a couple of guys who came from Wilkes-Barre for it. The Teamsters drove their rigs around the campus for an hour, making a fantastic racket. The Penn Strike Support Committee picketed the president of the university and the trustees.

Of course, what was behind everything was the solidarity of the strikers, who were out every day in the worst weather, at building entrances. Penn's strategy was to try to make individual arrangements with the cleaners, finding some jobs and offering some money. A lot of publicity was put out about the workers refusing new jobs, but they stuck together and won everyone's job back.

There was also a Student Committee Against the Teamsters — small but active — which I find hard to understand. A number of kids at Penn seem to think every Teamster is a cross between Stalin and Godzilla, and their education isn't helping them get over that blind spot. Most of the cleaners I've talked with are glad they joined the union last June, in spite of the long strike.

—Student supporter

**women-worldwide**

In Paraguay, rumors of the sexual abuse of peasant girls, aged 8 to 14, in a house maintained and used by the highest government officials, have been proven true. The woman who exposed this horror was herself imprisoned and tortured but escaped to the U.S. last year. Paraguay's dictator, Gen. Alfredo Stroessner, who has provided a haven for Nazi war criminals during his 23 years in power, and yet has received over \$6 million a year in U.S. aid, figures prominently in this depravity.

In Rome on Dec. 10, 5,000 women demonstrated to demand the right to free choice in having abortions in Italy. Speakers at a rally called for a referendum on the issue of abortion, which caused the downfall of the government last year.

Over 4,000 women demonstrated in Keren, Eritrea on Nov. 1 to protest being treated as property and to demand the right to full participation in their nation's struggle for independence from Ethiopia.

Marlene Roan Eagle, a young Oglala Sioux woman who has been charged with murder for killing her husband while he was beating her, has been acquitted on the grounds of self-defense.

On Nov. 15, 2,000 women, men and children protesting the Carter Administration's cut-off of abortion funds for low-income women, picketed and held a rally at New York University Law School where HEW Secretary Joseph Califano was to receive an award. At one point during his appearance, 50 persons silently stood and raised coat hangers to symbolize the dangers of back-alley abortions. (Information from *Off Our Backs*.)

**Bitter end to Essex strike**

Elwood, Ind.—The women workers at Essex Wire Corporation ratified a three-year contract on Dec. 21 which hardly differs from what the company originally offered at the beginning of their strike in June, 1977 (See *News & Letters*, Oct.-Dec., 1977.)

Many strikers, in discussing the ratification, said that the UAW International, of which the Essex workers have been members for 11 years, had not come through on anything. The base pay under the old contract was \$2.76 an hour. The new contract calls for a raise of 61 cents over three years, which doesn't even begin to catch up with inflation.

One worker reported, "There were a few changes in language in the contract—rotation of operators, a little extra on the grievance procedure, and \$37 a week sick pay instead of \$35. But for that we had to give up a penny of our raise.

"At the ratification meeting, the vote was 70 to 44 to go back in. The meeting was called in a hurry—the woman who had been shot on the picket line didn't even know about it. I think if all 181 who were eligible to vote had been notified, the ratification might have been defeated."

Essex now says it will drop its lawsuit against the UAW International. But some Essex strikers still face criminal charges, and are worried about whether or not the UAW will pay their fines.

Last November, several Essex strikers and the president of Local 1663 came to Detroit to get a hearing with the UAW International Executive Board, which was meeting at the time, over the UAW's refusal to pay the strikers' legal fees. Several strikers were facing jail sentences at the time.

Because the Essex workers had received so much support from independent women's liberation groups in the Chicago area, including Union W.A.G.E. and Women's Liberation-News & Letters, they asked women in Detroit to put pressure on Solidarity House for their hearing. But when the time came, the only people who came down in the snow to picket and leaflet and tell the Essex workers' story to the news media were the people from Women's Liberation-News & Letters. Two women from the International Socialists, who have also publicized the strike, came down to the picket line, but left right away, saying that it was "too small" and "looked like a defeat." It got good coverage on TV anyway.

As one worker summed up the strike, "The UAW doesn't give a damn about women. They think they don't have to worry, with all their big locals of thousands of workers. But Essex found all the scabs they needed here at \$3 an hour. That can happen to the big locals, too.

"This is the biggest sell-out in history, but we are not going to give up. We are going to start by getting the scabs into the union so we can't be decertified. We may have lost the battle, but we're going to win the war."

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# Worker reviews new pamphlet on Marx's Capital

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

I have just had a chance to read a new News & Letters pamphlet, Marx's CAPITAL and Today's Global Crisis, which, in the crisis we are now facing, every worker should be reading.

This pamphlet shows what other workers have done in times of crisis — the Civil War in the U.S., the Paris Commune, the fight for the eight-hour day. In each case it was working people who moved to solve the questions. Today we are again in crisis, and no one is going to be able to solve this except working people.

The greatest thing that workers today can learn is that workers everywhere — in the United States, in Japan, in Germany — are one class, and with the multi-nationals, we are working for the same companies, no matter what part of the world we work in.

The pamphlet points out how workers became international, had an international unity with the First Workmen's International and the fight in Europe and in America for the eight-hour day. That was how they fought those who were oppressing them.

The chapter on the Civil War in the U.S. explains how Marx understood that Lincoln was not the real hero of the Civil War, that he wanted a white man's constitutional war, and that the Blacks demanding freedom became the cutting edge both of the Civil War and of the fight of white labor for an eight-hour day.

Today we are faced with a huge unemployed army. Marx had long ago spoken of the unemployed army as being the gravediggers of this society. But what was shocking to read in this pamphlet is that there are some revolutionaries who have so misunderstood Marx that they have analyzed the unemployed army as the necessary prop to keep capitalism going!

I was trying to figure out why someone who wants a new society, like Ernest Mandel, would say such a thing. I don't believe he really understands labor at the point of production to the point where we will rebel. Mandel also talks about a new society as a society of associated producers.

But today we are already associated producers in a factory. I am in association with hundreds of fellow workers, an exploitative association. The key is that we are not freely associated producers. That was Marx's phrase. The question of a new society turns on the question of associated labor vs. freely associated labor.

I have two sons, 19 and 20, who can't find jobs. When I look at them I think about all the young people in this society who need jobs, and whose energy when they can't find any work, is used to break laws and end

up in jail. This system has 10 million unemployed.

I want very much for many many working people to read this pamphlet, and not only to read it but to discuss it with others — to add in their own ideas. We in News & Letters are going to be having a series of discussions about this pamphlet, about the crisis we are in. (See schedule, p. 11.)

I hope you will look in this issue of News & Letters and write to the News & Letters local near where you live and plan to attend their discussions. This is one way we can begin to solve the crisis of our society.

## Work hazardous at Uniroyal

Detroit, Mich. — When they talk about safety at Uniroyal, they talk about accidents but not about health problems. But health failures are accidents and safety hazards too, just like the "regular" kind of accident even if they aren't recognized that way.

Safety is a real problem here. The work is dangerous all over the plant whether it's in the mill-room where you can hardly breathe sometimes, or in the building departments where they run you ragged, or the press rooms, or even in trucking and warehousing.

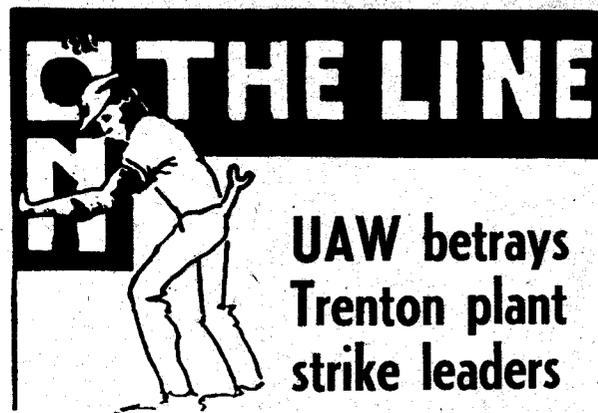
You could have a bad back or heart, or a rupture, or bad lungs, or anything else, but you still have to keep up with the job they give you if you intend to keep it.

With the piece-work system it's worse, especially if you get irregular material to work with or something is wrong with the machinery, especially since delay time doesn't pay anywhere near what it should. You feel so much pressure that it's easy to get caught up in it and pushed beyond your limit, and destroy your health or have an accident.

Nothing is done to look after the general health of the workers here, and when something does happen it is treated as the worker's responsibility and it never gets blamed on the pressure. But that awful pressure to do and keep your job is really the biggest hazard.

I saw in the newspaper a few days ago that a factory owner out west is suing the Supreme Court to close down the OSHA job safety agency. I'm glad we have OSHA since it's the only government protection we have, but they usually take safety from the wrong angle. They look at machinery dangers but not at the people and the danger of the work itself to their health. The safety problem won't be solved until it is in our own hands since we're the only ones who can decide what kind of work we should or shouldn't be doing.

—Uniroyal worker



## UAW betrays Trenton plant strike leaders

by John Allison

The life-blood of the labor movement has always been the wildcat strike. All unions, and especially the UAW with its flying squadrons in the early organizing days, were formed by what would be called wildcatters.

I raise this question because of what happened in the recent Chrysler Trenton plant strike. When this strike was settled, the leaders of the union's flying squadron were singled out to be fired by Chrysler management.

The local union, the UAW International and Chrysler agreed to the terms, and used the grievance procedures outlined in the contract to try to get the fired workers back to work.

It's no secret to the rank-and-file workers that when this procedure is used to settle grievances that the umpire always rules in favor of the company. The umpire is bound by the contract language, and it says that disputes are to be solved through the grievance procedure.

There's nothing that says workers have a right to go out on wildcat strikes, so how could there be any ruling in favor of the strikers? Workers know the only way for all to get back is for all to stick together and refuse to settle anything unless all workers are returned to work.

The so-called labor leaders in that UAW district sounded like they were begging Chrysler for a favor instead of demanding what was right for the workers. And when Chrysler management turned them down, instead of taking a stand for the fired workers, they tucked their tails and grieved in writing... which they knew was doomed to fail.

This is the way the union bureaucrats are killing off the real fighters and draining the life-blood of the union. When the rank-and-file sees these fighters sacrificed by the UAW bureaucrats, they know they can only trust themselves to do what's right.

## Murder of striking miner sets new battle stage

Morgantown, V. Va. — When the bullets from the gun of the company-hired killer of the Diamond Coal Co. in eastern Kentucky crashed through the body of retired coal miner Mark Lewis on Friday, Jan. 6, everything changed in the negotiations between the United Mine Workers and the coal companies.

Hundreds of scab coal mines that had been operating before Jan. 6 were closed on Monday morning, Jan. 9 when thousands of UMW coal mine pickets spread throughout the coal fields to shut down scab operations. The strong efforts to shut down the scab coal loading operation in Indiana received much publicity, but it was only one battle of many that took place in the coal regions and are continuing.

With each passing day the struggle grows more bitter, as scab coal operators try to keep their operations open and the striking miners come out in force to close them down. There is very little of these daily battles that ever gets into the national press — or even the local press — but it goes on day in, day out.

The main issue deadlocking the contract negotiations is the strike question. The operators are demanding strong provisions in the contract to prohibit strikes and to penalize any miners who do go out on strike. The miners, on the other hand, are demanding the right to strike over local grievances, and want that right spelled out in the contract.

Miners are making this demand because the operators literally ignored their grievances and because the grievance procedure permitted the operators to appeal to arbitrators, with the result that it took almost a year to process a grievance. The miners were forced to strike to protect themselves from injury or death when coal operators refused to act on health and safety grievances, and they refuse to be caught in that same vise in this next contract.

In the meantime, the daily press keeps printing the coal operators' propaganda about how much coal there is stockpiled and that the coal miners are only hurting themselves by staying out on strike. The truth is, however, that many economic segments are already feeling the pinch of depleted coal stocks, and each passing day strengthens the miners' hand.

And the rank-and-file miners have made their position very clear. They demand the right to strike to defend their lives, and they mean to get that right. If UMW President Arnold Miller compromises on this issue, the rank-and-file will never ratify the contract.



## Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—There is a worker on the glass line whose situation is not widely enough known. He was out of the plant all last summer because he had cancer. He underwent major thoracic surgery to remove a tumor. When he came back to the plant in October and requested light duty while he recuperated from the surgery and built back his strength, Fleetwood sent him to their clinic doctor, who approved light duty for two months with a re-examination then. The doctor was going to mail this report to Labor Relations.

But when this worker reported for work and was assigned to the glass line, he told the foreman he was supposed to be put on light duty. The foreman, McDonald, just joked around and said, "All my jobs are light duty." Then Labor Relations said they couldn't find his papers. All this time he is doing the kind of strenuous lifting and pushing that even the doctor Fleetwood selected had said he was not up to.

This worker then went back to the doctor, got another light duty form, and handed it directly to the foreman and heard nothing about it. Finally this man took a third light duty form and gave it this time to the alternate committeewoman to file for him. A week or so later nothing had been done with it.

This man has been struggling with the job in the glass line for three months now, a month longer than the original light duty approval. That happened not only because of Fleetwood management, but also the union did not handle it in a timely way. If you want anything from the union you practically have to drop dead before they'll do anything.

—Fleetwood worker, afternoons

## Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich.—Workers in the medium line pit object to the way spare tire carriers occasionally come unattached from truck chassis; the carriers and spare tires, which weigh between 40 and 70 pounds each, fall on anyone underneath in the pit. Sometimes the tires just fall off the carriers. Most of the time the spares and carriers fall on the worker who has to tighten the carriers.

One worker who was doing that job (and who had

less than a week in the plant) received gashes requiring several stitches on his face. Another worker doing the job was thrown against the pit wall by a falling spare, and received a back injury.

The regular worker on the job has back and neck ailments due to blows from falling spares. He complained about this safety hazard several times to his chief steward Ron Finch and the committeeman Jack Barrett. And the medical department which became concerned after treating the worker so often for injuries from this job got labor relations to inspect the job.

The answer by both union representatives and labor relations is that people further up the line who loose-assemble the carriers and put the spares on them will have to do a better job. As if pitting workers against each other isn't bad enough, Barrett, when he was Dept. 9171 afternoon shift chief steward, told one worker who complained about the falling spares that Arab workers up the line were responsible.

Many final line workers, including pit workers, recently stopped working when fumes from newly painted chassis were too strong. Our union representatives and Chrysler can't ignore safety hazards when we agree to act in this manner for our own safety. What will it take to get them to stop the spare tires and carriers from falling on people in the pit?

—Main building worker

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## Detroit community demands Nazis out now!

Detroit, Mich.—Over 150 people picketed in front of a Nazi headquarters in Detroit on Dec. 19—just two days after it had publicly opened—to demand that the Nazis get out of our neighborhood and out of the city.

The Nazis had painted two swastikas and the words "white power" on the storefront of what they called a bookstore, and immediately local residents expressed outrage that Nazis would expect to be accepted in Southwest Detroit, which is majority-white but includes many ethnic groups—Latinos, Arabs and East Europeans.

Members of News and Letters Committees who live in the neighborhood organized a demonstration to show their opposition to the Nazis, and to allow them no breathing space to freely spread their race hatred.

With less than a day's notice, between 150 and 200 neighborhood residents and merchants, auto workers from nearby plants, women's liberationists and activists from left organizations all demonstrated, carrying signs like "Genocide is not debatable" and "Nazis out of our neighborhood."

### NAZIS AT SCHOOLS

Jewish organizations were unfortunately absent from this demonstration. So was the NAACP. Despite the "wait and see" attitude of their leaderships, however, individual members did participate.

After this demonstration we learned that the landlord had served the Nazis with an eviction notice, but that legal appeals could keep them there for months. We also heard that the Nazis were distributing leaflets at nearby schools promising death for Jews and deportation to Africa for Blacks, and that some young kids

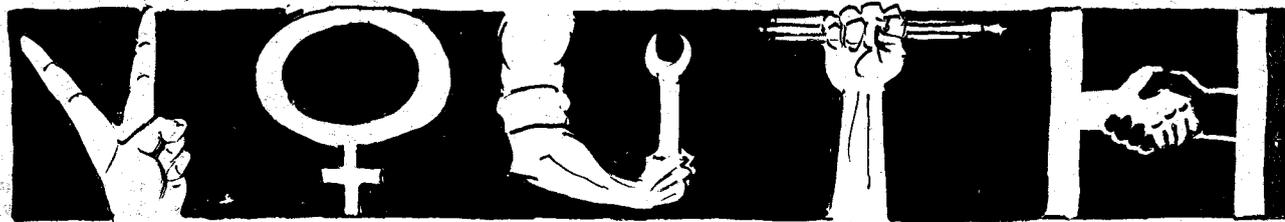


Pickets demand Nazis get out of Detroit at Ford Auditorium during Mayor's inaugural ceremonies Jan. 4.

were saying they liked the Nazis because they were against Blacks.

### PICKET AGAIN

We called for a second demonstration on Dec. 28 in front of the Nazi headquarters. Even more people participated in this demonstration. News and Letters members carried such signs as "Deploring" and "Ignoring" won't stop the Nazis," and "Human Power is its own end."



## Study shows young workers reject capitalist production

by Jim Mills

A University of Michigan study claims that young workers who refuse the "highly directive, arbitrary practices" of supervisory personnel, are responsible for a 10-year drop in productivity in the U.S. This finding reveals young workers' growing refusal to accept the goal of every management—getting out production.

Now, during a current national coal strike, and after massive wildcats this summer, young miners are actively demonstrating their changed attitudes to labor. One young miner swore, "I will not live like my father did, coming home too tired to go inside and change.

## Queens coalition fights cuts

New York, N.Y. — The first meeting on Nov. 14 of a coalition that included students protesting Third World club budget cuts and SEEK students protesting the dismantling of their program drew over 300 angry students who wanted to take immediate action.

Although we were told by the organizers, "We need more organization and more students before acting," on Nov. 21 about 100 occupied the main office of the administration building. Students inside discussed the effects of the restructuring of SEEK for three hours. Thus, the three-month struggle at Queens has extended beyond the club cuts to include the very survival of minority students within CUNY.

In the past three years the number of minority students at CUNY has fallen by almost 25 percent, and this term the CUNY administration unveiled a plan to eliminate SEEK's autonomy, giving it mere paper existence. SEEK is a proven remedial program for minority and poor inner city youth, and students fear it will die unless action is taken soon.

Following the takeover, we organized a boycott of the student union cafeteria, because some of the money it makes goes to the funding board responsible for the racist budget cuts of the Third World clubs. We've succeeded in reducing sales by 15 percent — \$400 daily.

Students in the coalition have set up committees to deal with more boycotts, coordinate city-wide SEEK protest activities, involve more students, and seek legal action. A group of minority women composed of students, faculty, cafeteria and clerical workers, which started last year over a fight for day care facilities and a welfare advocacy center on campus, is active in the coalition.

Over the last few weeks, fewer students have attended coalition meetings. However, while earlier struggles at Queens fizzled after a week or two, this one has gone on for several months. The protest by Third World students against attacks on SEEK may help the movement at Queens really develop.

—Bonnie Mullaney

Sometimes before he went inside, the mine boss would drive up and ask him to double up. Off he'd go to work another turn."

Consider what we are up against today. Most—66 percent—young people 16 to 24 want to work. Among them, 12 percent are jobless, and among Black youths, it's 33 percent. In many ghettos, it's as high as 70 percent! Also, some 13 percent of the students who want to work can't find jobs, which makes staying in school or college that much harder.

For young workers with jobs, the Jan. 1 minimum wage increase to \$2.65 an hour leaves them below poverty level, to say nothing of inflation's bite of the future increases.

Yet, also in the "high-paying" auto factories like the one where I work, young workers encounter a hostile world they didn't make and are constantly fighting to change. The UAW affords no job or safety protection for new workers. And the company uses their probationary status to make them work fast and hard.

But having seniority doesn't help that much either. I heard about a young assembler who sustained injury after injury on a particular job. Labor relations claimed they were unable to eliminate the problem; the union reps refused to push it.

Young women auto workers, especially, must run a gauntlet of sexist advances from both foremen and union officials. The "favors" that foremen often demand are also seen in the attitudes of some union officials who expect "payment" for fighting some women's grievances.

The vanguard party Marxists in my shop depend on getting union positions instead of rank-and-file thought to end exploitation—none find the Reason in young workers' resistance to work.

## News & Letters

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Many people in the neighborhood have asked why the city administration has done nothing to get the Nazis out, not even issue a public statement. When the Mayor and City Council were inaugurated on Jan. 4, we went to raise that question to them. The Jewish Labor Committee and Westside Mothers, an organization of Welfare Activists, brought large groups to picket. And people going in said they supported our demands.

While people picketed outside Ford Auditorium, inside we unfurled a large banner reading "DETROIT WANTS NAZIS OUT NOW" and chanted loudly just as Mayor Young began to speak.

Anyone who watched the news that night, on any station, saw and heard that demand. They also heard the mayor say, "If you keep up, I'm going to want you out." The mayor still has not said or done anything about getting the Nazis out, despite his reputation for opposing racism as Detroit's first Black mayor.

The city administration and both newspapers have acted as if this is a free speech issue. The educational TV station, Channel 56, offered the Nazis a half hour of "public access," and only kept them off when they "violated guidelines" by giving their solution to racial problems: "We will either ship them back to Africa or plant them." They later gave them TV time anyway.

Those of us who have demonstrated, and the people we talk to in the neighborhood and around the city, are not confused and are not surprised that the Nazis are still Nazis. As we go to press, News and Letters Committees and many other groups and individuals will demonstrate again on Jan. 18, the day the eviction notice will come due. We want the Nazis out now!

—Bob McGuire

## University's fake seniority

East Lansing, Mich.—The meaninglessness in the capitalist's idea of giving workers "seniority" has really become clear to me now as I am starting off my third year as a work-study student at Michigan State.

Their first consideration is your "level"—one, two, three, etc.—and there is a base wage for each level. If a student works 100 hours or more in a term with a satisfactory "merit rating," he or she will be given a five cent per hour raise. I started out at M.S.U. at level one (the lowest), and I am still a level one worker.

My first year, I worked at Brody (the largest non-military cafeteria in the U.S.), and I managed to get a 5-cent per hour raise. My sophomore year, I worked at a smaller dining hall in South Complex and managed to get 10 cents in raises. This year, I am working in the Main Library as a shelver. I should have started off earning 15 cents more per hour than the base wage for a level one worker.

Upon receiving my first paycheck, I noticed I was earning the level one base wage (\$2.52 per hour). I pointed this out to the director of libraries, and she responded, "\$2.52 is the going rate at the library, and your cafeteria work does not provide you with any relevant background experience."

Just how much "background experience" does one need in order to read the call number off a Scientific American journal and shelve it accordingly with the countless stacks of other books and journals? Who are they trying to deceive? Work is work, whether that means doing pots and pans at Brody, running a dishwasher in South Complex, or shelving books at the Main Library!

—M.S.U. Student

## URPE formulas vs. live revolt

New York, N.Y. — At the recent meeting of the American Economic Association, the Marxist economists of the Union for Radical Political Economics (URPE) held their own sessions in competition with the bourgeois economists.

The URPE panel on the current economic crisis, featuring David Gordon and Paul Sweezy, drew several hundred. Unfortunately, they treated Marxist economics as a series of formulas — falling rate of profit, long waves, underconsumption, etc. — over which they argued at a very abstract level.

When the question period began, I quoted a bourgeois economist, Veit, who had included "the changing attitudes toward work itself among the younger generation" (as cited in Raya Dunayevskaya's new pamphlet *Marx's CAPITAL and Today's Global Crisis*) as part of his analysis of the crisis.

Then I asked if the Marxist economists couldn't include alienated labor in their analyses, since a bourgeois economist had, though of course not using the Marxist terminology. The audience laughed.

Sweezy didn't deign to reply, but David Gordon said that to focus on "attitudes" toward work is typical of a bourgeois, and that history is not based on attitudes, but on economic relations.

These Marxist economists may be using different formulas than the mathematical abstractions of the bourgeois economists, but they are equally far removed both from the living human reality of capitalism and from the humanism of Marxism.

—CUNY student

# Excerpts from Introduction to Italian edition of Philosophy and Revolution

(Ed. Note: Following are excerpts from the Introduction to the Italian edition of *Philosophy and Revolution*, just published by Editrice Feltrinelli, Milan, Italy.)

by Mariachiara Fugazza and Amedeo Vigorelli

The author, born in Russia and emigrating to the U.S.A. as a child, became in 1937-38 secretary to Leon Trotsky, in exile in Mexico. It was the critical period of the Moscow Trials and the Dewey Commission investigation of the charges against Trotsky. But it was also an intensive period of public activity for the revolutionary leader, who was subjected to several attempts on his life. Dunayevskaya frustrated one of the first attempts.

In any case, Dunayevskaya has rarely referred to this experience with the great leader, and chose rather to break with him, in particular, her very original development of the theory of state-capitalism. The break came at the coming of the Second World War when, against the idea of Trotsky that Russia was a "workers' state, though "degenerated," Dunayevskaya discerned along with Stalinism not only a bureaucratic and tyrannical regime, but a new stage of world capitalism. Returning to the U.S.A., she began a profound study from original sources of the first three Five Year Plans and published her results in a series of articles in 1942-43. The work, which formulated for the first time the hypothesis of state-capitalism in the Soviet Union, was largely suppressed throughout the world. (See reference to this work by Arthur Koestler in *The Yogi and the Commissar*).

THE YEARS from 1950 to 1953 signaled a major development in the life and thinking of Dunayevskaya. It was the period of the McCarthy "witch hunts" . . .

Concurrently, the author continued deepening her study of Hegelian thought, which made a significant turn with the publication in May 1953, of a series of Letters on the Absolute Idea . . . (She) found in Hegel's philosophy and in particular the concept of the "negation of the negation" a formidable instrument of interpretation of the revolutionary possibilities for our times. And just at the time of the revolts in East Europe, she finally brought to completion *Marxism and Freedom*, published in 1958, which contained in the Appendix the first English translation of part of the Economic and Philosophic manuscripts of Marx and the outline of Lenin's notes on Hegel's Science of Logic, preceded by an interesting introduction by Herbert Marcuse . . .

In many trips abroad the author also entered into contact with the realities of the movement of liberation of the Third World, and was among the first to comprehend certain phenomena like the anti-colonial struggle of Africa and the Chinese cultural revolution. From these multiple stimuli was born her most complex and mature work, *Philosophy and Revolution* (1973) in which are concentrated all of the most original elements of her long activity as theoretician and as militant.

THE BOOK has as subtitle, "From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao," but it would be a mistake to consider it like the rest of the author's works, only a book on philosophy or at best on Marxist theory. The philosophy is one of two poles of dialectics, according to which the other, the revolution as a real movement, advances itself as the basic movement of resolution. To correctly read the text we must therefore pursue, according to the directions of the author, a double course:

"from practice to theory" and from here back again to the struggle. The philosophy (and in the specific case, the Hegelian philosophy reread in the humanistic key of Marx and the revolutionary politics of Lenin) does not present itself as a reflection of external reality but is already internal to it: as expression of the new subject, of new passions and new forces which merge from the struggle, and as the function of the organization of this . . . The Seventies, the "new passions and new forces" which Dunayevskaya goes to explore directly in the struggle, constitutes more than a mere breakthrough for her rereading of the philosophy of Hegel, Marx, Lenin, Sartre, etc., offering above all the authentic motivations for theoretical analysis. Only here is the answer found to the original question: "Why Hegel? Why now?"

There is no doubt that the major new conception found in Dunayevskaya's book is represented in her enthusiastic evaluation of Hegel's philosophy and in particular the Absolute. We are far past Engelsian "reflection" of materialism as well as Lukacsian distinctions of revolutionary "method" (the dialectics) from the system. We are with Lenin's philosophical notebooks of which Dunayevskaya was the first Marxist interpreter to appreciate unconditionally, the identification of the Absolute Idea with the movement "from practice to theory," of the philosophical identity of the subject and the object, of theory and practice in the revolutionary process. The philosophy is not opposed, as a "correct scientific viewpoint" to practice, which must "correct" and "guide," but is the same movement as the developing self-consciousness of practice, is internal to it, and as such a direct function of organization.

## TWO WORLDS

by Raya Dunayevskaya

# Rosdolsky's methodology and Lange's revisionism

Among non-Stalinist but leadership-conscious Marxists there is hardly a work that has gained the acclaim accorded to *The Making of Marx's CAPITAL* by Roman Rosdolsky. Published in Germany in 1968, it has now been brought out by Pluto Press in an English translation for the fantastic sum of \$35. It is as if the price itself testifies to its importance. If not a "classic", it is, after all, about the only available lengthy, serious commentary on Marx's *Grundrisse*, which has only recently been published in English for the first time.

Roman Rosdolsky, a well-known Marxist theoretician, tells us that ever since 1948, when he obtained one of the rare copies of the *Grundrisse* then available, he has been studying that "Rough Draft" of *Capital* and set himself a two-fold task: (1) to write a commentary, or more precisely, an exposition of the new discovery "mainly in Marx's own words"; and (2) "to make a scientific evaluation of some of the new findings which it contained" (p. xi). The preoccupation with the latter comprises Roman Rosdolsky's original contribution. To it he devotes Parts One and Seven—"Introduction", i.e., mainly the origin and structure of the work; and "Critical Excursus". To these 225 pages should really be added some 35 pages (Part Six, "Conclusion") which summarize what he found in the exposition and commentary of the work.\* Since, as he correctly notes, "Of all the problems in Marx's economic theory the most neglected has been that of his method both in general and, specifically, in relation to Hegel", methodology is the underlying motif not only of his "critical excursus", but the reason for writing the whole of the 581 pages.

I wish I could report that a genuine contribution to dialectical methodology had been made by Rosdolsky. Unfortunately, nothing could be further from the truth. If there is anything that is totally missing in his massive study it is dialectics. To the extent to which he does make a contribution to the comprehension of the *Grundrisse* (lots of quotations, especially on Money, but no self-movement of the whole) the reader gets neither a view of the historical sweep of Marx's concept of what the totality of his greatest work was to be, nor an understanding of why Marx nevertheless decided to start everything "anew".

### THE MISSING DIALECTIC

This is said not to play down the significance of the *Grundrisse*, much less to say that "starting anew" meant Marx discarded the validity of the range of the "Rough Outline" just because, instead of the six books there listed, Marx readied for publication only three, and finished only one. Quite the contrary. While he definitely rejected its shapelessness, comparing it to the formlessness of "sauerkraut and carrots", Marx meant to develop further some of the most brilliant and profound of his writings that could not find their way into the new dialectic structure of *Capital*, Volume I—like "The Pre-

Capitalist Economic Forms", and "the absolute movement of becoming". We get a whiff of this in a footnote in the totally new "Fetishism of Commodities" when he refers to the Taiping Revolution, as against the quiescent European workers following the 1848 revolutionary defeats, as if China embarked on their revolution "to encourage" the Europeans to revolt.

Rosdolsky on the other hand, who writes 581 pages to expound the *Grundrisse*, has not a word to say about the originality, dialectic, and dimension of the new, totally new, concept of the Orient, China especially, contained in "Pre-Capitalist Economic Forms", though the period he was writing in followed the 1949 Chinese Revolution, which was the compulsion for the European Marxists to publish, first, that very section, and finally the whole of the *Grundrisse*. (The English translation, however, first came out in 1973.)

It was the specific section on the economic forms preceding capitalist production that became most relevant to the new birth of a "Third World." Nor was it only a question of relevance. It was the dialectics of liberation that gave the dialectic of thought a new dimension of revolution. It is the dialectic that is missing from Rosdolsky's methodology. By using it synonymously with methodology he has managed to reduce both to mere presupposition.

### THE PRESUPPOSITION

Let's take a second look at Rosdolsky's claimed preoccupation with methodology. It has led him, among other things, to create a special Appendix directly to Part One on Rosa Luxemburg's *Accumulation of Capital* rather than wait for the end of his work where he deals with all debates on Volume II of *Capital*, including, of course, Luxemburg's critique of Marx's theory of accumulation (pages 490-505). What, in the first part, he entitles "Methodological Comments on Rosa Luxemburg's Critique of Marx's Schemes of Reproduction" (pages 63-72) turns out to be a question of Marx's presupposition of a "closed capitalist society."

Luxemburg uses neither the word, dialectic, nor methodology, making it clear that she is arguing against

Marx's "theoretical assumption of a society of capitalists and workers only", and not against the dialectical development flowing from this. It is the assumption that, she claims, is "a bloodless theoretical fiction" as against the reality of "third groups" and capitalism being surrounded by non-capitalist lands. Indeed, she stresses that it is "the spirit of Marxist theory" that demands we "abandon the premise of the first volume."

The issue has been debated for more than a half century. What is new in Rosdolsky is the claim that it was not done methodologically, that her error in grappling with the problems in Volume II of *Capital* was, that she "underestimated the so-called 'Hegelian inheritance' in Marx's thought" (p.492). The irony is that what he cites as proof was her criticism, not of Vol. II, but Vol. I. So aroused was she over the attacks on her *Accumulation of Capital* that far from "underestimating Hegelian inheritance", she hit out against Marx's "famed Volume I of *Capital* with its Hegelian Rococo ornamentation" which she now (March 8, 1917) wrote "is quite abhorrent to me." Rosdolsky, however, proceeds on his merry way, exposing "the dialectic content hiding behind Marx's 'Hegelian style'"—as if style were the issue.

In truth, so total is his blindness to dialectic as content as well as form, as self-movement, self-development, self-activity—all internal, with external being the objectification, manifestation, the non-human—that, by the end of his 445 pages of exposition, Rosdolsky succeeds in reducing to absurdity the very meaning of the word, the very specific word that Marx, and Marx alone, used so incisively and originally: Reification.

Where Marx used the word to prove the horrors of capitalistic alienation of the laborer, reducing man to thing, Rosdolsky applies it to economic category, entitling the concluding chapter of his exposition, "The Reification of Economic Categories . . ." Where Marx demonstrates that the mystification of economic categories, the fetishism of commodities, all arise from the very "perversity" (Marx's expression) of relation of object to subject, relations between men assuming the "fantastic form of relations between things," Rosdolsky puts mystification of things on a par with "reification of labor".

Marx does the exact opposite, demonstrating that the reason why the perversion of subject to object assumes that form is due to the fact that, in the process of production, that is what production relations "really are": laborers are mere appendages to machines. The reader can now see that my criticism of Rosdolsky sticking so narrowly to the *Grundrisse* meant, not a way of playing down the importance of *Grundrisse*, but stressing that, in form, and in content and articulation of economic categories, economic laws of development through contradiction and crises—the "law of motion" of capitalism to its collapse—Marx's final statement is not in *Grundrisse*, but in *Capital*.

Rosdolsky, however, is preoccupied with the changes "in general" rather than in the particular, with the number of books rather than the changes within the first volume of *Capital*, which is, after all, the only one Marx fully prepared for the printer, 1867. After that, he again introduced changes he considered so important

(Continued on Page 8)

\*Contrast this to Ch. 2, Section B, entitled "The 1850's: The *Grundrisse*, Then and Now", pp. 61-76, *Philosophy and Revolution*; also for changes in the structure of *Capital*, see Marx's *CAPITAL* and *Today's Global Crisis*, especially sections entitled "The Relationship of History to Theory", pp. 29-36, and "Appearance and Reality", pp. 77-82.

**New York Readers—**  
**Hear Raya Dunayevskaya on Tour**  
**Thurs., Feb. 23 — "Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought," Noon, at CCNY, Co-sponsored by Black Studies and History Depts.**  
**Fri., Feb. 24 — "Gramsci's Philosophy of Praxis vs. Eurocommunism," 7:30 p.m. at CUNY Grad Center, 33 W. 42nd St., Rm. 207.**  
**Tues., Feb. 28 — "Marx's Humanism and Today's New Passions and Forces — Youth, Women, Blacks, Latinos," Noon, at Queens College.**  
**Thurs., Mar. 2 — "Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis," 8 p.m. at Free Association, 5 W. 20th St., 2nd floor.**

## Preface by Harry McShane

IT IS CERTAINLY a compliment to be asked to write a Preface to another work by the tireless, sincere and scholarly author, Raya Dunayevskaya. She never lets up in her efforts to unearth and make use of what is basic in Marxist theory and to tie that up with the practical tasks that must be undertaken in order to extricate mankind from the prison of capitalism that stands in the way of human development. This work comes at a time when too many of our fellow human beings have become deplorably indifferent about the future of humanity. The only school of thought that points to a future for mankind is that of Marxism. It must, however, be Marxism resurrected from the bog of futility and obscurity into which it was put by leaders who used it as nothing more than a label.

Retgression is visible in industry, politics, and without a doubt, in the field of theory. The more often our political guides use the word "strategy," the clearer it becomes that they are dazed by the problems that they find insoluble. Retgression gets deeper in modern society. That is why Raya Dunayevskaya calls for urgency; a call directed to the masses, the only force that can bring retgression to an end and open up the way to human emancipation. The choice is between the downhill road of human degradation, on the one hand, and human development on the other. The future rests with the masses.

The thought of the transformation of society coming from the masses is an indispensable element of Marxist theory fully expressed in the writings of both Marx and Lenin. Those who dispute it have shut their eyes to the facts of history. Raya Dunayevskaya refers to the Paris Commune and how it affected Marx. The new kind of order initiated by the people of Paris won the admiration of Marx. What Marx said about this exciting historical episode should be read by all who would like to probe the depth of Marx's revolutionary thinking. It was in the Commune that the act of self-government by the masses was initiated in such a way as to influence Marx, and, some years later, Lenin, the leader of the Russian Revolution. Bringing to life the admiration expressed by Marx, the author says, "The armed people smashed parliamentarianism. The people's assembly was not to be a parliamentary talking shop but a *working body*."

One is tempted to devote more space to the Paris Commune than is permissible here, but the question must be put: Who, before reading the points made by Raya Dunayevskaya, suspected that the Paris Commune had any bearing on Marx's *Capital*? Labour, as she says, was released from the confines of value production "which robs the workers of all individuality and reduces them merely to a component of labour in general." The author points out that new additions were introduced into the French edition of *Capital*. Marx makes the point himself. Before

leaving this reference to the Paris Commune, it seems appropriate here to recall that Lenin, writing in 1919, accused leading socialists in Germany of failing "to understand the significance of Soviet, or proletarian democracy, in relation to the Paris Commune, its place in history, its necessity as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat." Lenin, of course, said much more than that on the Paris Commune, and attached great importance to it.

When Raya Dunayevskaya writes of change coming from below she thinks not only of the world in which Marx lived; she relates the basic philosophy of Marx to the world of conflict in which we live and sees there the choice facing humanity. The dangers that confront us are so serious that unless some force exists that is capable of transforming society we may as well throw our hands up in despair. The force produced by the history and economics of capitalism is the proletariat on which rests the realization of the universal desire for freedom innate in the make-up of every member of the human race. This concept of movement confirms what the author attributes to Hegel and Marx. There is little fear of her meeting with serious opposition in that. When connecting Marx with Hegel on dialectical movement, as she does in all her works, she has the support of Marx himself.

There is something else that connects Marx with Hegel; it is something that Marx took from Hegel, but found it a reality in capitalist production. The word "alienation" has found its way into the vocabulary of many Marxists, but, too often, is passed over lightly and often forgotten. It is important that the process of exploitation under capitalism be understood by all, but there is much more than that in *Capital* if we look for it. Raya Dunayevskaya renders a service by re-producing the chapters on all three volumes of Marx's *Capital* that formed part of her book, *Marxism and Freedom*. These chapters had an enlightening effect on the writer of this Preface. It became clear that there is more in Marx's *Capital* than economics. It would be marvelous if rank and file members of the labour movement could all be persuaded to read these chapters.

The process of exploitation on which capitalism rests is shown in the early chapters of *Capital*, but too many readers of that work thought that sufficient, not knowing that the philosophy that drove him along finds expression there. There is the picture of how the worker is dominated by the products of his labour plus the picture of the road to freedom. Freedom, above all else, is what Marx is concerned about. Raya Dunayevskaya gives emphasis to what Marx meant when referring to the division of labour, the domination of the worker by the machine and "the fragmentation of man."

## Excerpts from author's Introduction . . .

It is the age of state-capitalism as a world phenomenon. This development has no more solved its deep economic crisis than when full state-capitalism came to a single nation, Russia, China, etc. As for inflation, it is true that the deep recession, which was triggered by the quadrupled oil prices after the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, was by no means the only reason for the double-digit inflation, any more than that "sickness in the economy" could be ascribed, as Big Capital wishes to ascribe it, to workers' wages. The overwhelming reality is this: just as monopoly growth inhibited national economic growth, so the oil cartel has actually lowered world economic growth.

As opposed to the 1950s and early 1960s, when Western Europe held attractions for capitalism with its cheaper labor and latest technology, in the 1970s U.S. capital has added a new incentive for world capital: a safe haven for its investments, now that European capital has decided the U.S. proletariat is not as revolutionary as the European workers. As against the oil monopolists who are spending their billions on buying Western technology and military hardware, and whose actual investments in the U.S. are not directed to the capital goods market, West German, French and British capital is. However, so deep is the economic crisis in the U.S. and in the world that such European investment in the U.S. is likewise only a palliative, even as the massive super-profitable investments upholding apartheid South Africa cannot substitute for the insufficient investment capital and plant expansion in the U.S. . . .

Capitalism's ways of containing its economic crises within recession level, rather than uncontrollable Depression, is judged by Mandel to be a "stabilizer," even though it is precisely that type of concept that led to the collapse of the established Marxist (Second) International with the outbreak of the First World War. Where that shocking event had Lenin return to Marx's origins in Hegel, and the dialectic of transformation into opposite, today's Marxists plunge not only into the latest series of economic "facts" sans any dialectical rudder, but also to a violation of the dialectical structure of Marx's *Capital* itself. That, too, is not "just theory," but

that which gives, or could give when not violated, action its direction . . .

IN OUR DAY, we have the situation where a new French translation of *Capital* is introduced by that official Communist-structuralist, Louis Althusser, who stooped to pseudo-psychoanalysis to express his venom against Marx's Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic as "the prodigious 'abreaction' indispensable to the liquidation of his (Marx's) 'disordered' consciousness." And, for the English world, the beautiful new translation of *Capital* is, as we saw, burdened with an introduction by the Trotskyist epigone, Ernest Mandel, who spreads himself over some 75 pages of "Introduction."

From the very beginning—in the first section Mandel dares entitle "The Purpose of *Capital*"—he does not merely peddle his view of Russia as "socialist," and does not only seek to disjoint the "scientific" from its revolutionary content, but unashamedly hooks these views to "the distinction" Marx drew between "utopian and scientific socialism," as if Marx would not have stopped short of tolerating forced labor camps!

That the two—the new edition of Marx's *Capital*, and analyses of today's global crises—do not hang apart, but are integrally related, is clear enough. What is clearer still is that Mandel is presenting, not Marx's views, but his own. No wonder he also sees "stabilizers" in private capitalism's development, though, as revolutionary, he wishes that overthrown. Vulgarization of Marxism has its own dialectic. It is necessary, therefore, to disentangle Marx from Mandel, to remain rooted in Marx's philosophy of liberation as a totality, and to face with sober senses the alienated world reality that must be uprooted if we are to release the revolutions-to-be from the crisis-ridden state-capitalist age . . .

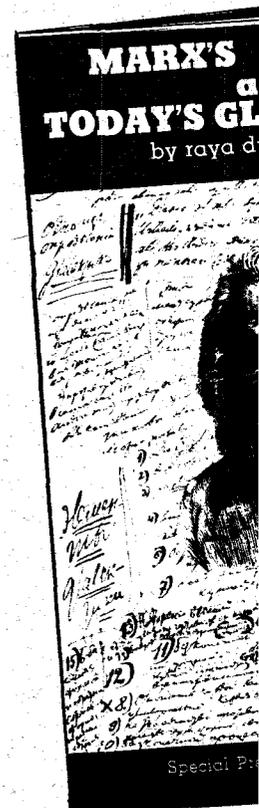
NOW MARX methodologically left the genuine historic origins of capitalism to the end of the volume, so that its tendency—law of motion, not, as Mandel would have it, laws of motion—should not become a matter of diverting us from what is the result of strict, commodity-production capitalism, no matter how that "first dollar," so to speak, was obtained. Just as trying to take Chapter

1 out of its structural order (as Stalin felt compelled to do in 1943 as he prepared to make sure that the workers in post-World War II Russia would work hard and harder) was a total violation of the dialectical structure of Marx's *Capital*, so, too, is Mandel's mixing up the "real history" of the rise of capitalism instead of presenting it dialectically. Marx moved it to the end, not because there is a division between history and dialectics, but because dialectics contains both, and, therefore, the discernment of the law of motion of capitalist production, strict commodity production, could be grasped best when one limited oneself to capitalist production and capitalist production alone.

Marx never tired of repeating that his original contribution was the split in the category of labor—abstract and concrete labor; labor as activity and labor-power as commodity; labor as not only the source of all value which includes surplus value, but the subject who would uproot it. So "single purpose" a revolutionary theoretician was Marx in all his multitudinous and basic discoveries that, though he devoted some 850 pages (it is over 1,000 pages in the Pelican edition which includes the famous heretofore unpublished "Chapter 6" of the Archives) in Vol. I to that question, he no sooner started Vol. II than he repeated: "The peculiar characteristic is not that the commodity labor-power is saleable, but that labor-power appears in the shape of a commodity . . ."

The point is that, even if one didn't wish to accept our analysis of state-capitalism as the total contradiction, absolute antagonism in which is concentrated nothing short of revolution, and counter-revolution, one would have to admit that the totality of the contradictions compels a total philosophic outlook. Today's dialectics is not just philosophy, but dialectics of liberation, of self-emancipation by all forces of revolution—proletariat, Black, women, youth. The beginning and end of all revolves around labor. Therein is the genius of Marx, who, though he wrote during a "free enterprise, private property, competitive capitalistic era," saw that, instead of plan vs. market chaos being the absolute opposites, the chaos in the market was, in fact, the expression of the hierarchic, despotic plan of capital at the point of production. "Materialism" without dialectics is "idealism," bourgeois idealism of the state-capitalist age.

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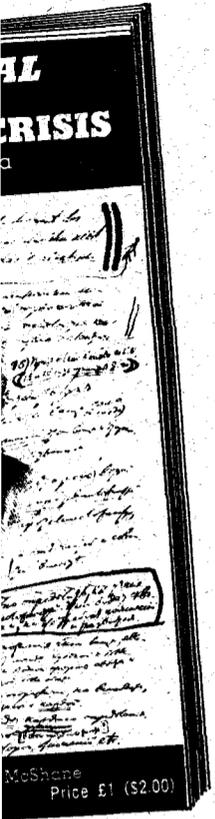
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# Today's Global Crisis

5. Edition



Now that a new interest is developing, here in Britain, in Marxist education, one would hope that use will be made of this particular section of Raya Dunayevskaya's work. It is well to recall the fact that, for many years, Marxist economics featured strongly as part of the curriculum in classes of the Labour movement. John Maclean was said to have the largest class in Europe on Marxist economics — when he was not in prison for his political activities.

We are no longer justified in regarding Marx as just a brilliant economist. The philosophy that runs through *Capital* was deep-rooted in Marx and actuated him through his life. It dates from the days when he called himself a Humanist — before he wrote the *Communist Manifesto* along with Engels. The author pulls the writings of Marx together and views the world situation from the Marxist-Humanist viewpoint. With Marx she sees Communism as only the beginning; as a stage mediating the higher development of man as a result of his own creative activities. This viewpoint necessitates a look at Russia where, in 1917, the greatest stride towards the goal of Communism was taken.

Before anyone else, Raya Dunayevskaya, who had been in the revolutionary movement for years, boldly declared that Russia had marched in the opposite direction to that set by Lenin and his fellow Bolsheviks. She made an original analysis of the economy of Russia in support of her contention that Russia had been completely transformed into a state-capitalist society. She led a minority to the Trotskyist movement on this issue. The regime in Russia has nothing in common with the Marxist aim of human liberation or the call of Marx for "the development of human power which is its own end." State-capitalism is a rapidly growing trend throughout the world, with the result that the democratic pretence of the rulers is becoming more apparent. The banner of liberation must be raised by the people below. It is this aim that gives purpose to this work by Raya Dunayevskaya.

It seems remarkable that it is the elements of Marxist thought ignored for many years by Marxist theorists that the author sees as important if we are to understand either Marx or Lenin. Why Marxist writers tried to minimize the significance of Marx's acknowledgement to Hegel is difficult to understand. Revolutionaries may not know it, but through Marx we all owe a debt to Hegel. We are enriched by his discovery of dialectics even if Hegel confined it to the world of thought. It is just as puzzling why so little has been said by the same writers about Lenin making a study of Hegel after the collapse of the Second International in 1914. In his *Philosophic Notebooks*, Lenin saw that thought in the mind of the human being can be creative. As against the old

type of materialism expounded by many Marxist writers, to Lenin dialectics was the proof of working people changing society. The reluctance of Marxists to give sufficient attention to the *Humanist Essays* that Marx produced in 1844 is likewise puzzling. This abundance of material is presented by the author to give fresh meaning to Marxism.

Just as Marx and Lenin would, the author repudiates any suggestion that theory and practice can be separated. They are related dialectically. The present situation should bring about their higher unity; this is the author's purpose. She has identified herself with the concrete struggles for freedom in East Europe, in Africa and in America. She has thrown herself into the Women's Liberation movement now gathering strength, just as she has participated actively in the Black movement for more than a quarter of a century.

In this new work, as in all she writes, she makes visible the banner of freedom. What is basic for her is the curtailment of freedom under the present social order. The how and why of it is explained in the chapters on Marx's *Capital*. It is important that these chapters be read by all interested in the industrial disputes and the problem of unemployment. Why is it that in Britain while the balance of payments is improved by the flow of North Sea oil, the number of unemployed has jumped to a record figure? What produces the problem of investment? What events caused Marx to make changes in the structure of *Capital*?

The recent virulent racialism and openly Nazi National Front activity in Britain are today compelling even the bureaucratic Labour leaders to take a second look at Marx's famous statement: "Labour in the white skin cannot be free so long as labour in the Black skin is branded." This was neither beautiful rhetoric, nor intended only for the U.S. audience. It is so relevant to our day and age on both sides of the Atlantic that ours is the generation that can fully understand Marx's restructuring of *Capital* under the impact of the Civil War in the U.S. and the consequent struggles for the shortening of the working day both in Great Britain and in the U.S.

The top politicians who have been tinkering with the economic problems plaguing this society have long since given up hope of getting any solution from the writings of the late Lord Keynes or anyone else. They would do well to read Raya Dunayevskaya on Karl Marx.

There is nothing dull in her writing. The reader feels that he or she is being allowed to see the picture. The road — the only road to freedom and human emancipation — is there for all to see, even if it is hard and up-hill.

Glasgow, Scotland  
October 31, 1977

Dunayevskaya  
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## and from critique of Tony Cliff in Appendix

Marx's *Capital* has gone on many adventures after the author's death, 1883. These became tortuous after the death of his lifelong collaborator, Engels, 1895. The first revolutionary to question Marx's theory of expanded reproduction was the very one—Rosa Luxemburg—who, with her brilliant pamphlet, *Reform or Revolution?*, had bested the revisionists who challenged Marx's "economic theories" and accused them of being weighted down by a "dialectical scaffolding." It wasn't that Luxemburg ever denied that battle of ideas, but the horrid emergence of imperialism from the latest capitalist development led Luxemburg to question "what" Engels "made out of" the manuscripts Marx had left for Vols. II and III of *Capital*, especially Vol. II. In any case, the debates over her greatest theoretical work, *The Accumulation of Capital* (1913)—whether it was, as she claimed, a "supplement," or a revision—were still on when the greatest of all shockers befell Marxist revolutionaries: the betrayal of the German Social Democracy at the outbreak of World War I.

Under the circumstances, Lenin (who had made an outline of his critique of Luxemburg's work, which he considered a new version of underconsumptionism not unlike the Narodniki) changed his mind. Instead, he embarked on something totally new, and totally apart from what all other Marxist revolutionaries who had not betrayed were doing. Lenin, at one and the same time, along with taking the most extreme anti-war position, calling for the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war, plunged into the study of Hegel's *Science of Logic* . . .

A MARXIST economist like Tony Cliff is so little concerned with Hegelian dialectics 62 years after Lenin's break that he fails to see the relevance of Lenin's study of Hegelian dialectics either to Marx's "economic" works or to Lenin's Imperialism. The miniscule Chapter 4, of five pages, Tony Cliff devotes to the question, with the excuse that he will deal with it in his third volume "which will deal with the Communist International." He will then develop his theory (his, not Lenin's, analysis of imperialism). He, of course, has a perfect right to his own views of imperialism. But that cannot be used as ground for not facing Lenin's theory at the time when, and the manner in which Lenin developed it . . .

Tony Cliff remains unmoved, deaf to the integrality of philosophy in Marx's or Lenin's economic works. He is so preoccupied with "the breadth of analysis of Luxemburg or Hilferding," not to mention Bukharin, that he brings out this further "proof" of Lenin's failure of a theoretical grasp—"the realization of surplus value, which for Rosa Luxemburg became so central, (is) not even mentioned in Lenin's booklet," and that, my dear readers, Tony Cliff assures us, "is not accidental" (p. 60).

Now it is hard to believe that the erudite Tony Cliff, who is penning a three-volume study of Lenin, has not bothered to acquaint himself with what Lenin thought of Luxemburg's *Accumulation of Capital*. He has left himself the loophole of revealing all in the as-yet-unpublished Vol. Three of Lenin. But he would first then again violate the historic chronology. In any case, let me help him find it. In *Leninski Sbornik*, Vol. 22, pp. 343-348, Lenin commented on Luxemburg's work soon after it was published in 1913. He outlines what he intends to write in his critique:

### "ROSA LUXEMBURG'S UNSUCCESSFUL SUPPLEMENT TO MARXIST THEORY"

For example:

- I. 14 years ago. The Narodniks against the Marxists. Legal Marxists and Social Democrats.
- II. Rosa Luxemburg's Perversion.
- III. Posing of the theoretical problem.
- IV. Rosa Luxemburg's ("supplement"). Criticism. Anti-criticism.
- V. Rosa Luxemburg's "supplement." A failure.
- VI. Dialectics and eclectics.
- VII. Imperialism and realization of surplus value. (Rothstein, etc.) . . .

Tony Cliff's singular empiricism — like all empiricism, bereft of all methodology — is beyond comprehending Lenin's theory — theory, not just a "popular outline." By leaving out Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks*, Cliff not only skips over "philosophy," but the dialectics of liberation as self-developing Subject, that is to say, the actual masses in revolt. Thus, by no accident whatever, in the chapter on the "National Question," on which Cliff is supposed to agree with Lenin, not Buk-

harin, he has not a word to say about the Irish Revolution . . .

. . . 1917 was still to be. And when it did come, it was preceded by Lenin's *State and Revolution* that was first begun in those same critical years, 1914-16, when Lenin was grappling with Hegelian dialectics as philosophy, as politics, as economics, as self-developing Subject. "The dialectics proper" — Lenin's phrase — had to be shown as "the living tree of living, fertile, genuine, powerful, omnipotent, objective, absolute human knowledge" (p. 363).

Having eliminated this from his study of Lenin, it is no wonder that Tony Cliff reached the climax of his comprehension — I mean non-comprehension — of Lenin by singling out Lenin's "uncanny intuition . . ."

IT IS OF LITTLE matter whether Tony Cliff ever frees himself from the unbridgeable gulf he has dug between theory and practice, economics and politics, philosophy and revolution, as well as between leadership and ranks, and whether he will finally (i.e., in the last volume) attribute "theory" to Lenin's new universal that the population "to a man, woman and child" either controls production and the state, or we return "back to capitalism . . ."

Lenin's break with his philosophic past began with Marx's *Capital* in hand, came to fruition the same way in the greatest proletarian revolution, and ended in the same way as he hit out against Bukharin's "economism" and lack of dialectics. Very obviously, Marx's *Capital's* adventures haven't ended yet, and no doubt will not end until we actually have achieved classless society on truly human foundations. But isn't it high time, 53 years after Lenin's death and all the aborted and incomplete revolutions since, that we at least rediscovered what Lenin had learned about the relationship of dialectics to economics, politics, revolution—in a word, dialectics of thought and dialectics of liberation? Irrespective of the correctness or "incorrectness" of what the position on any single issue was, or what later data occurred, shouldn't revolutionary Marxists instead be preoccupied with whether we are headed in the direction Marx thought was the goal—"the development of human power which is its own end, the true realm of freedom . . ."

## Editorial article

## War, peace or revolution . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

but at home. In the case of the Middle East now, it is that those concrete home crises in separate lands reached a sudden concurrence, on the part of the hawks, when confronted with the shock of a joint Russian-United States Statement on the Mideast.<sup>(3)</sup> Unbeknownst to either Egypt or Israel, Russia and the U.S. found common ground on the basis of the "unsafe situation in the Middle East" to declare that "the only, right and effective way" to achieve a "solution" is to convene a Geneva Peace Conference "not later than December, 1977."

Israel and Egypt were not the only ones surprised by this October 1 joint statement by the two superpowers. More surprised still, but in this case pleasantly, was the PLO's Arafat. Interpreting the statement's reference to "the legitimate rights of the Palestinians" as an independent Palestinian state, Arafat let it be known that this statement could indeed serve as a "foundation" for talking.

After all, this had been preceded by more than six months of zigzagging by President Carter. Ever since March he had moved from stressing "defensible borders" for Israel to publicly endorsing the concept of a "Palestinian homeland" in his Mar. 16 Clinton, Mass. speech. By summer he had let it drift down to the PLO that, if UN Resolution 242 were accepted, a "Palestinian entity could indeed be considered."

And, whereas Vice-President Mondale was, on June 18, sent to San Francisco to soften somewhat the new tilting to the Arab side by saying U.S. had "no plan, no timetable, no map" to try to impose settlement, no doubt was left in any one's mind that there was, indeed, a new tilting to the Arab side. The type of tilting, however, that landed U.S. with Russia in a joint statement was enough not only to get Israel and American Zionists to begin pressuring Carter, but sent fear into "moderate Arabs," who are, after all, preferred by Carter to the PLO.

It is at this point that Sadat decided to act on his own. But not so alone that it didn't meet with the concurrence of Begin. Neither Sadat's spectacular trip nor Begin's concurrence was undertaken too far afield from U.S. imperialism's goal. Now that they know that the U.S. will have no part of little powers setting the timetable for any new outbreak of war, even if that means they, in turn, promptly referred to the United States as

<sup>(3)</sup>Oct. 1 joint text is printed in N.Y. Times, 10/21/77.

## TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

that he asked even those who had read it in the original to read the new French edition (1872-75) since it "possesses a scientific value independent of the original." \* Rosdolsky, on the other hand, is veritably obsessed with "the movement from the abstract to the concrete" as if the dialectic never gets to the concrete.

It is true Rosdolsky has made some valuable contributions, the most important being that he makes clear that the Humanism of the young Marx, 1844, the relationship of Marx to Hegel of the mature Marx, the Marx of the *Grundrisse*, 1887-58, and the "scientific" socialism of the Marx of *Capital*, 1867-83, are all one and the same. It is surely valuable when the one who says this is not a "Hegelian Marxist", but an "economist."

It is also valuable when Rosdolsky demonstrates that, although Marx finished only three books after he outlined six, what seemed to have been left out, like the book on Landed Property, actually was incorporated in the part on Rent in Volume III. And Rosdolsky does indeed make mincemeat of Karl Kautsky's contentions: (1) that the historic sweep of Marx's famous chapter, "Historical Tendency of Accumulation", is but a variation of "Change in the Appearance of the Law of Appropriation"; and (2) that the outline in 1862-63 was already the finished new outline of *Capital*, 1866, which Rosdolsky correctly shows, would have meant "nothing short of disregarding the Working Day, Simple Cooperation, Division of Labor, etc." (p. 17). But Rosdolsky himself fails to see that the writing of some 75 pages on The Working Day directly into the "abstract" theoretic volume I, while relegating to Vol. IV the contending with all the other "Theories of Surplus Value", meant an actual break with the very concept of theory, both as dialectics of thought and dialectics of liberation.

Instead, Rosdolsky decided to conclude his "Critical Excursus" with a special chapter in praise of Oscar Lange's *Political Economy* which, says Rosdolsky, "is to our knowledge the only work in more recent academic Marxist literature which consciously, and in detail, takes up the question of the methodology of Marx's *Capital*" (p. 552). This would, to say the least, sound peculiar to all except Rosdolsky who is himself deaf to the dialectic. It was Lange who rushed to the defense of the Stalinist break with the dialectic structure of *Capital* and — integral to that break — the revision of the Marxist analysis of the law of value, when I translated that article

\*Elsewhere I go into detail on these changes. See especially "The Paris Commune Illuminates and Deepens the Content of *Capital*", and "The Breakdown of Capitalism: Crises, Human Freedom and Vol. II of *Capital*" in Marx's *CAPITAL* and *Today's Global Crisis*.

that the U.S. has to unite with its global enemy, Russia, if it, not Egypt, had taken the initiative for a new stage of Middle East relations.

No doubt U.S. imperialism's role will be the decisive factor, whether what has begun that is new finds yet another euphemism—"principles"—to arrive at a collective "solution," or whether all comes to nought once again. But the so-called Left hardly helps matters by automatically siding with the "radical" Arabs, no matter whom that includes. Thereby it falls into the trap of all rulers, as if the 30 years from 1948 to 1978 were one unbroken development. The truth is very different, and truth is always concrete.

Everyone, from the rulers — both Israeli and Arab — to the Left, Trotskyists especially (now that Trotsky has been dead 37 years), likes to pontificate about 30 years of endless Middle East wars, as if every one of these was one and the same, with "Zionist imperialism" on the one side, and "Arab revolutions" on the other.

The truth, however, is that the first Arab war against the state of Israel the minute the UN accepted its independence was anything but revolutionary. It is true that the unifying cement of all feudal Arab states was the anti-Israel feature. It is not true that that made the kings and emirs "revolutionaries." Nasser, for example, approvingly quotes in his *Egypt's Liberation, The Philosophy of Revolution*, Eruhan Cohen's report of what the Egyptian talked about in the armistice talks: "The subject Gamal Abdel Nasser talked about with me was the struggle of Israel against the English, and how we organized the underground resistance movement against them in Palestine . . ." <sup>(4)</sup>

And so anti-Semitic a state-capitalist ruler as Stalin was the first (even beating the United States to the draw) to recognize the state of Israel. He did so not because of any pro-Israel sentiments. Rather it was because, until then, so narrow was Arab nationalism that it had collaborated with Nazism while the Jews not only fought the Nazis, but brought a dimension other than oil to the Middle East.

Finally, and most important, there were many revolutionary socialists in Palestine who opposed the creation of an all-Jewish state, hoping and fighting for a bi-

<sup>(4)</sup>*Egypt's Liberation*, p. 24. The book is very worth rereading now both because, objectively, you can contrast Egypt in the 1950s and now, and because Sadat is a person bereft of philosophy.

## Rosdolsky's methodology and Lange's revisionism

from Pod Znamenem Marxisma (Under the Banner of Marxism) in the *American Economic Review* of Sept. 1944. The authors had proposed that in the future Russian teaching should not follow the structure of *Capital*.

In my commentary, I stated that this was but the reflection of "economic reality," that is to say, the state-capitalist, not socialist reality.

In the excuse that, "tempting" as discussions of value would be, it is outside the confines of his study, Roman Rosdolsky has not a word to say of this debate\* I doubt that that is the reason for his silence, and not only because he chose, as the very climax of his work, to end with a discussion of Lange, full of praise of his *Political Economy* for devoting three chapters to "methodology." No, my doubt is due to the fact that this is not a question of debates, inside or outside of Russia. It is a question of the actual revision of Marx's view that the law of value is the motivating force of capitalism. It is a question of timing — the height of World War II — and the Russian workers could have told Rosdolsky that Stalin was announcing that there was to be no change in the exploitative reality even after the successful end of the war.

As he said, what is actually at stake, whether Roman Rosdolsky was or was not conscious of it, is that tail-ending Stalinist economism is unavoidable when the Subject — freely associated labor — is left as an abstraction. This leads inexorably to the failure to grapple with the dialectic. To understand how this is so we must return to Marx.

Marx wrote 881 pages of the "Rough Draft" of what was to be *Capital* i.e., the *Grundrisse*, and only in the very last paragraph he writes "The first category in which bourgeois wealth presents itself is that of the commodity," and then notes that "This section is to be brought forward." To Engels he writes that, now that he wishes to single out some of these chapters and rework them for publication, "before the deluge" — that is, before the economic crisis of 1857-58 runs its course, perhaps even to revolution — he finds that he must first construct a new first chapter as he doesn't have one on Commodity. And this he did for the 1859 publication, *Critique of Political Economy*. But this too is no sooner published than, once again, Marx is dissatisfied both with "the form of presentation," and structure of the whole six books he outlined.

\*Which is less, I might add, than even Lange did in his very last compilation of his writings before his death. It is true he does not mention me, but he does mention his own article in the *American Economic Review*, and there is no way to read that without knowing the new Stalinist thesis, and his defense of it.

national state free of imperialism. These, too, had to face the reality that the Arabs were as opposed to collaboration with them as with Zionists, and the Arab states were all theocratic.

Put differently, just as Trotsky (who was certainly no Zionist but a revolutionary opponent of it) stressed that the rise of Nazism compelled a new look at the "Jewish Question"<sup>(5)</sup>, so Marxist revolutionaries in Palestine in 1948 had to confront the new reality of an independent state, and therefore work for revolutionary goals of uprooting the capitalist state within Israel even as Arab revolutionaries had to work within their homelands for a new class-less society. Rather than make anti-Israel the unifying cement, social revolution had to become the driving force.

Russia didn't change its mind as to which side it was on until 1955 when Khrushchev concluded his arms deal with Egypt—Nasser's Egypt, that had overthrown King Farouk. Thus came Russia's first breakthrough into the Middle East. Which doesn't mean that Russia

(Continued on Page 9)

<sup>(5)</sup>In the last years of his life Trotsky tried facing the reality created by Nazism, on the one hand, and the drive of the Jews to escape its horrors into a homeland. Though, naturally, still opposing the Zionist solution, he did also change his position. Here are some excerpts: "During my youth I rather leaned toward the prognosis that the Jews of different countries would be assimilated and that the Jewish question would thus disappear in a quasi-automatic fashion. This historical development of the last quarter of a century has not confirmed this perspective. Decaying capitalism has everywhere swung over to an exacerbated nationalism, one part of which is anti-Semitism . . . The latest Moscow trial, for example, was staged with the hardly concealed design of presenting internationalists as faithless and lawless Jews who are capable of selling themselves to the German Gestapo." (1/18/37)

"Some would-be 'pundits' have accused me of 'suddenly' raising the 'Jewish question' and of intending to create some kind of ghetto for the Jews. I can only shrug my shoulders . . . The Jewish question has never occupied the center of my attention. But that does not mean that I have the right to be blind to the Jewish problem which exists and demands a solution." The statements have been reprinted in June-July, 1946 issue of *Workers International News*.

By the time — eight years later — Marx had completed his analysis of the economic laws of capitalist production and, as an active revolutionary, was head of the first International Workingmen's Association, Marx had decided to start *ab ovo*. Nor was it only a matter of a new outline of three instead of six books. Everything was new, and nothing more so than the split in the category of labor into abstract and concrete labor.

Because Marx considered that split in the category of labor his most original contribution, crucial to "all understanding of political economy," he no sooner began Chapter 1, *Commodities*, with their twofold nature — use-value and exchange-value — than he made it clear that that was not the essence, that he must at once go to the essence—the twofold character of labor itself. By the time he had finished that first chapter there was also a totally new section, the last, entitled "The Fetishism of Commodities." It was clear by then that he had "thrown out" what had previously followed *Commodity*, and *Money* — history of the theory of each category, all of which had been relegated to Volume IV of *Capital*.

The *Fetishism of Commodities* has since become not only one of the most famous of Marx's writings, but so bothersome to all exploitative state powers, especially those calling themselves "socialist," that evidently they just cannot live with it. What Stalin declared necessary for "the teaching" has since been codified, without any acknowledgment such as they had to make in 1943 when it flew in the face of all previous "teaching" by friend and foe alike. Discarding, or making an abstraction, of the concrete imperative of freely-associated labor taking destiny into its own hands, stripping away the fetishism of commodities, of Plan, of anything and everything non-human, and declaring, with Marx, "Human power is its own end," inexorably leads one to tail-end Stalinism, that is to say, state-capitalist "methodology."

Just as Lange's "methodology" was pragmatic, Stalinist eclectic, so was Rosdolsky's. Despite all talk of dialectic, and relationship of Marx to Hegel, Rosdolsky, by no accident whatever, concluded that one need "no longer bite into the sour apple, study the whole of Hegel's *Logic* in order to understand Marx's *Capital* — one can arrive at the same end, directly, by studying the *Rough Draft*" (p. 570). Too bad that all Rosdolsky arrived at by the end of his study of the "Rough Draft" was the quagmire of Polish neo-Stalinism which Rosdolsky calls "neo-Marxism."

Thus does the dialectic wreak its venegence on non-Stalinist pragmatists who skip over Marx's admonition that the Hegelian dialectic "is the source of all dialectic" as well as Lenin's conclusion that it is, indeed, impossible to understand Marx's *Capital* "especially its first chapter, without studying the whole of Hegel's *Logic*."

# Shifting alliances in the Middle East

(Continued from Page 8)

was always on the "revolutionary" side. The very next year it put down the revolution in Hungary, trading off its support also of U.S. imperialism for Eisenhower's silence in the UN on Russia's counter-revolutions in East Europe.

In any case, the 1956 war was a very different matter than the 1948 war. Though triggered by Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal and Dulles' arrogant refusal to help build the Aswan Dam, the point is that Eisenhower's imperial USA had to oppose it to put an end to old-style British-French illusions that they were still global powers. It is true that Israel was all too happy to be used by France and Great Britain who dominated that imperialist eruption. Eisenhower was so incensed that Great Britain and France still fancied themselves imperial powers that he stopped that war and made Israel return to its 1948 borders.

Revolutionary Arab nationalisms did emerge in the 1960s. But there were also very contradictory births, as witness Al Fatah and Ba'ath that had their origins in fascism as much as in revolutionary nationalisms. In any case, the unifying cement for Israeli-Arab wars was not revolution, but simply and purely anti-Israel. And, along with the goal of "driving Israel into the sea" came uncritical alliance with Russia. Which, in turn, convinced U.S. imperialism that it had but "one outpost"—Israel—in the Middle East against its global enemy, Russia. That is no longer true. And though the U.S. leaned heavily toward Israel in the 1967 war, that hasn't been so total ever since 1973.

For the Left to act as if the disparate Arab states are all "one Arab nation" and, even when theocratic, are playing a "revolutionary role" while equating Zionism with South African racism, is no less false than President Carter's declaring for "human rights" when in Poland but keeping mum in Iran. It blinds us to the entry of Saudi Arabian "black gold" in the 1973 war, and more crucial, it blinds us to the tragedy of Lebanon and the PLO, 1975-76. It is on these two historic turning points we must now focus to fully comprehend what is the "new" which is just shuffling of the cards in global alignments and realignments, and that which is the kind of "new" which could have meant the eve of social revolutions.

## ENTER SAUDI ARABIA'S BLACK GOLD

The first slight U.S. tilting toward the Arab side in the Yom Kippur war in 1973 had little to do with Egypt's surprise attack which caught arrogant Israel off balance, and gained Egypt a sort of victory. Rather it was Saudi Arabia's use of oil as a political weapon which so shook up the whole industrial world—Japan as well as West Europe and the United States—as to cause it also total ideological disarray. That West Europe could so easily cave in both to the boycotting of Israel and the quadrupling of oil prices had U.S. imperialism likewise go helter-skelter trying to hold on to its illusion of the 20th century as "the American century."

Overwhelming the myriad political crises came the global economic crisis, very nearly plunging the world into a full-scale Depression. It is this deep recession that still underlies the current situation when Saudi Arabia, instead of shaking up the industrial capitalistic world, is working hand in hand with U.S. imperialism. Carter's zigzagging was preceded by Henry Kissinger-Nixon's imperial arrogance, first, in threatening the oil kingdoms with invasion, then declaring "the Year of Europe," not to mention raising China to super-power status and thus transforming, by fiat, the bipolar state-

capitalist world into a tri-polar one—rather than the "tri-lateral" one Brzezinski was mapping out for Carter, which holds on to the illusion that the United States-West Europe-Japan was the world.

Plans by rulers, in and out of power, have a way, however, of being totally undermined by elemental social revolutions. The mid-1970s, instead of bending under to the nuclear world, saw revolutions erupt from Portugal to Angola, and directly in the Middle East, specifically Lebanon.

## THE REVOLUTION IN LEBANON, AND THE OLD IN THE PLO, 1975-6

This is not the place to go into detail on the situation in Lebanon which sparked a mass revolution, a genuine social revolution against its rulers, Christian and Moslem alike.<sup>(6)</sup> It is close enough to our times so that we remember that it had been brewing for a long time along class lines, and when it finally erupted, sparked also by the neo-Nazi Christian Right massacre of Palestinians returning from a Rejection Front meeting, the Palestinians worked as one with the Lebanese revolutionaries.

Because of the Palestinian preoccupation with Israel as Enemy No. 1, however, (and the PLO playing political games in the UN to get the Resolution equating Zionism to South African racism passed), the revolution in Lebanon was totally subordinated to anti-Israel.

Soon we were witness to a replay of the 1970-71 slaughter of Palestinians by King Hussein of Jordan on a more gigantic scale, which this time helped also destroy the Lebanese revolution. The extremely contradictory role of the PLO in Lebanon's civil war stretched from being one with the native Lebanese Left against the exploitative capitalistic system to the near-counter-revolutionary role of welcoming Syria's intervention, without in any way revealing the intra-Arab nationalisms between Iraq and Syria. In the jigsaw puzzle of shifting alliances sans class lines and sans any philosophy of liberation, the revolution met defeat.

To have the Left forget all this and once again turn to Israel as the enemy is to doom the new conditions created by Sadat's trip to Jerusalem to a failure that would once again close all doors to new relations in the Middle East.

## BEGIN'S NEW UNDERMININGS

Begin has no need of aid from the "Left" to re-create the atmosphere which would make anti-Israel the unifying cement for the whole Arab world, no matter how divided it is at the moment. He has been master of that all his adult life, from his terrorist Irgun days to ideologically not retreating even when Israel became a state. And presently he is doing all in his power to beat a retreat from the one step forward made when he concurred in Sadat's visit. It began with his arrogant behavior in Ismailia. Since his return to Israel not a day has gone by without proof of his retrogressionist nature.

First he spelled out to the Knesset and made public the 26-point so-called peace proposals which must have reminded every school child of Biblical times when Pax Romana ruled Palestine. Then, as if that reaffirmation of continued military occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip was not militaristic enough, suddenly bulldozers in the Gaza and the Sinai began digging up

<sup>(6)</sup>Elsewhere I did go into detail. See Political-Philosophic Letter #1, "The UN Resolution on Zionism—and Ideological Obfuscation Also on the Left," and #6 on "Lebanon: The Test Not Only of the PLO, But the Whole Left."

ground for new occupying settlements. Thirdly, he found his Irgun-type rhetorical thunder to yell threats, that if Israeli military presence were not accepted in the Gaza, he would walk out of further "negotiations."

Whether the United States can find yet another euphemism to rein him in need be no concern of revolutionaries. After all, the liberal-sounding line, "the cold war is over," has been current in the Administration only as a way of declaring that "co-existence" with Russia is no longer to be the overwhelming fact of all global relations. At the same time, there is no reason to think that the other nuclear titan, Russia, will let itself be shunted aside as unceremoniously as Carter did when he easily forgot the joint US-Russian statement in order to embrace Sadat's initiative. Why should any revolutionary be interested in the double crosses and horse-tradings that go on among rulers before they decide to plunge us into yet another war? Even these aspirers for single world power have to hold back since it would be a nuclear war and would put an end to civilization as we have known it. No, what we need to do is go back to Marxist fundamentals: a philosophy of liberation that would give action its direction.

## WHERE ARE THE VOICES OF THE MASSES?

First, let us not forget what sent Sadat to Israel. It was not the economic crisis Egypt is in. It was the restlessness of the masses. 1977 has been filled with mass opposition to the exploitative rule, from a general strike, to a veritable mass uprising against the price rises. Sadat had to retreat when not only was the mass anger unmistakable, but it was clear that the Egyptian masses would no longer tolerate, along with their horrible conditions of labor, being saddled with impossible inflation.

In a word, it was fear of social revolution that made him so courageous as to break with the past basis for diversion of the masses from their dissatisfaction with conditions of labor and life to anti-Israel.

Secondly, Begin's concurrence—that single step forward—shows the objective-subjective situation in his land. Ever since he came to power and showed he was as great a reactionary at home as in his imperialist role, there have been strikes, demonstrations, voices of mass opposition to the rightward course. Even the mass outpouring in Israel for Sadat was a great deal more than planned. (See Letter from Israel, p. 10.)

Above all, the Palestinians do wish a homeland, do want, with or without PLO, self-determination. The seeming unity of all the factions in the PLO at Tripoli belies the actual deep division within the PLO. The key to any solution at this moment lies in the hands of the Israeli masses to stop their ruler from closing up the openings that have opened up to them, as to the Arab masses, across all boundary lines, to settle accounts with their masters and begin working out their own destiny. It can begin as early as Jan. 16 when the "Cairo Committee" meets in Jerusalem, and the masses demand that their voices be heard.

Jan. 9, 1978

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

We know that it was Marx who, after the masses of Paris gave him his answer, put what they were showing into thought so that 100 years later the Sheng Wu-lien in China, in opposition to Mao's retrogressive thought, could call for the creation of Paris Communes within China. This is all to say that there have been few Black thinkers such as Fanon and Biko, who, like Marx, can look at the self-activity of the masses and see the theory which their movement from practice puts forth, and use it to form their own philosophy.

Amilcar Cabral, the leader of the struggle for the liberation of Guinea-Cape Verde Islands before his assassination, in his writings shares most of Fanon's views on the question of culture and its relationship to national consciousness and liberation. Cabral says, in opposition to narrow nationalism and culturalism:

"As we know the armed liberation struggle requires the mobilization and organization of a significant majority of the population... the efficient use of modern arms and of other means of war, the liquidation of the remnants of tribal mentality and rejection of social and religious rules which inhibit development of the struggle (nepotism, inferiority of women, etc.). The struggle brings about... profound modifications in the life of populations; it implies therefore a veritable forced march along the road to cultural progress." (Return to the Source, pp 54-55.)

## NEED NEW FREEDOM BANNER

It is only by unfurling a new banner free of any state-power that we can ensure the creation of a new society on truly human foundations.

As Raya Dunayevskaya ends her newest book, *Philosophy and Revolution*:

"Ours is the age that can meet the challenge of the times when we work out so new a relationship of theory to practice that the proof of the unity is in the Subject's own self-development. Philosophy and revolution will first then liberate the innate talents of men and women, who will become whole. Whether or not we recognize that this is the task history has assigned, to our epoch, it is the task that remains to be done."

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## MARX'S CAPITAL AND TODAY'S GLOBAL CRISIS

The "Movement" here cannot seem to see outside of Britain. Nothing is said on what is happening in the Middle East. Nobody in the movement here seems to care a damn. One of the Clyde-side shipyards is working on its third order for a battleship for Iran, and there is not a whisper in the movement about the situation in Iran. Nothing is said about the Biko murder.

It is right that concern should be expressed about unemployment. That, however, cannot prevent us from seeing the world situation. This year will bring the 130th anniversary of the Communist Manifesto. And, of course, the new joint Britain-U.S. pamphlet. We have to confront the movement with their departure from the principles of working class solidarity.

Harry McShane  
Glasgow

I'm concerned about the imports in this country coming from East Europe and China and its effect on steel. The oil companies are controlling it. It started in '55 when multi-nationals could write off taxes and plants could get cheaper labor. If you read the financial page you see you have to deal with the government as if it is already in the state-planning stage. That's why I'm with the farmers. Labor in this country is at the point where you can't buy a home on the wages you make. Small farmers are even worse off — some are making 25c an hour. The multi-nationals, the huge corporations and the government are all operating at the expense of all the working people.

Auto Worker  
Los Angeles

I recently read a French article about Guinea-Bissau and was struck with the incredible poverty of this new nation which bore the brunt of the fight against fascist Portugal. It appears that when they turned to Russia and East Europe for aid after independence, they got far less than they received during the guerrilla war. (As a result, they have had to turn to the Scandinavian countries who are providing a small amount of "aid.") I guess this is because Guinea-Bissau lacks oil, population or size—the things the super-powers are interested in.

Student  
New York

Press reports here indicate a very hard struggle for the American miners on strike now. There have been murmurs of "Reds under beds" just as in Britain in 1974. The Financial Times reported that radicalism in the mines is

on the upswing and that some UMW sections are advocating nationalism. (I trust they do not want mines run as in Britain.)

The firemen here have been out for weeks. Troops are being used and the Trade Union Council rejected their calls for a general wage offensive. TUC actions on the still-continuing Grunwick strike have also consisted in nothing but the most disgraceful and cynical betrayal and stabs in the back. The strike leaders have even been suspended from their union. It looks like a pretty lousy end to 1977 with victory nowhere in sight for either of these two struggles.

Ever since the British miners booted out the Tories and their plans to make the workers bear the brunt of the crisis in 1974, the Labour Government has been carrying out the same plans, with the support of the unions. The result has been large-scale unemployment, rising prices, wage restraint and cutbacks in social services. To the workers, the Government / Union / Bosses triumvirate has been dangling the prospect of economic recovery—but all optimism is based on the readiness of the stronger German, Japanese and U.S. capitalists to boost production, imports and demand. In fact, firms in these states are reluctant to do so because of the falling rates of profit expected. They are on a virtual investment strike.

In face of the bosses' onslaught to extract more from the workers, the Communists and the revolutionary left are left standing on the sidelines. The joint British-U.S. pamphlet could hardly be more timely.

Dave Black  
London

### UNEMPLOYMENT

The recent AFL-CIO national convention marked a new low point in the history of organized labor in the United States. Under the leadership of 83-year-old George Meany and the rest of the over-the-hill labor leaders, the organization has lost over 500,000 members during the past two years. The convention "acted" to correct the situation by raising the salary of Meany by \$10,000, to \$100,000 a year, and by raising the dues of the membership by \$5,000,000 to pay the expenses of the old bureaucrats.

Today, 50 percent or more of the major industrial construction projects are open shop; 33 percent of non-residential construction is open shop, and practically all construction below the Mason-Dixon line is non-union. With unemployment at 13 percent last month, skilled construction workers are taking jobs with

open-shop contractors. In New York City, the bricklayers are taking a 14.5 percent pay cut starting in June.

I'd say that it's time to sweep the old bureaucrats out the door and return to aggressive trade unionism before it is too late.

Observer  
Boston

The newly nationalized ship-building industry has an order to build 24 Polish ships. John Chalmers, the Chairman of the Federation of Engineering and Ship-building Trade Unions has been visiting shipyards along with the bureaucrats in charge of the industry calling on the workers to accept the government guideline of a maximum rise of ten percent, and to change a number of practices that have grown up in the shipyards. They insisted on a written contract before placing a share of the contract in any yard. They got away with it until they reached one yard in Newcastle, where the workers have banned overtime for three months. The shop stewards and T.U. officials joined in the call to end the ban, but the men, at a meeting, decided overwhelmingly not to call it off. The government decided they will not get a share of the order costing 54 million pounds. It is possible that 700 may be redundant (laid off). The order will go to other yards. Where the Polish Government uses troops, the British state is using unemployment to determine working conditions.

Correspondent  
Scotland

The Kingston Socialists, an independent group that is concerned with presenting a socialist position on issues relevant to their area, has just put out a small pamphlet on unemployment. In Canada over eight percent of the work force is officially classed as unemployed, but, just as in the U.S., the actual rate is, without a doubt, much higher. Recently, 30 unemployed workers, reached by distributing a leaflet, picketed the unemployment office, and later got together to talk about what to do next. Readers who are interested in finding out more can write:

Kingston Socialists  
PO Box 701  
Kingston, Ontario

### A LETTER FROM AN ISRAELI LEFTIST

The whole country is in a state of psychological unrest. Peace is next door — after ten years of brainwashing that said that there are no doves among the Arabs; that we are in for a hundred years war because the Arabs can't accept a Jewish state next door; that the only way to live in peace with an Arab is to hold a loaded pistol at the temple of his head; that the Arabs are not capable of rational political thinking and coming to terms with reality necessary for peace-making; that territories without peace are better than peace without territories.

Now most of the people are in a state of euphoria over the possibility of peace despite fears of lurking dangers once the "protective" barrier of the conquered territories will vanish. They are only now facing up to the plain fact that peace is possible only when the urges for revenge are eliminated via the return of the territories and the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank. When the Israeli Left said this to them ten years ago we were looked on as people who wished the greatest harm to their country. Today, after having absorbed hawkish views for so long, they have to face the reality which they fervently rejected only half a year ago when they gave a big majority to the Nationalist right wing. It's a beautiful thing to see a people sobering up and coming out of the realm of chauvinist illusion, but it's a painful process and many people go through terrible moods,

projecting their fears and doubts. It's happening but does not yet seem real.

Catching this mood of a nation is primary to dealing with pros and cons of this or the other political step . . . I believe the real answer to those questions is not found here but mostly in Washington. It's the Carter administration that calls the shots in these matters . . .

In distinction from the former U.S. government whose policy (Kissinger's) was to settle the Middle East issue piecemeal, cutting the territories in salami strips and giving more every three years, thus assuring U.S. control for a long time but delaying actual peace, the Carter government, for reasons not yet fully clear — fear of unpredicted war coming up, fear of Russia's using the conflict as an opening to return to control of the Suez Canal Red Sea area, or in order to save money needed to keep Israel armed like a semi superpower?—decided to cut the process short.

The Carter government may be weak at home but it's very strong abroad and what they lack in skill they make up in determination. Rabin came to the U.S. in March and was told he'd have to give up the territories. But Rabin could not deliver, first because he had Peres on his back and Peres had Begin on his. (Now Begin has only God to account to — at least, he talks that way — and that's easier. "God will forgive us—that's his profession," said a wise poet named

Heinrich Heine.) So someone tipped off a newspaperman about Rabin's bank account in the U.S. — guess who? — and Rabin had to go. It seems they counted on a victory of the Democratic Movement for Change, a group dominated by capable and highly opportunistic politicians and technocrats who might be more pliable and efficient. But Begin won and no one was more surprised than Mr. Begin himself . . . As soon as he came back from Washington on friendly terms, it was clear that he had given in to Carter much more than Rabin had. Begin's and Dayan's game was to say, "Yes, Yes!" but try to make inter-Arab conflicts spoil the whole negotiating process. Sadat saw what was happening and decided to take the situation in his own hands and be his own Kissinger. He knows Syria and the PLO can't wage war on Israel without him. So he called Begin's bluff and said, OK, I'm coming. He stands to gain the most from peace: the Sinai, a lessening of the military burden, etc. Begin was trapped, and the ball started rolling.

The details are kept yet a secret. Begin is a dictator in his coalition government and until he came back from Washington in mid-December even cabinet ministers did not know what was decided and bargained about. But it's quite apparent that the price of peace must be a return of the territories with most minor adjustments only . . .

Mordechai Cafri  
Israel

# Readers

### BEATING THE CENSORS

I recently read an article called "Big Brother in Poland" by Leopold Labedz. It was an expose on all the censorship in Poland, revealed by official papers smuggled out of that country by an ex-censor. But people in Poland are not as controlled by the media as the article would suggest. There is an oral tradition of passing information. This is particularly true in areas of history and current events in Poland. Of course everybody talks about the recent uprisings, but even beyond that, "personal" information is freely shared — such as salaries—something that does not happen in the U.S.

As to international news, a lot of people I know developed a skill called "reading between the lines." Most know what the truth is.

Polish American  
Chicago

### NEO-FASCISM

There is a trial going on in here in which Donald Andrews, of the White Supremacist "Western Guard" is charged with racially related incidents. Some of his colleagues have already been acquitted. What is ominous is that he has formed the racist, fascist, "Nationalist Party of Canada," which he claims will soon have enough signatures to register as an official political party. Canadians are in for a rude shock if they do not realize that the deepening division between capital and labour is going to yield these reactions.

The government continues to scapegoat the poor for its own inability to do anything about the rising inflation and unemployment. Trudeau recently told Canadian youth that if they didn't like what was going on with unemployment they should "get out." The recently exposed Canadian "Watergate" is exposing the government's total disregard for human rights and people are bound to relate this to the government's attempt to dump the economic crisis onto the shoulders of the working and poor classes. The signs are clear, especially the escalating racism toward immigrants, particularly Asians.

Correspondent  
Toronto

There were a lot of shooting accidents reported on New Year's Eve in Chicago, but it was no accident when someone shot directly into my living room. I wonder how many other "accidents" were because people were activists fighting racism and Nazism? When the Nazis attacked people at an Israeli bond dinner downtown with Mayor Bilandic present, they prosecuted them right away. They still haven't done anything about all the attacks in our neighborhood and it's not because we don't have proof. We have hundreds of witnesses and even pictures. The worst problem is with the Black community "leaders" who not only won't do anything against the Nazis but won't even take their money out of banks that deal in the Krugerrand.

Rev. Edgar Jackson  
Dr. Martin L. King Coalition  
Chicago, Ill.

As one of the organizers of the first demonstration against the Nazi headquarters in Detroit, I was really encouraged to see how many, including many left groups, turned out that first day.

Since then I have been sickened by the sectarian politics of some groups—particularly Spartacist League, Revolutionary Socialist League and the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency. Under the guise of "raising the consciousness of the neighborhood" they belittled previous demonstrations of 150-200 as "too small" and said what we needed was a defense guard with helmets and sticks to protect ourselves and attack Nazis whenever they tried to sell their paper on the streets. They then led a march of 25 people against the Nazi headquarters which brought Nazis out with shotguns, got

# Views

some demonstrators beaten by police riot squads, and alienated many in the community.

These same groups refused to participate in the protest at the inauguration of the Mayor and new City Council, saying that you should never ask the bureaucracy for anything. I wondered where Joann Little, Inez Garcia, Francine Hughes and countless others would be today if the women's movement hadn't pressured the bureaucracy.

I'm for using every avenue open to bring the bureaucracy down upon itself and I wonder if the Left can't overcome their vanguardism to fight the Nazis, how will we ever have a world revolution?

Suzanne Casey  
WL-N&L, Detroit

It made me boil when I heard that a local Nazi group decided to set up their center in the heart of a working class neighborhood in Southwest Detroit. Their assumption that the working class would welcome them with open arms sure was destroyed by the picket line organized by *News & Letters* and full of neighborhood people. HOORAY for the Vernor-Springwell neighborhood and *News & Letters!*

Former Detroit  
Chicago

## HOW TO GET RESULTS

Because of the speedup of the whole industry the coal operators have been able to accumulate enough coal for 90 days. That really cuts the power of a strike. It's the same with how they're stockpiling rubber for the auto plants. Wildcat strikes are the only ones that have a chance to get results.

Auto Worker  
California

The two recent grain elevator explosions in Texas and Louisiana have brought the year's total of such disasters to nine. A spokesman from the Dept. of Agriculture came out and said that these explosions killing several people happened in grain elevators that had met Federal safety inspections — that all grain elevators were in the same conditions as the "dangerous" ones.

It was suggested that all grain elevators be shut down until improvements could be made to prevent disaster. The Dept. of Agriculture balked. In other words, profits take precedence over the lives of workers — just one more proof that "human rights" are of no interest to this government. Like everything else that needs to be corrected in this society, lethal work places have to be changed by those who stand to be victims of them or not at all.

Auto Worker  
Los Angeles



## WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Is the Women's Liberation Movement aware of how linked their struggles are — or should be — to the anti-Nazi protests? It was no accident that the Nazi movement in Germany saw to it that the German Women's Movement, the strongest women's movement we have yet seen, a movement that was in the forefront of every forward struggle in Germany since the turn of the century, including the struggle against the First World War, was crushed. Women were seen as breeders of the "race" — children, church and kitchen — that's what was to be their destiny.

Can't we raise that historic lesson within the WLM and carry both struggles further?

Women's Liberationist  
Detroit

As a Chicana I am convinced that the reason they are taking abortion away from poor women is so that they can sterilize more of us. To me it seems a very thought-out plan by the leaders of this country.

Chicana Feminist  
Chicago

I got two copies of the *News & Letters* pamphlet, *Working Women For Freedom* and I kept one for myself and the other one has been read by just about all the women in our local. It's just about in tatters.

Essex Striker  
Indiana

I recently came across the following 1915 quote by the Irish revolutionary James Connolly; to me it expresses so beautifully what we as Marxist-Humanists are saying for our age, Women as revolutionary Reason:

"The working class of Ireland must cheer on the efforts of those women who, feeling on their souls and bodies the fetters of the ages, have arisen to strike them off, and cheer all the louder if in its hatred of thralldom and passion for freedom, the women's army forges ahead of the militant army of Labour."

Feminist  
Detroit

## BLACK AFRICA

The Sadat-Begin discussions are a sharp reminder to Egypt, whether it likes it or not, that it is part of Black Africa. Sadat's so-called bold move discloses not so much his heroism, but the desperate situation inside his own country. It is clear that the poor conditions inside Egypt make it part of underdeveloped Africa. The Arab bloc, especially of North Africa, has never wanted to be reminded that it is of the Black world. The poverty of the Egyptian masses has begun to unite them to poor Africa against the chauvinistic wishes of the Arab rulers. Their mutual desire for freedom from under those conditions will unite them even more in revolutions in their own lands.

Black Activist  
Los Angeles

One thing that really disturbs me here in Botswana is the way the Basarwa (Bushmen) people are treated. Like the Indians in America, they are the original inhabitants of Botswana and South Africa, but were pushed into the desolate desert areas by more aggressive newcomers—Black tribes from the north and white groups from Europe. Traditionally they lived with fewer material possessions than just about any group in the world, having always been completely nomadic and able to survive where no other people could.

Most Botswana are prejudiced against them, consider them inferior, call them backward and "uncivilized." They are paid the worst wages in the country to work for ranchers and families on the edge of the Kalahari Desert. There are still about 5,000 living the old way in the Kalahari, in Botswana, Namibia, and South Africa.

It is sad to hear Black people talk so condescendingly about the Basarwa and see them treat the Basarwa with the same kind of dismissal of their humanity as white people treat Blacks.

Observer  
Botswana

Like Mao before them, who derided workers' demands for higher wages as "black economism", the present rulers of China use racist language. The official Chinese press is calling the followers of the Gang of Four "black hearts" and "black-ace generals". I am reminded of the interview with the Chinese refugee, Jade, in *Sexism, Politics and Revolution*, where she tells how Chinese students at Peking University were not allowed to socialize with the African

## Who We Are

*News & Letters* was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery, Ala. Bus Boycott against segregation—activities which signalled new movements from practice, which were themselves forms of theory. *News & Letters* was created so that the voices from below could be heard, and the unity of worker and intellectual, philosophy and revolution, could be worked out for our age. A Black production worker, Charles Denby, is the editor.

The paper is the monthly publication of News and Letters Committees, an organization of Marxist-Humanists that stands for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private form as in the U.S., or in its state form calling itself Communist, as in Russia and China. The National Chairwoman, Raya Dunayevskaya, is the author of *Philosophy and Revolution and Marxism and Freedom* which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism for our age internationally, as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene. In opposing the capitalistic, exploitative, racist, sexist society, we participate in all freedom struggles and do not separate the mass activities of workers, Blacks, women and youth from the activity of thinking. We invite you to join with us both in the freedom struggles and in working out a theory of liberation for our age.

students who came there. I think China's state-capitalist rulers are afraid of how revolutionary Black really is.

Reader  
Michigan



I am aware of the cold murder of Steve Biko that you wrote about in *N&L*. Things are not that much different here in this racist U.S.A., for we must struggle each day that passes to maintain our sense of purpose. My position in hell has taught me a great deal of the ways of this cruel system we live in, and I know that this coldness of inhumanity was not meant to be. I feel much love and respect for the people at *News & Letters*, for to reach out with love and understanding for all people is much needed in these hard cold times.

Prisoner  
California

I am in the learning stage, but I have a certain degree of knowledge born out of my struggles. The Black man, the man behind walls, is in total pain. It was in prison that my hidden awareness began to approach the surface of my mind. Being in jail enables one to understand the forces of the capitalists. As George Jackson stated, it "transforms the Black criminal mentality into a Black revolutionary mentality." You learn the hardship of a cell and you learn to know your keepers. I have also come to know a different breed of prisoners whose policy is to harm other prisoners, whether in the form of stooling (informing) or sexual molesting. Those who are behind the walls (Black, Brown, Red and White) are candidates for revolutionary action, provided only they do not forsake their cause just because they are victims of a vicious state.

Prisoner  
Illinois

## URANIUM AND INDIAN LANDS

The Geneva Conference on the "Indigenous Americas" produced some exciting reflections and a couple of radical resolutions, including one urging the new UN Institute on Transnationals to investigate invasion of Indian lands by transnationals as a matter of first priority. The evidence on uranium mining and land rights was precisely one page long. Rich Nafziger, of Americans for Indian Opportunity, has done (to my knowledge) the only research on Uranium and Indian land, and he judges that American Indians are the world's fifth most important "producers" so their economic power is tremendous. It suggests that a radical approach to the whole question of the relation between energy, the transnational power corporations' monopoly, and nuclear centralization is long overdue.

Roger Moody  
London

## GREEK TERROR

A month before the General Elections an unprecedented wave of police terror was launched here, including arrests and beatings of "anarchists", searches of homes, arrests of editors, imprisonments without trial. The press presented those arrested as "terrorists". It was launched when some groups denounced the deaths of Baader, Enslin and Raeme in West Germany. In a short time, all the editors of anarchist and libertarian papers were arrested. A protest was issued by the president of the Lawyers' Association of Athens, denouncing the "violation of human rights" and the verdicts handed down in trials "which enter in contradiction with existing legislation."

A solidarity fund has been established and financial help is urgently requested. Letters of protest, signed if possible by those with some title such as professor, that could be printed in the Greek press, would also help. For further information or to send help, write to:

Diethnis Bibliothiki  
Delfon 2  
Athens 144, Greece

## For Our Midwest and West Coast Readers

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA will present the first of 6 classes to be held based on her newest work, *MARX'S CAPITAL AND TODAY'S GLOBAL CRISIS*, in Detroit at the Tindal Recreation Center, 10301 W. 7 Mile Road on Sunday, Jan. 22 at 3 p.m.



The full schedule of the classes is as follows:

Detroit	Class	Los Angeles
Jan. 22	Marx's New Continent of Thought and Dialectics Today	Feb. 5
Feb. 5	Encounter With Marx's Capital	Feb. 12
Feb. 12	Then and Now: The Objective Situation—In Marx's Time and In Ours—In the Writing and Commentary about Capital	Feb. 19
Feb. 26	A Near Century Debate Around Vol. II of Capital	Feb. 26
March 5	Economic Crisis and Breakdown of Capitalism or the Logic and Scope of Capital, Vol. III and Lenin's Imperialism	March 5
March 19	Dialectic Methodology	March 12

For more information on classes in your area, contact the News & Letters Committee nearest you listed on page 3.

## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

# Rumanian miners strike against 'police state apparatus'

Word has finally gotten out of Rumania about the Aug. 1 strike of the coal miners against the police state apparatus of Nicholas Ceausescu when the government decided it would make miners work longer for a smaller pension. By Aug. 3 it had spread to the more than 35,000 miners in the entire Jiu valley.

The miners not only struck over a whole range of issues, from poor working conditions to paltry food supplies, but insisted, like the Polish shipyard workers in 1970, that the Communist Party boss Ceausescu come down to listen to them.

"In all my life," said one striker who made it to Belgrade to report to journalists there, "I have never seen such a scene. The crowd stretched as far as the eye could see. When the ministers arrived, they were seized by the leaders. We took the food that we have to eat and threw it in their faces saying 'You eat that food'."

The strikers held at least one minister hostage as quality meat, butter, and hard-to-get consumer goods were rushed to the area. Ceausescu arrived by helicopter on Aug. 3 and was made to listen to the miners. He promised them a new pension law and better pay and working conditions. Demon-

strations persisted when, instead of giving pay increases, the government retaliated by docking the workers for not fulfilling production quotas of the sacred state plan.

By Sept. 1 over 2,000 troops were moved into the Jiu valley. Four thousand miners and their families were uprooted and forced to move out of the valley. By November, Ceausescu was forced to return as protests continued.

Also in September, protests against officials of this totalitarian government broke out right in Bucharest at the city's largest steel mills. General Dinca, the mayor of Bucharest, was slapped and spat upon. Protests also extended to textile mills in Brashov where, in 1976, there had already been an uprising in the tractor and truck plants where workers destroyed machines and wrote, "Down with Ceausescu."

The machines are dear to Ceausescu, whose authoritarian regime runs everything according to a state plan of turning fantastic production quotas into profits for investment in heavy industry at the expense of consumer goods. American cigarettes serve as hard currency in a thriving black market that avoids government lines.

Every official organization for workers, from trade unions to workers' councils, is in the service of the state plan. Thus, Rumanian miners recreated their own traditional form of organization by electing a thirteen member "council of elders." The great strike against private capitalists in 1929 in Rumania was also led by a "council of elders."

The workers took something from their own history to fight Ceausescu, who is known for his independent national communism and glorification of Rumanian history to the point of rehabilitating Count Dracula. "This unbridled nationalism . . ." said Paul Goma, a Rumanian dissident who reported recent events in a Paris news conference, "cannot substitute for bread and freedom."

Rumanian officials have been engaging in high level discussions with the French Communist Party which has a similar nationalist philosophy. Though the French CP did criticize the Polish government after the workers revolt in Radom, they have remained silent on the repression of the Rumanian miners. The Rumanian workers are serving notice to all, in or aspiring to power, that a state plan is no substitute for freedom.

## Russia

What happens when you ask for a raise or voice a complaint to your state capitalist masters in Russia? The following are but a few sample cases:

Anatoly N. Poznyakov worked as a locksmith for the Moscow Institute of Biochemistry for 75 rubles a month (\$103). He asked for a raise and was insulted crudely. He appealed to the local party organization and was told his "destiny in life was to eat from a pig's trough." He angrily continued his protests and was fired. He lives on a \$28 a month disability pension. When he protested to the Academy of Sciences they told him, "If you can, live; if you can't, die".

V. A. Klebanov, a coal miner in the Donets Basin, complained that the miners were forced to work 12 hours a day instead of the normal 6 hour day to meet the goals set by management. He showed that 12 to 15 men had been killed and up to 700 had been injured due to overwork and accidents. The authorities kept the deaths and injuries secret and sent the man off to a psychiatric hospital for four and one-half years.

Mrs. Kurakina was a waitress at a Volgograd restaurant run by the local party organization. She discovered that the party management was stealing crockery and silverware, accusing the waitresses of breaking it and deducting the cost from their wages. She complained, lost her job and her husband was also fired. She lost her pension after 25 years of service and her "crimes" were noted in her work booklet which must be shown to get another job. As a result, no agency, factory or retail outlet will employ her.

## Bermuda

When two Blacks were executed on Dec. 2 in Bermuda—the first executions in 34 years, taking place in spite of much pleading and a massive petition drive by the Black Progressive Labor Party—the Black population of this tiny island exploded for three days against the shops, businesses and institutions of the white-controlled economy and government. By Dec. 5, British troops were flown in from Belize to put down the revolt.

The Black population of Bermuda constitutes two-thirds of the population and is hidden away in huge ghettos. The "democracy" here is gerrymandered so that the whites control everything and make the world think that Bermuda is nothing but a sun-filled paradise for wealthy North Americans.

## Ethiopia

The military dictatorship of Ethiopia, aided by a massive Russian air supply and Cuban troops from Castro, is being defeated by Eritrean liberation forces and Somalian liberation forces in the south. In acts of vengeance, thousands of people are being massacred by government troops.

Lieutenant Gebremichail Tsadik of the Ethiopian Army deserted to the Eritrean secessionist guerrilla forces that surround the capital, Asmara. The capital is without water, electricity, food, fuel or medicine. Civilians are being killed at random by roving death squads called Afagne.

The killing of Ethiopian officers and soldiers by their own leaders began Nov. 17 after three successive defeats. Tsadik reported that ten truckloads of prisoners were taken from jail, shot from behind and buried in mass graves dug by bulldozers. One hundred soldiers were executed Nov. 18 and 19.

Tsadik said the soldiers are "fed up with being here and want to go home." The officers suspect everybody. "We were watched at all times by security people in the military and the militia, who are paid to inform on anyone who criticized the government." The only thing that holds the government in power is the active military, financial and material aid of Russia.

## Iraq

Kurdish nationalists have accused the Iraqi government of torturing and killing 96 Kurds since September. The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan issued a statement which said in part, "The chauvinist Baghdad authorities are going ahead with their plans to dislocate 1,000,000, Kurds from their ethnic lands and move them to the southern sections of the country in a continued drive toward Arabizing the Kurdish regions of Northern Iraq."

In 1972, the Shah of Iran and Nixon cooked up a deal to help the Kurds revolt against the Russian-supplied Iraqi army. Kissinger promised five million dollars in captured Russian arms to the Kurds. The Kurds were ready when the 1973 October war in Israel took place. But Kissinger passed the word to the Shah and the Kurds, "call it off."

The Kurds followed orders and called off the revolt. The Shah, in turn, made a deal with Iraq in 1975, selling out the Kurds—cutting off all supplies and closing his border to refugees.

Mulla Mustafa, now 75 years old, is in the United States trying to catch the ear of President Carter. He was referred to the same man that Kissinger used in 1973 to cut off all aid and supplies, Harold H. Saunders, now Director of Intelligence for the U.S. State Department. Carter has no intention of raising the Kurdish issue as long as it might offend the Shah.

## BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

When we tally up the accomplishments of President Carter for the last 12 months, we are confronted with more symbolic gestures on the part of the President than substantive achievements, insofar as Black Americans are concerned.

By "showcasing" himself, in a symbolic way, the President hoped to temporize on pressing national problems like Black unemployment, urban decay in the central cities, i.e., ghettoized cities, and Black human rights. This "showcasing" style of the President was evident at his inaugural when he walked to the White House instead of riding, and the publicity around the enrollment of his daughter Amy into the predominantly-Black Washington, D.C. school system — all gestures to his "populism," the image he wants to present.

After the New York City blackout of July, 1977, Carter appeared before the Urban League Convention, smarting from the charges that he had neglected to do anything about the economic deterioration within the Black communities, especially the millions of unemployed Black youth. His message was essentially, "The Administration is working on the problem, be patient."

Subsequent palavers between the Administration, the Black leadership and the Black Congressional Caucus ended in getting Carter's support for the eviscerated Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Bill, which mandated neither the Government nor industry to do anything about bringing down the rate of unemployment. Yet this was considered a "practical and responsible" solution to unemployment by the Black Congressional Caucus.

## Carter's 'human rights' drive excludes Blacks

In December, 1977, President Carter told Black leaders: "We have not been able to come up with any sort of panacea or automatic immediate solutions to problems of urban areas. We are working as hard as we can on it." And in a year-end, hour-long TV interview, the President said that the problem of unemployment was a difficult problem to solve, that it was an international problem, and that the leaders in Western Europe were having the same problem with little success toward any solution.

The upshot is that the President has no solution to the problems of unemployment, and most especially to the problems of Black youth condemned to permanent unemployment. He was amazed that although the number of jobs increased, there was no decline in the number of unemployed. For this "strange state of affairs" the President offered the opinion that when people see other people getting jobs, they come back into the job market seeking work, and thereby keep the statistics of unemployed at the same level.

Within Carter's opinion on why unemployment won't go away, we have the bankruptcy of capitalism and the bankruptcy of thought. The failure of capitalism to work in the area of employment is not simply the subjective need of people to work, but is to be found in the system itself, which demands continual automation and the reduction of living labor.

Every Black person has a vital interest in the question of human rights and Carter has made some high-minded statements on this, but when confronted with a concrete denial of human rights at home, as in the North Carolina Wilmington Ten case, he retreated by saying:

"I have no jurisdiction there," and "The ultimate decision is the right one!" These remarks came out of the mouth of the same U.S. President who took the time to write a letter of encouragement to the human rights activist in Russia, Andrei Sakharov.

In case the President does not know it, the dissenters in Russia are opposing the same type of injustice that the Wilmington Ten (now nine) are opposing in the U.S. But what Carter apparently does understand is that injustice to Blacks in his neighborhood does not make political hay for American capitalism at the SALT talks. It is just such political "expediency" by world leaders that denigrates all struggles for human liberation, here and abroad.

When the Carter Administration supported the arms embargo against South Africa, it was with this same cynical expediency. This embargo is only a gesture, since South Africa has long been self-sufficient in manufacturing arms to suppress Black Revolution. If Carter was serious, he would have supported an oil embargo which would really have affected the economy of South Africa, but that kind of an embargo would have jeopardized the \$1.5 billion that U.S. capitalists have invested in that apartheid government.

What Carter has shown us, from the day he made his campaign speech about "ethnic purity," is that throughout his Administration there has been a consistent inability to do anything meaningful about Black unemployment, and that human rights and human liberation will not move as long as they are tied to the needs of capitalist production and capitalist politics.