

MAY, 1984

Draft Perspectives, 1984-85

WHERE ARE THE 1980s GOING?

The Imperative Need for a Totally New Direction in Uprooting Capitalism-Imperialism

I. Ronald Reagan, World Outlaw

The so-called Great Communicator has proved himself to be the world outlaw. That is so obnoxious a manifestation that American liberals in general, and the Democratic Party in particular, would like us to believe it is an aberration rather than the nature of "democratic" capitalism. There is no doubt that the retrogressionist Reagan is an extreme product of senile capitalism. It is not true that he has made any great departure from the very nature of U.S. capitalist-imperialism.

Reagan's disregard both for Congress and for the disapproval by Britain and France of the mining of Nicaragua's harbors, as well as his flaunting of the World Court, has shown that he cares nothing that his covert actions have become open. A look at still other covert and criminal acts carried out by counter-revolutionaries supported and directed by the President and the CIA makes it clear that nothing stops him. Indeed, as the terrorist acts of blowing up



U.S. marine in West Beirut.

Nicaraguan oil tanks likewise became public; Reagan had the gall to propose to the West that they launch pre-emptive strikes against other countries' terrorists.

What this trigger-happy President is doing in this election year is polishing his act to become the Great Impersonator. At home, he is impersonating Harry Truman, who made a successful bid for four more years by attacking the do-nothing

Congress with his "Give 'em hell" campaign. Abroad, he has taken a slow boat to China, where he will impersonate the "Great Statesman," as he hides his deep-rooted anti-Communism and woos China to be one with him against Russia. All the world has become a stage for him to toy with the deranged idea of a "winnable" nuclear war.

Lest this insanity lull us into choosing false alternatives — whether that be the other nuclear superpower, Russia, or whether it be another capitalist party like the Democratic Party — let's take a deeper look at the current Congressional outrage. First, it was only after his allies criticized Reagan for violation of the international freedom of the seas that Congress (which had known about it long before, even if not fully) vented its outrage publicly. The truth is that the anger — including that of the Speaker of the House, Tip O'Neill, who declared the mining to be "legally indefensible" — was never about the substantive issues, but only about what information was given to whom, when. For that matter, timing was likewise all that had been involved in the Congressional disputes over the actual occupation they had dared to call a "peace keeping force" in Lebanon.

Second, the most revealing outburst came from the conservative head of the Senate Intelligence Committee, Barry

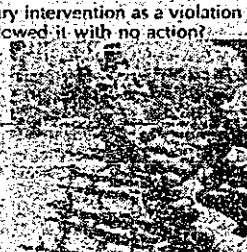


U.S. occupation troops in Grenada.

Goldwater, when he called the mining of Nicaraguan waters "without the consent of Congress" nothing less than "an act of war."

Third, while presidential candidate Gary Hart's declaration, "I regard Ronald Reagan as the most dangerous president of the nuclear age," can hardly be dismissed as mere electioneering politics, one must ask how serious is this critique from a high-tech exponent? In the same way, one must ask how seriously can we take the unanimous vote of the UN Council (except for the U.S. itself, which vetoed it) when it condemned all outside military intervention as a violation of national sovereignty, but followed it with no action?

"Four more years" for Reagan, as for Nixon, is a slogan that promises to subject us to continuing retrogression. Moreover, this scoundrel-patriot's outreach extends far beyond four more years, since he would also pack the Supreme Court and install the kind of militarization for his mad Star Wars that would guarantee that no presidency through the 20th century would be able to escape his plan for the ultimate East-West confrontation.



U.S. adviser training El Salvador troops

This must be stopped. This is what makes it imperative to turn to what is the only true opposition to Reaganism — mass revolt on the home front as it fights against Reagan, the Great Strike-Breaker.

II. Ronald Reagan, Strike-Breaker

The strike-breaking pattern that Reagan set in motion with his destruction of PATCO as soon as he took office gave a signal to the whole capitalist class, which is now involved in a concerted drive against all unionization. The Wall Street Journal (March 6, 1984) has put it most succinctly when it showed that "despite a booming economy many profitable companies . . . are saying to their workers: Your wages are just too high for us to keep competitive in the long run. We need permanent cutbacks." (My emphasis.) "Competitive" has been given a new meaning: it is to bring down the standard of living of the American worker to the lowest common denominator in the backward economies.

And "permanent" means not only lowering wages now but making "temporary" concessions a permanent downgrading. Moreover, the union bureaucrats know that these downward moves are directed not to the elite workers like toolmakers and electronic specialists but to the production workers, who even at their most "prosperous" point never rose above the most average of living conditions. The example cited by the Wall Street Journal was that of the meat-cutter who earned \$12.37 an hour and was replaced by a worker making \$6 when he was forced into early retirement.

It is in the midst of such a situation that the Administration has made scabbing a veritable way of life — which it touts as "freedom of choice." The workers at U.S. Steel have a good word for the tactics of capital. They call it "shut down blackmail," which is used the minute workers threaten to strike or refuse to take cuts, in their benefits as well as in their wages.

At the same time, workers bringing cases against the corporations are waiting years for any action. By last year, there was a backlog of over 1700 NLRB (National Labor Relations

Board) cases to be acted upon — four times more than in 1978. The situation of the workers is exacerbated by the evergrowing unemployment and the inhuman speed-up forced on those still working. There are 10,000 robots in operation in U.S. industry at the present, with each robot displacing from 1.7 to 6 workers. The number is expected to quadruple in the next few years.

That is not all to this grim picture. It includes the swelling number of soup kitchens everywhere throughout the land, including a traveling food kitchen a block from the White House. It includes the actual homeless ones (estimated by now to be more than two million) who include not just the destitute men of the 1930s but many women, many young people, indeed whole families.

Among the many great contradictions in the Reagan regime is the fact that, on the one hand, for electioneering purposes at home, he is diverting attention from the economic crisis here to the crises abroad — confident that he can blame his foreign policy disasters on the Democrats and appeal to the kind of super-patriotism that rallied to his lethal politics in the Grenada invasion. On the other hand, when attention is focused on the economic crisis at home, he puts the blame on the "competition" from abroad that allegedly demands lower wages and worsening conditions here.

Here is the true picture of the genuine opposition to Reaganomics and the deteriorating economy that Reagan calls the "great recovery": There are nine million unemployed. Conditions for Black America worsen daily, especially for the youth, and not only the unemployed but the college youth who face ever higher tuitions and ever greater cutbacks in student loans. Despite all Reagan's touting of

how many individual women have "made it" in business, the situation for overwhelming masses of women in the U.S. is summed up in one phrase: "the feminization of poverty." It is not only that we now have a permanent army of unemployed, or that we face the closing down of such basic industries as steel and other smoke-stack industries that are deemed unprofitable. Nor is it only that the union bureaucrats have demanded that the workers make constant concessions, supposedly "temporarily," until the economy gets back on track. What is new today is that even profitable firms are now demanding permanent paycuts.

In opposing all this retrogression, Labor is not limiting itself only to the electoral process by backing Walter Mondale, though that is the way the press and his opponent for the candidacy, Gary Hart, present it, as they dare to refer to labor as "special interest." The year has seen such militant actions as the McDonnell Douglas UAW strike in California, and the Greyhound Bus workers strike nationwide, though it is true there have not been many massive rank-and-file revolts such as we have seen in other years. Nevertheless, as one labor activist wrote in *News & Letters* (October 1983): "There have been important strikes this year, many anti-concession strikes, but they are as yet individual and isolated." He then described the unreported, shop floor struggles that have appeared which are openly striving for a new kind of rank-and-file organization different from the former caucuses — a new form of organization which, in absorbing the new forces of the women, the Blacks, and the Latinos, would unite with an "intellectual sediment" and help create a new society based on freely associated labor.

III. Abroad At Home; At Home Abroad

Another form of revolt has been growing, especially among the Youth, who see the living standards of their families lowered and their education as well as their daily food cut back, while billions are being poured into more and more militarization, which by now has reached the fantastic, projected "Star Wars." In true Orwellian 1984 language, they dare to call the bill now before Congress to initiate these new space war preparations, the "People Protection Act."

It was the U.S. imperialist invasion of Grenada which sparked a massive march in Washington, D.C. on Nov. 12, and the many local demonstrations by those who could not get to Washington to join the 20,000 protesting there. What the protests revealed was the depth and manifoldness of the opposition to the ruling class. The spontaneous outpouring against the U.S. lawless intervention into Third World national liberation movements was not limited to opposition to the invasion of Grenada. The protest was also against the U.S. presence in Lebanon and the deaths of the 239 Marines killed by the terrorist bombing of the Marine barracks. And it was, at the same time, against the U.S. placement of nuclear missiles in West Europe and in solidarity with the international anti-nuclear demonstrations that had swept Europe.

Thus, the 20,000 in Washington, D.C. divided into three separate rallies: 1) At the Immigration and Naturalization Service the focus was on Latin American and Haitian freedom fighters; 2) At the State Department the focus was not only against the foreign policies of the Administration but against the excessive militarization at home; and 3) At the Department of Health and Human Services the focus was on the wars at

home against Labor, Women, Black, Youth. As all three rallies coalesced into the single march to the White House the breadth of the movement was demonstrated in its many different slogans: "El Salvador is Spanish for Vietnam," "Jobs, not Jugernauts," "Bread, not Bombs."

Several days before the Nov. 12 demonstration, students in Ann Arbor, Michigan left the radiation lab of the School of Engineering shouting, "We shut it down! We shut it down!" They had been sitting in for 48 hours to stop nuclear research that contributed directly to the arms race, while hundreds of other students rallied outside. The breadth of the movement was shown as well in the Nov. 12 demonstration of 4,000 in Los Angeles where the large numbers of Latinos and Blacks set the tone with signs that revealed their opposition both to the invasion of Grenada and the war against Afro-Americans right here.

There is no doubt that the most militant of all is the Black opposition to Reaganism, whether at home in Miami, or abroad in the Caribbean. It has been revealed even in what appears as only electoral politics in the outpouring for Jesse Jackson. As we put it in the Call for the Convention: "It is impossible not to sense the significance of the Black masses in motion in this election year. When 80% of the Black voters in Chicago, and nearly 90% in New York City, turn out for so previously disregarded as event as a primary, it is crystal clear that this Black mass support of Jesse Jackson has nothing to do with support for Democratic Party politics. Just as the millions who flocked to Marcus Garvey at the end of World War I, when race riots greeted

returning Black soliders, did so *not* because they wanted to go 'back to Africa' but because they wished to be free here and now, so thousands are following Jesse Jackson now, not because of any belief in the capitalist system but because they wish to uproot the whole exploitative, racist system."

Ronald Reagan has demonstrated so determined an effort to push back all the gains of the Black Revolt over the last two decades, that it is no surprise that he finds his greatest affinity with the worst existing power on earth — apartheid South Africa, with which he is presently working hand in glove on the question of Namibia, praising to the skies the "non-aggression pact" between Angola, Mozambique and South Africa.

Internationally, the points of crisis flare up everywhere. 1) The Middle East itself contains four different flash-points that could lead to more than regional wars — Lebanon, Iran-Iraq, Syria and the fractured PLO, and of course the Israeli-Arab conflict.

2) In Africa the disasters include everything from such continuous drought and famine that, as one writer described it,

"The Lead-Editorial in N&L, December, 1983, was entitled 'The Three-Way Drive to War: Grenada, Endless Militarization, Retrogression on Black Rights.' It should be considered part of these perspectives, along with our Political-Philosophic Letter of Nov. 26, 1983, 'Counter-Revolution and Revolution: Grenada, The Caribbean Today, and the Challenge from 30 Years of Movements from Practice that were Themselves Forms of Theory.'"

"even the vultures have fled," to the way truly revolutionary regimes like Mozambique and Angola have felt themselves compelled to capitulate to South Africa and deny a home for the revolutionary exiles. Yet none of these disasters have been able to stop the ongoing revolts.

3) Central America and the Caribbean have raised the question of actual military invasions by U.S. imperialism. No one is confused that Reagan's so-called victory over little Grenada will satisfy U.S. imperialism's ambitions. It is clear that Reagan's primary aim is to overthrow the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua.

4) The Cold War between "East and West", that has heated up on all fronts in the Reagan era — from lessening of trade and refusal to sign the SALT II treaty initiated in the Carter years, to the continuous and fantastic militarization that includes Star Wars — has now brought about yet another impersonation for our actor-president.

This time Reagan is not letting his virulent anti-Communism stop him from seeking to play the role of partner with China against Russia. It was only his more knowledgeable aides, the *New York Times* (April 25, 1984) tells us, who stopped him from announcing in Guam, on his pre-election trip to China, that China and the U.S. would "jointly stop Russian expansionism." Though this is not excluded in this retrogressionist era in the U.S. and in China, Reagan's claim that this represents a victory amid the long list of his foreign policy disasters is a delusion.

Take the fact that he thinks he does not have to worry about Europe now that he has stationed Euro-missiles there. Henry Kissinger, however, who knows that Europe cannot be written off — no matter how preoccupied Reagan is with Latin America or how deluded he is by his election-year trip to China — is reminding us that Germany is still the key to the international situation if what is involved is nothing short of a nuclear confrontation. Kissinger has thereupon decided to question Europe's loyalty to NATO. In a special essay for *Time* (March 5, 1984) entitled "Reshaping NATO," he has offered Europe what is not his to give — Supreme Command of NATO providing they can assume the military "responsibility" for it.

He is repeating the same global ambitions and imperial arrogance as in the Nixon era when he expounded "The Year of Europe", as if Europe's concerns are merely "regional" matters, whereas the U.S. has a global vision, and knows it is a question of whether the U.S. or Russia rule the world. He is now repeating the same attitude, with one variation — the threat that if Europe does not shoulder the "responsibility" for its own super-militarization, the U.S. troops will be removed, and with them Europe's "nuclear umbrella."

It was precisely West Europe's distrust that the U.S. would actually come to its defense with that "nuclear umbrella" that had emboldened De Gaulle to initiate his own independent nuclear force. The ambitions of all these rulers must be stopped. What is needed is for the forces opposing this degenerate capitalist-imperialist world to work out revolutionary theory deeply rooted in the movement from practice and to thus assure the ground for actual revolution.

IV. Objectivity/Subjectivity

— In Actuality and in Philosophy

...the transcendence of the opposition between the Notion and Reality, and that unity which is the truth, rests upon this subjectivity alone. The second negative, the negative of the negative, is this transcendence of the contradiction: "It is the inner-most and most objective moment of Life and Spirit."
Hegel, Science of Logic, Vol. II, pp 477-8
(Johnson and Struthers edition)

"Important here is: (1) the characterization of dialectics; self-movement (the movement of life and spirit; the coincidence of the concepts of the subject (man) with reality; (2) objectivism to the highest degree ('der objectivste Moment')."'

Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 38, p. 229

We were all put to the test in the 1980s. 1980 began the Reagan era, but only formally, since Carter was still in power and his imperialist intrusion into the desert of Iran revealed that a major war in the Middle East was not excluded, even if it carried with it a possible East-West nuclear confrontation. We considered the objective situation so critical that, no matter how small we were numerically, we had to expand the 8 page News & Letters into a 12 page paper, so that more new voices from below could be heard along with new theoretical developments. We declared 1980 to be "The Year of the Book," (by which we meant the year Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution was to be completed), not for any scholastic purpose, but in order to work out Marx's "new moments" in the last decade of his life, which we held had left a trail to the 1980s.

In 1981, when, under Reagan, the militarization and intrusion into El Salvador reached genocidal heights — we did, indeed, expand News & Letters to 12 pages and were able to present both more voices from below and further theoretical development. Reagan's expansion of the crisis over El Salvador, to engulf all of Central America as well as the Caribbean, made even more imperative the need never to separate our theoretic contributions from our participation in all support activities for Latin American revolutionaries.

Ever more retrogressive imperialist moves filled 1982 — from Thatcher's reach into the Falklands and Israel's genocidal blitzkrieg against Lebanon, to the U.S. toying with the idea of prolonged nuclear war. At the same time, the anti-war forces grew to the truly massive demonstration of 800,000 at the UN, which was extended internationally. We developed our 1980 slogan, "the year of the book," into "three books, not one." With the 1982 publication of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, along with new editions of Marxism and

Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution, each with a new introduction, we undertook the consideration of the whole body of Marxist-Humanism that began with the emergence of the great new movement from practice and our own birth in the 1950s.

This digging into three decades of thought, again, not for scholastic purposes. What has been clear in these first four years of the 1980s has been the collision of two absolute opposites: the counter-revolution with its might against the masses in motion striving for a philosophy of revolution.

We felt strongly that, just as Marx in his last decade was, at one and the same time, totalizing his original 1844 discovery of a whole new continent of thought and of revolution and grappling with "new moments," so must we grapple with the new problems of our age and the Third World, in challenging all revolutionary post-Marx Marxists. Hence, "three books, not one" meant projecting the totality of Marx's Humanism now that the works of his last decade had made his new moments clear.

1) His digging, at one and the same time, into pre-capitalist societies and new approaches to the accumulation of capital led him to deny that the Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation was a Universal.

2) The Ethnological Notebooks revealed also the greater

role he saw for women in primitive societies, from the Iroquois women to the Irish women before they were conquered by British imperialism.

3) He projected the possibility of revolution coming first in an undeveloped land like Russia ahead of the industrially developed West.

With the outbreak of World War I a turning point in the objective world had been reached, even as, subjectively, a turning point was reached with the collapse of the Second International. Lenin felt a compulsion to go to Marx's roots in the Hegelian dialectic. This resulted in the Great Divide in Marxism; not only as loyalty to its revolutionary nature against the German Social Democracy's betrayal of the proletariat, but as the creation of a new philosophic point of departure. By singling out the dialectical principle of the transformation into opposite, in his Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic, Lenin laid the ground both for his new theory of State and Revolution and the practice of the actual Revolution of November 1917.

Philosophically, it became the jumping off point also for our age, when, at the outset of World War II, we proved the transformation into opposite in our age, through a factual analysis of the Five Year Plans, as the transformation of a workers' state into a state-capitalist society. In 1953, with our further philosophic breakthrough on the Absolute Idea as a movement from practice as well as from theory, we thereby created the structure for Marxism and Freedom.

In restating Marx's Humanism for our age, Marxism and Freedom, 1958, began with the age of revolutions — national, industrial, social and political, as well as the intellectual revolution which discerned and developed the dialectics of revolution as the overcoming of stages of alienation. Beginning with the machine age and the revolutions of 1776 and 1789, Marxism and Freedom ended with the revolutions of our day — from the battles against

Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott which signaled the Black Revolution both in the U.S. and Africa, to the East European revolts from under Russian totalitarianism.

Where, with our first breakthrough on the Absolute Idea, we had witnessed in the 1950s a series of new revolutions in East Europe from under totalitarian state-capitalism, the birth of a whole new Third World in the 1960s required further concretization of this philosophic breakthrough. This was achieved with our second major theoretical work, *Philosophy and Revolution*, in 1973.

There we concretized the dialectic of second negativity by going beyond Lenin not only politically but philosophically. Politically meant rejecting the vanguard party-to-lead, which had so totally misled the masses as to bring about the greatest tragedy of all — counter-revolution which came out of revolution and transformed the workers' state into a state-capitalist society. Philosophically meant working out Absolute Idea as new beginning, with a new sense of objectivity which revealed two kinds of subjectivity. One kind was voluntaristic. The

other was masses in motion struggling for total freedom despite their oppressive awareness of the new enemy, the new objective reality — state-capitalism calling itself Communism.

We had actually first projected this in the second edition of *Marxism and Freedom* in 1964, in the added chapter on "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung," which had ended with a section entitled: "In Place of a Conclusion: Two Kinds of Subjectivity." (The footnote to this section indicated that this was to be "the burden of a new work in progress" — i.e. *Philosophy and Revolution*.) The two opposing kinds of subjectivity discussed here were: 1) "Mao's, which has no regard for objective conditions, behaves as if state power is for herding 650 million human beings into so-called 'People's Communes,' as if a party of the elite that is armed can both harness the energies of men and 'remold' their minds." Under that delusion*, Mao declared himself ready to ride the whirlwind of a nuclear holocaust. 2) The other type of subjectivity — that of masses in motion — "is the subjectivity which has 'absorbed' objectivity, that is to say, through its struggle for freedom it gets to know and cope with the objectively real."

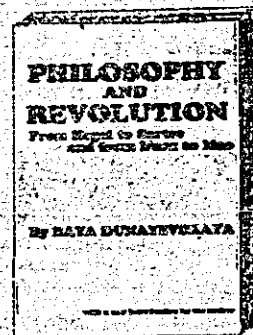
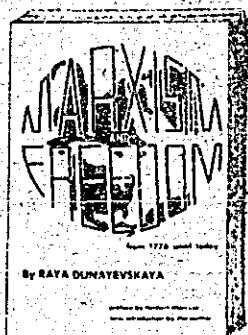
Put another way, since the new enemy comes, not from traditional capitalism but from state-capitalism masquerading as Communism and continuing to use Marxist language, the struggle for total freedom becomes both more arduous and in need of a totally new relationship of practice to theory.

What that added chapter in *Marxism and Freedom* presented in embryo is what was worked out in the first chapter of *Philosophy and Revolution*: "Why Hegel? Why Now?" By then the world had witnessed the new passions and new forces of the generation of revolutionaries of the 1960s, East and West, as well as the new revolutions in Africa both in fact and in thought, as witness Frantz Fanon's *Humanism*. What was needed by then was

also a new sense of objectivity — that is to say, a further development of the concept of transformation into opposite when it emerges, not from reformism's betrayal as at the outset of World War I, but from the transformation of the first workers' state into a state-capitalist society.

That further development into the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism could, in one way, also have been sensed from Gramsci's projection in his *Problems of Marxism*: "The philosophy of praxis is consciousness full of contradictions in which the philosopher himself, understood both individually and as an entire social group, not merely grasps the contradictions, but posits himself as an element of the contradictions and elevates this element to a principle of knowledge and therefore of action."

*Hegel, in working out unresolved contradictions, refers to his *Phenomenology*, where he analyzes just such disoriented minds: "The self-alienated type of mind, driven to the acme of its opposition, where pure volition and the purely volitional agent are still kept distinct, reduces that opposition to a transparent form, and therein finds itself." (p. 610. J.B. Baillie edition)



The illumination that we gained from working out Hegel's three final syllogisms, especially para. #577, applies directly to our age. There Hegel says: "It is the nature of the fact, the notion which causes the movement and development, yet this same movement is equally the action of cognition." Where Hegel at that point consoled himself with: "the eternal Idea," Philosophy and Revolution in our age could show that the "Self-Thinking Idea" was actually the Self-Bringing Forth of Liberty. We could do that because we had become witness to the birth of a new generation of revolutionaries and had recreated Marx's Humanism for our age. In that new sense of objectivity was imbedded subjectivity — a subjectivity that had "absorbed" objectivity.

The 1970s, during which years Philosophy and Revolution was published, turned out to be when Karl Marx's last writings, his Ethnological Notebooks, were finally transcribed. This made it possible to view Marx's Marxism as a totality, as distinct from all post-Marx Marxists, beginning with his closest collaborator, Frederick Engels, whose first work after Marx's death, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, had been presented as a "bequest" from Marx. Once the Ethnological Notebooks were available it became clear how very far from Marx's multilinear dialectic was Engels' unilinear view of humanity's development.

The new moments of Marx's last decade disclosed, at one and the same time, Marx's rejection of others' interpretation of his "Historical Accumulation of Capital" as a Universal instead of a characteristic, simply, of Western Europe, a characteristic which the undeveloped lands (which our age calls the Third World) need not follow; and a philosophy of "revolution in permanence" which was not only theory but practice.

Marx's philosophy of revolution seemed to us to hold a trail to the 1980s, both on the emergence of the Third World, and on the development of women's liberation in our age from an Idea whose time has come to a Movement. This sense of contemporaneity gained a new dimension also from a study we had been making of Rosa Luxemburg's concept of the spontaneity of the masses.

Although we found that Luxemburg was nearly tone-deaf on philosophy, as a woman revolutionary she was both active in the mass, working class, anti-war, women's movement of her day, and fought the leadership of her German Social Democratic Party on their do-nothingness against imperialism. What emerged during that sharp struggle was the most virulent male chauvinism against her.

V. Organizational Conclusions

We decided not to wait until our new book was completed, but published in *News & Letters*, in Jan.-Feb., 1979, the draft chapter we entitled: "Relationship of Philosophy and Revolution to Women's Liberation: Marx's and Engels' Studies Contrasted." By the time *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* was completed, this became the climax to the whole work when it was developed as the final chapter which focused fully on "The Unknown Ethnological Notebooks, the Unread Drafts of the Letter to Vera Zasulich, as well as the Undigested 1882 Preface to the

Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*."

The 1980s view, which concluded that final chapter, held that Marx's Marxism, from the very beginning of his break with bourgeois society, disclosed that no concept of his was separate from that of permanent revolution — from 1843 to 1863. Our projection of Marx's Marxism as a totality disclosed that Marx's philosophy of "revolution in permanence" was ground also for organization, a concept we consider most pertinent for our age, including its importance to the Women's Liberation Movement's search for a decentralized form of organization.

Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* was published in 1982, along with new editions of *Marxism and Freedom and Revolution*, each with a new introduction. They were the ground for our celebration of the living Marx centenary the following year.



In 1983 we projected a new slogan of "Have thumb, will travel"

to extend the outreach of projecting Marx's Marxism as a totality. Even before then, there had been many international trips — to East as well as West Europe; to Asia as well as Africa; to Latin America as well as the Middle East. However it was the National Tour of the Chairwoman during the Marx centenary that found a multitude of new platforms, especially in Black studies, in women's liberation, and among both student and working class youth.

We thereupon decided to have a series of eight classes on the body of Marxist-Humanist ideas and the three works we call a "trilogy of revolution" as they have analyzed:

1) The revolutions of Marx's day — especially 1848 and 1871 — as they helped shape the works of Marx, for whom even the defeat of 1848 led to the theory of "revolution in permanence."

2) The revolutions of 1905, 1917 and 1919 when the dialectics of revolution in the 20th century revealed them as inseparable from the concept and act of world revolution. From 1905 on, Marx's original conception of a continuing revolution, which he had designated as "revolution in permanence," became so popular a phrase that Trotsky's essay, 1905, was designated as a concept of "the permanent revolution" although it was not rooted in, nor did it even refer to, the dialectic of Marx's projection of what was to be done after the 1848 revolutions were defeated.

3) The revolutions in our own age which we witnessed as the birth of a whole new Third World, where what had to be worked out anew was the relationship of the revolutionary

forces of peasant/worker, woman/man, and reason as well as force that is inseparable from the organization itself.

The classes have given us a new self-development while our organization's outreach led both to a new local in Salt Lake City and new members-at-large in Kentucky/Ohio and Washington, D.C. At the same time, we experienced many inroads into the Latino world, and we challenged both post-Marx Marxists and non-Marxist scholar-specialists in "Marxism."

As we put it in our 1984 Call: "The Marx Centenary opened so many new doors for us in 1983, through our projection of Marx's Marxism as a totality, that it was possible to project, at one and the same time, his philosophy of "revolution in permanence" as ground for organization, and our 30 year existence as the organizational manifestation of Marx's Humanism for our age. At the same time, the death of our editor, Charles Denby, made all tasks, especially for organizational growth, more difficult. We did, however, have the advantage of his participation in laying the ground for both our Constitutional Convention and our move to Chicago."

The move of the Center to Chicago is to a city rich in both historical roots and present-day ramifications for Black and proletarian, as well as intellectual and international dimensions. But Chicago is by no means alone in the impact that the move will exert. This new stage is both national and international for us and will be especially important for *News & Letters* as newspaper.

We will have three new publications in hand by the time of the Convention:

1) Our pamphlet on the *Miners' General Strike* against Automation brings us, at one and the same time, back to the very birth of the movement from practice in that 1949-50 revolt and forward to the new stage of robotics today.

2) The new edition of *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions* expresses the whole question of a Third World in combat not only with imperialism but with the new revolutionary but administrative intellectuals who had come to lead but who soon misled. The new Introduction brings us fully to the present day, from the revolution and counter-revolution in Iran to the counter-revolution again coming out of the revolution in Grenada.

3) The new mini-pamphlet on Marx's "New Humanism" and the *Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies* projects the question of Women's Liberation both in and for itself, and as an expression of Marx's Marxism as a totality, so that the philosophy of "revolution in permanence" can be seen as ground for organization and for the future direc-

*See Raya Dunayevskaya's Theory/Practice column in N&L, April, 1984 on "Marx's Philosophy of Revolution vs. Non-Marxist Scholar-Careers in 'Marxism'."

Women's Liberation

In 1985, which is our 30th year of existence, we will have in hand, as well, a collection of some of the extensive writings on Women's Liberation by Raya Dunayevskaya. It will be ready by International Women's Day and will contain the events as well as the analyses, beginning with our creation of the category of Women's Liberation as Reason as well as revolutionary force at our birth in 1955. The development of women's liberation as Movement and as philosophy of liberation will be dialectically tied together in an introduction that will indicate new perspectives.

All these publications will help us intensify our participation in the mass movements from the Black revolt to Latino support committees, from labor struggles to the Women's Liberation Movement, from youth anti-war activities to anti-apartheid struggles.

With these activities in mind, we are proposing a totally new way of presenting our Marxist-Humanist body of ideas, not alone through our books, but through their concretization politically. Our classes this year will focus around the Perspec-

tives, Theses of the last ten years and selected Political-Philosophic Letters over that same period.

To concretize the momentous perspective of revolution in permanence for today is the arduous and imperatively needed task, if we are not to be buried in a nuclear holocaust unleashed by the superpowers to which all too many of the so-called Left kowtow.

The continuing CIA actions to destabilize the Nicaraguan government, the total contempt for the World Court, and the ongoing "war games" involving 30,000 military personnel from all service branches — which are being staged in the Caribbean, the Straits of Florida and the Gulf of Mexico and which match Russia's muscle-flexing in the North Atlantic — all make the Orwellian year of 1984 more ominous than ever. This Orwellian nightmare must be transformed into its absolute opposite — the beginning of new revolutions on the unified field of theory and practice.

—The Resident Editorial Board
April 26, 1984