

Draft Perspectives—1978-1979

Introduction: Suddenly, U.S. imperialism has "a China card"

As the 1970s draw to a close, new revolutionary beginnings are emerging, be it in Soweto, or the South Bronx, Women's Liberation, or youth in anti-racialism and anti-nuclear demonstrations throughout Europe as well as the U.S. These new beginnings, though they are the sheerest of beginnings, are forcing the Big Powers, China included, to undertake all sorts of desperate measures in search of global re-alignments to assure single mastery of the world by "One," be it either of the two nuclear giants, United States and Russia, or by . . .

Thus, from the banquet hall in Peking, on May 22, came the soft-spoken, yet rashly booming voice of President Carter's super-hawk, National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski: "We share China's resolve to resist the efforts of any nation to establish global or regional hegemony . . . China and the U.S. oppose others who seek a monolithic world. We are confident that Sino-American cooperation is not only in our mutual interest, but is in keeping with the thrust of history. Neither of us dispatches international marauders who masquerade as non-aligned to advance big power ambitions in Africa . . ."

As if anyone could possibly fail to spell out "others" as Russia and Cuba, China's Foreign Minister, Huang Hua, flew first to the U.S. and then to Zaire to stretch China's designation of Russia as its "Enemy No. 1" to that of the "World's Enemy No. 1." Here, Huang Hua addressed that most hypocritical world confab, the UN—nuclearly armed to the stratosphere, but talking itself deaf and dumb about disarmament. There, he embraced the murderer of Lumumba, Mobutu. The flight to Zaire was timed for the opening of "the West's" meeting in Paris to approve France's acting as the world's policeman for the latest stage of neo-colonialism.

The daily press is too busy showing off its "know-how" about shifting global alliances, and how much of the sudden chilly wind reminiscent of Cold War days has been let loose for "home politics" because Carter's popularity is going down, as if what is involved is campaign-type politics of Carter vs. Reagan vs. Ford. The truth has nothing to do with that kind of "politics." The home front is at stake, but what is at stake on the home front is not Cold War politics, or detente. What is at stake is the deep economic crisis, the recession that refuses to go away. It

is a home front present in each of the countries. Neither Russia nor the U.S. can get out of this global economic crisis, whether, internationally, Cold War politics is unleashed or modified to detente. It remains primary for each.

In last year's Draft Perspectives, as we examined the global economic crisis along with that most horrifying of all weapons—the N-bomb which kills humans but leaves property intact—we called the thesis, "Time Is Running Out." None, however, thought it would come so soon, that is to say, just when Carter stopped "the production" of neutron bombs, and just when he set out "to clarify" (i.e., "to modify") his National Security Hawk's views of "the China card," which actually meant to canonize that global reshuffling of alliances.

Although not until the actual day of shooting begins do rulers close all doors—Carter could, after all, unite as easily with Russia against China as with China against Russia—still, as Commander-in-Chief, he indulged in such sabre-rattling at Annapolis, June 7, that he made even the announcement of a possible Salt II agreement sound like nothing so much as a new phase of Cold War. Just as the 1962 missile crisis with Russia over Cuba permitted Kennedy to start talking all over again about detente with Russia, so the combination of "the China card" and possession of the N-bomb permits Carter to talk of "possible" Salt II agreement without any fear of being accused of being "soft on Communism."

When Kennedy and Khrushchev were "eyeball to eyeball" in nuclearly-armed ships of confrontation, who could possibly have mistaken detente for "appeasement"? And when all is said and done now, who can doubt that Pax Americana still rules the roost? The ground is cleared for possible U.S. adventures in confrontation with Russia in the Horn of Africa. What, after all, concerns Carter in Africa is the oil route from the Middle East to the whole of "the West" as well as Japan. It is the Middle East that remains the hotspot both "in itself" and as it could set off nothing short of a world holocaust.

Ever since the 1973 Arab-Israeli War, when Saudi Arabia began to use oil as a political weapon as well as quadrupling oil prices, West Europe as well as Japan began to move away from the U.S.'s "leadership." Once not only the Nixon-



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Kissinger policy — of everything from outright military threats against the oil kingdoms to shuttle diplomacy — came to a standstill; but Sadat's spectacular trip to Jerusalem likewise got nowhere, Carter embarked upon his own twofold spectacular: (1) to tell Congress that Israel's arms deal would depend on his being given an arms deal with Saudi Arabia and Egypt; and (2) to send Brzezinski to get that "China card" by revealing some secrets the American people still do not know. Not that China, which had been rolling out the red carpet for Nixon ever since 1971, needed much persuasion, but Science — with a capital "S" befitting the N-bomb age — sounded especially inviting to technologically-bent post-Mao China.

And thus, U.S. imperialism — besides now having not one, but two imperialist outposts in the Middle East—has also "a China card"! All the more imperative does it become for us not only to say a loud "No!" to U.S. capitalist imperialism as well as to other state-capitalist adventurers, no matter how effective their charade as "Communists" continues, but theoretically to prepare to transform the totality of the world's myriad crises into social revolution.

That cannot be done by fiat or by the "vanguard party," much less by just standing aside to wait for "the right moment" when objective and subjective meet to become the pre-revolutionary situation. A serious beginning must be made with daily activities that, however, do not limit our vision to this year's Perspectives but consider that year in the context of the decade of the 1970s rather than limited to the high-point, 1968, as if the theoretic void did not help that high-point to abort.

New Beginnings that Determine the End . . .

I. The Movement from Practice and the Questions It Raises

The capitalists have every right to continue with their nightmare fear about the return of 1968. Revolutionaries cannot indulge in the 1968 euphoria of near-revolutions flowering into outright social revolutions without a theory of revolution. It is true that 1968 was the high point of the 1960s and "everything seemed possible," especially when not only students but 10 million workers went on general strike in Paris. It is not true that any revolution has ever fully succeeded that was not grounded in a philosophy of liberation.

1978 is the tenth anniversary of a year which shook up the entire world—from DeGaulle's France to Nixon's USA; from Mao's China to Latin America; and from East Europe, especially Czechoslovakia, to Africa. It ended in outright counter-revolution — with Russia's invasion of Czechoslovakia, and with the near-revolution in France, aborted without DeGaulle having to fire a single shot. The point is that revolutions abort not only because of the might of the rulers, but because the rebels themselves are not armed with a total philosophy that could have become the unifying force for the proletariat and the student youth, for the Women's Liberationists and the African Revolutionists.

The 1970s may not be as activist as were the 1960s, but they certainly have raised new fundamental problems, whether that be the blue-collar blues at the point of production, or the need for a different philosophy of life; whether that be the struggle against the newest production

robot — Unimation — which only needs to be programmed and not retooled, or the need of unity between Soweto and the South Bronx. It is for this reason that the jumping off point for the decade 1968-78 is not so much France, 1968, as the USA, 1968, that is to say, the Kerner Report which had been forced by the 1967 Black uprising to admit that the U.S. was two nations, "separate and unequal." That had more relevance for the decade of the 1970s because it brings us



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straight back to the economic base where there never was a boom and it is exactly there — the Black ghettos — where there is now a new Black consciousness, not just as "nationalism" but as class and social and world-wide. This is not because we say so, but because Soweto showed that to be so.

1970

It is necessary to begin at the beginning — the new dualities 1970 brought forth, with Nixon's extension of the Vietnam War into Cambodia and bringing that war home by shooting down the student anti-Vietnam war demonstrators in Kent, Ohio, and Jackson, Miss. It mobilized the anti-war resisters. Not only the youth, but the old, the Blacks and the Women's Liberationists, East, West, North and South, gathered in the most massive demonstration ever; one-half million soon descended upon Washington, D.C. It meant that there was no way for Nixon to get off the hot-seat except that the two state-capitalist powers calling themselves Communist — Russia and China — came to Nixon's aid and forced Vietnam to accept peace on Nixon's terms!

Internationally, too, there was no respite, in either the massive anti-war movement or in the workers' strikes. In Great Britain, for example, 600,000 came out against the Industrial Relations Act. 1970 also saw the Social Democrat Allende win the Presidency of Chile. Even in the totalitarian countries, there was the massive 1970 shipyard workers' strikes in Gdansk and Szczecin in Poland.

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1971

Neither Nixon's tilting to Pakistan nor Mao's embrace of it could stop Bangladesh's freedom revolts. Not even the startling reversal of U.S. policy on China in 1971 and Mao's rolling out the red carpet for the state visit by Nixon could change the direction of the mass movement of opposition.

1971 saw the unabating Black Revolts. When in San Quentin the Soledad Brother George Jackson was shot down and the authorities tried to railroad Angela Davis, who had led the demonstrations for the Soledad Brothers, to jail, the mass pressure stopped them in their tracks.

1972-3

Nixon's scorched earth policy and the mining of Haiphong Harbor — as well as his plunge into state-capitalism and Dr. Strangelove Kissinger's threats against the oil kingdoms for using oil as a political weapon while quadrupling oil prices — only intensified mass unrest in this country in 1972-73. New forces of revolution kept appearing, as could be seen from the Indian occupation of Wounded Knee, on the one hand, and the wildcats of Chrysler workers, especially Black workers, on the other. That not only were the conditions of labor opposed but so was the whole capital/labor relationship, was seen from the occupation of the plants.

1974-75

The greatest year of the 1970s was, of course, 1974-1975, with the Portuguese Revolution. First, it developed simultaneously with the African Revolutions in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola.

In overthrowing fascism which had ruled Portugal for a whole half-century, it showed that it was not just the abolition of the old, but the creative unfoldment of new social relations. Thus, a multiplicity of new forms of the masses as rulers sprung up: from occupation of factories and creation of Workers' Councils; Peasants' Commissions and occupation of the land; Tenants' Councils and Women's Liberation groups; to challenging the vanguardist party-form of organization with the totally new concept of *apartidarismo*, non-partyism.

In this it disclosed how far beyond the Russian Revolution it had gone though it had only reached the February, 1917, not the November, 1917 full proletarian revolution.

So deep was the revolution in both industry and agriculture in Portugal that when the counter-revolutionary military coup in November, 1975 took place, it could not totally reverse the achievements of these first stages of revolution. Despite all the pressure of the Big Powers — U.S. imperialism and NATO, not to mention tailending also by Mao's China — and despite its native Social Democratic leader, Prime Minister Soares, who had been working hand in glove with NATO via West Germany's Helmut Schmidt, the workers' power in the trade unions has not been wholly dislodged any more than the peasant power on the land. With all the return of the land to the absentee landlords and factories to the multi-nationals, they could neither crush the revolution in toto, nor re-establish all the old relations. Unrest, strikes, new forms of organization are springing up.* By no means has the last word yet been spoken.

The myriad economic crises are holding all in its grip, but none of it has stopped the forms of revolt. 1975 saw civil war in Lebanon and could have become the jumping off point for genuine social revolutions in the Middle East had the P.L.O. not so concentrated on Israel as the "only enemy" that it diverted that civil war, welcomed the Syrian Army as if that were revolutionary only thereby to witness the most bloody counter-revolution by the right wing Lebanese Christian fascists.

1976

By 1976 a totally new page of revolt had begun in that most apartheid land, white, fascist South Africa. Soweto was not only a great, new,

*See *Workers' Power*, May 1, 1976 for a report on the founding Congress of the United Workers' Organization (UWO), supported by the Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP), the Popular Socialist Front, and BASE. A full report is also carried in the April 15, 1978 issue of the Portuguese paper, *Page Um*.



Reprinted from N&L, May, 1976

very young uprising, but it was followed by a general strike as well as a total reorganization of thought — Black Consciousness not only for South Africa, but globally, beginning with Frantz Fanon as world revolutionary. Not far off was American Black Thought reaching for what Marx called "a new Humanism." Thus our new pamphlet — *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought* — not only starts a new stage for our development, but is so objective as to signal a new unity of objective and subjective as the 1970s close and new beginnings emerge. But first, let us look at the objective situation.

II. State-Capitalism of the 1970s

So decrepit had capitalism become by the 1970s that, far from the never-ending talk of growth, growth, growth, all capitalists could think of to stop the galloping inflation was zero "growth." What was worse still was the revelation of the Vietnam War, that the U.S. was not only the most savagely imperialistic country, but the one where, for the first time ever, there was a recession during an ongoing war, so much so that even the merchants of death complained of a decline in the rate of profit!

For revolutionaries to mistake the "arms economy," permanent or otherwise, as if it were equivalent to the booms of capital expansion — accumulation of such ever greater masses of unpaid labor as to counteract the decline in the rate of profit—is, at one and the same time, to blind oneself to the totality of the crisis, the

actual structural changes of capitalist production in its death agony, and, what is far worse, fail to see the new forms of revolt, like the unorganized*, the new generation of revolutionaries, and the ever deeper layers of the proletariat fighting automation at its ultimate point of unimation.

The new in state-capitalism was, precisely, that even in the most affluent private economy, Nixon had to embark on state intervention—wage and price controls, especially the former, which is exactly the most characteristic feature of state-capitalism. With it came his attempt to stop the collapse of the international monetary system by devaluing the dollar and letting it float. This was so not because there wasn't enough gold, as DeGaulle thought, but because there wasn't enough production — not of destructive arms — but expanded production that means ever greater accumulation of unpaid hours of labor.

As we said in the 1972-73 Perspectives: "Nixon, the great believer in, planner and practitioner of shock treatment, brought 1971 to an end with, on the one hand, the finalization of the trip to Peking, without the consultation either with Congress or with his international allies, and, on the other hand, announcing, Emperor-like, a 90-day freeze of wages and prices, especially wages."

Just as, today, Carter is sabre-rattling while talking of detente and peace, so Nixon's forked tongue was nowhere more evident than when he threatened that if Congress failed to approve the extra billions for nuclear weaponry he would oppose the SALT agreement. That was, we said, "proof of only one thing: for Nixon, words have truly and fully lost all meaning. After all, he of the forked-tongue is the one who ordered the holocaust against Vietnam at the very moment he pontificated about a 'generation of peace.'"

By 1973 Nixon had devalued the dollar and we arrived at the floating exchange-rate system. No matter how the European big capitalists liked it, and U.S. capitalists decried what they called the "crap shooting mentality of the market," the truth is that Europe, too, came to a standstill in growth that was worse than the American. Because 1973 was also the year of the Arab-Israeli war and the quadrupling of oil prices, it looked as if — so the capitalist ideologues tried to make us think — the economic crisis was all due to that quadrupling of oil prices. It certainly didn't help Big Capital come out of the crisis. But the truth is that state-capitalism in the 1970s had reached the stage of zero growth, of stagnation. That is to say, production hardly kept up with the growth of the population.

Nixon's gloating about the U.S. economy's reaching the trillion dollar mark hardly overawed world capitalism, considering the double-digit inflation and the fifth international money crisis in three years, with the dollar becoming the downhill champion. Nixonomics did not solve the economic crisis which, by 1974-75, became worldwide.

First and foremost was, of course, the never-ending unemployment, which in the U.S. is nowhere more ominous than among Black youth. It is there, too, that ever new forms of revolt appear. This summer is sure to be a long, hot one, even as last summer New York decided to celebrate "Christmas in July." What is staring the Carter Administration in the face is this unemployment which, though the inflation is no longer double-digit, is nevertheless producing the onslaught of the capitalists bent on turning the clock back on what little the unions have gained. Capital was under the illusion that it could also get labor on its side when Arnold Miller was willing to impose a still newer double-cross on the miners.

The militancy of the miners, however, was even more creative as it turned not only against management and the government, but also against its own labor bureaucracy. Thereby it opened a still newer stage of revolt. What was characteristic of this mass of labor unrest was not only that a halfway better contract was won, but that the rank and file gave notice that it had no intention whatever of giving up its right to

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*For the sweep of the unorganized working women, especially, who have been organizing themselves — from cannery workers to publishing house employees, from domestic workers to farm workers, from the offices to the hospitals — see *Working Women For Freedom*, published by Women's Liberation—News & Letters.

strike over "local grievances." That is why all knew that what was really involved was the most basic question of all — labor productivity. That depends not on yet one more automated machine, but on the human hand and brain that will not produce at ever-greater speeds. Some very basic questions wait to be answered about what kind of labor should man/woman do.

Because the workers are asking such fundamental questions, our pamphlet *Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis*, at one and the same time, entered the battle of ideas on the Left,* and faced the actual global crisis where even the bourgeoisie had suddenly to acknowledge Marx's analysis of the decline in the rate of profit at the very moment when its technological method of mass production is at its highest.

For the Movement to limit its attack on capitalism by talking only about the oppression of labor without focusing on the equally integral dialectic of liberation, is to miss the proletarian totality. That is to say, the proletariat as Reason as well as muscle, as form of revolt from below which is that new beginning which determines the end. Because the crisis is so deep, all that chipping away at the economic law of value, or rather gilding it to make it fit into state-capitalism calling itself Communism, is more than truncating Marx's *Capital* as a book. Along with a violation of Marx's greatest theoretic work, it does nothing short of aiding in the aborting of revolution itself by removing from under it its ground, its very reason for existence.

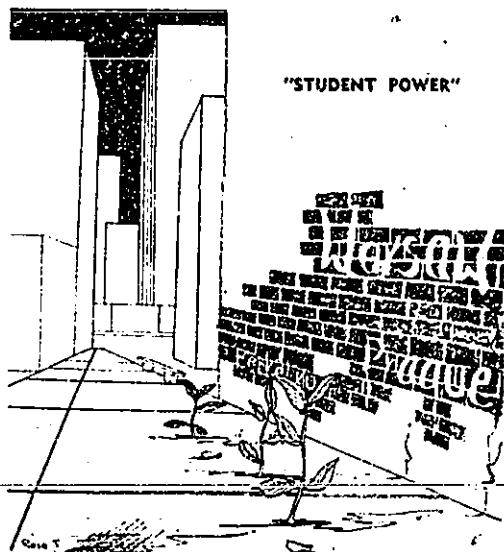
What is of the essence here, therefore, is not ever again to separate politics and economics, subjective and objective, philosophy and revolution.

China's False Alternative

When Mao first won power in China in the greatest national revolution of the post-World War II era, abolishing both the imperialist tentacles there and its lackey, Chiang Kai-shek, he feared nought about calling his own society state-capitalism since he was sure of the mass confidence in the new revolutionary regime. Therefore, he concluded, what was necessary to stress is that once political power is in the hands of the Communist Party, the direction of the economic relations — "the mass line" — would go in the direction of "socialism."

Surely, the end of imperialist intervention and the rule of the exploitative corrupt Chiang Kai-shek over a dismembered country meant the nation, as a unity, did "stand up." Moreover, it had at once been saddled with the Korean War and that neo-fascist General MacArthur wishing

*See the Introduction to this pamphlet, "Today's Epigones Who Try to Truncate Marx's *Capital*" for the critique of Ernest Mandel who still considers Russia a workers' state "though degenerate," and the Appendix on "Tony Cliff Reduces Lenin's Theory to 'Uncanny Intuition'" for a critique of one who remains an underconsumptionist though he does see Russia as a state-capitalist society.



Reprinted from N&L, April, 1968

to cross the Yalu River, and that, too, the new People's Republic of China had put an end to.

What transformed the confidence of the masses into opposition to the regime was (1) the movement from practice in Hungary, 1956, which revealed the alternative to state-capitalism is workers' power, armed with a total philosophy of liberation, rooted in Marx's original philosophy, which Marx named a "new humanism" and which the Hungarian revolutionaries brought onto the historic stage of their day. And (2) Mao's declaration that anyone who wanted to follow that path in China only "proved" that, instead of "100 schools of thought contending," there were "1,000 poisonous weeds that had to be destroyed." It is at this point that the duality, the sharp, class duality within Communism was expressed with guns in hand in Hungary, and Mao urged Khrushchev—who needed no urging, as he had already sent Russian tanks into East Germany in 1953 to crush that revolt—to now crush the Hungarian Revolution. Naming his move against the oppositionists to his regime "How To Handle Contradictions Among the People" didn't convince the Chinese masses that there were no class contradictions in China.

III. Without Marx's Humanism, the Theory of State-Capitalism Is No Great Divide

Without Marx's Humanism, the theory of state capitalism, far from being the kind of Great Divide as that between the Second and Third Internationals, is but a journalistic cliché even a Mao could accept. Moreover, this was not just when he accepted it lovingly as a designation where the Communists had political power, but especially when he correctly applied it to Russia as a class designation. The greatest tragedy of all in this era is that Mao had, in fact, accepted state-

capitalism as the next world economic order!

Shocking as that sounds when expressed plainly, Mao had it in the back of his mind as early as 1957. He made only one exception to that type of vision: it was not Russia, but China, who would rule the world and thus assure its going to "socialism". This is what underlined his statement to Nehru that he had no fear of nuclear war; no matter how many millions would die, other millions would still be alive in China—and they would then win the world for "socialism."

Consider, then, the irony of the new divide among the Left, caused by the fact that not only do some still consider "nationalization of the means of production", "State Plan", "collectivization of agriculture"—no matter if the workers have no power whatever—as "socialism"; but even some who focused on the phenomenon that the first workers' state was actually transformed into its opposite—a state-capitalist society—still consider it only as a Russian phenomenon, or, at most, Stalinism. In truth, Stalinism is but the Russian name for a world stage of capitalist development that private, competitive capitalism had to give way to with the onset of the Depression.

Ever since the mid-1950s—when the movement from practice, beginning in East Europe, placed Marx's philosophy of liberation, which he originally called "a new Humanism", on the historic agenda of our era—it sufficiently shook up state-capitalism calling itself Communism, that the latter felt compelled to slander the revolutionary movement from below by calling it "revisionist." Furthermore, the Sino-Soviet orbit so tightened its undying friendship that none suspected it would soon become the Sino-Soviet conflict. Consider then, the other irony in the attitude to the false alternative China posed with the so-called Cultural Revolution, where not only "primary" and "secondary" contradictions could reverse places, but the superstructure's primacy over the economic base could, "and did," (sic!) send China directly to "socialism."

Just as what issued, technologically, from the decade of the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s deluded Eurocapitalism to think it could outdistance the American Goliath in economic growth, so the decade of the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, which produced China's Cultural Revolution deluded the Left to consider the Cultural Revolution as the alternative to the exploitative, racist, sexist world, Russia included. So great is the Left's resistance to philosophy, to the "new Humanism" that came from below that the very ones who left Russian state-capitalism for the Chinese Cultural Revolution are now ready to shuttle back like a pinball machine to Russia. In this the Old Left is joined by the New Left, whose distinctive mark was that activism, and more activism, would "do it", that is, "make" a successful revolution, leaving theory to be picked up "en route".

It becomes imperative, therefore, first to hold tight to what Lenin discovered when the first betrayal of Marxism that resulted from World War I brought down with it the collapse of the Second International. As Lenin grappled with a return to the Hegelian dialectic, he held that, for from philosophy being an abstraction, it is when a movement transforms revolution into an abstraction that betrayal is inescapable, and irreversible.

Secondly, we must show that the theoretic void since Lenin's death resulted from not grappling with the methodology of all of Lenin's work that flowed from that study of the dialectic, specifically *Imperialism, and State and Revolution*. That is to say, it wasn't the "facts" of imperialism—that had, indeed, been analyzed both by the bourgeois liberal, Hobson, and the revolutionaries, Hilferding, Luxemburg and Bukharin—especially the latter whose book Lenin had introduced.

Rather, it was the dialectical principle of transformation into opposite: not only competition into monopoly capital, but a section of labor became transformed into its opposite—the aristocracy of labor. To retransform that opposite into proletarian revolution it was this time not only that the working class was needed, but also that the population "to a man, woman and child" would either run the state and manage production—or there would be no new society. In a word, along with the class distinction came the new universal: "to a man, woman and child." The destruction of the bourgeois state had to be the type of dictatorship of the proletariat that Marx saw in the non-state form of the Paris Commune.

While anarchists hold that neither this view, nor the whole pamphlet, *State and Revolution*, was anything more than "politics" to gain a majority in the Soviets and that Lenin "didn't really believe it," the Old Left has treated it as no more than a "re-write" of Marx's *Civil War in France*. Yet it is this, just this, that in our era the Chinese youth movement demanded the Cultural Revolution become, and because they meant it, Lin Piao's Army was called out to crush them. Today, their heirs are called "ultra-Left," and it is demanded of Chinese youth that they follow Huang to Zaire to embrace the murderer of Lumumba!

The passion for philosophy was limited neither to China's Sheng Wu-lien, nor to Russian dissidents, in and out of Russia, but covered the globe, including the Black Revolution in the U.S. as well as in Africa.

As against foco-ism, which had diverted a whole generation of revolutionaries from working towards proletarian revolution, and, as against 1968 when French youth deluded themselves that they could "do it" without theory, we attempted to re-think the 200-year history of dialectical philosophy and revolution in the context of the last two decades of the movement from practice.

The resistance from that Old Left was not just to a book, *Philosophy and Revolution*, but to that very movement from practice that was itself a form of theory, preferring instead to attach themselves to all sorts of alternatives—from existentialism to foco-ism, and from PLO-ism to "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution"—everything, that is, except a total, social revolution with all new forces of revolution held as Reason, be they proletarian, Women's Liberationists, youth or the Black Dimension.



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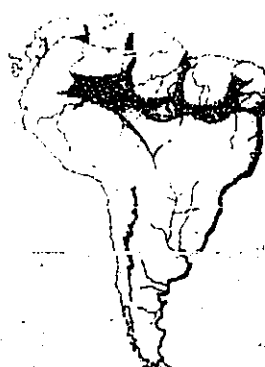
Once again, therefore, we must turn, instead, to where new revolutionary beginnings that would determine revolutionary ends are. Two developments stand out crucially. One is Latin America. (The Political-Philosophic Letter on "The Latin American Unfinished Revolutions" is to be considered an integral part of this thesis.)

Two, is the new stage of Women's Liberation. Where previously Rosa Luxemburg was disregarded even by socialist feminists because she hadn't written directly on women, many groups now not only relate Women's Liberation to Rosa Luxemburg as revolutionary, but, above all, pose it as integral to Marx's own theory of revolution.

In that, there is no distinction between Women's Liberationists and the youth movement that has begun to ask: what is Marx's theory of revolution for our age?

Thus, Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Theory of Revolution* becomes the urgent question of the day, as important as any of our activities, be they in labor struggles, or in anti-Nazi activities; be they with Women's Liberationists or with youth; be they in the anti-nuclear demonstrations or in all the Black liberation battles.

The new stage of militancy that the U.S. miners have displayed is more than only militancy, as great as that was. For it was simultaneously, with revolt against capital, also a revolt against the government and a revolt against their own labor bureaucrats. This stage of proletarian revolt is not the end but the beginning of the battles to come this year, because not only is the economic crisis unabated, but the onslaught of management in trying to turn the clock back on labor's gains, on welfare, on Blacks, is sure to first unfold as the labor contracts in all major industries will be up for renewal next year. This determines our tasks for the year.



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IV. Our Tasks

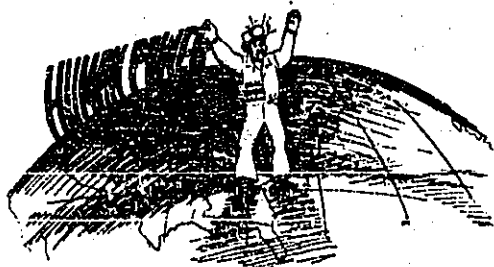
First and foremost come new avenues of activity opened by this stage of proletarian revolt. It is especially significant that the same miners' strike, and our analysis of it, was of the greatest interest both to Europe and to Latin America. Indeed, it was translated into Spanish, as were also the Political-Philosophic Letter on "The Latin American Unfinished Revolutions," and the lead in our May issue, "The Latino struggle unites freedom fighters in North and South America." Along with these appear the youth revolt and the occupation at Hostos College in the South Bronx to constitute the first Spanish pamphlet to be published by us.

The fact that both *Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution* are now available in Spanish, and that we have, in fact, reached a new stage of relations with Latin American co-thinkers, marks an important new stage for our activity both here and abroad. The internationalization of *Philosophy and Revolution*, in fact, will be extended in 1979 both to France and Germany. These editions will not only carry the new appendix on post-Mao China, but also an appendix to Part I on Hegel, Marx and Lenin which deals with Marx's *Capital* in the light of today's global crisis.

The European trip this year has helped all this come alive at the very moment we were establishing new relationships, especially in Germany where on this, the 25th anniversary of the very first revolt from under Communist totalitarianism, we see the working out of a totally new relationship of theory to practice in the homeland of Marx.

Our modest growth this year because of the classes in *Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis* is sure to be further extended with the *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought* pamphlet. This is not a quantitative matter of how many pamphlets on the Black Dimension we have published. Rather, *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought* is a deepening and concretization of the Black Dimension as it has characterized Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. from its origin in 1955.

*See Editorial articles by Andy Phillips, N&L March and April, 1978, on "New Rattle Stage for American Labor."



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Thus, this year we will also see **Indignant Heart** published, and not only as it was published in 1953, before ever we were born as **News & Letters** in 1955. It will be a new book that takes in the 25 years since the publication of the original. We rightly felt from the start that **Indignant Heart** was not only a Black production worker's life story, but a reflection of the historical struggles of the Black masses as vanguard in all revolutionary struggles in the U.S. The new book will, at one and the same time, bring us back to our beginnings, and forward to the new Perspectives for 1978-79.

Toward this end, as well as for meeting the urgent needs of the office to function at full speed at the very time that the reorganization of the Center for the work on the Rosa Luxemburg book add extra responsibilities—and, above all, to assure the continued publication of **News & Letters** in its expanded form, of a 12-pager three times a year and an 8-pager regularly—the REB is proposing that the Organization-Sustaining-Publishing fund for this year be a minimum of \$20,000.

This, of course, will be spelled out more concretely in the organization report. Here we mention it only in order to focus on what has been our distinctive characteristic from our very birth on the second anniversary of the East German uprising of June 17, 1953—the world roots of humanism as well as the American roots of Marxism; the relationship with ever deeper layers of the proletariat, with Black, youth and Women's Liberationists, without ever separating those activities from our continuous theoretical work.

This year we must create time for the chairwoman to complete the work on Rosa Luxemburg, which is by no means only on Rosa Luxemburg, great and important as she is in her own right; nor is it only Rosa Luxemburg in relationship to the Women's Liberation Movement of today, crucial as it is to see its direction. No, what the times, objective and subjective, demand is the relationship of both these subjects to Marx's theory of revolution. There is no way to theoretically prepare for revolution without concretizing Absolute Idea as new beginning in relationship to the forces as Reason of revolution for our era.

At no time has this been more urgent than for this year when the U.S. has decided upon the use, along with the N-Bomb threat, of the China card—not only in relation to Russia, but in support of reactionary regimes in Africa, be it Zaire or even that most benighted land, South Africa.

The Resident Editorial Board
June 17, 1978