

The Draft Perspectives for 1975-1976:

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-



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".

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 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

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 saying 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

assured 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 unloaded 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".

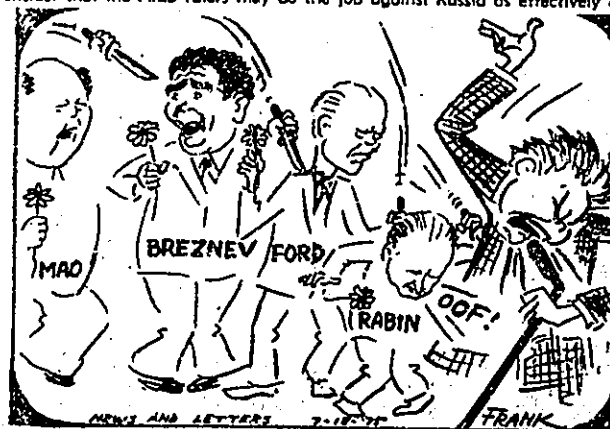
It is not without significance, for all the double-crosses-in-the-making that, whereas Europe gave Ford's trip unconditional appearance of victory, it was fascist Spain that truly gave Ford a royalist welcome and military bases, and also announced that it will not let these bases be used to supply Israel 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 oil-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... uuaagh!!!"

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 Qaddafi 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 Qaddafi's talk against Israel, the "truth" is that Qaddafi 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, far 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 Jagjivan 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 titling 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." For outweighing everything is the mad bomber Defense Secretary Schlesinger's projection of "first nuclear capability", by which he means ~~achieve~~, 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 Israel 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 Dynamic's F-16, thereby also undermining the "unity" of Europe (which never was) around France's 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) The Party?

Marx had no theory of "The Party." It was only after his death that Mensheviks, 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)

(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!"

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

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, 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.

(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.

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 Marxists 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.

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 force 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 Megallans—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 reinstitution 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.)

(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.

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.

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