

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

With this special issue News and Letters Committees are breaking totally new ground for the Marxist movement. Publishing the Draft Perspectives Thesis for our coming national gathering directly in the pages of our paper is unprecedented, not only for all other organizations, but even for our own. We do it because our age is in such total crisis, facing a choice between absolute terror or absolute freedom, that a revolutionary organization can no longer allow any separation between theory and practice, philosophy and revolution, workers and intellectuals, "inside" and "outside". We ask you to join in the discussion of these Perspectives with us. We are not presenting any "pat answers" to the question, "Where Do We Go From Here?" We are raising the questions that demand answers — and we ask you to help us in working them out.

The new this year should have signalled a new era of revolutions. With the final defeat of American imperialism in Vietnam, and the eruption of the spontaneous, least-expected revolution in fascist Portugal in 1974 (at first "led" by a neo-fascist General Spínola and developing into a social revolution that not only overthrew Spínola but undermined NATO itself), no one could doubt that the world was standing on the brink. Above all there is the totality of the world economic crisis which is especially deep in the richest land, the U.S.A. Capitalism as a world system can hardly recommend itself even as wealth, when millions die from starvation in Africa and in Asia at the time technology knows no bounds on earth or in the skies. At the same time there is the abysmal political disarray everywhere: among the "ordinary" capitalist lands from West Europe to Asia, and from U.S.A. to apartheid South Africa as well as within the Sino-Soviet orbit in conflict.

Why, then, are there so many question marks over these revolutions while U.S. imperialism is riding high despite its total defeat by the Vietcong and North Vietnam, despite the fact that it is barely out from under the heavy-laden corruption of Watergate revelations that forced Nixon out, and despite the fact that it is mired in the worst recession in 34 years? Why is the happiness over Vietnam's victory tempered by: what next? as if not what is—victory—is what counts, but the question, what next? Why was Europe, which resented Kissinger's arrogant declaration that 1974 was the "Year of Europe," ready to capitulate to Ford in 1975? And why is the Movement itself in a dilemma as to where it is going from here?

It seems inexplicable unless we look deeper into the theoretic void. Isn't it a fact that revolutionary dialectics which give action its direction seem also to have stopped at first negativity, **that is to say, at the destruction of the old without working out, as a totality, a philosophy of liberation and revolution?** Can any forward movement develop without putting an end to the separation of philosophy from revolution? Or even assure no retrogressive movement appearing once the mightiest of all imperialisms, U.S.A., still stands very nearly intact? To uproot that Titan, we need both revolutionary forces and a totally new banner that meets the challenge of those from below trying to do just that, but needing to know where do we go from here?

* * *

THE MOVEMENT KNOWS, of course, that the class enemy is at home, within each country. It knows full well that each existing state power is weighted down with fear of revolution. And it does not fail to appreciate that, no matter how deep the intra-imperialist rivalries, capitalist class solidarity holds tightest and strongest **against its own people**. It is true, of course, that the economic crisis generates new forms of revolt, and with it the objective foundation for the self-development of the masses. The passion for philosophy has long been evident, but the "leaders," "the Party," the "intellectuals" have hardly met the challenge from below. Two full decades have passed since the movement from practice has itself been a form of theory, but intellectuals calling themselves Marxists are deaf to its call. Be it in East Europe where the masses fought for freedom from Russian Communist totalitarianism, or in Africa where they battled for freedom from Western imperialism, or in China where the youth challenged existing state-capitalism as well as Mao's Thought, or the Black Revolution in the U.S.A. as well as the anti-Vietnam war youth Movement—all hungered for total solutions, but all they were offered were mid-way houses, aborted revolutions, the Thought of the Chairman.

OK, let's take China. Why does it appear revolutionary, though involved in the power politics of all state powers?

Isn't the reason the centrality of theory? Isn't it the philosophic appearance rather than only economic or even military perspectives? Above all, doesn't China always talk of revolution, revolution, revolution? The fact is that it is only words and not action; its talk is bogus, but its actions are concrete. Teng preceded Ford to Europe, very nearly paving the way for him—and not just rhetorically either. Teng wanted to make sure that Europe understood that U.S. troops are still need-

ed in Europe to be prepared against "Russian imperialism," Russian "social fascism."

That nevertheless such acts by Mao's China—and they are by no means limited to Europe, but extend to Africa and "of course" Asia—can be overlooked while the revolutionary phrase-mongering is taken at face value by intellectuals, Black included, demands that we turn to the concrete in greater detail, refusing to separate the inseparables—the objective situation, economic and political, from the forms of revolt and the philosophy of liberation.

1. The Ever-deepening Recession and Militarization, the General Crisis of Capitalism

The present recession differs from all the other post-war recessions with which we have been plagued since the Depression sent us to the holocaust of World War II. Ever since Nixon's planned recession succeeded in producing, for the first time, rising unemployment



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simultaneous with uncontrolled inflation (thereby restoring the huge profits for Big Business), Ford decided to build on that foundation. "Cleared" of Watergate's stench, Ford proceeded to worsen the conditions of labor.

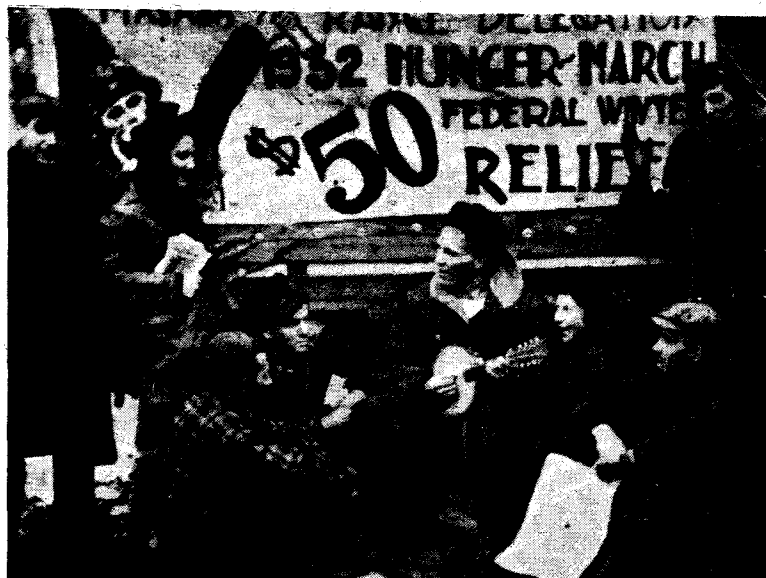
Thus, where unemployment in 1974 was edging a hefty 6 percent, by 1975 it had spiraled up to 9.4 percent "average." Always, this, for Blacks, has meant in capitalistic and racist America the percentage has to be doubled. The "hidden unemployment" index has just revealed that U. S. Black jobless are no less than 2.9 million, or fully 25.8 percent. For Black youth unemployment has reached astronomical proportions: 40 percent. Even for the election year 1976, when the Ford Administration will, no doubt, "discover" how necessary pump-priming is to create the illusion of better times to get the vote, Ford himself makes no pretense that even white average unemployment would be any less than 8 percent. In human terms, this spells out that 7 million unemployed will be considered "normal"! In this richest and mightiest land in the world, and not just in underdeveloped poor Asia and Africa, capitalism has produced a permanent army of unemployed, and this not just for periods of recession but as part of the very organism of decadent capitalism which in the U.S. emitted the fantastic phenomenon of a third generation of the unemployed.

This is not what worries Big Business. It is for its benefit that the Government has been playing around with what is "full employment" ever since 1946. Then it was sufficiently scared of possible revolution, if all the returning GIs met in America was unemployment, to pass the Employment Act. At that time, it was stated that "full employment" meant that the "unemployables"—the aged and crippled—numbered 2 percent unemployment. Since actually that was only achieved during the war itself, 3 percent unemployment was used as the measure of full employment. When, in 1958, unemployment reached 5 percent, the "conceptual framework" for full employment was changed to "maximum employment" which stood for 4 percent unemployed. In the Nixon era, Secretary of Treasury Connally came up with still another "explanation" for tolerating 5 percent unemployment, as if that meant maximum employment. It was, said that corrupt oil-billionaire politician, only because "working women and teenagers" entered the labor force, as if these humans wanted jobs only for the fun of it. Mr. Clean, President Ford, went one better than all of them by substituting inflation for unemployment as "Public Enemy No. 1." This, for him, made 7 percent unemployment "tolerable."

NOW THAT UNEMPLOYMENT is edging no less than 10 percent—a crisis of such major proportions has not been seen in 34 years—Ford's brainless Brain Trust—the four "horsemen of catastrophe" called Burns, Butz, Simon, and Greenspan—continue to read incantations about the lowering of the rate of inflation signifying the "end of the recession."

Those capitalist ideologues who are not outright Administration spokesmen have had to try to cope with the deep crisis of capitalism, at least factually. Thus McGraw-Hill released a study of the world economy for the past 15 years. It discloses that (1) 1975 is the worst year; (2) the 27 most industrialized nations will grow only 8.6 percent this year; and (3) the largest decrease in GNP—3.9 percent—occurred in the U.S. Add to this the ever-mounting expansion of the national debt, and even the radically conservative economists have started lecturing the Government, if not yet Big Business, about "the fragile financial structure," suggesting "putting an end to investment credit." They hardly mean that, of

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In the depths of the Great Depression, during 1932, tens of thousands of the unemployed from across the nation massed in a Hunger March on Washington, D.C., to demand food and jobs. Today capitalism has produced a "permanent army of unemployed."

The Draft Perspectives for 1975-1976

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course, but what is of utmost importance is that, though they still talk of all Marx's "false" premises about the decline in the rate of profit, no matter how lush in mass, they do admit that so general is the crisis of production, that even in a "boom period" when industrial investment proceeded apace, it was "on credit."

What they fail to expand on in speaking of the mountain of debts and the "fragile financial structure" is the endless military expenditures. Far from trying to stop that madman "Defense" Secretary Schlesinger toying with being the first to use nuclear weapons—and he is not referring to Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but to the future!—they are busy debating with Keynes on the last Depression.

What the workers are worrying about is this one. One thing is clear and that is that all profits come and can only come from labor in that hell-hole called automated production. And capitalism knows but one way of further raising labor productivity, by forcing wages down through an ever-larger unemployed army outside, as well as through inflation. But even that has its limits. When more and more machines are used and less and less, relatively, of labor, then there is no way of stopping the decline in capitalism's rate of profit. Not only does the very method of production bring about crises, but what exactly do the billions spent on arms produce other than destruction?

IN ANY CASE, *Business Week* (6-23-75) did suddenly start quoting what Marxist economists were saying on the decline in the rate of profit as endemic to capitalism. It even produced official graphs from the Federal Reserve Board, the Department of Commerce, Data Resources Inc. and its own data which all go to show that the long post-World War II boom has led to a slump in the rate of profits. What is significant is that they had to stop laughing at "false" Marxist analysis long enough to show that it does exist. Which is certainly something that has not heretofore been admitted even as supposedly a "passing phenomenon." Still, Ford remains stone deaf.

Not only is he continuing with oil depletion allowances despite the fantastic, unconscionable windfall profits of the oil industry, but he has just sent to Congress a still-newer estared profitable private venture by offering to give up Government monopoly in producing enriched uranium and protecting industry against any risks. (The Uranium Enrichment Association, owned jointly by Bechtel Corp. and Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., has already picked a tentative site near Dothan, Ala., for a \$2.8 billion plant.)

Republican Ford has indeed nothing to worry about from the Democratic Congress which has just underwritten a \$104 billion arms budget. Again, even so conservative an ex-ambassador as Charles W. Yost has had to write of the "Alice in Wonderland logic . . . the theory that both (Russia and the U.S.) must keep expanding in order to force the other to concede." Fantastic militarization which characterizes the whole world (which is the real root of that mountain of debt which our great-great-grandchildren, if ever any are born after the holocaust, will never be able to pay off) has now reached its absolute insanity with the latest weapon known as the Cruise missile that can be launched from a submarine or bomber. Its thermonuclear warhead is assured a 1,500-mile high-precision range to its target. This is all occurring in the period of detente, while Ford and Brezhnev are preparing for still another play at SALT talks. The joke, if that's what such insanity can be called, is that this "could" be included in the so-called limitation of 2,400 "strategic delivery vehicles" that the Vladivostok agreement has set. Because Russia is every bit as deeply mired in crisis, and no doubt it, too, is at work on just such "miracle weapons," it may accept America's gargantuan hypocrisy, but the American masses will not continue to bear the burden of this system that has so long outlived its lifespan that its stench too is unbearable.

AS AGAINST FORD'S FAKE OPTIMISM about "bottoming out," the workers know that the recession is here to stay even should Ford's brainless Brain Trust think up a new name for the ever-deepening recession. That is why they are opposed not only to the Ford Administration, but to their own labor bureaucracy, as witness the Washington, D.C. demonstration which put down both the Humphreys and the AFL-CIO "leaders" of the ilk of Albert Shanker. Indeed, none could control them, not because they were out for "rioting," but because they wanted to establish communication and discussion with themselves, with other rank-and-file who would try to work out what to do next, free from both opportunistic politicians and labor "leaders." The next month, Washington, D.C. saw still another mass demonstration, this time by Blacks, and they made sure the Government knew that it is not only Black youth who will make this a very hot summer indeed.

This same dissatisfaction takes place even after workers win a strike, as witness the miners' return to Harlan, Ky., mines after the strike was won, only to burst forth in no less than nine wildcats over a period of six months.

Even at so controlled a conference as the UN International Women's Year conference in Mexico City — to which the U.S. gave half of what little Senegal gave — voices were heard from below, and not just from underdeveloped countries, but from the U.S.

Of necessity, the general crisis of capitalism eats at the whole political structure, nationally and internationally.

II. The Politics of Double-Crosses

Capitalist-imperialist politics being every bit as degenerate and murderous as its militarization and economics, we have now been made witness to Ford's "triumphal tour" of Europe which, by no accident whatever, showed itself to rest in fascist Spain. We must never forget that that is, precisely, where the Great Depression had led—to fascism.

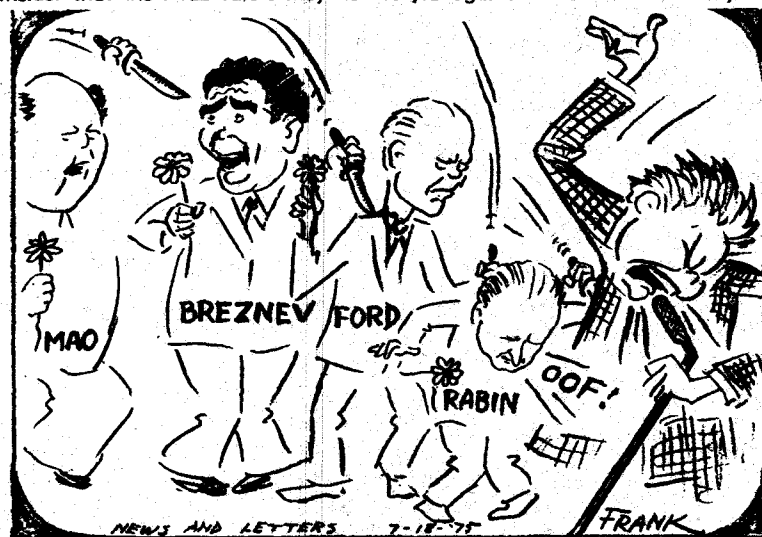
U.S. imperialism no sooner suffered defeat in Vietnam and Cambodia than it revealed that it, nevertheless, intends to remain in Southeast Asia. First it unloosed its whole murderous might once again against Cambodia at the very moment when Cambodia had already released the Mayaguez and its entire crew. This was followed with a declaration of total support for South Korea "should" North Korea attempt an "invasion" of the South to try to unite Korea. Moreover, it saw to it that Japan, too, declared that its very "lifeline" was—in Korea. And if "anyone" still doubted that U.S. imperialism was the Pacific superpower, it hinted that the UN Assembly better not try to end "its" commitment to South Korea. Kissinger hurried to announce that the State Department has chosen as new Ambassador to the UN, still another Harvard professor imperialist ideologue, Patrick Moynihan, infamous author of Nixon's "benign neglect" of U.S. Blacks, who, in his most recent diatribe against the UN in general and the Third World in particular (*Commentary*, May, 1975), urged the U.S. to take the offensive against the UN's "new majority".

It is not without significance, for all the double-crosses-in-the-making that, whereas Europe gave Ford's trip unconditional appearance of victory, it was fascist Spain that truly gave Ford a royalist welcome and military bases, and also announced that it will not let these bases be used to supply Israel in any Middle East war. It is to that sphere we must now turn, not only as Oil, be it in relationship to last year's quadrupling of prices as a ramification of the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, nor, for the moment, as the fight of the super-powers for single world control. No, first we need to look at it from the viewpoint of those double-crosses-in-the-making.

Ever since the collapse of Kissinger's Middle East shuttle and Ford's calling for a reassessment of the Middle East situation, with the all-too-obvious pointing at Israel as the reason for the collapse, any double-cross of Israel by the U.S. would hardly surprise anyone. The other double-cross, however, is not that obvious, and is likely to be the more decisive one, and that is Egypt's attitude to the PLO. Added to that is Syria's sudden "comradeship" with King Hussein who is the very one that most bloodily drove the Fedayeen from Jordan.

Arafat, fearing being left out in the cold once again by his Arab "comrades-in-arms", and that after Assad had proposed to the PLO nothing short of mutual army command, ventured into yet another terrorist act, this time directly in Jerusalem itself. Far from this stopping either Syria's move toward Jordan, or, what is a great deal more pivotal in the global big power play, that of Egypt, Sadat intensified his deNasserization, deeper than ever was Khrushchev's deStalinization. For what Sadat is aiming at is nothing short of an alternative policy to Israel being U.S.'s main "Western" outpost in the Middle East.

EVER SINCE THE October 1973 Arab-Israeli war he had initiated, Sadat's deNasserization was more than a turning away from Russia. Kissinger surely began to tilt a bit toward Egypt then. By the time of the opening of the Suez Canal, despite the collapse of Kissinger's Middle East shuttle, Kissinger had his ears open as well. For the opening of the Suez Canal was not only a turning to world trade, not only the return of all Egyptian ports to free zones, but an encouragement of foreign investment. Moreover, whether a piece of peace was to be given Israel for a piece of territory, a piece for domestic capitalism came with encouragement of foreign investment. Inevitably, it involved a move against native workers, the restless masses, including also the students, as against the demonstrations and strikes that had broken out. Sadat's ambivalent attitude to the PLO meant, not a turn to Israel, but to the U.S.A. It is this, just this, type of maneuvering that convinced U.S. imperialism to consider that the Arab rulers may do the job against Russia as effectively as Israel.



" . . . and now—the greatest game show of 'em all—global double-cross—with the greatest . . . uaaagh!!"

Heretofore, the Arab kingdoms' well-known anti-Communism had not convinced the U.S., not because of any doubt about their anti-Communism, but because of the doubt about the Arabs' military prowess, as well as their obsession with their "regional problem" (Israel), as against Kissinger's globalization. Two new events in the Middle East convinced U.S. imperialism otherwise. One was the October 1973 war, both Sadat's initiative and the Saudi's quadrupling of oil prices. The second event was Iraq's (which was Russia's main bulwark in the Middle East) concluding an agreement with one of Russia's main enemies, Iran, and that not only at the expense of the Kurds, but definitely tilted toward the U.S. At the same time came Faisal's assassination. Though the Middle East rulers very carefully did not point a finger at the PLO, they did consider it the result of deep anti-kingship which signified underlying tensions, class struggle, in their own countries. The power politics Sadat has been playing since Nasser's death and which began interesting Kissinger with the October 1973 war, came very near full swing around to Egypt's alternative to Israel's U.S. role with the total disarray in world capitalism, West Europe's especially. In a word, the overriding consideration for each and every ruling power is to strangle any social upheaval before it ever emerges.

This being the present reality, it meant that Kissinger lost his trump card, i.e. that Israel, no matter how much the Arab countries wanted it destroyed, is crucial to the U.S. if they are global politicians and see that only the U.S. can deal with Russia. For its own reasons, Russia had also suddenly decided not to press for an immediate convocation of the Geneva conference. It was looking for a new "favorite." It turned out to be Libya, where Q'addafi opened the doors not only to Russia and its billion-dollar military sales (including nuclear energy), but also offered a home to all extreme terrorist groups, Dr. Habash's especially.

Egypt insists that despite all Q'addafi's talk against Israel, the "truth" is that Q'addafi is arming Libya, not so much against Israel as against Egypt; that is why Russia has given Libya "more sophisticated" arms than it ever sold Egypt. All of these capitalistic, feudalistic, imperialistic, nationalistic maneuverings and double-crosses by no means exhaust all "contingency plans."

NIXON MUST HAVE BEEN WATCHING most enviously Indira Gandhi's mailed fist as she perpetrated her "Thursday Morning Massacre" against her opponents, not just by firing or tapping or engaging in "contingency planning," but jailing all opposition leaders breaking up any and all demonstrations against her imperialistic, corrupt rule, and silencing the whole press. As against the decadent U.S.A., all this is happening in the land which was the very first to win its independence from British imperialism at the end of World War II. In gaining its independence after a near century of struggle, it at once projected an international outlook. Not only did it declare itself the largest "new" democracy on earth but soon, with China, was the first to proclaim the Third World's birth. Without, however changing class relations within the country, it could hardly mean anything but a native ruling class taking over from the imperialists, but exploiting the masses as capitalistically and grafting upon them that aged Hindu caste system which Hegel had, more than a century before, presciently called "the philosophy of unfreedom." Which didn't keep Chou En-lai from embracing Nehru and proclaiming "a new world economic order", with a new banner "Five Principles of Co-Existence"—and that even before Russia openly acknowledged its cohabitation with capitalism to be "peaceful co-existence". No wonder that the poverty is just as rampant as ever. Three full decades after independence—indeed starvation has never been worse, and that after the "green revolution" was added to national liberation—all still goes to enrich the overly rich landlords and corrupt capitalistic ruling class.

The ruling Congress Party could not even rid itself of its Watergate because, fo

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British workers face inflation, unemployment, pay controls

By Harry McShane

Glasgow, Scotland — The number of unemployed in Britain is on the brink of reaching the million mark and will exceed that figure by the end of the year. Food prices keep going up and the local authorities are being forced by the Government to cut down on expenditures. It is in this situation that all the planners, including Communists and the leaders of the trade unions, are busy expounding solutions to the problems of inflation and coming forth as upholders of the social order to which they have expressed opposition in words.

It was the attempt of the previous Tory Government to extricate capitalism from the crisis at the expense of the workers that brought the Labour Government to power. Prime Minister Harold Wilson hoped to attain the same aim with the consent of the workers. Now that this policy has failed the Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey has been authorized to enforce a pay policy on the workers.

THE 'SOCIAL CONTRACT'

The Trades Union Congress has an agreement with the employers and the Government going under the name of "social contract" but it has never been recognized by the workers. The result has been that the so-called social contract has been broken on dozens of occasions. Mr. Jack Jones, who has always been regarded as on the Left, has gone almost crazy because members of his union, the Transport and General Workers Union, the largest in Britain, have been involved in a large number of unofficial strikes.

He has managed to get the national conference of the union to accept the social contract as a means of saving the Labour Government and ending inflation which is running at an annual rate of 28 percent. On the very day that he made his big appeal, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that unless a voluntary agreement was arrived at he would limit wage rises in the coming year to 10 percent. The T.U.C. has since met him and accepted. It just happens, however, that the leaders of the T.U.C. have only entered the wood. Some of the trade unions have come out against the social contract. The full T.U.C. does not meet until September.

The leaders of the second largest trade union, the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (auto workers), have been defeated by the rank and file on the issue. The debate at this conference was on a higher level than the one at the conference of the transport workers. The miners in Scotland and Yorkshire have roundly rejected the social contract.

THE COMMON MARKET AND THE 'LEFT'

It is important to note that the "Morning Star," the organ of the Communist Party, did not carry a word of criticism of Jack Jones. Could that be due to the fact that the lower officials are appointed from the top and that the Communist Party has not been overlooked in that regard? The campaign by Jones on the Common Market was well featured in the C.P. official organ.

Harold Wilson is interpreting the vote on the Common Market as a mandate for anything he thinks up. By making the Common Market a Left vs. Right issue, the parliamentary Left feel defeated. An awful amount of energy was put into that campaign by the so-called Left.

When the new program of controls was finally pre-
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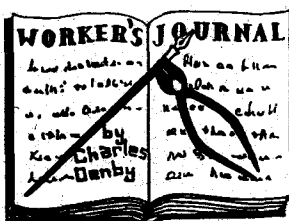
NEWS LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'

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By Charles Denby, Editor

I would like to continue the dialogue with readers of News & Letters which I began in our last issue. First, I want to begin with the question of the Black Scholar discussion — the fact that Black intellectuals have absolutely no conception of what the American working people are like.

I have thought a great deal about the Black Scholar dispute and the whole Black nationalism question. It seems to me that it is more petty bourgeois talk, and I have not found it among workers. I have talked with workers with whom I was in the factory for years, and also with younger workers.



Workers charge Briggs plant (now Chrysler Mack) during June 1932 strike. United actions by Black and white workers such as this led to winning union.

Black intellectuals probe role of Marxism and American workers

Their number one concern is what they call the hell-hole that the factory has become since the big layoffs last year. Pressure and strain have been put upon those that are working, trying to frighten and force them to set the same production the company had before the big reduction in the work force.

When I would raise the question of the Black Scholar debate or Black nationalism, every worker would say, "We don't have time to listen to that crap. What we really need is unity and understanding among Black and white workers. We have to fight both the company and the union today in order to survive in the plant." Some said, "Tell those Black scholars to come and work in the plant."

INTELLECTUALS, EARLIER GROUPS GONE

I went to visit some intellectuals that had moved to Detroit from Watts, Cal., but they had gone several weeks before without leaving a forwarding address. A woman there said, "Oh, you know, they were Black nationalists, very secretive. I was not surprised when they left with no forwarding address." I just do not understand what that kind of people expect to accomplish in this society, alone and with their secrets.

I also talked with white workers. Their first comment was, "You retired at the right time; you cannot imagine what it takes to survive in the plant today. We really need to organize a new union now. We need what we had in the early '40s — the unity of every worker to fight management and the union."

My mind went back a few years to DRUM, ELRUM and FRUM — mainly groups of Black workers organized in the plants. You can't have the same kind of successful movement in the streets that you can have in the plants, and these groups are nowhere in the plants now. They have all disintegrated. "No Unity" was the big talk among both Black and white workers then, and both separately got nowhere.

There is no time in the plants today for talk of separating Blacks, whites, and minorities that have to work in a plant for their living. I talked to these people separately, but they were all together on the importance of unity.

PHILOSOPHY IS CENTRAL

It is hard sometimes to understand what this means philosophically. It sounds as if it were just one more slogan, and all that is needed is "Black and white, unite and fight." It reminds me of when I was in the Socialist Workers Party many years ago. We often repeated Marx's statement that workers in the white skin cannot emancipate themselves as long as workers in the Black skin are branded. But Blacks do not mean it as a slogan; they mean it as stages of suffering. Or what sounds like a foreign phrase that Marx often used — alienated labor.

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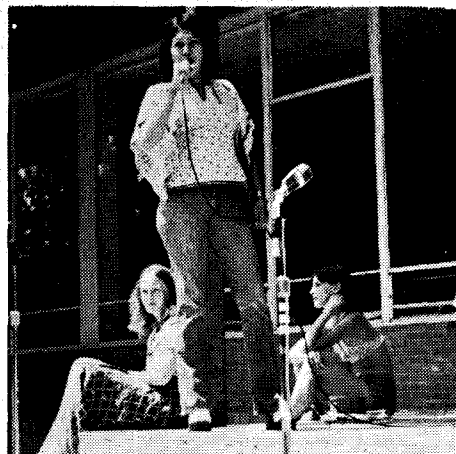
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—News & Letters photos

Madonna Gilbert of AIM asks for women's movement support of Native American struggles.

Socialist feminists open dialogue on future action

Yellow Springs, Ohio—The Socialist-Feminist conference held here July 4-6 attracted more than 1,400 women from all over the country. It was called by the New American Movement (NAM) and their political friends to work out "strategy" for their predetermined concept of revolutionary activity. They tried to prevent discussion of anything else, but many women used the occasion to share their work and ideas with each other.

In the welcoming address, a NAM woman said socialist-feminists have developed a theory of "Marxist-Leninism," without explaining it. Our weakness, she said, is in working out "strategy," stressing this was not to be a theoretical but a "working" conference, and indeed, the hallmark of the whole week-end was the complete separation between theory and practice, philosophy and organization.

The conference as planned consisted mostly of small workshops; no discussion was to follow the few panels before the whole group. The major presentations on theory, the economy, etc. were often rhetorical and never concrete, that is, rooted in the masses of women.

One of the first criticisms made was that only a handful of Black and working women were present at this "socialist" meeting. When the so-called Third World women did meet to plan their panels, they discussed endlessly without being concrete. One woman even said we should not take up time with "little issues like food stamps and people being hungry."

The best presentations to the large group were by Madonna Gilbert of AIM, who spoke on the current events at the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota; by others who appealed for support for Joann Little as her trial begins; and by a Chicana woman who gave a moving history of her people in America.

Unfortunately, any free flow of ideas was immediately stifled. But what was exciting despite that — what was in the air throughout the whole week-end — was that this kind of rigid reductionism in thought and organization was rejected from the start.

We talked with a woman who had been active in the Women's Movement for many years and had come to the conference because she was trying to work out, organizationally, the relationship of Women's Liberation to the working class, which she saw as the pivot to revolution.

Yet the only group in her geographic area that she felt had a "working class perspective" was a vanguard party that denied the validity of an independent women's movement — a conclusion she refused to accept.

Indeed, the maturity of our movement appeared in refusing to be fitted into some distorted view of class society, instead of being seen as one of the many "new passions and new forces" which Marx singled out in Capital that, along with workers in a unity of mass movements, will overthrow society; and in seeking new forms of organization where revolution is not some final abstract goal for "the day after," but is instead the

daily, concrete process of achieving a totally new society.

We seemed to be the only organized anti-vanguardists present, and we managed to show in the workshops we attended that both the party-builders and the class-builders share the same view of women as backwards.

The kinds of questions we're asking each other have no single, simple answer. We in *News & Letters Women's Liberation Committees* ask you to continue this urgent, necessary dialogue with us, not only through the pages of *News & Letters*, but by working with us organizationally. The addresses of our committees are listed on page 3.

—News & Letters Women's Liberation participants

Science seen as theoretic substitute for women's activity

by Deborah Morris

Marxism & Feminism by Charnie Guettel, *The Women's Press, Toronto, Canada, \$1.50.*

The bulk of Charnie Guettel's essay is a critique of feminist theorists, who, she maintains, have been mostly in the liberal bourgeois tradition. Mary Wollstonecraft, John Stuart Mill, the suffragists, Simone de Beauvoir and Kate Millet are all classed as being bourgeois liberals.

Their theoretical tradition is one which calls for a change of heart or re-education of men to recognize women's potential equality.

In contrast to this, Guettel proposes that women's theory must be based on the fact that women are oppressed by the forms their lives have had to take in a class society.



Guettel considers only Engels and Juliet Mitchell in the Marxist tradition, because both have a scientific approach to women in terms of class. She criticizes both Marx and Engels for not having developed a theory of women's oppression. She tends to be more critical of Mitchell's choice of superstructures to explain women's

oppression rather than the concept of superstructures themselves.

THEORY LEFT TO FUTURE

The last section of the book is called "A Marxist Alternative." Her premise is that women's full integration into production is necessary for equality and that full integration is not possible short of the "socialization of maternity which means that parenthood must be shared . . . and for this socialism is necessary."

She concludes "In part, the theory we demand for such a struggle (for socialism) is and will be a product of science which can only be developed in a socialist society . . . There can be no isolated super-theory of women's liberation."

It is correct to say that there can be no isolated super-theory for women, for we cannot separate ourselves from this particular historical period which is capitalism. But besides a super-theory for women, Guettel also denies the validity of an independent women's movement when she poses science and medical advances as the key to women's liberation.

To say the theory women demand will be a product of science that can only be developed under socialism is just another way of telling women they must wait until after the revolution.

Because she sees theory as arising from science rather than practice, her analysis of feminist theory in terms of Marxist and liberal traditions is confusing. Mary Wollstonecraft is classified as a liberal, when in fact she challenged the liberal mode of thought that denied women their humanity. It's true she lacked a class analysis, but so did everyone else in the late 1700s.

MARX'S METHOD REJECTED

The point is that Marx could only have developed his analysis of capitalism under the impact of the class uprisings of the 1840s — his theory was developed in response to the practice of the proletariat. While Guettel wants to use some of Marx's conclusions, she rejects his methods, and as a result, the practice of masses of women as a basis for theory is totally missing in the essay.

The conclusions of the suffragists were in the liberal tradition, as Guettel states. But to take only their conclusions is to miss their revolutionary origins in the

Welfare protest falls short

Lansing, Mich. — A large number of people attended a welfare demonstration in front of the Capitol building here on June 30. There were many speakers, but all of them were big shots who spoke not for the rights of welfare people, but for themselves.

There was no Black or white woman on welfare to tell what it is really like, to speak for our rights and why we were there. Most of the demonstrators were so grateful for what the big shots had done for them that they forgot about the starving children in this country.

They were praising these people who are supposed to be helping them but are really cutting them off welfare behind closed doors. People on welfare are being brain-washed so that they are forgetting what they are really fighting for.

One guy was very angry with the people and the way things were being carried out and he spoke right out: "What are you listening to these people for, they are just going to make a second bomb and kill us all. I thought people were really thinking about how our lives are being threatened and how bad the world crises are."

The welfare demonstrators never got around to presenting what we really went to Lansing for, which was for our rights.

One man said we should not think, but pray. That is what's wrong now. People should think for themselves and try to change this society. The big shots don't want you to think, they want to think for you and keep you under control.

— Tommie Hope

Black struggle for freedom prior to the Civil War.

Then, as in today's movement, the women's challenge is as much to the Left as to the bourgeoisie to reorganize not only society, but its own thought. Once we miss this challenge we are compelled to go back to the same old solutions as did the suffragists, and allow ourselves to be fragmented once again.

APOLOGIST FOR RUSSIA

Thus Guettel becomes another apologist for the Soviet Union. Despite her defense of the Soviet Union, even Guettel recognizes that women aren't fully equal there. The irony is that rather than give the class analysis she insists on from other theoreticians, her excuse becomes that science has not developed enough to allow "socialism" to free the women.

Once women are not recognized as the force for their own liberation, then some outside force must fill that gap — for de Beauvoir it is men, for Mitchell it is the party, and for Guettel it is science. In contrast, a philosophy of liberation which recognizes the necessity of an independent women's movement as key to the liberation of women, also sees women as whole human beings—their own force for revolution.

All women not represented at Mexico IWY conference

Detroit, Mich. — Although the International Women's Year Conference was sponsored by the United Nations in Mexico City, both bastions of male-chauvinism, it brought to light some important facts. Official studies revealed that women in virtually every country suffer the most, in the areas of nutrition, health care, education and basic human rights.

They also showed that the idea of Women's Liberation is truly global in its scope and that more and more women see liberation as inseparable from freedom for men and children and a change in social order.

The official conference consisted of 1,500 delegates, one-third of them men and the rest either wives or appointed representatives of male leaders, who were to work on a Ten Year (!) Plan of Action for improving the status of women worldwide. The way they went about this was exemplified by representatives from Russia and Japan, who tried to convince each other that women were already liberated in their own countries.

The important part of the conference was the unofficial body called the Tribune. Here 5,000 women, who had come on their own, met and spoke on conditions in their countries. Hortensia Allende of Chile, and others, were able to bring up the question of women political prisoners, and issues such as a woman's right to control her own body.

The media played up the idea that the demands of American women were far removed from Third World demands, as if the women who attended represented all of Women's Liberation, and as if hunger and poverty do not exist even here. It was clear, however, that the world's poorest and most oppressed women were not at all represented at the Conference.

The idea of working with men for a change in social order, and not assuming that any change would automatically make things better for women, was raised by several women. While the conference was supposed to make recommendations to the governments of various countries, the hope and potential to come out of it lie not in the governments or in the UN, but in the activity of the women themselves.

—Suzanne Casey

WL NOTES

In Raleigh, N.C., several hundred people, most of them Black, demonstrated in front of the court house where Joann Little's trial opened on July 14. Support demonstrations were held in several other cities on the same day. Black groups and women's liberationists have joined together in support of Joann Little as she personifies the injustices that Black women have faced, including the brutal treatment in jails that so often has included rape.

On June 21, 25,000 people, mostly women, demonstrated in London while 500 more marched in Glasgow. They were saying a loud "No!" to a restrictive abortion bill, introduced by a member of the "Labor" Party, and demanding that it be defeated. Under this bill abortion would be allowed only if the life of the mother were in danger.

Nurses in Cape Breton, Canada, have voted to continue their nine day strike despite the threat of strike-breaking legislation. The nurses are demanding a wage increase of 45 percent while the government as well as their employers are trying to impose a 30 percent ceiling on their increase.



Growth of gypsy cabs points to racism in NY taxi industry

New York, N.Y.—The 60,000 men and women who drive and service taxis in New York City are split in many ways. But there's one division that's been especially exploited by city politicians and union bureaucrats—half the cabs in this town are legal "yellow" cabs, while the other half are illegal "gypsies".

On the surface, the only difference is a piece of tin called a medallion. That makes a cab legal. Years ago, the city issued some 13,000 of them. But the only way you can get one today is from someone who's getting out of the business, and they go for as much as \$25,000. That means it costs about \$30,000 to put a yellow cab on the streets, while you can get a gypsy going for as little as \$2,000.

Ten years ago, there were almost no gypsies. But in the heat of the mid-sixties, most of the cabdrivers in New York were white, and they refused to drive into Black and Latino neighborhoods. So people put their own cabs on the streets, and the gypsies were born.

That scared a lot of folks downtown. The next thing we knew, two Black politicians, Sam Wright and Cal Williams, got into the act, and there were fleets of gypsy cabs with salaries and working conditions that were worse than the medallioned industry. At the same time, the AFL-CIO taxi local started an anti-gypsy campaign aimed straight at the racial prejudices of white drivers. Fleet gypsies retaliated with bumper stickers that said, "We aren't yellow, we go anywhere."

But it wasn't true. Midtown Manhattan and

the airports have always belonged to the yellow cabs. Fines were heavy for any gypsy driver who crossed the line.

Lately though, things have been changing. Owner-driven and small groups of gypsies now outnumber the big fleets. Not only that, they're organized. A few years ago, over a thousand gypsy workers and community supporters staged a series of occasionally violent demonstrations in the Bronx. The city got the message, and harassment has fallen off. People are moving.

Something else has changed too. At least half of the yellow cabdrivers are now Black and Latino. That means at least 75 per cent in the industry as a whole. A union that could unite the two halves of the taxi industry in New York would be one of the most powerful forces in the city. But the local hasn't made one move in that direction. With an almost all-white leadership, it's not hard to understand why.

But Black, white, Latino and Jewish men and women workers at 55th Street, a yellow garage, have recently raised racism as an issue in the firing of a veteran Black driver. The objections and threats from the union and the bosses haven't been able to move them.

We're all watching this one closely, because if Blacks, whites, Latinos and Jews, men and women, can hold on and beat racism and sexism at one garage, we can do it where we work. And if we can get past the union and racism in the yellow industry, we can get past the phony distinction between yellows and gypsies. We'll be a force that can't be ignored.

—New York cabdriver

Job crisis demands unity

(I am pleased to turn my column over this issue to a laid-off auto worker. — Felix Martin)

Today, the greatest fear of capitalists and union bureaucrats alike is that these crisis times will arouse workers to organized revolt. But the corporations, labor and business, are prepared and armed with the same methods laid down in the last century to create dissension among the ranks of workers.

During recent union contract negotiations, machinists in Ohio were given a "choice" of either a huge wage cut or the closing down of the shop. To accept either alternative would be to step into a trap, but accepting the wage cut—as the machinists did—establishes a dangerous precedent, not only for this particular shop but for workers everywhere. It is a matter of time before the machinists will have their wages cut again. If they refuse this next time, unemployed machinists will be brought in as replacements.

This vicious means of turning worker against worker in an effort to prevent a working class revolution has become the basis of George Wallace's political campaigning.

His platform speaks of defending the "middle class" (workers who are still employed)—the supporting "backbone" of the rest of the nation (the unemployed "freeloaders")—against the "intelligentsia" and "elitists" (those who see through the malicious game of the capitalists and their demagogues).

The only way that we, as workers, can spoil such devious master plans is to become conscious that there are basically two classes of people.

There are those that own and control, as well as those whose lucrative livelihoods depend upon the sweat of workers. And there are workers that produce all the wealth with their labor. Whether we are out of a job or still toeing the line, only by uniting with all workers against the capitalist class can this cycle of "divide and exploit" be finished forever.

—J. Hillstrom

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich. — The fire department was once looked upon as a must, as it relates to safety in the plant. Years ago the company would call workers in from different departments to instruct them on what kind of chemical to use on certain types of fires, such as electrical, oil or cardboard boxes. These production workers were related to the plant fire department.

Today the company has completely eliminated the fire department on the third shift. The only safety rules they seem to enforce are ear plugs and safety glasses, and many workers feel it is mainly because a foreman can give a worker time off without pay if he wants to, when a worker is caught without them.

—Mack worker

Ford Rouge

Dearborn, Mich.—Over the last month, they have been bringing back the women workers in the Dearborn Assembly Plant. I feel that it's because they can say they have hired women. But every time the women come back, you know we are going to be hit with layoffs. I feel like it is a real fraud on the people, but the union doesn't do anything about it.

Another thing the union doesn't do anything about is vacations. The only time I saw the unit chairman, Hank Wilson, was during the election.

His pledge was that we would be able to take our vacations when we wanted, instead of at the company's orders. This is all forgotten now that the election is over.

Ford is telling the public that we are down for changeover, but it's a lie. When we come back we will be making '75s, but we have to use our vacation time now. The union doesn't even enforce its own contract.

The only thing Hank has done in the last two-year term as unit president is to bring in a few fans to blow hot air around. In white metal, the ventilation system is often not working. Your nose starts bleeding from the smoke and fumes.

When the system isn't working you go to the committeeman, and he is supposed to go to the health and safety man, but we get no results. All the phoneys who were just elected—where are they now?

—DAP worker

GM South Gate

South Gate, Cal.—The whole plant closed down for two weeks in July. The temporarily laid-off workers are returning to work until the three-week changeover in August. Those permanently laid-off workers who have up to six years seniority are not, if nothing changes, ever returning to work at South Gate.

About the time rumors of layoffs began circulating in the plant, workers in a section of chassis shut the line off and sat down. The foremen had been harassing one particular worker who, despite repeated attempts, could not stop him.

Finally this worker risked his job and turned off the line, and his fellow workers sat down with him. Immediately the worker's problem was tended to and settled.

A week later, when the official word came down about layoffs, some workers in the body shop were asking, "Are we going to sit down?"

Up to the last two weeks, the line was running the maximum and we were still doing overtime—just before layoffs. Several workers in the body shop said, "They're making damn sure they get the most out of us before they kick us out."

It is not just the laid-off workers who are getting the short end. With reduced manpower, those left in the plant will be left to the mercy of "machine efficiency."

—Laid-off South Gate worker

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—I really liked the story on racism on the grievances over transfers (63B's) at Fleetwood (see N & L, July, 1975). It is not just in getting into final repair, though. I have had a 63B in for several months. It is to go back to the body shop, where I used to work. You might not believe it, but they won't even let me go back there.

If you are Black or a "troublemaker" at Fleetwood, your 63B is worthless. The foreman told me: "Just tear that thing up, you're not going anywhere." And the committeeman said he couldn't help.

I am now on a "punishment" job, and they are determined to keep me there. Things have really gone to hell when your transfer rights in the contract are ignored and they laugh about it in your face.

—Afternoon shift worker

ILWU trades job rights

San Francisco, Cal.—Negotiations for a new longshore contract have merely been a continuation of what the ILWU union officialdom has been doing for many years.

The proposed agreement does nothing to eliminate extended shifts, reduce hours with no reduction in pay, do away with Steady Men, improve manning, etc.—all the issues of great concern to working longshoremen. And there is a special gimmick against the dreaded "illegal" work stoppage, a provision for cutting everyone in the port off the Pay Guarantee Plan as a retaliation for it.

The single issue that by itself reveals the gulf between the thinking of workers and the union officialdom is the notorious Section 9.43 of the contract that allows Steady Men. This includes an abandonment of the provision for equalization of hours for all, that came out of the great West Coast maritime strike in 1934.

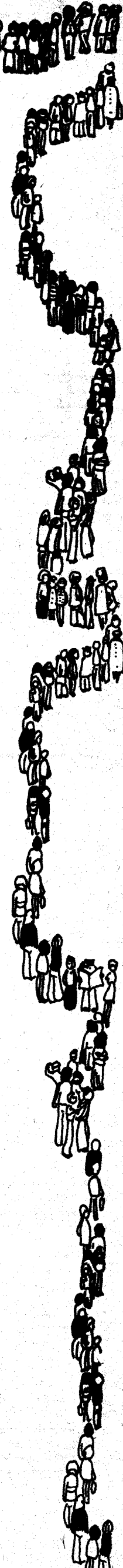
One official involved in the negotiations has attempted to play down the importance of this demand by pointing out that achieving equalization won't amount to much in terms of money because the Steady Men are such a small group.

The fact is that the demand for equalization is only part of much more that is involved in the Steady Man issue, above all that they speed themselves up on the job and cater to the company bosses in various ways for their "privileged" position. Because of these aspects, the longshoremen want an end to 9.43 entirely, not just equalization as played up by the negotiators (and the new contract doesn't even give that—rather, just a minor reduction in the hours for Steady Men).

And this issue affects the ship clerks, too. One of these brothers told of being at Pier 96 on a loading job where the Steady Men had clerks' Van Lists and were dealing directly with the scab superintendents. "The top union officials have gone along with doing away with so-called 'unnecessary men' before," the clerk went on. "Does this development at Pier 96 mean that we clerks are going to become 'unnecessary' too?"

The proposed agreement does nothing about eliminating extended shifts when a ship is sailing or shifting to a different dock. Several gangs of longshoremen at Pier 80-A solved this problem recently by simply leaving the job when the bosses came up with their "extended shift" order.

—SF docker



THE WARS AT HOME CONTINUE

I was struck by the way the article on the CIA in the last issue pointed out that it was created from its very beginning, not as a weapon against the Russians or Chinese, but against the American people, the real "other world" at home.

Activist Pennsylvania

Everyone is so uptight about desegregation of the schools in the North that I couldn't believe what I was hearing when I went back home to Alabama recently and found that one of the high schools in Montgomery which used to be all Black is now 50-50 Black and white.

Former Alabamian Detroit

Unemployment is highest of all for Blacks, women, and youth. Thousands of young people enlisted in the military last year because it was their only chance for work or an education.

Supporter Chicago

The news that major grain deals are in the works with Russia came just days after TV films of floods that knocked out the North Dakota summer wheat crop.

all they can to block and limit food stamps, food supplements to women, infants and children, and all other food aid programs. So many people are jobless that higher bread prices will mean not only inflation, but more people going hungry.

Angry Detroit

New York is not-so-slowly grinding to a halt, as the budget cuts throw thousands out of work and reduce services. Our greatest city has now taken the incredible step of eliminating kindergartens.

The City's closing fire houses is just plain murder, especially now when landlords are burning down their buildings to get the insurance or to get out from rent control.

There is a demonstration almost every day at City Hall. Recently it looked like the whole South Bronx had turned out to protest cuts in school programs, day care, community organizations, etc.

City Hall Park Sitter New York

The tourist invasion here is being greeted this summer with a new kind of "street artist" — those carrying large graphic picket signs. Strikes and demonstrations are happening all over Northern California with demands ranging from wages and benefits, to political protests against government edicts locally, to the maneuvers of "Pax Americana" at home and abroad.

Street Artist Bay Area

Bay Area N&L Committee members have participated in many of them, including one protesting lay-offs and speed-ups at the Post Office and another protesting Communist seizure of the Socialist newspaper in Portugal.

SENIORITY AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Seniority is the only thing that is really left. Working conditions, wages and so on are part of this game the labor leadership and the company play with. But seniority is still left for the workers.

White Worker Los Angeles

I have mixed reactions to the problem of affirmative action and seniority. I have been a union organizer and steward and worked staunchly to set up seniority systems for public employees who don't have a union shop.

Just as imperialism bought off part of the working class, I think the seniority system is buying off part of the working class. But discussing seniority as if it were an abstraction is like what Martin Luther King used to say about segregation.

Racism in this country has always



Reader

THE BRITISH SCENE

Recently, London saw a 20,000 strong march against the Abortion Amendment Bill put before parliament by Labour MPs James White and Leo Abre. If this blatantly anti-working class bill is passed it will mean that only the rich will be able to afford safe abortions.

Terry Little London

I recently saw another example of how all different kinds of women gather strength from the women's liberation movement. Believe it or not, it was on the financial page of the New York Times. The story was about how "terrible" the labor situation is in England.

Women's Liberationist New York City

The significant thing in Britain is that as the various representatives of the bourgeois state move into position to plan the most massive anti-working class measure in recent history, where they plan to "solve" their crisis at the expense of the workers.

Bob Potter Britain

NATIVE AMERICANS APPEAL

Unless there is a new headline — like the recent ones from Pine Ridge Reservation — people seem to think Wounded Knee is all over. There is a terrible lack of information among the public. But the racism that is rampant in South Dakota is an everyday reality for the Indian people there.

Supporter Iowa

Once again, law and order prevails in South Dakota. When Little Joe Killsright, 18, was the 27th Indian shot to death on Pine Ridge no one even noticed.

Incensed Detroit

meant dividing the working class. Sexism has certainly been an element we haven't historically explored as much as we have racism. At Fremont, the women are saying, let's hire women back without laying off anyone.

Woman Activist Oakland, Cal.

In a sense, there is no such thing as reform in this society. Everything has its opposite within it. The seniority system is showing us that. In one period it can be a revolutionary thing, but as long as we are in capitalism, it can be transformed.



UNITED FARM WORKERS

Since Jan. 3, UFW has been negotiating with Minute Maid division of Coca Cola for new contracts. The old one has been renewed on a day-to-day basis. Harassment, increased work loads, and a standstill in the grievance procedure have followed.

UFW Supporter Tampa, Fla.

On July 4, 500 farmworkers were with Mack Lyons, a Florida UFW organizer, as he started a fast to show Coke that the workers are serious about their contract. On Monday, July 7, he was arrested along with other workers in front of Coke's Auburndale, Fla. office.

NATIONAL FARMERS UNION

Early in June National Farmers Union members of Local 316 executive began hearing reports of shoddy treatment of industrial milk producers by two local processing plants—Kraft Foods, and Cow & Gate. At Kraft the shippers were told that the plant would no longer process milk on Sundays.

NFU Farmer Ontario

RUFFIAN

It was a lie that the owners of Ruffian, the filly that was killed the other day, cared a bit about destroying a living thing. To them she was only a damaged commodity. Horses should not be raced while they are still growing.

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Views

a house-to-house, kick-the-door-down search of every building on the reservation. There were almost 1,000 homeless refugees around Rapid City, most of them women and children, forced to abandon their homes. Two thousand National Guardsmen were on stand-by alert at Mt. Rushmore. And to top it all, the law library of Rapid City was locked up to keep Indians from using it. Not even Kunstler can get in any more. Apparently this is the only way the state feels it can win in court. To fight this Banana Republic Gestapo nightraid type of mentality, legal workers are urgently needed. Please contact Ken Tilson, Suite 400, Minnesota Building, St. Paul, Minn. 55101 (phone 1-612-224-7687).

Indian Activist
Michigan

SWISS UNEMPLOYMENT

Switzerland has always had the largest percentage of immigrant workers in Europe, but now the world depression is being felt here and industries are closing up like crazy. So just as in New York, with the "illegal aliens," the government is coming down against the poorest sections of the immigrant work force. This year alone it plans to expel 100,000 Italian, Spanish and Arab workers. Last week Italian laborers staged a demonstration against the immigration quotas. For the first time in recent memory, Switzerland is going through an unemployment crisis, and I think it's going to do a lot to end the political acquiescence here.

Traveler
Switzerland

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

Now that the International Women's Year Conference held in Mexico City is over the evaluation must include how it will affect both the organized and the unorganized women's movement. Despite the well-publicized friction and the exclusion of the segments of women who are truly the revolutionary force, the most positive effect of the conference was that women did talk to each other after each formal session, learning about conditions for women in other countries and exchanging ideas. The theme of the conference—Equality, Development, Peace—is important as goals, but how these are concretized will make the difference in total liberation.

Activist
Detroit

They say one picture is worth 1000 words. I think this cartoon speaks volumes.



Observer
Philadelphia

SOCIALIST-FEMINISM?

The planners of the Socialist Feminist conference refused to allow the distribution of newspapers, made it impossible for meetings of the whole to have discussions, had their own "conveners" (read: controllers) at each workshop, locked the building with the literature tables many times, called people out of order when they said they represented any group other than a "Marxist-Leninist" one, turned the mike off when a Latina woman was trying to speak, and turned away women who had come to the conference at airports, bus sta-

tions and at the conference itself. These are the women who are going to make a new society? It sounds just like the one we've got to me.

Socialist-Feminist
Detroit

Some good things happened at the Socialist-Feminist conference. Madonna Gilbert of AIM who is now running a survival school for Indian children in Rapid City, S.D. came to present a workshop with members of the Twin Cities Women's Union. I was excited to learn that for the last year members of the Twin Cities Women's Union have been working with AIM women. When AIM women sat in at an FBI office in Rapid City, Twin Cities Women were there in support.

It was at this same workshop that I heard a woman from Hazard, Ky. state that the "established" Women's Movement had little to do with what the masses of women were doing and thinking, such as the mountain women where she worked and lived. She added that they didn't need people like the October League "organizing" them into a party. She and other women, who were seriously asking "What can a middle-class revolutionary do?", were glad to hear of Marxist-Humanism, a philosophy of liberation based on the self-development of the masses, whose actions and ideas must be the revolutionary ground of the intellectuals. Working out theory is never easy and intellectuals and workers do need each other.

Marxist-Humanist
Michigan

What stood out most to me at the Socialist Feminist Conference was that there were so few Black women and working women there, and how controlled the conference was by the Planning Committee. The Black women debated about not having been included in the planning of the Third World panel, so they formed a "meeting of the whole" and had a discussion on "criticism and self-criticism." I got on the list to speak, because it was the only chance I could see to give some of my ideas. But the woman controlling the microphone kept bugging me before she gave it to me about what I was going to speak about, and they kept whispering to me while I was trying to talk that I only had two minutes left. I wound up forgetting everything I wanted to say.

Black Woman
Detroit

The organizers of the Socialist-Feminist conference expressed a real Maoist mentality, whether or not they openly identified with Mao's China. In the "theoretic" discussions, there was hardly any mention of contradiction, either "secondary" or "primary." Instead, the catch-phrase was "unity-struggle-unity." This means everyone comes together at the start. Then there is "struggle," at which stage they get rid of any opposition. Finally, unity is achieved again, with them in control—the kind of "unity" you can find in any totalitarian, state-capitalist country. I can understand why the Maoists are constantly manipulating the revolutionary Hegelian-Marxian concept of contradiction. They know that in actuality it means opposition to them.

Disgusted Participant
Detroit

STALINISM VIA MAO

Maoism is quickly becoming the largest Marxist-tendency in the U.S. A critique of Maoism is really urgent—and unfortunately, I don't think N&L gets to enough people to combat Maoism effectively enough. I am searching for a way to make the Marxist-Humanist critique more widely known. Maybe we should start a "criticize Stalin and Mao-

WHO WE ARE

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

The paper is the monthly publication of NEWS AND LETTERS COMMITTEES, an organization of Marxist-Humanists that stands for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private form as in the U.S., or in its state form calling itself Communist, as in Russia and China. The National Chairwoman, RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA, is the author of *Philosophy and Revolution* and *Marxism and Freedom* which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism for our age internationally, as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene.

In opposing this capitalistic, exploitative, racist, sexist society, we participate in all freedom struggles, practice the unity of worker and intellectual, and seek to establish totally new human relations. Thus, we do not separate the mass activities of workers, Blacks, women and youth from the activity of thinking. We invite you to send for a copy of our constitution and to join with us both in the freedom struggles and in working out a theory of liberation for our age. Our publications and our meetings are open to all who are serious in their search for the answers to these historic challenges.

Tse-tung movement" within the left. Maoism infests a lot of the so-called "democratic left," such as NAM, as well as the openly Maoist groups. While the CP, NAM, SWP, RU, OL, etc., may differ on organization or questions of strategy and tactics, they have much in common as far as their theory or philosophy goes. One of the problems is that the theory for most of those groups goes no further than the utility of one strategy vs. another. Theory cannot be reduced to a question of tactics. If this is all there is to theory we might as well throw out Marx, dig up Dewey and the pragmatists, and dress them in socialist morals. There is a consistent philosophy underlying Marxism that cannot be butchered up as we see fit.

Student
State College, Pa.

Stalinism is coming to us via Mao. The philosophy is a clever disguise for the state-capitalist regime of China. The Communist Party of Portugal has given the Maoists the opportunity they needed.

Correspondent
Britain

When Mao rolled out the "Red" carpet for Nixon back in 1971, the Maoists in this country didn't bat an eye. They explained it all away as something very clever Mao had to do and somehow it was all supposed to be part of the fight against imperialism. But will somebody please tell me how the Maoists are going to explain away the latest "Thoughts of Chairman Mao"—his statement to the Thai Prime Minister that Watergate was the result of "too much freedom of political expression in the U.S.!" Or how about this one: "What's wrong with tapping a conversation when you happen to have a tape recorder with you? Most people in America love playing with tape recorders . . ."

Incredulous
Massachusetts

OILEVISION

KQED, the San Francisco "Public Broadcasting Station" has just confirmed what N&L predicted last January in the article "KQED Workers Strike Against Oilevision." Bill Osterhaus, \$50,000 a year station manager, as of July 7 cut prize-winning Newsroom from one hour to one-half hour and suggested that it might be terminated entirely by December. Forced to reply to the thousands of protest letters and phone calls, he said that subscriptions from the public were not sufficient to continue the format which won numerous Emmys and Peabody Awards for the station—that is, Newsroom and public interest films—and that the only really big money would come from the major Oil and Banking Corporations who are not interested in programs which they do not control. Osterhaus is carrying out in reality

just what Nixon tried to do four years ago when he vetoed funds for Educational TV and tried to muzzle all media which he and the industrial-military complex, i.e. the government, didn't control. MAP, a membership support committee is fighting to reverse this blatant attempt of monopoly control of the air-waves, but it looks like a victory will have to take place on the national level to succeed locally.

Viewer-Supporter
San Francisco

POSTAL WORKERS

At the Grand Central post office, they are not hiring replacements when people leave. We keep working harder and harder. My foreman told me I'm supposed to keep up with the machines, and if I can't I should come in early to catch up.

It's so bad that now when there is a bomb scare they don't evacuate the building; they tell us to keep working while the security people go around looking for the bomb. One woman had her hand blown off by a bomb, but they never publicized it.

For the last few weeks we have smelled gas in my area. When we asked about it we were told not to worry, just don't light any cigarettes!

Woman P. O. Worker
New York

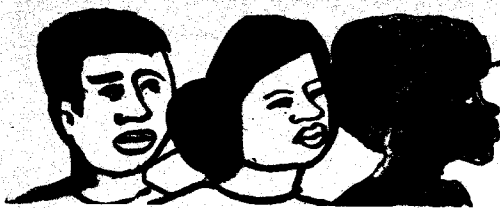
REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION

Revolution is in the air in both Portugal and Spain. There is confusion in Portugal, but there are hopes arising from the formation of organizations in the factories. The fantastic Armed Forces Movement is split three ways. They seem determined, however, to fight against rule from below. Whatever happens, the struggle in Portugal marks a new step ahead for Europe, East and West.

The Franco dictatorship in Spain is facing a new challenge. It cannot afford to allow a whisper of criticism. There are abundant signs that what is happening in Portugal is affecting Spain where the forces of revolution have been finding their feet.

The Italian Communist Party has done great damage to the Communist Parties of Europe. Members of the British CP are bewildered. Here we have the largest Communist Party outside Russia now taking a line that would make the Social-Democrats seem revolutionary by comparison. It is not a parallel case, but it does remind one of the German Social-Democratic Party which was also the largest of its kind. It goes further towards open opportunism but its difference from the other Parties is only one of degree.

Harry McShane
Glasgow



SOLIDARIDAD

Argentine workers open new stage of struggle

by Eugene Walker

The ending of the general strike, far from signaling a solution to the economic and political, as well as social crisis within, is but the thinnest of tissue paper over the furnace that is Argentina. The power of the general strike forced the government of Isabel Peron to rescind its recent rollback order on new wage gains that the workers had won in the latter part of June in face of an inflation rate of close to 200 percent.

It was a general strike forced on the labor leadership by the rank and file. As such it showed how deep the division is growing between the class-collaborationist Peronist leadership of the official trade union movement, the General Workers Confederation (CGT), and the militancy of the Argentine working class.

The latest phase of that class-collaborationism began in June, 1973 when with the return of Peronism, the CGT signed with the General Economic Confederation, an association of businessmen dominated by large national capitalists, the Social Pact which became the basis of the economic program of the Peron governments. It called for the freezing of wages and prices until mid-1975 and was a weapon to freeze the class struggle.

ANTI-LABOR SOCIAL PACT

The working class suffered under the Social Pact with an inflation rate of over 100 percent last year. The immediate crisis began this June when the government ordered a series of austerity measures to deal with the worsening economic situation brought on by the inflation, black marketeering, production declines and dwindling foreign reserves.

Prices rose wildly in a matter of days. The working class tried vainly to keep up by negotiating new wage settlements. But the government attempted to set a 50 percent guideline for settlements. The major trade unions faced with rank and file pressure negotiated settlements as high as 130 percent, which still failed to match the rate of inflation.

The labor leaders chose to support the workers in their demands of no rollback because at this stage they had little choice. The actions of the workers themselves forced the leaders' hands. Strikes erupted throughout Argentina to protest the government economic austerity measures and to pressure trade union leaders into taking a stand against President Peron and her rightist strongman Jose Lopez Rega.

The strikes from below brought economic standstill to Cordoba and Mendoza, the second and fourth largest cities. Work also stopped in a dozen large factories in Buenos Aires. Most were in metallurgical (whose leadership was most closely aligned with Peronism), textile,

auto and construction industries. Several thousand workers gathered in front of the CGT headquarters to demand the resignation of Lopez Rega and urge leaders not to back down.

Still the labor leaders resisted the call for a general strike. One spokesman for the Peronist labor leaders noted, "We are not delirious revolutionaries or ideological adventurers and we consider Isabel Peron to be the natural and logical leader of the movement." The government attempted to maneuver by putting in a new Minister of Labor, Cecilio Condeta, a protege of strongman Rega.

Finally the union leadership made efforts to force a rollback in the government position. Talks were held but no commitments were given. But while their gentle conversations continued, the workers deepened their protest. Auto and metallurgical workers in Cordoba, Santa Fe and Rosario, three key industrial centers, held work stoppages. The new labor minister Condeta was not accepted. And in addition the call for Lopez Rega to go grew louder.

RANK AND FILE VICTORY

Finally faced with a labor militancy almost beyond their control, the labor leadership called for the general strike of July 7 and 8. The Peron government ministers tried to save the situation by submitting their resignations, but it was too late and the general strike was on.

The latest reports indicate that agreement between the Peron government and the national labor leaders has been reached allowing the wage increases to stand. Whether this agreement will stick temporarily is not the crucial issue.

What is crucial is that it has been shown quite clearly that Peronism may have the labor leadership in its hip pocket most of the time, but it does not by any means have the Argentine working class.

That working class which began a new era of struggle with the massive rebellion in Cordoba in 1969 — the Cordobazo — occupying entire neighborhoods for days before the military could dislodge them in street battles, has now moved against Peronism itself. What links it will make with that portion of the left which has also done so will be worth watching. But the signal has been given.



—News & Letters photo

Pickets wear masks of Ernest and Julio Gallo.

UFW pickets Gallo dinner

San Francisco, Cal. — The United Farm Workers (UFW) visibly demonstrated that they have no intention of winding down their boycotts of non-union products when they picketed a dinner held in honor of Julio Gallo on June 28 at the Hyatt-Regency Hotel.

Over 300 people picketed the wine connoisseurs' dinner, where they were going to give the co-owner of Gallo Wine Co., which the union has been on strike against for two years, their Man of the Year award. Upon hearing of the demonstration, Gallo decided not to show up to collect his award.

Gallo has been waging a big media campaign ever since the signing into law of the farm labor elections bill in early June to get the UFW to call off its boycott of Gallo wines. Gallo and other growers are claiming that the battle is over now that farmworkers can elect the union of their choice to represent them.

The farmworkers, however, know that the fight has just begun. The law only guarantees an election, not a good contract, and to get anything from a multi-million dollar company like Gallo the union has to bargain from a position of strength.

The growers ask for good faith on the part of the union. The farmworkers have learned in the past that there is no such thing as good faith to the growers, they do whatever they can get away with to make more money. The union says to Gallo and the others, "If you believe in good faith, you should show some by having elections right now and start negotiations immediately after."

The farmworkers' fight is not over. They still need your help.

BOYCOTT GALLO, BOYCOTT GRAPES!

—Gallo boycotter

Worked in fields from age 14

(The following excerpt is from the revised edition of our "Black, Brown, Red" pamphlet to be published this fall.)

Oakland, Cal.—I've worked in the fields since I was 14, harvesting lettuce, celery, strawberries, green beans, tomatoes, apples, artichokes, chives, potatoes, and more. The majority of time I worked in lettuce and celery around the Watsonville-Salinas area.

I worked for the infamous Bud Antle, who at one time was the largest lettuce grower, and who has always been a big scab against the United Farm Workers. I recently found out that they had the Teamsters there ever since I worked there, but we never knew it. It's like being in the union without ever knowing you're in it.

I did as much work at 14 as adults did. There were many young kids working in the fields, because the family had to exist. I'd get out of school and go straight to work, and work full-time in the summer for \$1.50 per hour.

I remember one old man I met in the fields. He had used el cortito, the short-handled hoe, all his life, and he was about 70 years old then. He stood and walked with a stooped posture, he could never straighten up. I worked with el cortito when I was a youngster, in the prime of life, and I was exhausted every day after work, yet this man was still out in the fields in his seventies. I think of this man whenever I hear about farmworkers.

I started working at the tail end of the Bracero program, which was bringing Mexican workers in to pick crops. I remember when they brought Braceros into our field; they would move them to the opposite end from where we the locals were, so we wouldn't talk with them. They would push these people to work faster than us, being very cruel to them, and they'd get paid half what we got. We all thought "I'm sure glad I'm not a Bracero."

At that time you didn't distinguish between Chicano workers and Mexican immigrant workers. La Migra, the Border Patrol, was always coming to the fields.

There was a lot of solidarity between the U.S. citizens and the undocumented workers. If there were undocumented workers in the field when La Migra came, they would run and jump between the rows of celery, where they couldn't be seen. The rest of us would gather around, and when the man asked to see our papers, somebody wouldn't have theirs on them, and everybody else would start joking "Take him, take him!" That would relax the tension and take the attention off the undocumented workers.

— Former farmworker

Cal. State Chicanos fight to save minority studies

Los Angeles, Cal.—At California State University at Los Angeles we have had a number of independent programs such as the Economic Opportunities Program (EOP), the PINTO program, which enrolled ex-inmates who are Chicanos and helped them survive academically and financially, and Model Cities taking students from the community who do not ordinarily qualify academically and giving them special help.

Up until now many of these programs were student-initiated and student-controlled. But suddenly the administration decided to umbrella these programs into a single program controlled by an administrator selected by the university. This was a step in getting control of all student programs which they could then direct and eventually could even cut out.

We began a fight to keep control; to have the students and not the administration control the programs. We had several rallies and demonstrations. There was a kind of sit-in at the last and most important demonstration, with 50 students going upstairs into the president's office and refusing to leave until they got a meeting.

It involves more than Chicano education. Previously many of the minority organizations on campus were separate. In EOP there were two components, Black and Chicano, which worked separately. Now, for the first time, it was all ethnics really joining in the common issue. It was not just Chicanos demonstrating or Blacks, it was other ethnic groups and that was a growth in political sophistication to me.

You know several years ago the Watts riot and the Chicano moratorium occurred. It was this community activity that carried over to the university. After some of these upheavals, the administration saw that it was being pressured and that it had to grant some of the requests that the students were making, like the Equal Opportunities Program. So these were granted.

Now we haven't had a Watts riot or another Chicano uprising in quite a while. So what is happening is that the gains made because of the people's activity are now cut back by the administrators who no longer feel threatened. This is an attempt to take back some of the gains that the people had gotten and that is why it is so important to maintain some of these programs. They are not the ultimate answer but they are important steps.

—Chicano activist

Dominican illegals run scared

New York, N.Y. — The truth of the situation of the Dominican people is that ever since we won independence in 1844 we have not believed that we are independent and free, because we are strongly influenced by the U.S. government.

Our economic and political life has been controlled by the U.S. government. Since our country is agricultural, with a one-crop economy, we are totally dependent on the U.S. for manufactured goods, and it is the U.S. who decides what will be developed and what will not be developed in our country.

The Dominican Republic is another sardine under the U.S. shark. The Dominican people cannot live in their own country but have to come as immigrants here, because of U.S. exploitation. This exploitation has always been met with strong resistance, and that is why the U.S. has so far had to invade our country three times to keep it under its heel.

The last time this happened was in 1965 when they feared that the Dominican people were fighting for freedom against their gorilla president, to put in an honest and patriotic government to run our lives the way we wanted, for the benefit of the workers and farmworkers.

The U.S. government didn't like that, because they don't want to have to set free any country. That's why they put and keep Balaguer in the government, because he plays the game of the U.S., killing patriots and revolutionaries and keeping the door open for his friends the capitalists to come in and do what they want.

From the 1965 invasion started the great immigration or exodus to find some temporary freedom and survival in other lands, and some way of making a living.

The problem of the so-called illegal alien is that some had no time to get papers but had to run like crazy. These are the illegals. They have to work to survive, they cannot live on air alone. But they often get the worst jobs and are afraid to get any benefits like unemployment, welfare or credit. The bosses like to get profits from the illegals and use them to work hard for low pay and keep quiet for fear of being discovered by immigration.

—Dominican exile

Italy surprised by Left election victories

Milan, Italy—The extraordinary landslide victory of the Italian Left has surprised almost everyone here. The question most commonly being asked is whether the people simply voted against the Christian Democrats or made a specific choice. Obviously both are true.

This can be seen through the different political choices made in the North and in the South, a clear result of different economic and social conditions. In the South both Communists and fascists gained votes, while all other parties suffered losses. In the North all of the leftist parties made gains, especially the previously almost-tiny socialist party.

In fact, in most northern cities and regions the socialists can decide whether the DC or CP has a majority. After the experience of their comrades in Portugal, it is unlikely that they will make lasting coalitions with the CP. However, they have gained most of their votes due to their acute criticism of the DC.

The fascists had such heavy losses in the North that if these were national elections they would have lost 14 of their 55 seats in Parliament, despite the southern vote. Also the new coalition PDIUP-Manifesto-Avant-guardia Operaia had an exceptionally high vote in the major industrial cities, for a new party.

POLITICIANS IGNORE REALITY

Why such a drastic and unexpected change in the voter's attitude? The unexpectedness is probably due to the fact that most parties were so taken up in their criticism of the various terrorist attempts, that they forgot to analyze reality. The people did not forget.

The first major problem is unemployment. In the South there is almost no possibility for immigration, and in the North industry has collapsed, especially the auto industry. Unemployment is as high, if not higher, among the white collar workers and intellectuals.

The second obvious problem is price inflation. This has hit almost every sector of the economy, and many small savers have lost their savings. All of this, if it has not thrown people into the ranks of the working

class, has at least made many identify with working class parties.

STRIKES BEFORE ELECTIONS

There were two extraordinary strikes along with the usual strikes, just before the elections, that give an example of the profound change in the mentality of some sectors. A part of the police went on strike for the right to form a union.

Then the functionaries of the tax collection office went on strike not only for higher wages, but because of the inequality of the laws regarding the taxes paid by the poor and the rich. They said they would refuse to collect taxes from the poor until the law is changed. All of the parties and unions went against them — "a small group that wants to control the laws of a democratically elected government"!

There were two secondary factors that are not to be ignored. The voting age was lowered from 21 to 18 years in order to make the "bad, chaotic" youth understand responsibility. It was completely forgotten that this group is one of the worst hit by the economic crisis. The other is that the Catholic church refused to take a political position for the first time in Italian history.

—Correspondent

Mass youth, Black, Chicano actions forge view of revolt

By Jim Mills

When I first lived in Gainesville, Fla., as a student in fall, 1971, there was already a history of protest. The previous spring, the Black Student Union took over the University of Florida president's office to protest lagging Black enrollment and the lack of Black studies. The president, a known racist, had everyone arrested without any kind of communication with them, as hundreds of Black and white students rallied outside in support.

There is now a U. of F. Institute of Black Culture. However, there are still far fewer Black students than you'd expect at the state's largest university.

TWO WORLDS APPEAR

In spring, 1972 Nixon mined Haiphong harbor. For three days, we blocked the two busiest streets in the city, encountering tear gas, police dogs, fire hoses, and brutal arrests. This was the first time I had participated in a mass demonstration.

I knew that there were two worlds in this country when a policeman said he had fought in one war and would fight in this one if called on. He had been called, and he was fighting there in the street against us in the other world.

However, the idea of a war waged at home as well as abroad became most evident to me when I talked to some Vietnam Veterans Against the War who were also fighting the federal government in the Gainesville Eight frame-up.

When the government lost its case against the Eight, the celebration was short-lived, because the anti-war youth movement was no longer massing for direct and spontaneous action against the government as before.

NEW DEMONSTRATIONS ON CAMPUS

Yet in spring, 1974 there was a great ground-swell to save a humanities teacher from job termination because he insisted on a dialogue of ideas in the classroom instead of publishing work for a PhD. This movement stopped short of greater action because its goal was to reform the tenure process—instead of beginning with this fight to redefine education itself.

The cutbacks and tuition hikes in spring 1975 produced spontaneous student demonstrations once more. But when the Maoists later called a strike, it failed completely — not because students are apathetic, but because the vanguardist organizations are separated from the ideas of the majority of the youth.

WHAT KIND OF ORGANIZATION?

I had read in News & Letters about the United Farm Workers Union struggle against agribusiness. Working with them on the boycott gave me some direction, because by this time, I had realized that a college education taken seriously leads one to live the division between mental and manual labor and is totally incompatible with the seriousness of revolutionary thought and activity. Again, two worlds were evident—one of making it in a mindless bourgeois existence, the other of people who were actually fighting for their lives.

What was lacking for me during this whole period of four years I spent in Gainesville was the kind of organization that is needed to carry on the total fight against this alienating system, not separated from what the voices from below — like the farmworkers I've worked with — have to say. The closest I came to it was the class in Marxism and Freedom some friends and I held. But the pull is great on students to think that masses are capable of force but not reason, and to see the fight against capitalist alienation as an individual struggle. That was not challenged in a way we could touch by the self-activity of the forces of revolt.

NATIVE AMERICAN SPEAKS

by Shainape Shcapwe

FBI army occupies Pine Ridge

There are very few facts about the shooting of the two FBI agents and one Indian on the Pine Ridge reservation on June 26. Most of the witnesses are either gone or dead. A woman from the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee in Rapid City, S.D. told me that there are now 178 FBI agents on Pine Ridge, using tactics like those used in Vietnam in the search-and-destroy missions.

Agents go to peoples' homes, with or without warrants, in cars carrying M-16's and AR-15's with visible back-up cars and helicopters overhead. They push people out of their homes and are very ugly and intimidating. Old people, who have had very little to do with white people, are asked many questions in English and are treated very roughly when they can't answer. People are stopped on the streets and fingerprinted.

THREATENED WITH JAIL

These events are part of the federal investigation of the shooting of the FBI agents, but nothing is being done about the Indian boy who was also killed. People are being subpoenaed by the grand jury to testify.

They are not allowed anyone to represent them, and must go before a white prosecutor and a white jury. They are frightened by being told that they must give information or go to jail for the duration of the investigation.

There is no way for the people on Pine Ridge to leave. They haven't the financial resources to move away. There are old people who would find it impossible to live anywhere else. Their reservation has always been their home. Even before the occupation of Wounded



—Michael Abramson/LNS

Pine Ridge residents live with daily FBI harassment.

Knee, life on Pine Ridge was very difficult, but now it's almost impossible. One woman said, "It's like living in an occupied territory."

It is no surprise to hear about the tactics that the federal government is using against the Indians of Pine Ridge. I'm sure they are intended to weaken the Indian movement. They remind me of the tactics used against the Black community in Detroit when officers from the police STRESS unit were seeking three young Black men they claimed had shot some police officers.

The only surprise is that immediately after the FBI investigators began work, national TV news carried films of one of the traditional tribal elders reading a petition by the residents of Pine Ridge asking the FBI to get off their reservation. Since then, the Justice Department has imposed a news blackout on the investigation.

HARASSMENT COMMON

Some people have said they felt that shooting FBI agents was "going too far." These people have never lived on a reservation where it is common for the law to show its authority by frightening and harassing the people. Now that Indians are beginning to demand their equal rights, the authorities have started treating us with more cruelty.

I talked to two people from the American Indian Movement and I was impressed by their determination to help the people in this struggle. This is the same kind of strength that made the occupation of Wounded Knee the powerful movement that it was. It will be this determination to help each other and themselves that will keep the people on the Pine Ridge reservation going.

For more information or copies of the Pine Ridge residents petition, contact: AIM, Box 3677, St. Paul, Minn. 55101, phone (612) 227-7085.

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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

Colombia

Columbia, which has a poor and stagnant economy with 30 percent unemployment and subsistence level wages for those who are working, has found for its own companies and international corporations an even cheaper and more disciplined labor force in its prison system. The captive workers are paid a fraction of normal wages with no fringe benefits. In Colombia's criminal "justice" system, 70 percent of its victims behind bars at any given time, have never received a trial.

U.S. based multi-national corporations like Container Corp. of America, Marcor Inc., and B. F. Goodrich Co. have already set up production lines in Colombia's prisons. There are plans to accelerate the program by a group called Action in Colombia which includes Bank of America, Dow Chemical Co., and I.B.M.

A similar program in the U.S., where prisoners are now used as a cheap source of labor for the government, was proposed recently by former-Governor Reagan who wanted to let the private companies organize production in California prisons for their own ends.

India under Indira

Smarting from an indictment of election fraud, which under Indian law demanded her resignation and removal from Parliament, Indira Gandhi has resorted to force in order to remain in office. In raids reminiscent of Gestapo raids under Hitler, Gandhi swept up all opposition leaders in the middle of the night and threw them into prison. Excluded were the Communists, her friends and allies. Censorship of the press was established; no criticism of the Prime Minister is permitted; demonstrations are outlawed; and the shouting of slogans is prohibited.

Far from being just an Indian Watergate, the crisis is the result of the last 30 years of family rule in a backward country that has been hailed as the world's largest democracy—but in fact was a democracy only for the middle-class intellectuals. The Hindu religion, which Hegel called "the philosophy of unfreedom", instituted the caste system, making those in the poorest jobs "untouchables" for life—along with their children and all who follow them. Cows and monkeys have more privileges and respect than the starving masses in India.

The rule of her father Jawaharlal Nehru and her own regime have relied on a 900,000 man military

force, now equipped with atomic weapons, and on the Congress Party, which is as corrupt as any to be found in the world. While she dares to attend international gatherings of the Socialist Second International pretending to be a socialist, her entire activity is devoted to the Indian industrialist and the middle class who profit and live off of the misery and starvation of the poor masses.

Thirty years after independence from British rule the national per capita income has actually dropped from \$87 per year to \$84 per year. While the power hungry Indira Gandhi devotes billions to atomic research and bombs, starving and dying people litter the streets of every major city.

Despite the new oppressive regime, the Indian masses have shown some signs of resistance. Demonstrations have occurred in Kerala and some of the jailed opposition leaders have threatened to follow the example of Mahatma Gandhi and undertake hunger strikes. The test will be the extent of the loyalty of the army and how far Mrs. Gandhi is prepared to use it against the Indian masses.

Oil blackmail

If you believe the TV advertising of the oil giants, you might think they are doing everything possible to discover and exploit new oil resources in the U.S. If you read their reports to their stockholders you would find quite the opposite to be the real facts.

Partially cut off from their lush 22 percent depletion allowances, the major oil companies have stopped drilling new wells, abandoned Canada entirely, withdrawn their oil-drilling rigs and are investing their huge inflated profits outside of the industry. They now control all major coal mines, uranium mining and processing, and are reaching out into unrelated manufacturing.

Four years ago they were getting \$3.50 a barrel for domestic oil for which they are now collecting \$13 a barrel. They are demanding and getting a 14.6 percent return on their invested capital, three times as much as the auto industry, and they still complain.

While their budgets have been cut back by \$1.1 billion for oil exploration, Gulf is making a bid to buy Rockwell International; Mobil bought Marcor, a conglomerate that controls Montgomery Ward and packaging industries; Standard Oil of Calif. is buying 20 percent of Ammax, a mining company.

The recent three cent increase in gasoline prices means a cost of \$3 billion a year to U.S. motorists.

The new blow planned by the oil companies is

a 40 percent turndown on the amount of natural gas supplied to the national pipeline distribution system. The threat is serious enough for major auto firms and major manufacturers to start spending millions to set up alternative fuel systems to meet the expected shortage. The cost of these new systems will be added to the product price and consumers, naturally, will pay the bill.

Canadian labor

It is a hot summer of discontent for labor throughout Canada with 78 strikes now in progress in Ontario and 193 current strikes nationwide. The issue of money to combat the current high inflationary cost of living and to catch up on contracts signed three years ago is the predominant issue.

Major potential strike situations are coming up between now and fall. These include the Steel Workers Union negotiations for a new contract with International Nickel. In British Columbia the entire wood, paper and pulp industries could be shut down soon if agreements are not reached. The Postal Workers, who have been conducting periodic slow-downs, are scheduled to strike in the fall if their conditions are not improved.

There are construction strikes in Sarnia, Windsor, St. Catharines, Ottawa, Hamilton and Toronto. In Quebec the Public Service Workers, over 150,000 strong, are in negotiations with the government with no settlement in sight.

Canadian labor is on the move and is not likely to settle for half measures.

Angola

The Portuguese Territory of Angola is again the center of a bitter struggle between three rival groups for control of the country. Hundreds have been killed in pitched battles between the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, supported by the Stalinists and armed by Russia, and the National Front for the Liberation of Angola, supported by the Maoists and armed by China.

The third group, the Socialist National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), stayed out of the fighting.

Recently a peace conference was held in Kenya to resolve the issues between the factions to prepare for independence on Nov. 11, 1975, but apparently the Sino-Soviet conflict outweighs the interests of the African people.

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

This month I am turning my column over to Jaafar al Din, a young Black student at the University of California at Berkeley, who tells about the current retrogressive situation within the school's Afro-American Studies Department — John Alan.

At the present time on the University of California campus in Berkeley, the Afro-American Studies Department is selecting a new department chairman. William Banks, the former co-ordinator of the department, resigned the position, June 24.

With all the protocol niceties which the prestigious College of Letters and Science can give this action, it can still be recognized for what it is: another calculation by the university to shape the development of Black higher education to serve, not the aims and aspirations of Black people, but the needs of the corporate-government.

Black student inquiries concerning the selection of a new department chairman were initially directed to the overseer of the department, Provost of the College of Letters and Science, Roderick Park. He said that the matter was an internal one which the faculty of Afro-American Studies would decide.

Banks said that since no opening on the faculty existed, there would be no national search for the best possible Black scholar to fill the position. The new chairman would come from the ranks of the present faculty as per the procedures of the College of Letters and Science. These procedures provide that the chairmanship of a department goes to a faculty member with advanced standing, tenure. There are two tenured members of the Afro-American Studies faculty, Banks and Reginald Jones.

To see where this narrow selection has its logical place, some history is necessary. In 1972, Chancellor of the University Albert Bowker replaced then co-ordinator of Afro-American Studies, Ron Lewis, with Banks. With Lewis' removal most of the non-traditional community-orientated faculty was replaced under the sham of making the department more compatible with the academic standards of the university.

This calculated attack on the relevance of the department was seen by Black students for what it was, and they began a boycott of the department's classes. By playing the waiting game the university was able to

Black studies gains fading

eventually dissipate the boycott. Banks then proceeded with the university plan to split Afro-American Studies from the Ethnic Studies Division and to place the unit as a department in the backward College of Letters and Science.

The Ethnic Studies Division, Afro-American, Asian, Chicano, and Native American Studies had been created as a compromise settlement of a student strike for an autonomous Third World College in 1969.

Only safely back on the plantation — College of Letters and Science — under the careful supervision of the overseer can a select few Black people be trusted to get a worthwhile education. Only in this neutered state can Afro-American Studies exist not posing any apparent threat to the delicate psyches of the intellectual university community or the masters which they serve.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 3)

Workers consider all labor alien. That is not because they do not know how to do their jobs, but because the job means nothing to them. It is simply something they must do to earn a living. Because the job means nothing, Marx called it alienated labor. The German philosopher Hegel called it Alienated Soul.

I am sure this sounds strange to a worker, yet everyone is talking about soul, whether it be in the church or in soul food. To a Black it does not mean chittlins, but Black thought — the fact that we cannot separate the Black body from Black thought — or soul, if you wish.

Years ago, when I would leave the factory and that place of alienated labor, and go to a political meeting, I would feel an entirely different spirit and person. But the day comes when you recognize and understand that all the political tendency in-fighting is suddenly not that exciting anymore.

I returned to Marx then, when he posed the question of the difference between a trade union and something as great as the Paris Commune. Whether or not that had any roots in what Hegel called Alienated Spirit, the point is that in both cases, it was only the beginning, and not the end, of the real new human relationships.

All the spokesmen for the working people and Black people, and others, know nothing about their problems.

British workers unemployed

(Continued from Page 3)

sent to the House of Commons, they called for a "universal pay raise limit" of 6 pounds (\$13.20) a week, rather than the 10 percent limit, as a gesture to the unions to help win their support. It means that workers on the lower end of the scale will get a larger proportionate increase. The net result however, is merely to put off the next test for three months when another round of pay negotiations is expected. Attention will focus on the miners again.

Jack Jones brought some relief to the Tories when he said that there would be many General Elections before the present capitalist system would be destroyed. It just happens that the creation of the new society will not come from Acts of Parliament. Jones is in no hurry but he is not speaking for the masses.

Many of those that speak for the unemployed have never been unemployed. The fact is that many of the leading liberals and intellectuals who were considered left in the past have today moved as far to the right as Robert Welch, head of the John Birch Society. Daniel Moynihan, for example, who came on first as a "left Democrat," has consistently attacked Blacks, especially Black women, and Third World countries in the UN.

FREEDOM OR TERROR

I lived here in Detroit during the Depression. Then, it seemed to me from all the talk among workers and Blacks about revolution that there would have been one if the Communist Party had been a revolutionary party, with a philosophy based on the working people. But besides agitation among working and poor people, they wanted to educate us politically just to vote for their party candidate — which was anything but what the masses felt and wanted. It is the same today.

Some are saying that this society is approaching absolute terror. But our age is also the one in which people are struggling for absolute freedom. These are the only two alternatives we have.

These are some of the ideas that went through my mind when I was reading the articles in the *Black Scholar* and contrasting them to our special 1975-76 *Perspectives* report printed for everyone to read in this issue.

The Draft Perspectives for 1975-1976

(Continued from Page 2)

from forcing Indira Gandhi out as Nixon was forced out of his presidency, and coming up with a Mr. Clean to continue its class rule, it has stood behind her because the only one who could have fulfilled that role—Congress Party Food and Agriculture Minister Jagzivan Ram—is an "untouchable" and thus unacceptable to the caste-ridden Party! These almighty rulers dare not touch the most primitive of superstitions—diseased starved cows roam the streets more freely than do humans called "untouchables" who continue, on the whole, to be imprisoned within whatever functional occupation they have been "born into"!

As we see in this state-capitalist crisis-ridden age of ours, corruption, exploitation, imperialism, endless power politics plays, wars and nuclear weapons are by no means confined only to the super-powers.

Of course, though they compare in corruption, none can compare in might with U.S. imperialism which, having tilted toward Pakistan when Bangladesh fought for independence from it, is now tilting to India. But its main eyes are on Russia, whether that be the coming (July 22) European Conference to be held in Helsinki, or its nuclear build-up, or a resumption of the fake SALT talks "at the summit." Far outweighing everything is the mad bomber Defense Secretary Schlesinger's projection of "first nuclear capability", by which he means action, the holocaust! Last February the Pentagon proposed to develop a "counter force" ability for the Trident 2 submarine-based missiles. By May, 1975, the man who was ready to institute "7 Days in May" in August, 1974, should Nixon try to involve the military in his battle, testified to Congress that "to avoid defeat in Europe" the U.S. might authorize first use of tactical nuclear warheads, of which 7,000 were available to NATO. This was followed by an interview with the *Washington Post* in which he said that "first use of nuclear weapons could conceivably involve what we define as strategic force and possibly—underscore possibly—involve a selective score at the Soviet Union." By June 20, at his news conference, he had some more "ifs", this time moving from the Soviet Union to North Korea, "if North Korea invaded the South" tactical nuclear warheads might be used. Whereupon came the admission, the first admission ever, that such tactical nuclear warheads were indeed stored in South Korea already!

All in all it is clear that the "counter force", Schlesinger's latest and fundamental shift in land-based missiles targeted for cities, can now be targeted from anywhere on land, air, or sea directly on missile sites and that this, supposedly, allows for a first use!

And while everyone was busy catching his breath at this sabre rattling of nuclear warheads and first strike capability, the UPI's Helen Thomas tried to verify it with President Ford, and here came Mr. Clean's forked-tongue: "Well, the U.S. still has the policy that means that we have maximum flexibility for the determination of what is in our national interest." And when she was brave enough to say that that didn't answer her question, whether we'd be first to use nuclear weapons, Ford's press secretary Ron Nessen sounded every bit like Nixon's Ron Ziegler with his infamous "inoperative" statement.

WHAT IS TRAGIC about the rulers' madness is that it does not reside only in the U.S. In the Sino-Soviet orbit now become Sino-Soviet conflict, the global politicking is every bit as nationalistic and as imperialistic, forcing every independent struggle, no matter where it is, to "take sides." At the moment, Black guerrilla is killing Black guerrilla in the latest country about to be free—Angola—because each has aligned differently in the Sino-Soviet conflict, and those contending forces are further fragmented by Mobutu's Zaire-U.S.A. likewise working to cut itself a sphere of influence. As if that were not disarray enough, those who dare call themselves Left and are not directly attached to an existing state power, are nevertheless likewise reducing the concept of "new economic world order" to whether or not you voted in that "thieves' kitchen" called the UN, with the oil kingdoms against "Zionism" by which they mean Israeli and/or other Jews. It is this which could not but put the damper on the new victories against American imperialism. No new truly independent banner of liberation of masses taking destiny into their own hands has been raised. There can be no self-mobilization of masses, no matter how totally disgusted with what is and struggling for a new, class-less world, that is not tempered by "Where Do We Go From Here?" Why are the struggles for liberation so far removed from Marx's philosophy of liberation?

Of course, the U.S. is the mightiest of imperialisms, but neither No. 2 nor No. 3 is very far behind, and why should we have to abide by "the lesser evil" which only leads inexorably to the larger evil in all cases? No, we must not only look at the existing state powers, but also self-critically at the so-called New Left.

It is high noon for the very survival of humanity, and we must not only say what we are against, but spell out what we are for, and spell it out comprehensively, totally, philosophically as well as politically; theoretically as well as practically; and above all, not as elitist Party vanguardists, but with voices from below as Reason as well as Force.

III. What Form of Movement, Organization and Philosophy: Party? The Dialectic? Committees?

The focal point of NATO's internal crisis, not to mention its being undermined from the outside, is not alone that Ford-Kissinger's "Year of Europe" has turned out to be nothing but a super-salesman for General Dynamics' F-16, thereby also undermining the "unity" of Europe (which never was) around France Mirage-15. The tragedy cannot lie there since that was inborn in NATO, as it has been in capitalism from the start—producing, of necessity, its own gravediggers. Rather, the tragedy is that what "plays" the role of gravedigger—the Sino-Soviet world, in orbit or in conflict—is not the real gravedigger.

Rather, both poles of world capital—"the West" in conflict on the one hand, and "the East" in conflict on the other (1)—even when "the East" broke into two, exposed themselves as rooted totally in opposition to social revolution. That is the mark of our state-capitalist age, be capital fully statified, or only "mixed" with private capital, or fully private (if there be any such monolith in the post-World War II epoch). Just as, on the one hand, West Europe, once it allowed itself to be saved for capitalism by Pax Americana in post-World War II, has nowhere else to go now, so, on the other hand, there is no way out for state-capitalism calling itself Communism.

At no pole is there an exit unless the workers break totally with all state-powers and are rooted totally in their own self-mobilization, their own self-determination of ideas as well as struggles. The determinant has always been the self-emancipation of the proletariat.

The totality of the world crisis compels us to fight these absolute terrors with the philosophy and struggle for freedom in as total a way as Marx had done when he founded a new continent of thought, new forces of liberation, new forms of organization—the First International and the Paris Commune.

(1) As if Teng visiting the NATO countries to lecture them about Russia being Enemy No. 1 weren't retrogressive enough, Mao, in interview, also berated the American people for taking "too seriously" the question of the tapes; evidently Nixon, too, wasn't half as bad as that "social fascist, Brezhnev"!

1) The Party?

Marx had no theory of "The Party." It was only after his death that Marxists, reducing their intellectual tasks to that of "popularizing" Marx and writing political manifestoes, invented the concept of Party in place of the proletariat as vanguard; intellectuals being assigned "to bring socialism to the proletariat." It is in these German Social Democratic footsteps that Lenin followed, raising the idea of Party to the level of theory in *What Is To Be Done?* What saved him from those footsteps was, first and foremost, being a revolutionary in life as well as in theory. Thus, *What Is To Be Done?* introduced two new ideas. One was that it was not enough to write and orate on Marxism; one—and none more than the intellectual—must belong to a local organization and be disciplined by "it," i.e., the proletariat.

WHEN THE GREATEST CIVIL WAR in Marx's lifetime erupted—the Paris Commune—he considered it "the political form at last discovered to work out the economic emancipation of the proletariat." The highest form of self-organization was the Paris Commune's "own working existence." That form of organization, being workers taking destiny into their own hands, was the non-state, the totally new form of human relations, "the genius", the proletariat, unified spontaneity and organization, Revolution and Reason.

The eve of November 1917 would arrive before even Lenin recognized that Marx's Civil War in France, not the "Party", was the theoretical and practical preparation for revolution, and wrote his *State and Revolution*. In the two decades between writing *What Is To Be Done?* and his death, he had introduced many changes into his work, the 1905 Revolution having been the first to convince him that, far from intellectuals "bringing socialism" to the workers, the workers in revolt were far in advance of both the Party and its leaders.

He did not, however—and therein lies his philosophic ambivalence from which we still suffer—ever work out a totally new theory of organization, although he introduced many changes, 1903-1923, into the concept of organization, beginning with, after the 1914 betrayal, "never again with the Second International, never again its form of organization"; then, in the approach of 1917 itself, after he had fully grasped both the dialectic and Marx's concept of "going lower and deeper" into the proletariat and writing *State and Revolution*. (2)

Finally, in his Will, he was most critical of all his co-leaders, not only of Stalin (whose removal he asked for) and also Trotsky, "the most talented" but suffering from "administrative mentality," but going so far as to call the "major theoretician," Bukharin, "not fully a Marxist" because he had never "fully grasped the dialectic."

2) The Dialectic

This has yet to be worked out as fully organizationally as we have worked it out philosophically in *Philosophy and Revolution*. Seemingly out of nowhere—but actually because there is so deep a passion for philosophy struggling for liberation—there suddenly surfaced Mao's pretenses to the full understanding of the dialectic as against Stalin who was "not completely a metaphysician; he understands the dialectic but not very much". The "New Left" may delude itself that there is such a thing as instant Marxism via Mao's voluntarism, by endlessly repeating quotations from The Chairman, but, in fact, there is no substitute for what Hegel called "the seriousness, the patience, the suffering and the labor of the negative" and what Marx called "going lower and deeper" into the proletariat and its Reason. Of the essence is the return to beginnings.

As against the rigidities and state-ism in *Philosophy of Right*, (the first work of Hegel which Marx criticized as he broke with bourgeois society), Marx considered Hegel's *Phenomenology of Mind* not only the latter's greatest work, but also the source of all, (including the revolutionary) dialectic.

On the level of his day and the conditions of labor Marx worked out the theory of alienation as the theory of alienated labor. In our age, this is ground but not the totality of the crisis, especially the whip of the counter-revolution and that coming from within the "Left." What is needed is to work out what comes after the "Alienated Soul" (the Serf) gets a mind of his own. Does Ego or Serf merely replace that of master, or can he "weitergehen" (advance)? What, precisely, does he do to practice "the mind of his own," that is to say, to practice freedom? For Hegel what follows is self-estrangement, the estrangement from objective reality he knows now to be the Universal. This struggle between Individual and Universal becomes the Great Divide: "Spirit in this case constructs not merely one world, but a twofold world, divided and self-opposed." (p. 510) Who does not recognize Mao, both as revolutionary and counter-revolutionary as "in place of revolt appears arrogance . . ."

"This type of spiritual life is the absolute and universal inversion of reality and thought, their entire estrangement the one from the other; it is pure culture . . . each is the opposite of itself." (*Phenomenology of Mind*, pp. 539, 541)

Lenin's premonition of just such counter-developments had him assert that if, and only if, "the population to a man, woman and child" holds destiny in its own hands, retrogression would not hold sway. When the Bolsheviks did achieve power and he saw the early bureaucratization, he warned that "History knows all sorts of retrogression", spelling it out at the very last RCP Congress (the 11th) he was to attend, as "a return to capitalism." (3)

FAR FROM GROUNDING himself on Lenin's concept, Mao's present mouthing of Russia's "return to capitalism" was nowhere to be heard as he genuflected before Stalin and his actual return to capitalism which he called "socialism in one country." That type of nationalism Mao accepted in the 1930s and 1940s, and when he, too, achieved state power, the only new thing that he added to Stalin's concept of the monolithic party was that the Army, along with the Party, were twin poles of power.

Mao's "Proletarian" Cultural Revolution, where the proletariat was not only nowhere to be seen, but was most categorically asked to remain in the factories and "work harder and harder", resolved itself into citing endlessly quotations from The Chairman. "The Thought of Mao Tse-tung", to the extent to which it was "a cult of personality" like that of Stalin who was genuflected to as "the sun of the Himalayas", may have fooled many because of the bogus revolutionary phraseology. It did not fool the Chinese revolutionary youth, as witness Sheng Wu-lien's manifesto, "Whither China?" (4)

The attraction of Maoism abroad, in the U.S.A. especially, has other roots. Insofar as the rootless Black intellectuals are concerned, they are attempting to create a new hybrid of Mao's philosophic phraseology and Cabral's view of "the centrality of theory." In place of Cabral's profound analysis of revolutions, and concluding that, whereas revolutions will erupt sans theory, it is impossible to have a social revolution succeed without a revolutionary theory,

(2) There are Marxists who think *State and Revolution* is but a "rewrite" of *Civil War in France*. See *Marxism and Freedom*, Ch. 11.

(3) See Vol. IX, of Lenin's *Selected Works*, Speech at the Eleventh Congress.

(4) Sheng Wu-lien's Manifesto is reproduced extensively in *Philosophy and Revolution*, pp. 176-182. "Instant Marxism and the Black Intellectual" (*News & Letters*, July, 1975) is to be considered part of this section of Draft Perspectives.

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they are grounding themselves in Mao's concept of "20 years in one day" by becoming instant Marxists. That is neither Marxism nor actual African revolutionary development. It is blinding oneself to the fact that there is no revolution anywhere on the African continent now that is not endangered by the Sino-Soviet conflict compelling it "to take sides," as witness the three factions in Angola soon to be free and already murdering each other.

AS FOR THE MAOISM INFILTRATING the Women's Liberation Movement, take NAM women's caucus. It dared called itself "socialist-feminist" but rejected any genuine Marxism and all Marxist discussions other than that of The Chairman. Far from being for revolution, it holds onto tails of state-capitalism calling itself Communism as it dreams of state power. In the 1960s, at least, the attraction of Maoism, with its slogan "power comes out of the barrel of a gun," did signify to its adherents a short-cut to revolution. In the 1970s it has degenerated to a short-cut to state power. Without any proletarian base, NAM already acted not only as elitists, but as power holders, while grafting upon their monolithism a popular frontism that would give them a base.

Mao has the state power to excommunicate "the late Hegel" whose views "are even more nefarious today", and declaim also against Engels for not seeing that there is "basically no negation of negation". (5) Mao's ignorance of the Hegelian-Marxian dialectic was recognized by Hegel though Mao was not yet born. "The alienated type of mind, driven to the acme of its opposition, where pure volition and the pure volitional agent are still kept distinct, reduces the opposition to a transparent form, and therein finds itself . . . Absolute freedom has thus squared and balanced the self-opposition of universal and single will . . . (and become) absolute terror," (*Phenomenology*, p. 610) having reduced "absolute freedom" to a single "faction."

Hegel did not, after all, fully know Mao who had reduced this "absolute freedom" just to one. But the philosophy of revolution that will give the new actions their direction cannot be fenced in by a faction or a Party, or One. Social storms from under the whip of the counter-revolution will not be stilled; they are already brewing underground. We must, therefore, start there—on the new level of movement from practice. Which is why the whole question of organization and spontaneity must be considered anew on the basis of the two decades where this movement from practice was born anew and yet was directly related to Marx's Humanism.

3) The Committees

ONCE AGAIN WE ARE BACK to the relationship of organization to spontaneity, and to philosophy. And it is here where we have to spell it out most concretely for 1975-76, and in doing so we must face the fact that we have not measured up to the challenge of *Philosophy and Revolution* as Organization Builder.

Now, then, the organizational question, when it comes to our own growth, has to take in as one not only our participation in liberation struggles—class, Black, women, youth—but the manifestation of that ever-deepening philosophy of liberation in organizational form.

(5) Mao's talk of "Problems of Philosophy," Aug. 18, 1964, as reproduced during the Cultural Revolution, constitutes part of the now famous Wen-sui documents, which have been translated by National Technical Information Service of the U. S. Department of Commerce, February 1974. *Miscellany of Mao Tse-tung Thought*, Vols. 1 and 2, pp. 384, 394.

Why are we only known as *News & Letters* and not *News and Letters Committees* as if organization of thought and self-activity could possibly develop outside an organizational framework? Ever since we had broken with the concept of the "party to lead", why do our readers think that we have no organizational form that produces the paper, the pamphlets, the activities, the participation with other organizations? (The National Organizer will develop this in detail.)

The opening session will find us with a new edition of *Black, Brown and Red* in which the section on the Indian Movement is not only new, but has been written by a Native American, a new member. It bodes well for the other pamphlets. We are planning no less than three in 1975-76. The first and most important, in the immediate sense as it will come out before the end of this year, is a Marxist-Humanist analysis of what were the actual "engines" of the American revolution—the Committees of Correspondence—and other forms of revolt from below by Blacks, indentured servants and artisans, rather than the Administration's bicentennial farce which perpetuates the myth of American democracy as interpreted by the first American counter-revolution and from which we suffer to this day. The pamphlet will be written by a worker and an intellectual and carry a preface by the REB. The question of two authors for each of the pamphlets is more than characteristic of our form of unity of worker and intellectual; for authorship is not exhausted by the dual authors who sign it, i.e., have responsibility for research and writing. In fact it is a collective effort. It represents the organization as a whole in which our sympathizers likewise participate.

The pamphlet on working women will follow the same method of creativity, and may in fact introduce something new also from the working women's struggles that are directly related to Women's Liberation in the Bay Area. In any case, it will be discussed first by *News and Letters Women's Liberation Committees* separately and then by the Plenum as a whole.

The third pamphlet will show a totally new aspect to what is new to begin with—a study of the first American Hegelians—as they relate to feminism and philosophy on the one hand, and on the other hand, as early Marxists with labor, specifically the first general strike in America—St. Louis, 1877—and its tie to the First International.

Also planned for 1976 is the reinstatement of *WEEKLY POLITICAL LETTERS*. *News & Letters* comes out every month and that is too far between events occurring in the objective world. The dialectical concretization of those analyses is imperative not only for Marxist-Humanists but for our readership, nationally and internationally. (Because of the new series of classes on Women as Reason and Force, it will be impossible to start before the new year, but it is projected for then.)

Finally, and above all, of course, comes *News & Letters* itself. Finances are such that to exist we will need a minimum of \$10,000 above and beyond the regular contributions. Though we are in no financial position to consider expanding the paper to a 12-pager regularly, we do project having a minimum of three issues as 12-pagers.

Be it the question of the minimum \$10,000 special fund we will need, or the continuation of free issuance of "Unemployment Lines"; be it the introduction of new *Weekly Political Letters*, or expansion of shop papers; be it the new pamphlets on Committees of Correspondence, Working Women, First American Hegelians, or the new edition of *Black, Brown and Red*, none of the activities or writings can be separated from making philosophy and revolution a reality.

—THE RESIDENT EDITORIAL BOARD

Reviewer stresses essence of freedom in *Philosophy and Revolution*

Raya Dunayevskaya, *Philosophy and Revolution, From Hegel to Sartre, and from Marx to Mao*. New York: Delacorte Press, 1973 (See ad, p. 9.)

Throughout *Philosophy and Revolution* Raya Dunayevskaya never loses sight of freedom and revolution which is the driving force of Hegelian Marxism in its clash with historical and political institutions organized upon the separation of theory and praxis . . .

AS EARLY AS 1958, Dunayevskaya's Marxism and Freedom made abundantly clear the relevance of Hegelian thought for Marxist politics. This message has now been absorbed to suit both the slow pace of academic Marxist discussion and the cruel swiftness of Soviet counter-revolution in East Central Europe. Surely, if anyone stood Hegel on his feet it was Hegel himself, rooted firmly in the ground of revolutionary history where Marx could meet him. It took Diamat to separate Marx and Hegel in the upsydownsy land of Soviet state oppression . . .

Dunayevskaya speaks clearly where others, Sartre, Camus, and Merleau-Ponty, for example, agonized for the longest time. In the context of the cold war, the French Left might be excused for hesitating between American and Soviet imperialism. In the new context of detente, the need to speak clearly is even more imperative—and in this the bond between Hegel and Marx is the strongest link in the chain of human freedom and revolution. Since the struggle for the human mind outweighs the significance of the orientation of the Marxist mind bent to Party directives and academic prejudices, Dunayevskaya's faith is in the praxis of the people, which is there beneath the twist and turns of doctrine, state oppression and economic exploitation and calls for an end to pre-history . . .

Dunayevskaya has a keen sense of the political movements that keep philosophy alive. The claim to greatness in politics is often a matter of historical vision: he who lacks it is lost. Yet the same is true of the wholly visionary politician. The great politician, therefore, must belong to his times—not slavishly, but openly inspecting its demands. This is the appeal of Lenin and in this he has served as a model to many thinkers who have felt the need to achieve a basic orientation within the drift of Marxism and world politics. In this regard, Raya Dunayevskaya's appeal to Lenin joins with similar efforts by Lukacs, Merleau-Ponty, and Althusser whom she rightly dismisses (pp. 302-303), though of course, they all come to different ends . . .

What Dunayevskaya makes abundantly clear is that it was by turning to Hegel that Lenin sought to find a way to avoid making theory the mere appendage of state

practice, while reserving to practice a more creative political role than the retroactive determination or revision of ideology. But this meant that Marxist materialism could never be the simple enforcement of political will, any more than political will could be exercised without a theoretical understanding of the specific class relations it presupposed.

ONE WOULD HAVE thought that it is no longer arguable that Marxism can be separated from its Hegelian sources. Yet, recently this argument has reappeared in the influential contributions to critical theory developed by Habermas and by the structuralist readings of Marx fostered by Althusser. Although Dunayevskaya does not deal in detail with these developments, one can share her work by extending its argument in this direction. This is necessary because behind the complexity of Habermas' and Althusser's arguments over Marxist social science there still lurks the problem of the relation between philosophy and revolution. If Marx can be separated from Hegel then the revolution can be handed over to the Party or else resubjectivized . . .

Habermas succeeds in making Marx an intellectual dope by suppressing the connections between Marx's analysis of economic processes and the conduct of class struggle, whereas this is the pervasive feature of the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts*, the *Grundrisse* and *Capital*. But Hegel fares no better than Marx, once Habermas tries to put together what he first separated. Whereas it is obvious that the dialectic of recognition is central to both the *Phenomenology of Spirit* and the *Philosophy of Right*, Habermas restricts its significance to Hegel's early theological and political writings. Habermas' thesis, therefore, turns upon a special version of early Hegel, as well as Marx, each separated from the totality of their work . . .

Althusser settles the split between Hegel and Marx on what he calls an epistemological break. The latter entails a decisive departure from Marx's early dependence upon Hegel's critique of bourgeois civil society, as well as Feuerbach's materialist critique of Hegel which so enchanted Marx and Engels prior to the *German Ideology* when they "settled" their philosophical consciousness. Indeed, according to Althusser, Marx "was never strictly speaking a Hegelian." This early dependence, so obvious from Marx's doctoral dissertation, and from the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts*, but also in *Capital*, belongs, if we are to believe Althusser, only to the very early period of Marx's "disordered" consciousness. Even then it functioned only to produce the "prodigious reaction" required for its

dissolution! With Habermas and Althusser we have to choose between Marx the dope and Marx the sick lad . . .

IT HARDLY BEARS comment that a simplistic theory of economic determinism and even more so, an otherworldly idealism makes an enigma of the whole Marxist conception of revolutionary praxis. The curious thing is that Althusser's theory of structural overdetermination, which he believes is what separates Marx from Hegel, is actually due much more to his own gloss upon the political praxis of Lenin. But it is precisely here that we need Dunayevskaya's insistence upon Lenin's relation to Hegel, as well, of course, as her own reading of Hegel. Just as she was one of the first to emphasize the importance of Marx's *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts*, so now we owe to her fresh understanding of Lenin's *Philosophical Notebooks*, a work which should strengthen the chain between Hegel, Marx, and Lenin. . . .

By leaving aside history Althusser is able to parade an elegant structuralism which appears to have no blood on its hands. It requires little thought to contrast Althusser's structuralism with Marx's own structural models of simple and expanded reproduction which, by combining history and structuralism, revealed how capital came into the world dripping with the blood of its proletariat and colonials. Althusser cleans up Soviet ideology, only to leave the sorrows of socialist capital accumulation, aggravated perhaps by the cold war entente, without comment.

Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution* makes a valuable contribution to the developments of Marxism that have occurred in France and Italy, as well as to the debates of East European revisionists and West German critical theorists. A particular merit of her study is its attempt to embrace developments in the U.S., China and Africa. Whatever her success in this, her work suggests the need for a new Communist Manifesto. For today "ein Gespenst geht um in Europa"—and it is the spirit of Hegel. This is so because the contemporary problem facing socialism is still to try to understand what it means to change the world.

—John O'Neill

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