

Draft Perspectives, 1979-1980

THE SHIFT IN GLOBAL POLITICS AND THE NEED FOR A PHILOSOPHY OF REVOLUTION

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

Introduction

So perilous are our times, economically and politically, militarily and intra-imperialistically—and in a state-capitalist age this means East as well as West — that the two truly global nuclear powers, U.S. and Russia, urge adoption of SALT II, not just as a sort of holding action, and, as President Carter put it, not even as only a question of war and peace, but as nothing short of the survival of humanity. He ought to know, as he is driving for a possible nuclear holocaust.

At the same time, the great mass unrest — whether in ordinary strikes and Black confrontations with racists in the U.S., by no means restricted to Decatur, Ala.; anti-nuclear demonstrations here and in Western Europe as well as Japan; or outright revolutions as in Iran — has thrown such fears into the world rulers and their ideologues that — despite the tide of new Conservatism (be it in Thatcher's victory in Britain, or the well-paid idiocies of Senator Jackson, whose irrational words would make us believe that any reduction in nuclear armaments is "op-

peasement in its purest essence") — we are also offered appeals for "philosophical meanings."

Thus, James Reston devoted his Sunday New York Times column (5-27-79) to a speech by ex-Foreign Minister from Lebanon, Charles Malik, who asks us to go beyond "the loss of gas" to "the philosophic meanings of the fuel crisis."

We are asked to go deep into the West's "origins," and to do so "in all humility," for where would we be "without Athens and Constantinople"? And where "without Antioch and Jerusalem, without the 27 characters of the alphabet that were first perfected at Byblus on the coast of Lebanon"? And since we are the heirs of this most "creative civilization," what next? Well, suddenly, the "beyond" significance of the "loss of gas" for the individual has turned into "flow of oil" for the West (Japan included!), not, it is true, through the individual pump, but then one cannot directly mention Pax Americana and "nuclear holocaust" when one speaks of "philosophic meanings." A more euphemistic



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term is that that flow of oil is nothing short of "a life and death" question.

All the meanderings through history and geographic switching from the Near to the Middle East, and from the West in general, to the U.S. in particular, may have satisfied the Middle East professorial politician and a top bourgeois Western journalist, but the only thing it proved is that, though U.S. imperialism has the most nuclear weapons, even they recognize that unless one first wins the minds of men, there is no way to win such a war. Dialectics teaches us, however, that philosophy is no playing around with words; it is either a philosophy of liberation, or it is nothing. Their "philosophic meanings" are so many nothings. Without confronting reality, the real objective world where contradictions abound, class struggles are fought, and visions of totally different human relations are striven for, there is no way to work out a philosophy of revolution, of liberation. Toward that end we must examine the present capitalistic-imperialist world disorder.

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I. A NEW GLOBAL RECESSION-IN-THE-MAKING—AND THE REVOLUTION IN IRAN

This last week in June is witnessing two different types of meetings with more than two different types of perspectives. One thing, however, characterizes both "summits": the industrialized nations' rulers meeting in Tokyo, like the OPEC potentates meeting in Geneva, will be totally removed from their own masses. Just as President Carter acted as if he were unaware of the irreconcilable contradiction between claiming to strive for peace and ordering the production of the monster MX missile — with a price tag of \$30 billion when the economy is in recession and unemployment is increasing — so both the industrialized conclave and the OPEC behave as if "U.S. restraint," especially by the masses, of oil consumption would, if not solve all the problems of an economy plunging downward, surely ameliorate it so that business can continue as usual. The masses, on the other hand, reject all apologetics.

1) OIL FOR THE MILITARIZED ECONOMY

There is hardly a soul that believes a single word on energy that comes out of the mouth of that incompetent oil millionaire and militarist occupying the position of "Energy Tsar," Schlesinger. Nor is there a soul who believes a word out of the President's mouth with its pretentiousness of stopping "windfall profits" now that he has initiated deregulation at the very moment when, even with regulation, the oil barons' unconscionable profits have skyrocketed. While the masses know oil prices are the biggest-ever ripoff of the public, it isn't that they don't recognize that oil is critical. But the crisis isn't because of the individual motorist's needs; rather, it is because of the insatiable appetite of the Pentagon geering for war.

Nor is it that OPEC hasn't and isn't using it as a political weapon. But just as the boycott didn't end with the end of the 1973 Arab-Israeli War — the quadrupling of oil prices came in 1974, and they will soar again this very week from the present inflated \$14 a barrel to \$18 or

\$20 (or even the fantastic Rotterdam "spot pricing" of \$37 a barrel) — so none of these high jumps can hide the fact that OPEC countries aren't the only ones luxuriating in a fool's paradise. The U.S. oil magnates — the infamous "Seven Sisters" — have made as unconscionable profits as OPEC. Which is why the American people, angry as they are at OPEC, are even angrier at both the "Seven Sisters" and the Carter Administration.

Above all, they know that already they are the victims not only of oil price gouging but the total economy plunging downward. They know that they are suffering from a recession that is already here; no need for them to wait for fall when two back-to-back quarterly declines in the Gross National Product (GNP) will meet the capitalistic-academic criterion for defining a recession.



"Better to light one candle rather than curse the darkness, eh Brezhnev, ol' pal?"

Unemployment is on the rise and, again, the "average" of 7 percent, when it is 10 percent in all industrial cities, needs no backing up with weakness in consumer spending to convince them we are in recession now.¹ Presently no less than a full 52 percent of Black youths are unemployed. And even when the U.S. Census Bureau gloated about how many Blacks have gotten white cellar jobs at whites' pay, it has had to admit that between 1974-77, Blacks in poverty level rose by half a million, to a total of 7.7 million. As for weakness in consumer spending, spelled out, it means sales in April fell the most sharply since World War II, even more than 74-75, which was the deepest recession of all five post-World War II recessions. As for the business climate, which is supposed to have shown a rise the last month, the truth turns out to be that what business was getting large bank loans for was not investment in plant and equipment, which shows a healthy economy and creates jobs, but for financing inventories and accounts receivable.²

Nor is this characteristic only of the U.S. which is still the richest country in the world. There are no less than 7 million unemployed in Western Europe and Japan. The Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development has shown that, instead of the 5 percent growth predicted by the U.S. for 1979, there has been only a 3 percent growth; world growth is predicted as falling to 2.8 percent for the first half of 1980 when the "consensus" has been that a 4 percent rise in economic growth is necessary to prevent unemployment from rising further, and already there is fear of proletarian revolts.

As for double digit inflation which is hitting the U.S., with the sole exception of West Germany, this is no stranger to Europe. Geoffrey H. Moore, director of the Center for International Business Cycle Research at Rutgers University,

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¹ A recent Louis Harris poll shows that, while the ideologues were fighting over which word to use to describe "economic slowdown", three out of five American adults held that we already were in recession.

² See the NYT, 6-24-79, Business & Finance Section, "How Long A Slowdown?" by Clyde Farnsworth. See also *Man's Capital and Today's Global Crisis* which I argued, against Ernest Mandel's contention that the 1974-5 recession had run its course, that the deep capitalist crises by now are so structural that "There is to be no next boom."

speaks euphemistically of "the beginning of the growth cycle slowdown" when, in fact, even the word stagflation — the combining of a stagnant economy with rising inflation — is now out of use since what we are witnessing is not "just stagnation" but recession!

2) SALT I, SALT II — AND THE ANTI-NUCLEAR MOVEMENT

Senator Jackson's idiocies notwithstanding, the SALT agreements far from being "appeasement in its purest essence," have hardly stopped the nuclear arms race. First, let us not forget that SALT II is an outgrowth of SALT I, initiated during the Nixon spectaculars when that arrogant "professorial" reactionary Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, spelled out Nixon's global vision in most concrete weaponry and, at one and the same time, opened the Heavenly Gate of Mao's China, and signed SALT I with Russia. By burning both ends of the nuclear candle at the same time, SALT I was finally signed in 1972.

Far from that stopping nuclear armaments growth, here are the facts: In 1972 the U.S. had 5,700 nuclear warheads ready to fire at Russia, and Russia had 2,500 ready to fire at the U.S. Though that was quite sufficient to kill us several times over, the U.S. now has 9,200 and the Russians 5,000. That isn't all. Quite the contrary. Since the only way the Pentagon was to have agreed to SALT I was to make sure that anything that was already on the drawing board could not be stopped, nuclear development never stopped inventing more proficient killer capability, and the agreement was signed only when both sides agreed not even to face control of offensive weapons; the limitations were strictly applied to "defensive" (!) nuclear arms.

Supposedly, they would have turned to tackle limiting offensive nuclear weapons in 1974, which was the original deadline for signing SALT II. Instead, the Vladivostok formula (or, if you wish to follow post-Mao China's retention of the Ming Dynasty designation of Vladivostok as Haisenwei) was left in limbo. Despite Ford's retention of Kissinger as Secretary of State and their desire to sign, the Pentagon had gotten so intensely interested in a new weapons system that they opposed any negotiations with the Russians. As Ford was later to acknowledge, the specific new weapon that so overwhelmingly attracted the Pentagon was the cruise missile, a computer-aimed, pilotless aircraft which can be targeted with devastating accuracy.

Whether you wish to believe that the President is "captive" of the Pentagon, or the Pentagon of the politics of winning an election while gearing up for global confrontation, the point is that all these preparations for the holocaust, with or without pauses for "holding actions," likewise don't end the story because the experimentation on how to kill millions and millions of people is endless.

Think of this fact: the U.S. has spent more than \$50 billion on military space projects. *Business Week* (June 6, 1979) devoted no less than six pages to its so-called defense article, demonstrating how, right now, we are also planning not just MIRV-type or earth-bound or air-type of destruction, but space war. We have Paul C. Warnke's assurance that "there is no question in my mind that we could have a war in space within a decade."

So, in addition to the MIRVs, ICBMs, NWDs, SMLBNs, which Carter topped last year by adding the N-bomb that kills people but leaves machinery "intact," Carter further paid a price to the Chiefs of Staff, just as he was preparing to depart for Austria to sign SALT II, by approving the MX missile system, and got Russia, which is as anxious for the treaty as is Carter, to both agree to destroy some of its missiles and to modify its latest killer extravaganza — the Backfire Bomber — to "defensive" miles travelled.

It is not the Sen. Jacksons and other reactionaries along with Carter and Chiefs of Staff in and out of the Administration who will act to stop the nuclear race that will, indeed, put a

question mark on civilization as we have known it. It is the movement against it — and the movement against it is not limited to the U.S. or Russia but exists throughout the world.

Let us not forget, Thatcher's Britain is the same country where the greatest mass movement — the Campaign For Nuclear Disarmament — first developed in the 1950s, and may very well become the bacillus for a new world mass anti-nuclear movement. In the U.S., the combination of an actual near-disaster at Three Mile Island, and a movie about such a question, "The China Syndrome," transformed what was a small anti-nuclear movement into a mass movement with 120,000 pouring out for a Washington, D.C. protest. It now has developed also into an anti-draft movement. There is no doubt that the movement expanded not only in size but in the various layers — from middle-class to proletariat, with the youth again being the core, and with the European masses coming out to solidarize with the second America, who oppose its Administration, and saying: "We are all Pennsylvanians."

A single incident here will show how great is the passion for a serious philosophy that is anti-capitalist system and not just anti-nuclear. It is the response of the audience to a statement by a Marxist-Humanist who, in speaking about the fact that solar power is not the answer to nuclear madness, said: "If the capitalists developed solar power, they would find a way to kill us with it."

3) ONCE AGAIN OIL, THIS TIME WITH NOTHING SHORT OF SHIFT IN GLOBAL POLITICS

The barbaric acts of an entrenched counter-revolution in Nicaragua — the murderous Somoza dictatorship — prove, over and over again, that it stops at no savagery as it rains bombs on its own people and land. Clearly, nothing, nothing whatever, stops a ruling power faced with a people's revolution. It is imperative that the continuing daily horrors sink in, as we take a second look at U.S. imperialism's role in the Middle East since the revolution that succeeded in overthrowing the Shah of Iran. It is true that U.S. imperialism's global ambitions were hardly limited to that of the oil potentates. It is true that it did not appreciate the quadrupling of oil prices and that, for a moment, Dr. Henry Kissinger flirted with the idea of invading the oil fields and sent feelers out in that direction.

None however was prepared for the overthrow of the Shah, which ended his role as the policeman for the West both for oil and the oil lanes to the West, to Japan and to India. That the biggest blow to the flow of oil would come

neither from intra-imperialist rivalries or intra-Arab maneuvers, but from outright revolution within Iran — which totally changed the whole Middle Eastern situation in a way that affected global politics — was furthest from those first planning an Egyptian-Israeli Treaty.

Nevertheless, Sadat rushed to embrace the Grand Illusion and openly offered to take over the Shah's role as the U.S.'s policeman for both the oil and the lanes bringing that oil to the West. Suddenly the Arab world saw Sadat reaching for nothing short of hegemony in the Middle East. This, on top of the revolution in Iran which had already scared Saudi Arabia out of its wits, led Saudi Arabia to question the validity of its "special relationship with the U.S." It turned, at one and the same time, to join the radical Arab front — the rejectionists — and to flirt with Russia, whose claim that all South Yemen wanted was "to work for unity with North Yemen" the King accepted. Instead of accepting U.S.'s offer to help North Yemen, unaided by Russia, to remain a satellite of Saudi Arabia, the North-South Yemen war ended abruptly.

Far from being upset by the new acts of Saudi Arabia, upon whose gold it had heavily depended—without it, it could not have prepared the 1973 war against Israel — Sadat began to view Egypt as that much-needed outpost of U.S. imperialism. Hence, no backward steps, including even the erection of new Israeli settlements on the West Bank by that most reactionary Begin, could stop Sadat from proceeding with his side of the bargain plus offering asylum to the Shah.

In a word, the burning question is not Oil, but Revolution/Counter-Revolution. What we have seen ever since the overwhelming vote for Nixon is what the fear of revolution, of youth in revolt against war, of women in revolt against male chauvinism even if that be by their own "beloved ones," of the passionate hunger for a different way of life can provoke. Enough Americans knowingly voted for Nixon, despite his anti-labor record, his anti-Black record, his anti-free speech record, to prove that there simply are no limits to the abyssal depths that society as it will go to resist change in its lifestyle. So many have patted themselves on the back for supposedly having thrown out that "crook" Nixon and now dare even to give honor to the Vietnam War, as if it really were a "war for democracy," that it shows there simply is no way out other than a total uprooting of what is.

That is, in fact, what is happening from below, as is clear from the many revolts that we have witnessed this year. The greatest and most outright revolution was, of course, Iran. To think that the disarray in the Middle East now means smooth sailing for U.S. imperialism is to cover up all the other myriad crises. It is true that the contradictions within Iran are deep, now that Khomeini is going all out to institutionalize counter-revolution with his unconstitutional, unvoted for, un-discussed Constitution. Nothing can, however, possibly take away from the totality, the spontaneity, the new forces of revolution that had unfolded in the overthrow of the Shah. Let's probe more deeply.

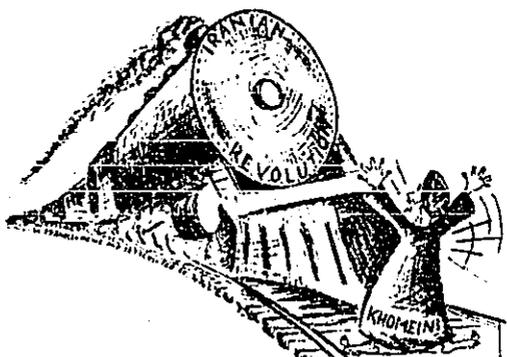
II. REVOLUTION/COUNTER-REVOLUTION

Not only has the Iranian revolution by no means run its course, but the revolts in the world are by no means restricted to Iran, or, for that matter, to the Middle East. Latin America is seething with revolt. Look at Nicaragua where what began as a general strike is by now a dual government. Just a year ago, when the Sandinistas began the revolt, the counter-revolution was so thorough and mightily armed that it put the revolt down. It was hard to think that they could possibly return. In fact, however, they are now not just back in force, but so totally protected by the masses, even as Somoza's bombers destroy from on high the people and the land itself, that they are challenging Somoza legally as well by the occupation of the second largest city.

Nor have the revolts been stopped in Africa. One of the most amazing acts — and the white imperialists couldn't do it — was the Tanzanians, along with Ugandan exiles, overthrowing Amin. Again, even Libyan gold, Libyan oil and the Libyan army couldn't save that murderous dictator. What we are witnessing here is the most serious breakout from the straight-jacket of narrow nationalism, though its ruler vented his murders, not against imperialism and not against any "foreign" nation, but against his own people. And yet, while there is no doubt whatever that Africans are happy with this daring gesture of Nyerere, the fact that Western imperialism, and the U.S. especially, is likewise happy makes the whole situation very ambivalent.

At the same time, again, there is no doubt whatever that the genuine freedom movements are being attacked from all sides, and not only by U.S. imperialism, whether that is a question of the way in which Ethiopia, with the aid of Russia and Cuba, mowed down the Eritrean revolutionaries fighting for self-determination; or whether it is the Angolan revolution at a crossroads; or Namibia-facing a hardened apartheid South Africa — hardened by the fact that comprador Ian Smith's Rhodesia pulled off a whitewash with the aid of his lackey, Muzorewa.

And all these are, according to that global politician-academic, Kissinger, "regional" crises. The myriad political crises besetting the world are indeed very nearly "secondary" to the technologically-advanced world on the edge of a new worldwide economic crisis-in-the-making. And these Big Powers become, in turn, subordinate to the fight between the two nuclear superpowers, U.S. and Russia, aiming at single world control. In this determining confrontation, if civilization survives to tell the tale, even the 900-million-strong Chinese power, christened by Nixon as "third global power," is measuring which side to be on, while China itself, in crisis, has returned to its own version of imperialism by its invasion of Vietnam. The point of pointing to the crises, besides those of the two global superpowers, was to stress that no matter how deep the crisis, the collapse is not automatic. Nor is it only a question that no one gives up their power willingly. Rather, it is a question that the barbarism of retrogression likewise has no limits and must be destroyed, and destroyed so totally that there would be no material or ideological or political way to restore itself. Which is why we must return to the revolution in Iran.



In March 1979, when we printed this cartoon along with our analysis of the counter-revolutionary policies that threatened in Iran, most of the Left allowed Khomeini's leadership to go unchallenged.

The type of revolution in Iran, which, at one and the same time, comprises new forces of revolution — youth so young as to include children (which we see also in Nicaragua); a women's liberation movement that actually did initiate a second chapter when it began questioning the male chauvinism and exploitative relationships which left the Iranian women with unfreedom, though they were part of the revolution for freedom; and the most serious challenges for national self-determination on the part of the Kurds and the Arabs — nevertheless had not, in the process of revolution, challenged the leadership of Khomeini. Even those who opposed (as many on the Left had opposed) let the leadership, and with it the banner, the philosophy of revolution, reduced to an "Islamic Republic," go unchallenged.

[An integral part of our Perspectives, naturally, includes "Iran: Unfoldment of, and Contradictions in, Revolution."³ Its subheadings are: I. A Whole Host of Spectres Haunting Khomeini's 'Islamic Revolution'; II. The Main Enemy Is Always At Home; III. Two Iranian Revolutions: 1906-1911 and Today's; IV. Where To Now?]

Here what we wish to stress is that the still-ongoing revolution, in its massive demonstration on May 1, manifested great ideological struggles and, by no accident whatever, in a pamphlet which contained Rosa Luxemburg's Essays on May 1, included a translation also of Chapter IV, "Worker and Intellectual at a Turning Point in History: 1848 to 1861," from Marxism and Freedom. Obviously what Marxists in the 1905-06 Russian Revolution thought (and they based their theory on just that 1848 revolution), and the 1906-09 Iranian revolution which followed the Russian, had great relevance for 1979. But that was not all. Rather, it is that the passion for philosophy and revolution, Marx's philosophy of revolution, is the need of more than the moment.

Put differently, so complex and contradictory is the Iranian revolution that the counter-revolu-

³ The Political-Philosophic Letter on the Iranian Revolution is available from News & Letters for 50 cents (plus 28c postage). See also the following eyewitness reports from Iran in News & Letters: "Iran's ongoing revolution" (March, 1979), and "Revolution and counter-revolution in Iran" (June, 1979).

tion, virtually built into it, puts a question mark over the very existence of the Iranian Revolution; while the super-powers, U.S. and Russia, who stand aside for the moment, put a question mark over humanity's existence as they reach for world domination. It cannot, therefore, be overemphasized that our projected work on Rosa Luxemburg, Today's Women's Liberation Movement and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution is not so much a "book" as very nearly a manifesto for total freedom, and demands a 1980 deadline for its completion. In these myriad crises-ridden times — when the Left has managed to narrow both freedom and revolution even as concepts, not to mention actual revolutions where, like the Trotskyists, they tailend Stalinism, Maoism, Vietnamism, and even Pol-Potism — our seriousness regarding the deadline is being tested.

III. ORGANIZATIONAL CONCLUSIONS

Let's take one more look at the Iranian revolution — this time as it relates to our organization — not only as a matter of solidarizing with it, and showing it the second America which fights its own capitalistic-imperialistic rulers, but as tackling the contradictions within Iran which is still capitalistic, with the counter-revolution calling itself "revolution" while using SAVAK agents to feret out the genuine revolutionaries! There surely is no lack of organization in Iran. Indeed, what is tragic is that it's all the old organizations: the church, the army, the capitalist class, the single party "blessed by God," have all their organizations intact; whereas the revolutionaries that laid the ground for Khomeini to come to power and the masses of workers who made the actual revolution — from paralyzing industry, to challenging the army — with their spontaneous organizations (i.e. committees, shoras, their soviets), are the very ones who have no organization now. It wasn't because they don't know an organization is needed. But so separate was philosophy of revolution from the revolution itself that what followed was a still newer division between the organized form of expression and the spontaneous action, with Left elitists designating themselves as "vanguard," "the Party to lead," and considering the spontaneously-arisen form of organization as backward.

In a word, it isn't News and Letters Committees that is the question, but the form of a revolutionary Marxist organization as well as the relationship of it to the spontaneous new forms that arise from below, as well as the continuous working out of new relations of theory to practice.

In our case, we must remember that as great as was the breakthrough in the concept of the Absolute idea, because we had discovered in it the movement from practice; and as great as the fact that the discovery preceded the actual movement from practice that emerged on June 17, 1953 in the East German uprising against Russian totalitarianism, our birth as an independent Marxist Tendency first occurred in the early 1940s. It was in that period when we, at one and

the same time, worked out the state capitalist analysis of the Russian economy and, as its absolute opposite, the centrality of the Black dimension for the American revolution. In the process of working out an economic analysis of the age, we discovered Marx's Humanist Essays. To put it simply, while that was the historic birth of the economic-political-philosophic Tendency of Marxist-Humanism, and though we functioned as collectivity, we did not use organizational language nor make any pretense to being a party.

It is high time, beginning from the very statement of **Who Are We and What We Stand For and through the Archives**,⁴ that we recognize ourselves not just as a tendency but as an organization — the organization we have been for the last 24 years — **News and Letters Committees**. This will be spelled out more completely in the **Organization/News & Letters** report. Here we will limit ourselves to pointing to the organizational direction flowing from the **Perspectives**.

⁴ See Statement, below.

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 capitalist, 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**.

First and foremost, of course, is the recognition that, since it is the objective situation — its myriad crises, its economic-political-military shifting of global alliances as against the mass struggles for freedom, while the Left is in as much disarray, theoretically, as the very forces they combat — that impels a deadline, the deadline of 1980, for finishing the book **Rosa Luxemburg, Today's Women's Liberation Movement and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution**, we have to prove our seriousness toward that deadline:

1) A full year's free time is to be created for the National Chairwoman to finish the manuscript, and nearly as much for the National Organizer to collaborate on that work.

2) Toward that end, the National Co-Organizer is to become full-time which means being responsible both for the Center and **News & Letters**.

3) By the end of the year, the anti-nuclear and anti-draft movements, which remain a central focus of our activity, will reach a very sharp crisis because it will coincide then with the ratification of the SALT II agreement. That requires, at one and the same time, establishment of autonomous youth groups as well as the intensification of the activities and theoretical work of the existing Marxist Humanist groups on campus.

Thus, for the early part of January, a meeting is projected on "The Life and Death of Rosa Luxemburg, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution." Toward that end, the National Chairwoman, as speaker, will have completed a pivotal chapter in the Rosa Luxemburg book, and thus will initiate the classes to be held on that work.

4) These classes on the chapter about the 1905 Russian Revolution will also have available a translation of Rosa Luxemburg's speech on that revolution, delivered at the 1907 Russian Congress. The reporters for the classes will not limit themselves to either of these two; rather, they will also analyze the current scene as well as past **Perspectives** bulletins on the revolutions in our age, such as the Portuguese and the Iranian Revolutions. In a word, what we will be doing in these classes is actually collaborating with the National Chairwoman in working out the crux of the new work on Rosa Luxemburg and Marx's philosophy of revolution.

5) What further flows from the concentration of the **Perspectives** is the need for a review of all our writings on the Black Dimension, from 1943 to 1979, concentrating on the period that prepared us for the publication of both **News & Letters and Marxism and Freedom** in the 1950s, i.e. **People of Kenya Speak for Themselves** and **Indignant Heart**, whose author, a Black production worker, Charles Denby, became **News & Letters**' editor and author of **Workers Battle Automation**; through the 1960s, when we reconnected with the new generation of revolutionaries with **The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution** and the anti-war movement's "Hell no, we won't go!", as well as **Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves**, which was the first pamphlet to

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single out Black women revolutionaries in Mississippi, "Woman Power Unlimited"; to our latest **Working Women For Freedom**, not to mention the tremendous statements by Black women in Chapter 9 of **Philosophy and Revolution**.

6) Finally, we will hold classes in Marx's **Capital**, Vol. I. It can have as its focus how Marx's new continent of thought analyzed, developed and related the economic laws of capitalism to the philosophy of revolution, beginning from the very first chapter, **Commodities**, and its theory "The Fetishism of Commodities," to the penultimate chapter, "Historic Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation," on the general law of capitalist accumulation as it was fought by the "new forces and new passions." Towards that end, we want to study **Capital** on three different levels:

a) The mid-1940s' "Outline of **Capital**" — which followed Marx's **Capital** "formally" and, though the philosophy nowhere shows as pivotal as we now know it to be, did not try to escape the new stage of capitalism, whether that was called by the orthodox, "monopoly capitalism," or as we analyzed it to be state-capitalism—will be reproduced from the Archives of Marxist Humanism.

b) The mid-1950s' tackling of the problem in **Marxism and Freedom**, with its stress not only on philosophy, but also on revolutionary Marxists who nevertheless deviated from Marx's **Capital** ("Appearances vs. Reality" is a critique of Luxemburg's **Accumulation of Capital**), is best presented in the pamphlet **Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crises**, because this takes direct issue with Ernest Mandel's wrong analysis of the 1970s crises in the U.S. as well as with Tony Cliff's degradation of Lenin's theory of Imperialism.

c) Chapter 2 of **Philosophy and Revolution**, Section C, on the "Adventure of the Commodity as Fetish," is placed so integrally with the whole of Marx's new continent of thought, that one finally can study Marx's **Capital** in a very original way, both as itself and in the context of the new passions and new forces of our era.

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