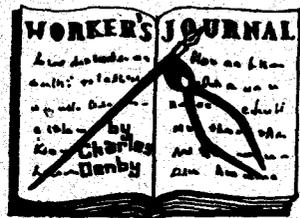


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Worker-author nails lies about book

by Charles Denby, Editor

Author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*

The following letter is my response to a slanderous review of my book, *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, by Manning Marable, an associate professor in the Department of History and Ethnic Studies at the University of San Francisco. Printed in the August 16, 1979 issue of WIN magazine, the review not only has many errors of fact, but is such a serious attack against me that I feel strongly about the need for this immediate reply.

Associate Professor Manning Marable's review of my book, *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, sharply brought to mind what Marx must have meant when he said, "The educators must be educated."

For example, Marable knows well that the workers' paper I edit is *News & Letters*, not *News & Notes*. This is deliberate falsification. In my book I refer to *News & Letters* many times. It is not only a workers' newspaper, it is the official monthly publication of News and Letters Committees, the organization of Marxist-Humanists in the U.S.

MARABLE DISTORTS TRUTH

The wrong newspaper identification, however, is the least of Marable's misrepresentations. He has his right to disagree with my politics, but no right to distort the truth. Even honest bourgeois historians would not tolerate Marable's smear tactics, let alone someone who is serious about Afro-American "historiography."

The second part of my book, the part Marable disagrees with so completely, he calls an "addendum, which merely updates Denby's views on politics and society." Nobody else reading my book could possibly describe the second part as an addendum. Far from being "merely" an update of my views, the second part represents the last 25 years of my life, when I was working out a clear political, philosophical and organizational perspective of what I am for, not only what I am against.

I don't understand Marable. He says that I "failed to respond positively and constructively" to the rise of the Black movement of the '60s and '70s; that my "former Black allies" in the South made political marriages of convenience with racist Governor Wallace of Alabama; that during the Black revolt of the '60s I "alibided with the more conservative Black leaders of Lowndes County;" and that I walked out of the 1972 National Black Assembly in Gary, Ind., along with "Black bureaucrats and officials" who realized they couldn't sell the Assembly politics "to their white counterparts."

To me, these are serious accusations of betrayal.

(continued on page 7)

Workers outraged at lay-offs, tear up plants

South Bronx, N.Y.—All hell broke loose when the young workers of the Art Steel file cabinet plant were told that 30 more on the new night shift would be laid off. Another 30 of the original 100 have already been fired. The workers here are Black and Puerto Rican — many with young families — from a neighborhood of chronic unemployment.

In their two months at the plant, they were repeatedly told that with these jobs there was a future for them at the company—if they worked hard. Then they were stabbed in the back. This came on top of the degrading conditions they had faced daily in the plant.

Starting pay is \$3.50 an hour which management calls "good" pay. For \$18 more a week, painters get to inhale spray paint through thin paper masks, get covered with it from head to toe, and then cleaned off with benzene. How many years of this can a body stand?

After lunch break the day of the lay-off announcements, workers started shutting off lights and knocking down all of the stock. They broke windows and threw the file cabinets down to the first floor.

They came to work the next day ready to really go to work on the place. They were met by the day shift on a sitdown strike over the firing of a worker. Six police cars were waiting. The whole night shift was

suspended. The supervisor stayed locked in the office, too scared to come out. When asked about their union, District 65, one worker said, "There is no union."

Two days later, the union "arbitrated" the workers back to work by calling them into the office—one by one. Eighteen night shift workers were still laid off.

Detroit, Mich.—When the blue slips were handed out at Chrysler's Lynch Road plant, workers decided to take action against the constant harassment they face. Many of the tops of cars on the line were torn, while some workers took on part of the plant itself. One foreman said, "They acted like they wanted to burn down the place."

Many women were in the forefront of the protest, for they are the ones with little or no seniority and are usually the first to be fired. Yet it wasn't only the ones with little seniority who participated in the protest. It did not matter if a worker had 30 or 3 years seniority. The fact is 2,000 workers were laid off—the entire afternoon shift.

This new response that workers are giving to today's brutal recession and inflation is happening nationally and internationally. It is a response that is "in the air"—in the actions and minds of workers at the point of production. (See "On The Line" p. 3).

10¢

NEWS LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx, *Capital* Vol. III

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OCTOBER, 1979

Two Worlds

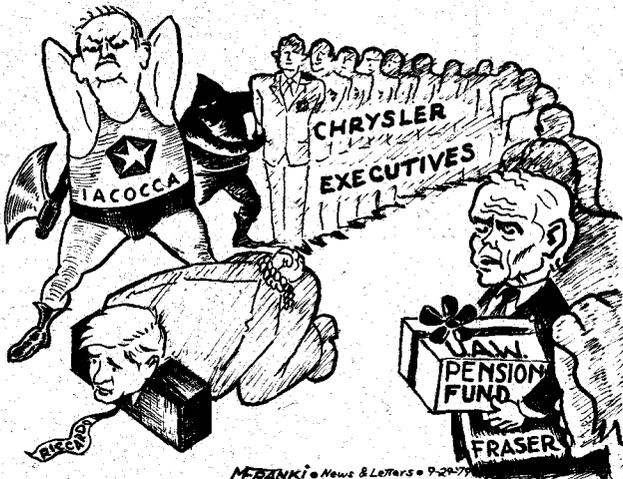
ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE 1980s

The following excerpts are taken from the *Perspectives Thesis* delivered to the National Editorial Board Meeting of News and Letters Committees on Sept. 1 in Detroit. The full report is now available from N&L (see ad, p. 6, for table of contents).

by Raya Dunayevskaya

National Chairwoman, News and Letters Committees
1. THE OVERVIEW: NEW BEGINNINGS VS. DECADENT CAPITALISM IN DISORDER

The decade of the 1970s is ending with the capitalistic world order in total disorder. When the 1973 Arab-Israeli war led to the 1974 quadrupling of oil prices, it descended upon U.S. imperialism, which already



"Don't worry. If we give Iacocca this, he'll be gentle." (See "On The Line," p. 3 and Editorial, p. 5)

had been creaking because of its imperialist war in Vietnam. The Johnson Administration of "guns and butter" refused to acknowledge that not only the armed might but the economy had been drained. The truth is that the economy had sustained hardly bearable gashes in its very structure—or, if you wish, nature. This year it has become impossible for the capitalists and their ideologues to predict any sort of boom, no matter how hard they try to play down the recession we're in as "mild", with their computerized gimmicks playing the "future's" game. Nor can U.S. imperialism saddle "others"—OPEC, or Andrew Young—with the myriad political crises it is causing very nearly daily.

Quite the contrary. The political crises, like the economic crises, stem from this decrepit capitalistic-imperialist world system, with its two nuclear Titans—U.S. and Russia—fighting for single world rule. No matter how hard rulers pretend, with SALT I and SALT II, that they will slow the armaments race, the goal is so clearly preparation for the unthinkable world holocaust that even so bourgeois a paper as the *New York Times*, which is for SALT II, feels compelled to entitle its editorial, "Arms Control Out of Control" (8/15/79).

If anyone needed any further proof of capitalistic disarray, just take a second look at what happened last month at the last summit, as the technologically most advanced countries—the six Western nations and Japan—arrived at a "consensus" and promised to act in common against OPEC's ceaseless rises in prices. Each went its own way to try to conclude a separate deal with the oil potentates, including their opportunistic embrace of the PLO. Making Andrew Young the scapegoat for that attempted shift in global politics can hardly convince a child—and Israel is no child!—that Young acted alone. After all, before Camp David, long before, Carter-Vance even tried an official deal with both Russia and the PLO.

Not to be discounted is its ramification in the attitudes of Black leaders (with which we will deal later). Here what needs to be stressed is the timing: that it takes place after Camp David, after the actual signing of the so-called Egypt-Israel peace treaty, and after Sadat declared himself all too eager to also fill the Shah's role and be the U.S.'s policeman in the Middle East. What this signifies is an admission of failure of the Camp David extravaganza. What is new is the abyssal depth of the totality not only of the global economic-political crises, but the proliferation of A-bomb know-how in the backwaters as well as the Atlantic-Pacific-Gulf's preserves; witness Pakistan aiming for "a Moslem bomb"

So organic—to the very marrow of its bones—is the disorder of the decrepit capitalistic-imperialistic system in this state-capitalist age that nothing whatever can help it. It needs to be totally uprooted.

As against these spectacles, at the absolute opposite of this nuclear insanity, there does sprout up from below new, human beginnings. Three events—one seemingly subjective and two objective—do illuminate both the month of August which has just ended and the year 1979 which is on its way out. The two great objective events are the Nicaraguan Revolution and the new phase of Chapter Two of the Iranian Revolution, opened up by the most massive demonstrations against Khomeini since the overthrow of the Shah.

(continued on page 5)

WOMAN AS REASON *An Iranian woman speaks: women and religion in Iran*

The similarities of the 1905-06 Revolution and today's revolution in Iran should be carefully analyzed to see what are the specific reasons for the counter-revolution existing within revolution to such an extent. Religion seems to be a main element . . .

Islam is an earthly religion. It goes into details on economic and social aspects of life. One of these aspects is the provision of temporary marriage. It is true that the bourgeoisie throughout history, not content with marriage, has always had the wives and daughters of their proletariat as well as other women at their disposal.

The Moslem religion, however, has gone further and created a legal mantle for these temptations. The length of the marriage (usually less than a year), as well as a sum to be paid to the woman, are determined by a simple contract. It is a legal, socially acceptable phenomenon, and a permanent wife would have no right to complain. Every man may have four wives at the same time and as many temporary (Sigheh) wives as he can financially afford.

With the introduction of "communism", the bourgeois, who sees in his wife a mere instrument of production, hears that the instruments of production are

to be exploited in common . . . The woman, who is already familiar with the concept of community of women exactly because of the phenomenon of temporary marriage, would rather choose the legal, "blessed by God" system already acceptable for centuries . . . In fact, she sees no more interest in trying to bring about "communism." Neither the man nor the woman have even a suspicion that the real point aimed at is to do away with the status of women as mere instruments of production.

To the above we may add the extreme emphasis on physical and mental conditions of men and women. According to the Koran, the women who are so "sensitive and warmhearted" would therefore not be suitable to serve as judges or leaders of the community for fear of being too naive and too soft on criminals and aggressive citizens.

The articles which are now being published in Tehran's papers deal with these limitations. Even the more intellectual women who would be interested in reading *Origins of the Family* or de Beauvoir's *Second Sex* would face the "world historic defeat of the female sex" or a picture of women's biology as a material

limit, forcing her subordination to man.

In de Beauvoir, they would find emphasis that "however strong the women were (are), the bondage of reproduction is a terrible handicap in the struggle against a hostile world." We can add as well that the same attitude applies to the mental qualities of the female sex in Iran. Many verses in the Koran support this philosophy . . .

In a recent discussion with a group of students from a section of the Confederation of Iranian Students, the women, who seemed to stand by the organization's motto of support for Khomeini's government, expressed themselves differently from their fellow male comrades once the question of temporary marriage, abolition of family protection laws and the anti-abortion laws came up . . .

We should mention the fact that a women's organization in Iran boycotted the elections of the Constituent Assembly because of the article in the Constitution calling the "raising and education of children the primary responsibility of women."

This is why a Marxist philosophy of liberation becomes so immensely important for this stage of Iran's revolution, clearly distinguishing itself from "Communism" as presented, or the Western concept of morality most hated by Iranian society.



women-worldwide

Jo Ann Yellow Bird has been awarded \$300,000 in a civil suit filed after she was kicked in the stomach by a police officer when she was pregnant. The child she was carrying was still-born. While the police officer and the city of Gordon, Nebraska, were found guilty, others, such as hospital officials who refused to care for her, were found by the all-white jury not to have "violated her constitutional rights".

The Portuguese Union of Domestic Workers, organized by women in April, 1975, will hold their first national Congress in October. The domestic workers have been holding discussions over the summer to prepare for the Congress on such issues as "the cost of living; the right to rest; the state, and why we live in an unjust society; the situation of women; what we have achieved; how we can change our work and our lives." N&L will report on the Congress at its conclusion.

There is a growing movement among rank-and-file women workers in South Korean textile factories. In face of brutal beatings by male "goons" organized by the president of the National Textile Workers' Union, harassment by the Korean CIA, and total lack of support from male union members, the women at Tong Il factory have vowed to fight against slave labor conditions, sexual aggression by foremen, and "traditional ways of thought" which do not allow women to think of anything outside the home.

(Information from *Courage*, W. Berlin)



WRITE ON!

Let Me Speak! Testimony of Domitila, a Woman of the Bolivian Mines, by Domitila Barrios de Chungara with Moema Viezzer (Monthly Review Press, 1979, \$12.50).

This is an excellent and moving account of the development of Domitila de Chungara into a revolutionary and a leader of the Housewives Committee of Siglo, a tin mining area. It is not only a personal history but gives an idea of revolution and the fight against counter-revolution in Bolivia since 1952. The postscript leaves several political questions unanswered, but the book is a fine example of woman as revolutionary.

Femininity as Alienation: Women and the Family in Marxism and Psychoanalysis, by Ann Foreman (Pluto Press, 1970).

The best part of this book, which tries to unite what the author considers relevant in Marx, Freud, Sartre, and Lukacs, is the few pages where Foreman discusses Sylvia Pankhurst and the East London Federation of the Suffragettes in 1913 Britain. Unfortunately, this unity of middle class and working women is not seen as a new beginning by her for theory. Rather, Foreman's conclusion accepts Lukacs' concept of reification of the consciousness of the working class and says women can intervene by widening the location, and transforming the content and form of political struggle. This is done by self-conscious women who have, somehow, magically overcome reification while the working class is still drowning in its own backwardness.

Border guards harass women

Chicago, Ill.—The Fourth Michigan Women's Music Festival was held at Hesperia, Mich. over the weekend of Aug. 23-26. Close to 7,000 women—many of them lesbians—attended from all over the U.S. and Canada.

Despite the large turnout, close to 200 were unable to attend. At Port Huron, U.S. customs officials refused entrance to Canadian women. They stopped cars and asked women their destination. If the reply was Hesperia, they were turned back. Cars were searched and women were refused entry if a Festival brochure was found or if their maps had Hesperia marked.

Women were interrogated and told they must prove they were not lesbians. Some were even asked when they had last slept with a man. The papers of one woman were taken from her illegally and stamped "deviant".

While I was angry about these incidents of harassment, what also angered me was the seeming lack of concern of women attending the Festival. Only a handful of U.S. women came to the meeting held with the National Gay Rights Task Force to discuss what had happened and what to do about it.

The feeling I got at the Music Festival was more on the level of counterculture as freedom. That's not enough for me. I'm not willing to settle for counterculture and a little bit of freedom, because I won't be free until everyone is free.

—Lesbian feminist

Health care workers strike

Detroit, Mich.—The nursing home workers' strike against Northwest Care Center and the Allan Dee Convalescent Center here, which began June 21, continues (see N&L, Aug.-Sept. 1979). On Aug. 3, 46 Glen Eden Psychiatric Hospital workers in Warren, Mich., who are, along with the nursing home workers, members of Local 79, SEIU, walked out over low wages—one Black woman with 14 years seniority was making \$3.83 per hour—and racist hiring practices by management.

Workers at all three institutions have been exchanging information. All are concerned about the quality of health care that patients receive now that untrained scabs are working. At the nursing homes, care is so poor that some elderly patients have died.

The 24-hour, mostly women picket at Glen Eden has been physically harassed by guards. At the nursing homes, women pickets have been attacked and held at gun point by male scabs. A woman striker told the following story:

"For many of the women, this is our first experience in a strike. But we've learned how great is our own way of thinking and doing. We saw how effective the mass rally was at the nursing home of some 200 strikers and supporters. The scabs were afraid to go in or out. Yet, the union made us hold the last rally at the union hall.

"We also learned that men harass us because we're women. The men think we should work for \$2.90 an hour, or that a woman's place is in the home.

"Union meetings and representation have been discouraging. Instead of getting straight answers about what we need on the picket line and how the strike is to be settled, we get stories about what happened in the Civil Rights movement and what the union used to do in the plants. I want to know what the unions and Black leaders are doing now."

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Beta shoe workers strike for first contract

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

On my recent visit to Southern Indiana I had an opportunity to visit and walk the picket line with workers from the Beta Shoe Co., who have been on strike for four months to get a living wage. It had been almost a year earlier that I had first been at one of their union meetings when they were attempting to organize the plant (see News & Letters, October 1978).

On the picket line I felt the determination of the workers to win this strike is stronger today than ever. It took over a year of struggle to get a union in and now it was taking a long strike to get a decent contract.

One night while walking picket, I had a good discussion with a group of strikers on working conditions and piece work. These workers were saying that they wanted to get away from piece work because when they began to make good money at it, the company would up the basic rate, or the machines would break down. They wanted to work by the hour, to know how much they would be making each week.

They spoke about the dust and fumes from the material they work with. It sounded like those working in textile who are having brown lung problems, like at J.P. Stevens in the South. It also made me think about the solder problems we have in my plant at GM. It seems that it makes no difference what kind of work workers do, they all have health and safety problems, as if it is planned that under capitalism workers are supposed to die at the end of their production years.

As for wages at Beta Shoe, they were offering only 20¢ in the next three years over the minimum wage of \$2.90 that many of the workers now receive. One woman worker said, "We weren't making enough to feed our families. We are almost as well off on strike with our

Strike at Grier's sweatshop

(Editor's Note: On Aug. 16, workers at Grier Abrasive Company, a Black-owned Southside Chicago grinding wheel factory, went on strike because the owner refused to negotiate with the newly elected union, AFL-CIO Local 327, and began firing militant workers. The 78 workers are almost all Black, and two-thirds women. Below is a statement from one of the strikers.)

Chicago, Ill.—We are on strike not merely because we want more money, but because we have been mentally and physically abused by our employer. We want fair labor practices, better working conditions, less harassment on the job and, of course, a contract. These things are our human rights. No negotiations are going to be held until he has rehired all employees he fired because of union activities before and after the election.

The jobs are very hazardous, especially in the molding department. There are pins that are .025 inches thick, and when the woman presses the level, the top plunger comes down and forms a wheel. At the same time her hands are passing back and forth. You are tied to your machine: your legs are strapped—only your hands are important—you can't turn around. And that's the way they've got you in the motor's grip!

The women do different work than the men and get lower pay, with \$2.90 an hour and .8 to 1.5 cents per wheel if they go over their quota.

Grier is hiring teenagers to scab and 14 workers stayed in there. One fellow worked there two hours, came on break, and asked us what we were striking for. We told him, and he said, "Well, I'm with you all." So we've got to get his job back, too.

\$50 per week strike benefits as we were when we worked. They might as well pay us a wage we can live with or we will sit here until hell freezes over."

A state representative running for governor came by and told the workers he would help them. But when the workers were asking for a law so that workers can draw unemployment after the first week on strike, or have a government loan to pay their bills, the representative couldn't help. All he offered was food stamps which the workers already had. It shows you how little this system can do for workers who produce everything with their labor.

Before workers can enjoy the fruit of this production, they themselves will have to destroy this system. Only when the working people become as well the thinkers of this society, the controllers of it, can there be any real help.

BART workers still locked out

(Editor's Note: Bay Area Rapid Transit Workers have been locked out by management since Aug. 31 after working two months without a contract, see N&L, Aug-Sept. 1979. Here several BART workers tell their story):

Oakland, Cal.—This whole dispute is because BART management refuses to negotiate the cost-of-living allowance clause in our contracts the way it has been for the past six years. BART says we're overpaid and instead of making our COLA a standard, BART wants to set a national standard for transit workers by freezing our wages for the next four years. We're not overpaid; other workers are underpaid.

The trains are unsafe without good maintenance. Already this past January, a metal plate whose attachments had come loose fell off the trains and started a fire that killed one fireman.

We have been locked out by management, and they are using the charge of sabotage and the COLA clause as a screen to break the unions. If BART management is allowed to push the unions out, it will hurt everyone in the Bay Area.

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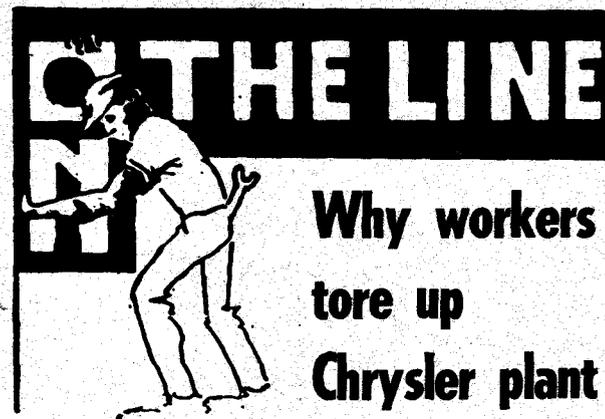
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NEW YORK READERS NOTE!

News & Letters Committees meet every Sunday, 7 p.m., at 369 8th Avenue (S.W. corner of 29th Street).



by John Allison

Workers on the afternoon shift tore up Chrysler's Lynch Road assembly plant in Detroit on Thursday evening, Sept. 20. Wires were torn out of over 100 truck dashboards, windshields and side windows were smashed, bodies were ripped, the production line was stopped and many plant fixtures were torn out in the shop and in the bathrooms.

The incident made the national news, and all reports said the revolt of the workers stemmed from Chrysler's permanent layoff of the entire afternoon shift scheduled for Friday, Sept. 21.

The Lynch Road plant is the old Plymouth plant, and has many long time employees who were bitter over the layoff and faced a future that offered little, if any, hope of future employment. But what made the workers jump the gun and hit the plant on Thursday instead of waiting until their last day, Friday?

These seem to be the facts. During the early part of the week, Chrysler's new boss Lee Iacocca, in a big housecleaning move, called in a string of top executives — wheels drawing salaries of \$75-150,000 — and asked them to take early retirement. They refused, and when they got to their offices the next day, learned that their classifications had been downgraded to cut their salaries in half and more.

Enraged by Iacocca's action, some executives leaked the report on Thursday that Chrysler was considering selling the Lynch Road assembly plant to Volkswagen. Everybody knows Chrysler needs cash bad, and Volkswagen needs a new assembly plant because it can't keep up with buyer demands for its car.

The Lynch Road Chrysler workers were already mad enough about the permanent layoff of the afternoon shift, but when they heard this report, they blew their lids. This changed their outlook on everything. It wasn't just laying off the afternoon shift, which was bad enough, it was that everybody would be wiped out if Chrysler sold the plant to Volkswagen.

If Chrysler didn't give a damn for the workers, the workers sure weren't giving a damn for Chrysler. So they tore the plant up. This is far from the end of the story. Be sure to tune in for the next episode.

URW allows firing absentees

Detroit, Mich. — The new Uniroyal contract has left us with almost no power and nobody expects anything better in the local supplemental contract which is being negotiated right now.

At the ratification meeting for the major contract, the higher officials pushed it through by pitting retirees and older workers against the younger workers, defending the company by pleading that it was in difficulty, and threatening that if we didn't go along we could lose our jobs. They used this line to put through a not-very-good pension plan and then did not give anything to the younger workers.

We still have no rights under the absentee policy, but this hasn't stopped people from being absent because the work is so brutal. Several people have been fired under this policy recently. What's more, most of the union officials openly support the company in this policy. One of the worst is Local Vice-President Louis Poole, who rails against the youth all the time, saying they just don't want to work. Well, Louis Poole hasn't done any work for a long time either in production or for the people he is supposed to represent.

There are a lot of others like him. Nowadays the Division Chairmen don't have to work a job, but sit in an office. It's also harder now to get representation, even on days, but on afternoons and midnights the only union people around are the shift committeemen, and not every department has one.

The union is becoming more like another part of the company management as a kind of disciplinary branch to keep the regular workers in their place. As workers it is up to us to figure out what to do about changing this situation.

FROM THE AUTO STOPS

GM South Gate

South Gate, Cal.—Nearly 2,000 workers were informed by mail in August that they were on "indefinite lay-off."

It is in the company's interest to have the more militant auto workers, young men and women, "out of the picture" during contract negotiations. It was these workers who raised the demands of "no more overtime" and "a shorter work week", and spoke out against speed-up and hazardous work conditions, while challenging the union leadership on questions of how a strike should be conducted and the contract ratified.

Company and union think that they can deal with a reduced labor force consisting mainly of older workers waiting for retirement—it's no accident the issue saved for last at the negotiating table was pension increases.

—South Gate worker

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—Since lay-off and model changeover, workers with 15 to 20 years seniority are being moved into different classifications—some are working in the paint shop and some in the body shop. Union representation is now combining two floors to every committeeman. There has been a lay-off of 1,300 people, mostly women, with the lowest seniority now in the plant beginning with 4½ to 5 years. There are 3,500 workers left, trying to learn new jobs.

In Dept. 21, they have us doing 2½ jobs instead of 1. Before, when you were a hi-lo driver, you were a hi-lo driver. Now you not only load and unload with the hi-lo, but you have to take down the steel beams, too. Everyone has filed 78's, but the union has done nothing except wait for the contract to expire.

—Fleetwood workers

—Uniroyal worker

Readers' Views

VIEWS OF OUR PLENUM: PHILOSOPHY AND ORGANIZATION

To me the News and Letters Committees Plenum was a trip around the world as well as within one's self-consciousness. Throughout the two days, you never lost sight of the central question: the need to make philosophy and organization inseparable if revolutions are ever to be total.

In the international scene: the revolutions in Nicaragua and Iran; the Camp David failure; the arms control actually out of control. In the national scene: introduction of "inflation" (simultaneous inflation and recession); the decline in productivity and the laying-off of Blacks, women and youth; the strikes breaking out everywhere; the Black leadership crisis and the PLO.

And on a personal level: the emphasis on self-criticism; the critique of others — and not just the enemy; and critique as foundation for praxis; all helped to give a better understanding of the declining trend of capitalism and the need for a world based on Marxist-Humanist relations.

Student
San Francisco

One point I'll never forget at the News and Letters Committees Plenum was the explanation by Peter Mallory of how the oil companies manage all statistics on their industry. "Years ago," he said, "they told all the facts and figures in a little reference book. They told too much. Now they publish a big fat book that tells you only what they want you to know, called *Basic Petroleum Facts*. It is a loose leaf, like a Russian history book, so that embarrassing facts can be easily removed and new ones added."

Enlightened
Chicago

One thing the national gathering of News and Letters Committees over Labor Day weekend brought across very clearly was the global character of what one international reporter called "decomposition of leftist thought and practice." The new stage of that decomposition was shown in how many Black leaders are so isolated from the Black masses at home, that they go running to any would-be state power like the PLO for allies.

What is new, of course, is not that these vanguardist sections are isolated from the masses; what the Plenum brought out is that so new a stage has been reached, that the very idea of genuine liberation has been totally lost sight of by the Left.

Peter Wermuth
Los Angeles

The meeting of the Internationalist Marxist-Humanist Youth Committee was

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman,
National Editorial Board

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a most exciting event. Not only was the international dimension very important, but here at home there was the demonstration of youth as a revolutionary category, and not limited by any means to the campus, but including young workers, and also unemployed workers. I was very struck with a young worker who used the term "soon to be unemployed youth," for young workers. That is the truth of capitalism's development. A chance for a very new beginning in the movement of youth has been made.

Ex-youth
Los Angeles

RACISM — IN ALL FORMS

The police terror continues in New York's Black and Latino neighborhoods. Luis Baez, a 26 year old retarded man, was shot 21 times by five cops, as he lay at their feet. His mother had called the police to take him to the psychiatric hospital as he was cutting up the rug with a pair of scissors. She said what most shocked her was the way one of the cops, after emptying his gun into her son, stood there coolly reloading it.

Only 24 hours earlier, 17 year old Arturo Reyes was shot in the back of the neck and paralyzed, while running from a plain-clothes cop who never identified himself.

No action was taken against the cops.

Furious
New York

I was disgusted to see in the *New York Times Book Review* (9-16-79) a quarter-page ad titled "Holocaust or Hoax?" The ad was for the latest neo-Nazi propaganda that is attempting to pass itself off as "historical scholarship," denying the extermination of six million Jews and millions of others in Hitler's gas chambers. Nothing speaks so well for the decadence of bourgeois thought than that the NYT should grant legitimacy to Nazi hate and lies — in the name of free speech, no doubt.

Very angry
Detroit

JEAN SEBERG

The tragedy of Jean Seberg, the actress whom the FBI has admitted persecuting for her support of the Black Panthers, is a grim affirmation of the article I wrote in *News & Letters* (July '79) several weeks before she took her life. It described the complicity of the C.I.A. in the destruction of still another actress some 30 years ago, Frances Farmer, and noted the similarity of methods with the Russian secret police.

It is obvious, then, that in these parallel cases, spanning more than a quarter of a century, what is involved is deeper than a mere mistake in policy.

It is scandalous that Jean Seberg's former husband, Romain Gary, a frequently published author, eminent example of the world-weary, skeptical French intellectual, should be so easily gulled by the barbarians of the F.B.I. He did reveal the profound depression that she had suffered yearly because of the mis-carriage from their harassment. Credit him with this. But then on a TV news interview he lauded them for their courage in owning up to their perfidy. How gutless can you get to pay tribute to such monsters?

M. Franki
Detroit

HERBERT MARCUSE

Thank you so much for sending the Marcuse obituary. Your piece is certainly the best that I have read. It is filled with personal warmth and it does Marcuse the critical justice that is called for.

Professor
New Jersey

I heard Marcuse speak at USC only months ago, informing yet another crop of students that their society is insane. I'd read all his books avidly, and found in him a fellow pessimist — a quality which toward the end disappointed me. Yet Marcuse meant to me that rare quality — the power of the radical intellect.

Tony S.
California

APPEAL FROM MINUS 5

After much difficulty the first edition of *Minus 5* is now ready for publication. It will contain essays on the Deng Xiaoping line in relation to the class struggle, the struggle between the Maoists and the pragmatists, Peking Spring and an eyewitness account of a mass rally in Shanghai early this year, totalling 50,000 words.

But at the moment finances are holding things up. Here we earnestly appeal for donations (with names, please, so we can send you copies of *Minus 5*). For those who would prefer to subscribe rather than to donate, please drop us a note. Send checks payable to:

1984 Bookshop
180 Lockhart Rd.
I/F, Wanchai,
Hong Kong

GUYANA GENERAL STRIKE

I wanted to bring N&L readers up to date on the events in Guyana after the arrests of the leaders of the Working People's Alliance, including Black author Dr. Walter Rodney. In the court room, police beat and arrested people who came to support the prisoners, carrying them to remote areas outside Georgetown and leaving them. In the streets, mass public meetings were scattered with barrages of tear gas.

But a real threat to the Burnham government came when a general strike broke out Aug. 14. The bauxite miners were joined by the sugar workers, the commercial workers, and by the University of Guyana staff association. Nearly 20,000 attended an opposition rally. The police took out their frustrations by breaking into private homes and seizing food collected for the bauxite workers on strike.

By the first week of September, all the strikes had ended, with the bauxite workers winning a substantial raise. But the struggle in Guyana goes on.

Correspondent
Massachusetts

THE BRITISH SCENE

Thatcher is in a tight corner on Rhodesia. She wants to get out of the policy of imposing sanctions but had to take the whole of Africa into account. It is claimed that Lord Carrington told her about the African position but it seems more likely that the pressure came from the U.S.

The Irish question has her stumped. She has troops there at a time when her armed forces are depleted and says she is going to add 10,000 troops to the Royal Ulster Constabulary. The British

ruling class have always been consistently stupid on the Irish issue. They will discover that there is nothing left for them but the withdrawal of troops. They are becoming a laughing-stock.

Harry McShane
Glasgow, Scotland

Please write and tell me all about your organization and methods of work, since the sample I have had (*Marxism and Freedom* and a few copies of *N&L*) has been a real forward vision when my traditionalist Trotskyism/state-capitalism needed renewing after several years in the British SWP. How do you advise sympathisers to work in Britain?

New Reader
Wales

RENT STRIKE IN FRANCE

I'd like to add a little more information than was reported in the last issue of *N&L* on the immigrant workers' occupation at Garges-les-Gonesses outside Paris. They have been living in a tent city since June, after being evicted for rent striking. They are over 200 strong, mostly North African, and part of a national movement of immigrant workers against French racism.

These government-run dormitories charge exorbitant rents, have one kitchen for 30 people, usually forbid all visitors. The director is most often a retired military officer who served in one of the French colonies.

They pointed out to me that the Communist Party supports them on paper, but the local Communist Mayor says "30 percent, that's too many" in reference to the number of immigrants already in Garges. They were amazed when I told them that many Left and Black intellectuals in the U.S. thought France was less racist than the U.S.A. Contributions and letters can be sent to *Comite de Coordination des Foyers en Lutte*, 14 Rue de Nanteuil, 75015 Paris, France.

Kevin A. Barry
New York

LABOR—THEN AND NOW

The United Farm Workers are calling for a new boycott of head lettuce to help give a final push for winning contract renewals in the California lettuce fields. Mass support of the 9-month farmworkers' strike for better wages and working conditions is one thing the growers understand. After the Aug. 31 support rally of over 20,000 in Salinas, the biggest lettuce grower, Sun Harvest, settled its contracts. At this point, nearly half of the 40 outstanding contracts have been won. For more information on the strike and the boycott, talk to your local UFW committee.

HOLD THE LETTUCE — SPREAD THE WORD!

UFW supporter
Detroit

On the 100th anniversary of his birth, a petition campaign has been launched to pardon the legendary union organizer Joe Hill, who was executed for murder by a Utah firing squad in 1915. His trumped-up murder conviction, despite no clear evidence of his guilt, came at the height of his efforts to organize the unorganized for the International Workers of the World. Petitions to pardon him will be sent to Utah Governor Scott Matheson. They can be obtained from: *Illinois Labor History Society*, P.O. Box 914, Chicago, IL 60690.

Union Member
Detroit

TWO WORLDS *On the threshold of the 1980s*

(continued from page 1)

That the counter-revolution has also reached a new stage with Khomeini declaring himself Supreme Commander, and unleashing a murderous campaign against the Kurds, can't erase the still ongoing revolutionary resistance. Don't forget that no one expected the Shah to fall that easily, either. The new phase that has just begun is the mass nature of the demonstrations against Khomeini. What the women first opened on International Women's Day has now been both broadened and deepened, not only because both men and women have shown their deep opposition, and not only because it was against censorship, but because it is clear to all by now that this time the revolutionaries who made the revolution against the Shah and U.S. imperialism are working out new ways of freedom—total freedom. The Kurds are out front and they are not alone . . .

When we point to new beginnings this August, 1979, it is again in order to show that unless these new beginnings are in thought as well as in fact, we will not be able to meet today's challenge. And it is this which determined the inclusion, among the new beginnings, of the deadline of 1980 for Rosa Luxemburg, Today's Women's Liberation Movement and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, as the so-called subjective element. I say "so-called subjective" because the truth is that it isn't subjective. Not only do all the aborted revolutions demand a reconsideration of the relationship of theory to practice but, above all, there have actually sprung up very new types of beginnings in the 1970s. Whether we consider a first bright revolutionary light—Portugal—and its relationship to the African revolutions in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, and to East Timor; whether we consider the Latin American revolts, or the new phase in the Iranian revolution, or even just the new stage of the anti-nuke movement here since the Three Mile Island accident—the point is that what was "in the air" was caught both objectively and "subjectively" . . .

II. WITHOUT A PHILOSOPHY OF REVOLUTION: OIL AND THE PLO GAINING A Foothold WITH BLACK LEADERS

... Oil, oil, oil: the militarized machine is insatiable; they—the rulers—are always preparing it for a

war just around the corner. But what has that to do with the relationship of the PLO and the Black leaders?

It is true that Ambassador Young's resignation served as a catalyst for the appearance of the Black Caucus into the Middle East debate. It is not true that that is why it has a momentum of its own. Nor is it true (whether Young knows it or not) that some of the Black leaders are just following out Young's position. No, they too, are using him for something that has very different origins. Its direction presently will give us some indication of what that is—if your memory is good enough to go back to the year 1972 when the First Black Convention was held in Gary, Indiana . . .

The masses who came—and there were about 10,000 present—certainly did think that they came to form a Black Party; they thought they were through with both Republicans and Democrats, and wanted to strike out on their own. Why then was it a stillbirth?

First, everyone saw the Black Muslims in a totally new role. They who had heretofore concentrated on the subject of religion were the most active politically. To the rank-and-file this surprising turn reached the point of total non-recognition when the Black Agenda spoke of recognizing "the Chinese model for fundamental political and economic transformation of African and other Third World societies" ("The Black Agenda: White Realities, Black Choice"). It is hard, at first, to think there was a connection between the PLO and the Black Muslims. Neither the PLO nor Arab "moderates" were anywhere around.

But then there was no end of surprises—and confusion—there. The most shocking was the opposition to busing. So much rhetoric poured forth trying to draw a distinction between their opposition to busing and Nixon's retrogressive step in the same direction that those shocked workers held that "they wouldn't be surprised to see Black Maoists, here in this country, vote for Nixon in the coming election" (News & Letters, April, 1972: "Black Gary convention: a new party?" by Charles Denby).

The something that was rotten at Gary, Indiana, March 12, 1972, was the fact that the Nixon-Mao extravaganza had just spilled over into it. And just as Nixon-Kissinger tilted toward Pakistan, so the Muslims

here, with some hefty unacknowledged oil money (we first now learn), were titling toward the PLO (or was it the Arab "moderates"?) . . .

Just as we warned the white "New Left" in the 1960s against subordinating the Black dimension, so we wrote of the leadership of the First Black Convention that, by failing to look where the global Nixon-Mao extravaganza was leading, they were, in fact, like the white "New Left" of the 1960s, too much concerned with leadership, leadership, leadership, and paying no attention to the Black masses. It is not "leadership" or Party that is the "vanguard," we insisted then and now; the Black masses are vanguard.

In presently passing four Resolutions: 1) in support of Ambassador Young; 2) in insisting on the right not to be restricted to "ghetto politics" but taking positions on foreign policy; 3) in asserting the right of the SCLC to have initiated a dialogue with the PLO; and, above all, 4) in separating themselves from some Jewish so-called friends who had, in fact, retrogressed on civil rights in both the Bakke and Weber cases—some leaders have suddenly recalled 1972. Unfortunately, it was only for purposes of contrasting the lack of unity in 1972 to the "cohesion" in 1979, and contrasting themselves against "the kids in the dashikis (who) were always talking about unity in the 60s and never achieved it." Bayard Rustin called the unity a positive "miracle." Dr. Kenneth Clark called it nothing short of "our declaration of independence" (NYT 8/84/79).

The significance of their meeting is not the alleged unanimity achieved. Actually, the SCLC that had met with the PLO and rejected Israel's designation of it as

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

Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

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

EDITORIAL 'Best damn UAW contract—for GM!'

"This is the best damn contract that the United Auto Workers ever negotiated—for the General Motors Corporation!" yelled a California GM auto worker at South Gate's local union contract ratification meeting. The outrage of this worker at the contract sell-out by UAW President Douglas Fraser and his GM Division Director, Irving Bluestone, was echoed by thousands of other GM workers across the nation who completely contradicted the glowing words of Fraser, Bluestone and GM chief negotiator Morris.

Increased benefits for pensioners, workers charged, were coming out of workers' pockets, from the 14c taken away from their cost-of-living payments over the three years and totaling an estimated \$167 million. They blasted other giveaways: new hires working at 60c per hour below the contract rate (worth over \$36 million to GM); getting only 75 percent coverage for sickness and accident benefits for three months; and receiving no hospitalization benefits before four months of work (worth many millions more to GM). There's not even a whisper for workers, let alone a voice, about automation or safe work conditions; nothing about a shorter work week, forced overtime, subcontracting or run-away plants.

ABSENTEE CRACKDOWN

Also alarming workers is the UAW's agreement with GM management to crack-down on absenteeism. This means harsher penalties, including lay-offs, for missing work.

Another critical factor is escalating lay-offs in auto, with over 35,000 already permanently laid off and the number growing each week. Lay-offs first hit young workers on production lines who have the least seniority. Older workers are therefore forced back onto the line—a line speeded up far beyond what anyone can withstand for long, but for older workers it is literally a question of life and death.

The future with Fraser is shown by what happened before the contract settlement in relation to the UAW's announced strategy of striking target GM plants producing hot-selling cars. In California, GM's Van Nuys plant was picked as a target, but GM's South Gate plant was not.

Van Nuys workers threatened to set up pickets at South Gate, and South Gate union officials contacted the International UAW asking what should be done. The answer came back: "Cross the picket line."

WHAT KIND OF UNION LEADER?

South Gate workers were infuriated. "What the

hell does Fraser think he's doing by ordering us to cross a UAW picket line?" one worker demanded. "What kind of a union leader do you call that—someone who orders workers to scab? With a leadership like that, you can bet your bottom dollar that even more was given away in these negotiations than we know about. We're going to find out the hard way—when we're back in the plant and can't do anything about it."

Fraser learned well from that master of substitution, Walter Reuther, who turned UAW workers' demands for a guaranteed annual wage into SUB (ask laid off Chrysler workers how much SUB is worth); the demand for a four-day work week into extra days off; and the demand for no forced overtime into notification of overtime work.

For the workers' demand that retirees have cost-of-living protection, Fraser substituted "incremental increases," and that's a far cry from cost-of-living protection. Reports in the press of high pension increases have been deliberately misleading, and refer to a small minority of the highest paid UAW retirees.

Attention now turns to Ford and Chrysler negotiations—with Chrysler workers aware that they will get even "less" than GM workers because of Chrysler mismanagement.

FORD AND FORD VS. GM

Chrysler's new leadership, headed by ex-Ford boss Lee Iacocca who has recruited many former Ford top executives, is planning a reorganization aimed at one certain result: more speed-up of workers on the production line.

This is already clear from Chrysler's computerized disciplinary action now in effect, as well as flagrant disregard for safety practices (see article, p. 3). As one Chrysler worker put it, "Chrysler is no longer in the picture. Now it's Ford and Ford against GM, and that means the workers are going to catch more hell on the production line than they ever did before."

However, the crisis in production isn't only in the auto industry, but also in aluminum, petrochemicals and synthetic textile fibers. All these lay-offs, moreover, are as nothing compared to the massive firings that steelworkers face. The present economic crisis is very real, but it may deepen before the year is out far beyond anything business and government economists foresee. The question then will be which way the workers, employed and unemployed—women, youth, Black and white—will turn.

TWO WORLDS *On the threshold of the 1980s*

(continued from page 5)

terrorist, while they, as Rev. Lowery put it, "put no conditions" to their proposal to the PLO to "give consideration" to "recognizing the nationhood of Israel", did not find their position shared by many of the others.

No, what brought some cohesion was precisely the revolutionary nature of the Black dimension, even when it is middle-class. What is pivotal is the fact that they criticized not alone Israel, but the backward move that the middle-class Jews were making here on the question of both quotas and so-called reverse discrimination—the Bakke and Weber cases. In the process of so doing, they made the most profound analysis of the neo-conservative because they, indeed, smell in it a rationale for the abandonment of the civil rights cause by many whites. Indeed, if you look at all the glories of the so-called "New Philosophy" and at Raymond Aron's *In Defense of Decadent Europe* in France, you will see that the neo-conservatives here are not only the Jewish bourgeois chauvinist ideologues in *Commentary* but, on a different and global scale, decadence is suddenly becoming a complimentary word. It has gained new respectability with the publication of *In Defense of Decadent Europe*. It's not only a journalist like James Reston who praises Aron's book (NYT 6/24/79), but one who knows the halls of power and is probably expecting to return to them on the shoulders of the Republican Party, Henry Kissinger, who called it "one of the most important intellectual statements of our time."

So pervasive is this so-called "New Philosophy" that it challenges the Left, too. But it is impossible to destroy those neo-conservatives and retrogressionists without a philosophy of liberation—Marxist-Humanism—which does not separate itself from the revolution itself.

III. OBJECTIVE SIGNIFICANCE OF "SUBJECTIVE" 1980 DEADLINE, OR CAN WE AID THE NEW BEGINNINGS—THE MOMENTOUS WORLD HISTORIC EVENTS OF OUR DECADE—TO DEVELOP INSTEAD OF TO ABORT?

Without a philosophy of revolution, that is to say, the total uprooting of the exploitative, capitalistic, racist, sexist, decadent system, there is no way for new beginnings to develop. Imperative, therefore, becomes the task of concretizing and deepening Marx's philosophy of revolution for our day. That is why we set the 1980 deadline for *Rosa Luxemburg, Today's Women's Liberation Movement, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.

Let us look into the future developments in the book which will cast further illumination on that 1980 deadline for the new book, as well as on why we must work out the deadening effect of the counter-revolution arising in the midst of, and from within, revolution. First, along with the study of Marx in, and about, the 1848 Revolution in Germany, we will probe into Marx's 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, as he analyzed Napoleon "the Little's" coup in 1851. The 1848 Revolution has special relevance for us today both because it was creatively related to the 1905 Revolution by the Marxist revolutionaries for the Russian and Polish Revolution, and because, in our day, it made it possible to grasp its relation to the ongoing revolution in Iran today.

Indeed, because I felt the new beginnings in the 1950s—the East German and Hungarian Revolutions as well as the Black Revolution in the U.S.—must reunite with Marx at the very beginning of his discovery of a new continent of thought, I decided that the division between Marx and Lassalle at that "Turning Point in History" was so pivotal to our age that I singled out that chapter in *Marxism and Freedom* and made nothing short of a separate part for it, all by itself. (Its relevance for today was further emphasized by an Iranian revolutionary when he chose that chapter to translate into Farsi.)

The reason it is imperative to study the 18th Brumaire, parallel with the study of the 1848 Revolution, is that Marx's theory of proletarian revolution was brought into the work of the coup because Marx always used the highest point of revolution as his point of departure, even when he was analyzing a counter-revolution. And it is in the 18th Brumaire that he contrasted proletarian revolution to bourgeois because the former stop to criticize themselves, instead of rushing uncritically ahead. As against bourgeois revolutions, wrote Marx: "Proletarian revolutions . . . criticize constantly, interrupt themselves constantly, interrupt themselves continually in their own course . . . deride with unmerciful thoroughness the inadequacies, weaknesses and paltriness of their first attempts . . . recoil anon from the indefinite prodigiousness of their own aims, until a situation has been created which makes all turning back impossible, and the conditions themselves cry out: *Hic Rhodus, hic salta!*"

Now we come to the second point which I said was, in fact, primary, as we anticipate the new book. The most critical and greatest achievement of the proletariat in Marx's day in the very first proletarian revolution ever—the Paris Commune—went hand in hand with a

historic new achievement in thought as Marx analyzed it in *The Civil War in France*. In "rewritten form", as some stupid Marxist called Lenin's *State and Revolution*, it laid the philosophic foundation for nothing short of the November 1917 Russian Revolution. It is such a "rewriting" for our day which is necessary for the American-revolution-to-be.

But even in Marx's day there was no direct road from it, both as actual revolution and as revolution in cognition, to the next revolution. Quite the contrary. Though for Marx, it was at once made integral to his greatest theoretical work, *Capital*, as it was amended in the 1875 French edition, that same year those who considered themselves Marxists in Germany—the Eisenachists—were uniting with the Lassalleans to form a united party at Gotha where they penned their new "program."

Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* has yet to be analyzed in as thorough—I mean thoroughly creative—a form as Lenin did of *Marx's Civil War in France*. Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme*—as all his works are critiques—is never just a critique, an opposition, but is always projecting the absolute opposite in an affirmative way—seeing the future in the present class society. Thereby, Marx projects the absolute transformation of labor from what it is under capitalism as a value-creating process to what the very activity of laboring becomes when it is not just a "means" of creating surplus value for the exploiter. It becomes the "first necessity of life" because it is then both Force and Reason as one, mentally and physically, thus creating a new Man/Woman in a class-less society.

And yet, and yet, so anxious was Marx not to stop the formation of a "united organization" because it was a movement, that he did not make this criticism public. It remained in a letter to the Marxist leaders. And even as these leaders finally created, after Marx's death, a fully Marxist party, at Erfurt more than a decade later, they resisted Engels' wish to have it published as critical to any "Erfurt Program." It is true that Engels' relentless fighting to get it published did finally succeed. But was it grasped philosophically as well as organizationally when Lassalleans were nowhere around? . . .

The subjective assigning of the deadline flows from the objective, the objectively new, that arose in the mid-1970s. So, allow me to stress that the Portuguese Revolution, for example, gave birth to a totally new category—*apartidarismo*—which has something to tell us, some indication of a road to follow, though they themselves seem not to follow while we have been hewing out such an independent role ever since in breaking through on the Absolute Idea as a movement from practice as well as from theory, we reunited the two not only in theory and not only in practice, but organizationally as well, as News and Letters Committees that sharply opposed "the party to lead" without turning away from an organizational expression of the philosophy of Marx's Humanism in committee-form.

Look even at the Nicaraguan Revolution, where the revolutionaries did come from guerrilla struggles, and you see there was a sharp departure from both *foco-ism* and "Leader Maximus." There is a new danger, of course—Popular Frontism, i.e. class collaborationism. And there is no way of telling to what extent Nicaragua will be held back by the strings U.S. imperialism attaches to any aid. But they have started something new, very new. Not only is it the first revolution in Latin America since Cuba's, 20 years ago, but it has international relations that are by no means limited to Russia, as was Cuba's. The something new is in being both urban and peasant; in always challenging the seat of power, like occupying the Parliament Building instead of individual murder and terrorism, which solves absolutely nothing.

The point of all this is: we must not allow the new beginnings to wither away, or abort. No, the task of Marxist revolutionaries is to concretize Marx's philosophy of revolution, where it, itself, becomes force for revolution.

This is our task for the 1980s.

New wave of strikes in Brazil



Rio de Janeiro prisoners — hunger strike ends but jail continues.

Recife, Brazil — There have been over 100 strikes in Brazil in the last months — bus drivers, teachers, sanitation and civil service workers — all trying to get better salaries, as what they receive is not enough to pay rent, food, and transportation. Currently 200,000 metalworkers, 200,000 bank employees, 20,000 miners and 10,000 state construction workers are on strike.

The inflation here is assuming terrible proportions — by the end of the year it will almost surely be rising at the rate of 60 percent. The most common complaint people make is that each time they go shopping, the food prices are different — always higher. Seventeen million workers are at or below the "minimum" salary of \$120 a month.

Sixteen political prisoners of Rio de Janeiro were on a hunger strike for 32 days, but the effort didn't free any of them. Of the 51 recognized political prisoners, only 12 will be set free by the new Amnesty Law passed in August. Although this law will permit many to return from exile and others to return to their past occupations, large sections of the population aren't satisfied with it.

Many say that those supposed "criminal" acts not covered by it were, at that time, the only response to the violence practiced by the government all these years — torture, imprisonment, people made to disappear, murders, and all kinds of censorship.

—Shoshana

La Lucha Latina

The 14,000 employees of the Ministry of Finance in Colombia have been on strike since Aug. 23. When the government responded with firings and military occupation of offices, government inspectors at all docks and airports joined the strike. Financial and commercial activity has been paralyzed and thousands of tons of goods have piled up. Workers of the Ministry of Public Works, the Electrical Power Company of Bogota, and National Telecommunications have held assemblies supporting the strikers.

On Sept. 14, the four union confederations of Colombia, representing four million workers, held a "day of national protest" against the high cost of living and for raises of 50 percent for all workers, including those making the minimum wage of \$90 a month.

A nine-day hunger strike by 100 relatives of "disappeared" political prisoners in Chile has won a promise from the Chilean government to turn over the bodies of the murdered prisoners recently discovered at Lonquen. The strike, which started Sept. 3, took place in seven locations in Santiago and was supported by 150 hunger strikes conducted around the world.

There are 2,500 political prisoners remaining in Chile. Hunger strikes by relatives over the past two years have been a rallying point for the resistance movement and have forced the issue to be heard.

News and Letters Committees Perspectives Report

ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE 1980S, AS OBJECTIVE REVOLUTIONARY NEW BEGINNINGS AND AS DEADLINE FOR "ROSA LUXEMBURG, TODAY'S WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT, AND MARX'S PHILOSOPHY OF REVOLUTION"

by Raya Dunayevskaya

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APPENDIX: Eyewitness International Reports from Europe and the Middle East

Available for 75¢ (plus 50¢ postage) from News & Letters, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, MI 48211.



by Jim Mills

So important was the August 31 national conference Marxist-Humanist youth in Detroit that the participants decided to devote this regular youth column to it.

The participants, from across the U.S., personified the attraction of the past year's mass youth movements for a philosophy which will give their actions a direction. Just looking at who was there tells a lot about the excitement we all felt!

- Middle Eastern youth who shared their experiences of overthrowing the Shah, only to find counter-revolution virtually built into the revolution itself. They asked how we could create a philosophy of revolution equal to the aspirations shown by the masses in their year-long struggle.

- Young women and men opposed to the reinstatement of the draft and nuclear power, for whom the mass outpourings since the Three Mile Island accident and the revolts within the "all-volunteer" army, an army of unemployed and minorities pressed into uniform, signal a formidable barrier to the Pentagon's insatiable appetite for weapons and oil.

tite for weapons and oil.

- Black and white youth, unemployed as well as working — experienced in speed-up and revolts on the job — who likewise question the traditional and even leftist labor organizations which don't fully recognize the ideas of young labor for uprooting capitalist society.

- Students active in campus struggles against college investments in apartheid South Africa and racist university policies in America, and in struggles against racist police killings.

The one thing uniting participants from all these struggles is the desire to work out, as youth, Marx's philosophy of revolution for today, which then must entail organization whose very form is an active challenge to all capitalist forms — in life and in thought. That is exactly what our meeting began to do.

We discussed all the areas of activity which will be reflected on the youth page of News & Letters in the coming months. But most important, our organizational seriousness and anticipation of new forms of youth revolt required a new expression. That is why we formed

the Internationalist Marxist-Humanist Youth Committee.

Already our first pamphlet, the Farsi-language edition of Raya Dunayevskaya's "Iran: Unfoldment of, and Contradictions in Revolution" has found an eager audience among Iranian activists. We voted to publish our next bulletin **The Internationalist Young Marxist-Humanist** by January.

If you want more information about the Internationalist Marxist-Humanist Youth Committee, write me at the News and Letters Committees office, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, MI, 48211. The reports and proceedings of the Aug. 31 international conference are also available for 50¢.

Youth in Revolt

The anti-draft movement won a skirmish Sept. 12 when the U.S. House of Representatives rejected a draft registration clause in a \$42.1 billion military weapons bill. Instead, the House called for the President to study and report to Congress on whether registration should be resumed. At a meeting in New York of the Coalition Against Registration and the Draft (CARD), one participant observed, "There is no reason for euphoria."

Hundreds of South Korean students staged an anti-government demonstration at Seoul National University in early September, accusing President Park Chung-hee of interfering with democratic rights and making mistakes in economic policy. The illegal rally was broken up by riot police.

One thousand gay rights demonstrators clashed with New York City cops Aug. 20, as they continued their ongoing protest against the anti-gay movie "Cruising," being filmed in the center of New York's gay community. Four demonstrators were arrested and at least three were hospitalized.

More than 25,000 anti-nuclear activists gathered in Badajoz, southwestern Spain, Sept. 1-2, to protest the government's plan to build a nuclear power plant there.

A Black community demands justice against killer cops

Los Angeles, Cal. — On Sept. 3, there was another shooting in the predominantly Black district of south central Los Angeles by the LA Police Department. This time the victim was Crosetti Taylor from Oakland.

While the police department claims Taylor's death came from using a fatal weapon in the course of his arrest, the case is under review. Some in the community say there was no weapon in his possession.

There is always fear, caution, and suspicion in the Black community when coming in contact with the police because of their continuous record of harassment and murder. A young Black worker said, "You have to look out for the police in the project where I live," where one police officer was killed three months ago.

Some see a Citizen Review Board as an answer to the police attacks, and some Left groups want to put this measure on the ballot. But all those in state power

are involved in covering up the murderous action of the police in killing people. The call for justice by Black and other minority people, in an area under direct state control by the police, exists in all ghettos nationwide.

A year ago we saw demonstrations at a southeast police station which was in operation only six months, and yet there were already 11 deaths of Black and Hispanic people in the area from police abuse, thanks mainly to the infamous "choke" method to subdue "uncooperative" people.

I hope we can see that the jumping off point for defending ourselves is not a Citizens Review Board against police abuse. This cannot change the facts of death within a system that has to control its "citizens" in order to extract profit, and which has seen new police killings North and South, from Birmingham, Ala. to Toronto, Canada.

—Black youth

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(continued from page 1)

and then Marable says, "Upon reading *Indignant Heart*, one can doubt the courage and political integrity of Charles Denby." Now either I don't understand what political integrity is, or Marable is talking out of both sides of his mouth at the same time. I do understand what political integrity is, and I have doubts about how much Marable has.

I don't know where Marable got the idea that, like C.L.R. James, Denby believed that only a race conscious organization of Black labor could articulate the interests of the Black working class." I'll say it plain as I know how—that statement is a pure and simple lie. Nobody will find that in my book, or in anything else I have ever written or said.

What I state clearly is that Black masses in motion have always been the vanguard of revolutionary development in this nation and have an independent role that cannot be placed in a second-class relation

Worker-author nails lies about 'Indignant Heart'

to any other group. But most important is that every true revolutionary development in the U.S. has taken place when Black and white movements for freedom united—during the Civil War, the organizing of the CIO and most recently in the revolts of the '60s.

I totally reject the narrow Black nationalism of James and Marable, which is opposed to revolutionary nationalism that is truly internationalism. I show the difference clearly in the second part of my book where I deal with the relation of the Black Consciousness movement of Steven Biko in South Africa to the Black revolt in the U.S.

BROKE WITH JAMES

Far from agreeing with James, I broke with him organizationally and politically because I opposed him and his brand of opportunistic politics.

What also can't go unanswered is Marable's claim that the Socialist Workers' Party's 1948 resolution on the Black question in America that impressed me so much was "developed solely by James, in a series of conversations with exiled Soviet leader Leon Trotsky in Mexico before World War II."

First, James' original position was that U.S. Blacks did NOT have an independent role. Trotsky argued against James, and finally convinced him that Blacks represented a national question, an independent revolutionary force. Moreover, that 1948 resolution was developed in close collaboration with Raya Dunayevskaya, then known as Freddie Forest, the co-leader with James of the state-capitalist tendency in the SWP.*

My former "Black allies" who supported Wallace were . . . John Hulett, the first Black sheriff of Lowndes County, whose election I certainly did support. I mentioned Black mayor Charles Evers of Fayette, Miss., who also came out for Wallace. I disagree totally with Marable that it was "inevitable" for Hulett and Evers to support Wallace, or that it was because of the "destruction" of SNCC and Black Power. I've seen it too many times.

Black militants, elected to fight against oppression, are blinded by the power of the capitalist system, start playing self-advancement, opportunistic politics and turn against the people who elected them. It stems

from the same attitude, whether it's Stokeley Carmichael and SNCC or Hulett and Lowndes County politics, they believe the masses are backward and that only the so-called leaders have the answers. I call it the bureaucratic mentality.

From his ivory tower in 1979 Marable is all for Carmichael's 1965 call to arms for the Black masses in Lowndes County, Ala. Marable plays games with revolutionary rhetoric. Carmichael was deadly serious in his call for Black armed insurrection. He confused the Black revolt against Southern racism with a national revolutionary situation, which simply did not exist. Calling for Black armed insurrection then would have resulted in a massacre of Blacks. Blacks at mass meetings heard me and heard Carmichael, and did what they believed to be right. They weren't afraid to die. They just didn't want to throw their lives away for nothing.

BLACK MASSES IGNORED

As for the 1972 Black Assembly in Gary, I think Marable said all that needs to be said about his illusions, which seemed to have lasted until 1976. I pointed out that the Black politicians, Maoists, Stalinists and Black Muslims all know what they wanted—and none of it had to do with what the Black masses wanted, as the anti-busing resolution proved.

Detroit Congressman Diggs and other Black officials may have left because they were allied with the white power structure; others left because they could see there wasn't anything there for the Black people. And whether others were or weren't serious about a third political party, their talk about the "edges of consciousness" they had supposedly reached was nonsense.

We are now getting a whiff of the Middle East oil mixed into that Assembly from reports that Libya had started to bankroll the Black Muslims in 1971, the year before the Gary meeting. There's more to oil politics at that meeting than has yet been revealed.

Marable refers to "structural flaws" and "structural inequities" I perceived in left groups and unions which led to "inequities" in Black-white relations. I used no such expressions. I said these organizations practiced racism, and described it in detail.

I am happy to see that Marable has read all the books referred to in his review—but not one has a thing to do with mine. All in all, to me Marable sounds very much like a white intellectual who doesn't want workers to have thoughts of their own. The fact is they do.

*This is not the place to deal with Marxist-Humanist philosophy in relation to the revolutionary history and role of Black America, but the serious revolutionary or student can obtain the documented history of the state-capitalist tendency on microfilm by ordering *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism, Its Origin and Development in America, 1941 to Today* from the Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI 48202.

West Coast readers!

HEAR CHARLES DENBY IN PERSON

BAY AREA:

Oct. 20, 2-4 p.m. — Marcus Books, 540 McAllister, S.F. Informal discussion, autographs

Oct. 21, 4 p.m. — La Peña Community Center, 3109 Shattuck, Berkeley

Oct. 22, 12 noon — S.F. State University, HLL 135

LOS ANGELES:

Oct. 25, 1:30 p.m. — Cal. State, L.A., Student Union

Oct. 28, 5 p.m. — Community Hall, 1700 N. Vermont (enter rear). Dinner With Denby

Admission free to all meetings; except Dinner with Denby, \$3.50.

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

Havana summit: state rulers' hypocrisy sacrifices Third World

Castro hosted an alleged "non-aligned" conference of no less than 92 countries, including 55 heads of state, in Havana during Sept. 3-11. Among his "guests" were such strange bedfellows as General Zia, the military dictator of Pakistan who murdered Bhutto; Arafat and King Hussein of Jordan who kissed and forgot the "Black September" when the King drove the Palestinians out of Jordan at gun point. Notable by their absence was the Eritrean Liberation Movement, which is fighting for its life against Russian and Cuban troops.

Castro, who depends on Brezhnev's Russia to the tune of more than a million dollars a day, tried his best to turn the conference into an arm of Russia's foreign policy. Combatting the appeal of Tito and Julius Nyerere to return to the principles of non-alignment, Castro ranted against "saboteurs, wreckers and imperialist stooges," but one delegate shouted out, "This is not the Comintern."

As one of the original founders of the non-aligned movement and an opponent of Stalin, Tito, now 87, is concerned about the future of Yugoslavia. Yet imprisoning of Marxist dissidents around the journal Praxis this year proved that, like any other state ruler, Tito is no more democratic when it

comes to the people within his own borders than Cuba, Russia, or his latest ally, China. Using the



Chinese euphemism for Russian state-capitalism — "hegemony" — Tito criticized Russian foreign policy and was supported by Nyerere, perhaps the most unsullied independent African leader.

Indeed, it was some of the African observers who singled out the hypocrisy of Russia's detente with the U.S. when the Left journal *Afrique-Asie* wrote: "No one, finally, would want to defend the principle that East-West detente in Europe has aided the vital interests of the Third World countries, which are often sacrificed or forgotten on the altar of 'peaceful coexistence.'"

Both the U.S. and Cuba show their hypocrisy when it comes to Latin America. The U.S. rants about 2,000 Russian combat forces on Cuban soil, while completely ignoring its own armed presence at Guantanamo Bay. Castro for his part has abandoned the guerrilla movements of Latin America for the lucrative trade with Argentina and the Andean common market. The Nicaraguan masses showed, on the other hand, that it wasn't Castro's support that was decisive in confronting the overwhelming force of arms on the side of Somoza, but their own self-mobilization and self-determination to be free.

Iran

On Aug. 27, 12 members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS) were sentenced to death, and two others to life imprisonment, by a local Imam's committee in Ahwaz. Charges against the 14 anti-Shah fighters were based on their political activities in the current Iranian revolution.

While an international campaign has been mounted in their support and for now has stopped their execution, countless other revolutionaries continue to be persecuted and murdered by Khomeini's government.

Two members of the Peoples Fedayeen were arrested in Tehran while selling pamphlets. They were summarily convicted and sentenced to death, and both were publicly beheaded.

In Kurdistan, Khomeini has summoned jets, bombs and tanks from the Shah's U.S. arsenal to wipe out the Kurds' struggle for self-determination. While the Kurdish guerrilla army has temporarily retreated to the mountains, those who could not escape have been rounded up by the hundreds for mass executions by firing squads.

But Khomeini's counter-revolution has failed to stop the ongoing revolution. In Rasht, in northern Iran, whole army units have refused to go to Kurdistan, and there are reports that soldiers celebrate in the barracks every time another unit refuses to go.

Free the Iranian 14 and all anti-Shah fighters now in Khomeini's jails!

China

For over a month, thousands of jobless Chinese have come to Peking from the provinces to demand jobs, housing, and food. On Sept. 13, students, young workers, peasants and army veterans came together for the first time to voice their opposition in Tien An Men Square. One speaker said, "We have wiped out the capitalists, landlords and rich peasants, but now we have a new rich class."

Another demonstrator threw some underground literature to the wind, and the crowd grabbed it up in seconds. Also in September, a meeting of 300 writers was held in a public park to discuss the state of official and underground literature in China, among which are:

Reference Bulletin of the Masses, published for 10 issues in early 1979 before its editor, Xia Xun-jian, was sent to forced labor in Hunan; the 19-point "Manifesto of the Alliance for the Rights of Man" calling for party pluralism, and freedom of speech and marriage; **Fruit of Autumn**, edited by student journalists, which has reported on living conditions of Peking workers; **Today**, a literary journal which has published satirical poems against the bureaucrats; and **Light**, written by a group of worker-poets from South China.

The best and most direct information on Peking Spring and the opposition movement comes from **The 70's Front**, "ultra-leftists" in Hong Kong. See "Readers' Views," p. 4, for news of their latest publication.

Britain

We received the following report from a postal worker in Oxford:

The campaign to save Farooq Chaudry from being deported was unsuccessful (see *N&L*, August-September, 1979). Immigration officials put him on a plane for Rawalpindi two weeks ago, after he'd spent nearly two months in prison. Chaudry's case is not an isolated one. A real witch hunt against "illegal" immigrants has followed Thatcher's election victory.

The campaign against the deportations is being organized locally by Oxfordshire Committee for Community Relations. So far, the campaign has taken the form of a petition and an open air protest meeting.

Last week, I took the petition round the people at the Post Office. Naturally, I didn't bother asking those I knew to be racists, so I was appalled when the majority of white people I asked refused to sign. It's infinitely sad that people who are not, in themselves, callous or stupid, can adopt such a callous, stupid attitude — another instance of how human relations are brutalized in this capitalist system.

However, a substantial minority of white workers did sign the petition, and some expressed strong feelings of solidarity. Every single Pakistani I asked signed the petition, one of them came to the meeting, and they are talking about the campaign quite a lot at work.

BLACK-RED VIEW Carter, Black leaders and the PLO

by John Alan

The fact that Andrew Young was fired from his job as the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations by President Carter, his boss, has been largely forgotten by the Black leadership as they insist on seeing the dismissal of Young solely in terms of an ethnic conflict between American Blacks and American Jews. There is no question that today there exist many sharp differences and a great deal of tension between the Black leadership and both the "liberal Jewish establishment" and that coterie of Jewish intellectuals who have joined what is known euphemistically as "the movement of modern conservatism."

This disaffection of Blacks and Jews has been a growing reality for more than a decade and it originated when the Civil Rights Movement ceased to be a Southern issue and became a national one. Most recently there was a sharp division around the Bakke and the Weber cases over the implementation of affirmative action programs in education and in employment for Blacks and other minorities. In the opinion of many liberal Jewish organizations, affirmative action was the establishment of a racial quota system.

However, once we recognize the conflict between American Blacks and an influential segment of the American Jewish population, it still does not explain why, at this moment, Carter found it politically necessary to rid himself of Andrew Young and at the same time keep a Black face at the UN in the personage of Ambassador McHenry.

And, if the Black leadership persists in reducing the scope of the present Black crisis in this country to one solely of Blacks vs. Jews, they will be objectively taking President Carter off the hook for firing Young, and, at the same time, obscuring the dismal covert and overt racism, both of his Administration and of the country as a whole.

There is indeed a Black crisis in this country and firing Andy Young is only a small manifestation of it. The basic crisis shows itself in the form of hard-core, ever increasing Black unemployment, persistent and rising inflation, and the resurgence of openly anti-Black racist organizations.

In all the verbiage that the firing of Young has generated, there has never been a single concise reason given. The only "plausible" explanation is that he lied about his meeting with Zehdi Terzi, the Palestine Liberation Organization's UN observer.

The introduction of "morality" into this dirty political action indicates that there were no great political differences between the Administration and Young. Although the U.S. claims an official policy of no negotiations with the PLO, its representatives have met frequently with representatives of the PLO, as in the case of U.S. Ambassador to Austria, Milton Wolf.

Since the raising of oil prices by the OPEC nations, objective conditions in the Middle East have taught Washington that Israel is not the country upon which U.S. imperialism can build its political, economic and military opposition to the threat of state-capitalist Rus-

sia's imperialism in that area.

Washington has also come to realize that Israel would never be able to stem the tide of a real revolution from the Arab and Palestinian masses as the PLO was able to do during the Lebanese civil war of 1975. At that time the PLO revealed its pro-capitalist and revolutionary nature by inviting in the Syrian Army which then helped massacre the social-revolutionary forces, including the Palestinian masses.* By doing this the PLO proved to world imperialism that it was a "responsible" element in the Middle East.

When American Black leaders, in their frustrated battle with American Jewish conservatism, visualize that battle in the international arena as a fight between Israel and the PLO, they have not liberated themselves from domination, but rather place themselves at the service of world imperialism. Objectively, as U.S. Black leaders rush to Lebanon to embrace Arafat, (Europe's capitalists have beat them by a week), they are building an American constituency that will make it easier for U.S. imperialism to achieve its long range policy in the Middle East.

* See *War, Peace or Revolution — Shifting Alliances in the Middle East* by Raya Dunayevskaya, available from *N&L* for \$1 plus 50¢ postage.

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