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IT'S LATER, ALWAYS LATER —
except when spontaneity upsurges and you realize
it is here and now, and you aren't there and ready

by

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Introduction: Facing Reality on the Question of the Difference Between
Totally New Beginnings, and a New Stage

A. U.S. IMPERIALISM-CAPITALISM IN THE TROES OF MANY CRISES:

Economic, Political, Labor, Racial, Sexist

B. "SPIRIT IN SELF-ESTRANGEMENT" :

"Spirit is conscious of an objective reality which
exists independently ... their alienation is pure
consciousness ... Spirit in this case therefore
constructs not merely one world, but a two-fold
world, divided and self-opposed." -- Hegel, Phenomenology, p. 510

- I. Mao's China in the Bi-polar World of U.S.-Russia
- II. The African Horn, On the One Hand, and On the Other,
The Portuguese Revolution

C. AGAIN AND AGAIN: THE DIALECTICS OF LIBERATION AS CONCRETE FORCES
OF REVOLUTION AS WELL AS REASON, AND OUR CONCRETE TASKS. 1977-78

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Introduction: Facing Reality on the Question of the Difference Between
Totally New Beginnings, and a New Stage

Today, our task is overwhelming. We need to work out what to do to uproot
~~this imperialist-capitalist, exploitative, racist, sexist, degenerate system~~
with its dehumanized thinking that declares the latest, most monstrous ever
mass killer -- the N-bomb -- "humane" since it leaves property intact and
kills only people!

More than a mere refusal to think the unthinkable -- nuclear war -- is
needed for this staggering mass job when you have as few as are in this room.
And yet the very totality of the task demands each be a whole -- mind as well
as body, heart as well as grit; in a word, Reason as well as force, that is
to say, philosophy and revolution. At the same time, we need to know where
we came from -- not genealogy, but history; and where we are going to --
perspectives of totally new human relations.

In turning to this most concrete year and the one ahead, we need, there-
fore, to hold before us, at one and the same time, the past 25 years in a
time when the new epoch of revolts first started in East Germany on June 17,
1953 *, and then go forward 25 years from today, not because we believe in
prophecy which Hegel had, some 200 years ago, designated as the "arbitrary
caprice of prophetic utterance", but because the year 2000 is what Mao's
China (as well as post-Mao China) had, ever since 1975, designated as the
year China will be "fully modernized" i.e. become a goliath industrial nation.

Now, whether you turn the clock back a whole quarter of a century to

* You will recall that in a footnote to Political-Philosophic Letter #7,
"Henry Kissinger's African Safari", on U.S.'s bolstering apartheid South
Africa, I called attention to the fact that the year 1953 was great not
only as the death of Stalin and the East German Revolt, but also the great
Black demonstrations in South Africa against fascistic "Bantu education".

-2-

East Germany, when the first revolt from under totalitarian Communism erupted, or go back only a decade to Paris, May 1968, when the Western proletariat which had been "written off" appeared a million-strong with the students and created that high-point of the 1960s revolts; whether you consider Soweto now, or go back to the Johannesburg demonstration in 1960, when I entitled my description of that great event as "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in South Africa" because "In a society where revolt walks always in the shadow of massacre ... change and revolution have become finally inseparable" (Africa South) -- the whole point is that not all great events which mark new stages of revolt are also epochal new beginnings, initiating a historic new in thought as well as in fact, and cannot be driven out of history even when defeated.

Thus, whereas East Germany not only achieved the first revolt from under totalitarian Communism, but also raised the question of the Humanism of Marxism for our age, Paris, May 1968 (which certainly was a dramatic high-point as a near-revolution) did not initiate a new epoch in thought. Rather, it ended the epoch of the 1960s, which held that activity, and more activity, and still more activity, will bring about the new society without any need for "old theory".

The 1956 Hungarian Revolution of those East European Revolts took place as Marxism and Freedom went to press. I immediately included those revolts as well as the Vorkuta uprising in Russia itself and the Montgomery Bus Boycott as the three new pages of freedom. (For that matter, we had turned our eyes to East Europe, specifically Poland, in 1943, when Stalin's army stood outside the gates of Warsaw and let that great ghetto uprising be slaughtered by the Nazis. It is then that we began talking about the beginning of the end of Russian totalitarian Communism, and the rise of a new generation of revolutionaries to overthrow it.)

The 1960s signalled the birth of a new generation of revolutionaries on every subject, from anti-Vietnam War to Women's Liberation, with the Black Dimension making it global both in Africa and in the U.S. Nevertheless, once the near-revolution in Paris 1968 aborted, it became necessary to draw a balance sheet between what were truly new, epochal beginnings, and what were only new stages of revolt.

5728

The very fact that we had to declare that " 1969 is not 1968 " meant that not only had near-revolutions sans philosophy proven their incompleteness, but that responsibility for unfurling the new banner was ours. The wait for co-authorship of the fusion of philosophy and revolution in all the places -- from West Europe to Hong Kong, and from Africa to Japan -- was over.

We had to take revolutionary responsibility for picking up the link with Lenin's philosophic reorganization and height of both activity and theoretic production in 1915-24 that we pointed to in Marxism and Freedom. We had to get down to this place, this time, this world, this era, singling out the new not only from the movement from practice (as we had done ever since 1953) but also the development from theory to the philosophy of revolution.

The date of publication of Philosophy and Revolution, 1973, (which coincided with a new global economic crisis), has led to the internationalization of its publication this year in Spanish, in Italian, in German, in Portuguese, and in Japanese. By no accident at all this internationalization also led to the update with the chapter on post-Mao China which marks also new relations with the "ultra-Left" in China itself, that is to say with the very group -- about the only one -- we thought could be the co-author, which made us include its manifesto, "Whither China?" , in Philosophy and Revolution. Since, however, as American revolutionaries, we are most intensely concerned with the American revolution, and since this is the mammoth global imperialism (so that its crises suck in the whole world), we will begin with the objective situation here.

* * *

A. U.S. IMPERIALISM-CAPITALISM IN THE TROES OF MANY CRISES:
Economic, Political, Labor, Racial, Sexist

So total is the crisis that even the labor burcaucracy, even petty-bourgeois consumer groups, even the ADA, not to mention churches grouped under the name of National Full Employment Action Council, have felt compelled to plan for a whole week of meetings, rallies, demonstrations, in 300 communities, from Detroit to Newark, from Boston to Milwaukee, from Atlanta to San Diego, and, oh yes, including the State of Ohio that never gives up trying to erase its pro-Vietnam War stand and anti-American youth murderous activities from May 1970 to this very day, trying to bury the whole historic revolution under the counter-revolutionary euphemism -- a goal

-4-

The fact that the Employment Action Council still thinks that they could prevail upon the government to recognize, as Irving Bluestone expressed it, that since "persistently high unemployment plagues our country, a Government policy of full employment is essential for our national well-being", is their illusion, not ours.

What is important is that because the masses aren't taking high unemployment lying down, the leaders must at least look like initiating a movement in opposition to the Carter Administration.

From the beginning of the year when we asked "Is A New World Recession Coming?" (M&L Jan.-Feb. 1977) and argued against Ernest Mandel's analysis that "there can be no doubt that the generalized recession came to an end in 1975" (Intercontinental Press 11-24-76), we stressed the fact that not only is this the fifth and worst of the post-War recessions, but, far from its end being generalized, what is "generalized" is its non-ending stagnation.

We held that no bourgeois phraseology, like "premature cyclical downturn", could possibly hide the fact of the fully new stage of capitalist disintegration. That is so all-pervasive that, even when the production "grows", it just keeps pace with population growth; the investment drought is so deep that capitalists themselves, despite the high "mass" profits, have begun worrying over Marx's analysis of the decline in the rate of profit as the true Achilles heel of capitalist production.

Along with this Achilles heel is the one that will really bring down capitalism -- labor, especially the massively unemployed that by now have become a permanent feature of capitalism. Furthermore, the endemic inflation, much as it was aggravated by the Arab-Israeli war, had actually become a never-flagging feature of capitalism in decline during the Vietnam War. It is that which put an end to the imperialists' delusion that, because armaments production brings high profits, armaments production is production instead of destruction.

In the Draft Perspectives we showed that there has actually been a fundamental structural transformation of the U.S. economy. First, the longest period of stagnation since the late 1950s demonstrates these hard facts: (1) slower growth; (2) lower investments; (3) higher unemployment; and (4) hard-core inflation of 6 percent as against the 1-2 percent inflation

5730

-5-

characteristic of most of the 1960s. Moreover, this "hard-core inflation" is actually not what it is, but what it is hoped it will be brought down to. It is true we are no longer in the two digit inflation of 14.6 percent rise in 1974, and 13.5 percent in 1975, but we are not too far behind the 9.3 percent inflation of last year, or so they fear, though they claim "only 7 percent" inflation now.

Secondly, and inseparable from that pivotal "investment drought" even when there is some growth, is the rise in energy cost which means that, along with the rising cost of automated equipment, too much value is invested, compared to labor productivity, when so little living labor is being used in production.

Government statistics show good cause for those capitalistic headaches: the biggest increase in poverty since 1959 occurred in 1975 and has persisted. No less than a rise of 10 percent in the number of the poor, totalling now 25.9 millions, are below poverty level. That means no less than 12 percent of all Americans -- and the government "poverty level" is \$5,500 annually for a family of four!

Thirdly, they, on the one hand, keep complaining about the workers', especially the young workers', attitude to labor -- "the blue collar blues" -- and, on the other hand, admit that, with a massive 34.1 percent youth unemployment, the very survival of the capitalist system is in question.

The slightly subsiding but actually never-ending inflation was started neither by the supposedly high wages, nor even by the actually overly-inflated high oil prices. What caused the double-digit inflation -- the Vietnam War -- remains with us in the form of the ever-expanding armaments expenditures which continue along with the decline in the rate of profit. When all is said and done, profits can come only from living labor, not from dead bodies.

Foreign Affairs had to admit that "cartels do not have infinite lives, and one day there will be narrowing conditions between price and cost." The reference was to the fact that it costs 12¢-35¢ to extract a barrel of oil, and OPEC sells that same barrel for \$12. What the capitalists haven't yet fully learned is that the same holds for the monopolies, oligopolies, as well as state-capitalism that keeps forever evading facing the meaning of Marx's analysis of value and surplus value.

5731

Labor remains the one and only activity for the production of all value and surplus value. Much as the capitalists need an unemployed army, especially to reduce wages of those who work, to have such massive unemployment, and to have it as a permanent feature, nevertheless sounds capitalism's own death knell -- provided we, the masses, do not leave it at the carefully-controlled stage of demonstrations now going on.

Nor can we forget the whole question of the so-called energy problem, headed by Schlesinger, the same Schlesinger who, as Secretary of Defense, gave the go-signal both for the neutron bomb and B-1 bomber, and who is now head of the new totalitarian monstrosity called Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA).

Nor must we let them get away with the sneaky adumbrated one-liner in the 1978 budget for ERDA in which the neutron bomb was cited: "W70 Mod 3 Lance Enhanced Radiation Warhead". If doomsday weapons can thus be slighted over, if Russia can shout to the skies that it is not they but the U.S. that is in over its head with death-ray experimentations -- even as we found some 15 years after the event that the CIA planted germ warfare in New York subways and other such "foreign" places -- what fear need we have of a "foreign" enemy? The enemy is right here; it is our exploitative, racist, sexist rulers.

If Carter thinks that he can appear liberal by signing the Panama Canal treaty (if Congress is serious about finally shutting up the jingoist Thurmond's planned filibuster for the sake of the continued life of U.S. imperialism in Latin America), the President nonetheless has no (or pretends to have no) concept of what the Panamanians think of their own reactionary regime, which, first, is still allowing U.S. imperialism's stranglehold all the way to the end of the century, and, secondly, is allowing U.S. imperialism the same "in perpetuity" on the question of "defense".

The only difference is that imperialism's rule was allowed at a cheaper rate for a whole century ever since Big-Stick Theodore Roosevelt actualized his imperial dream. All one has to do is look at what has happened in what is not supposed to be a colony, the supposedly "free" Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

As we wrote in Political-Philosophic Letter #5 on "Two Summits -- U.S.

and Russia" :

"Under the banner 'Yankee Go Home!', the Socialist Party of Puerto Rico held a rally. The 15,000 Puerto Ricans who demonstrated against Ford may not have been seen by Ford. After all, security was so tight that the Governor of Puerto Rico, Rafael Hernandez Colon, could barely get in 'to welcome' the President who had not bothered to invite him to the 'summit'. But while Ford didn't see the thousands who demonstrated, he knew of the millions throughout the Caribbean who wanted to shed the U.S. imperialist stranglehold."

To which we need to add that this year when the UN opens, Cuba will re-introduce, as they have already announced, in the Resolution on Decolonization, the demand for self-determination for Puerto Rico. Now will Andrew Young succeed in hiding U.S. imperialism's "South Africa connection" under his Black face, which the Black masses will not see as anything but representative of the brilliance of white imperialism that shines forth there, and not only in diamonds, but in the color red of all the blood of the Blacks exploited and killed to create that wealth.

(A year ago the Perspectives showed that U.S. companies had, in a decade, skyrocketed their investments in that apartheid land from \$600 million to \$1.46 billion. They are sure to have risen by now as the State Department openly admits "a large and growing role" for American businessmen since they "don't have to fear their operations in South Africa are going to be nationalized." Not that they fear it when nationalization is manipulated by such as the feudal Arab kingdoms!)

Far from a so-called "New World Economic Order" arising out of that imperialist body, the UN (its Third World included, that is now itself divided both between oil-rich and oil-poor, as well as the narrow nationalisms sans revolutionary national consciousness), it is the U.S.A.'s imperial hand that is now digging deep into the ocean beds, where untapped billions lie imbedded and, without technology, which means capital, cannot be "unearthed". So, once again, U.S. imperialism-capitalism wields the Big Stick.

This time, however, it is a very different world. On the one hand, it has undergone many revolutions. On the other hand, it is a nuclear and a bipolar world. And one country that has no less than 800 million human beings is aiming to effect a shift in global realignment.

It is true that U.S. imperialism is attempting to play both sides of the street -- "detente" with Russia to keep China in suspense, and "normalization of relations" with China, not just to taunt Russia, but to take full advantage of the Sino-Soviet conflict for its own imperial purposes. The significance of Secretary of State Vance's trip to Peking (and Russia's sending out warning signals against any selling of arms to China *) cannot be gleaned from the headlines of any publications in any of the three powers. Instead, we must turn to look at the world as it was at the end of World War II.

* * *

B. "SPIRIT IN SELF-ESTRANGEMENT" :

"Spirit is conscious of an objective reality which exists independently ... their alienation is pure consciousness ... Spirit in this case therefore constructs not merely one world, but a two-fold world, divided and self-opposed."
-- Hegel, Phenomenology, p. 510

I. Mao's China in the Bi-Polar World of U.S. - Russia

The end of World War II set the stage for World War III with its markers of two Germanies, two Koreas, two Vietnams, within the framework of bi-polarity, with U.S. imperialism alone as victor, but Russia standing up on its own feet.

Europe lay prostrate. Nothing was on the horizon to challenge this bi-polarity. And China then was appreciative of bi-polarity's existence to win its revolution. No matter how sharp the disagreements between Stalin and Mao, both on the taking of power, and after the conquest of power on getting more substantial aid from Russia -- while being saddled with the Korean War before it had any chance to breathe the independent air of nationhood -- Mao stuck with that "indestructible friendship". And, after the death of Stalin, Mao did get a great deal more economic help from Khrushchev.

With the Bandung Conference, (from which Russia was excluded as "Europe"), Mao assigned himself a very special and dominant place as Communist theoretician for the "Third World", and not only on "its" continent, Asia, but in

* The August issue of The Communist, the theoretical organ of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, carries the wildest attack to date on post-Mao China, accusing it of working to provoke World War III.

the Middle East, and not only in the Middle East but in Africa. And since Africa was really intercontinental and the Black Dimension covered also Latin America, also Latin America.

What the East European revolutions, especially Hungary, were showing, however, was that a truly new world ("Third" or otherwise) began, not in Bandung, but in proletarian revolutions in East Europe. That is to say, it was not a question of geography, but of class relationships. It is here where Mao balked: Mao did not, did not take an independent class line against Russia; did not, did not side with the East European revolutionaries, either in fact, or in thought.

On the contrary. It's just then when he unleashed an ideological struggle against Marx's Humanism which the Hungarian revolutionaries had brought out from the rusty Archives on to the historic stage, whereas Mao's propagandist, Chou Yang, tried to consign Marx's Humanism to a time when Marx was still "tainted with Hegelianism".

It's this rejection of social revolution from the Left that made Mao look to technology -- the Sputnik. What seemed to some then as the most world revolutionary (and also the most foolhardy) proposition, was Mao's to the effect that since Russia has the Sputnik, it can now challenge the U.S. It was the beginning of the end for any independent "third road" for Mao. By no accident, Mao at that very moment (Moscow, 1957) shocked Nehru out of his wits by saying that China could survive a nuclear war, and in fact it would kill "only imperialism". It was then that Mao did in full "accept" state-capitalism as the next world stage for humankind. There was one exception, one crucial nationalistic exception: that it be China, not Russia, that would dominate the global "commanding heights".

That type of "new" nationalism held the forefront of world attention for two decades, going from the Great Leap Forward, through the Sino-Soviet conflict, to the Cultural Revolution. It failed. It failed totally.

The world remained bi-polar. Not only that -- China itself was confronted with a revolution from the left, the Sheng Wu-lien. When Lin Piao was assigned to put down the "ultra-left" Sheng Wu-lien, the death warrant was signed for the Little Red Book and for all illusions that the superstructure was the primary contradiction, and could change places with the economic infrastructure.

-10-

It may have appeared extremely original to Mao (and it certainly was "original" -- an original deviation from Marxism). Philosophically speaking, however, Hegel, nearly 200 years ago, had grasped what was happening to the French Revolution once "in place of revolt appeared arrogance".

What inevitably, inescapably followed was the "Spirit in Self-Estrangement". "This type of spiritual life," Hegel had written 170 years back,

"is the absolute universal inversion of reality and thought ... their entire estrangement the one from the other; it is pure culture ... it is found that all these moments are inverted and transmuted the one into the other, and each is the opposite of itself."

-- Phenomenology, p. 541

What Hegel, in the Logic, called the "Third Attitude to Objectivity" which extinguished all "objectiveness", and in the Phenomenology called "pure culture", Mao achieved with his voluntarism which he substituted for what emerged from below not only in the Hungarian Revolution, but in the revolution from the Left in China against the so-called Cultural Revolution. It is this which produced the self- compulsion for him as the "Great Helmsman" in sole charge of the ship of state to accept state-capitalism as the "future of humanity"!

Which is precisely what made it unnecessary for his present heirs to go into open de-Maoization. All they needed to do was to follow Mao's practice, and disregard his poetry. This is sufficient unto the day for Chinese reigning state-capitalism.

If there are some neo-Maoists to whom this sounds shocking, let them take a good, an objective look at Mao's total legacy. Outside of the theory of protracted guerrilla war, Mao's most original theoretical-practical-philosophic-revolutionary contribution is the primacy of superstructure over economic base, ideology over the relations at the point of production which he vilified as "economism", with culture itself being ordered to shed its life and turn "proletarian". It is precisely such voluntarism which led to what I called, in Political-Philosophic Letter #2, Mao's feeble "Last Hurrah".

Mao "died" at the moment he "signed" Lin Biao's death warrant, and rolled out the red carpet for Nixon. It is from that moment that the question of a triangular world, a possible alignment with U.S. imperialism,

5736

-11-

was placed on the historic agenda.

Naturally, it doesn't mean that Mao's China is preparing all this for the U.S. to rule the world. Rather, China wants this global rule for itself. But it also practices "real-politik". It also knows that it can challenge the bi-polar world not simply because it has 800 million people, but because it also has the H-bomb and can become an important industrial power. Which is why it was "necessary" for Mao to die, and with him, the illusions of the Little Red Book.

The Draft Perspectives was correct in stressing that it was the death of Mao and its ramifications that would be a 'determinate in the fatal game of global power politics. It may still happen that it will be the Middle East, now that Likud's reactionary victory has brought Menachen Begin to power and thus further heated up that volatile region, that will be the first to detonate war. But what will call into question humanity's very survival is the tri-polar struggle for single world domination. Which is why what is happening in China remains so pivotal.

When I analyzed Teng's previous downfall under the title "Mao's Last Hurrah", I appended the 1953 article on "The Beria Purge" for three reasons:

- (1) Mao could no more assure succession than Stalin had;
- (2) With or without the removal of Teng, Hua need not be overly confident about his replacement of Teng, if he looks at what happened in Russia after the death of Stalin, and sees that Beria had not outlived Krushchev; and
- (3) The main point in the analysis of Mao's last struggle was to show that, just as Stalin had actually lost his power before his death in 1953 -- had lost it in 1950 when on the one hand, Stalin plunged Russia, or rather China, into the Korean War, and on the other hand, the Stalinist bureaucracy bumped off Stalin's No. 1 man Zhdanov, without Stalin being aware of it -- so Mao, though he was still alive and kicking, need not think that the Tien An Men spontaneous demonstration for Chou was the work of Teng, instead of an uprising of the Chinese masses. That is to say, genuine revolutionary opposition to Maoism -- that was the real nub of the question.

The dual prong stripping Mao of power (I said Mao, not Teng or Hua or Chou, though dead, but Mao himself) partially in 1973 and fully by 1975, was

5737

-12-

(1) the objective pull of world state-capitalism poised for global nuclear war, and (2) THE ABSOLUTE OPPOSITE, THE GENUINE REVOLUTIONARY CHINESE MASS STRUGGLES that Mao had Lin Piao kill and drive underground — but it is they who will exact full measure also from the present ruling clique.

It was a shift in global power, as Russia-Cuba helped the MPLA revolutionaries to win in Angola, that brought about the last conflict within China with China so aroused against Russia's appearance in Africa, that Mao's China did not even stop too short of becoming, very nearly, a partner of apartheid South Africa.

Mao's heirs held together on only one question — Russia is Enemy No. 1. And even there, however, it was Maoism without Mao that was enshrined as the development for China into a Five Year Plan and a 20-year Plan, announced by Chou En-lai at the 1975 National Peoples' Congress that Mao had not bothered to attend.

1977 is the continuation of that Plan, with Teng much "wisened" by the hair's-breadth closeness he came to losing out altogether at a time when so total was the world crisis, so strengthened was Russia's hand in Africa, so shaky was China's hold on West Europe he had designated as "Second World". that China might very well have lost out a truly global role in the reshaping of the world.

As for the regular myriad crises in the rest of the world, the question is neither as abstract as Hegel had visualized it, nor as narrowly nationalistic that nevertheless had a global reach as Mao would have had it.

The Great Divide will first come when the masses in today's alien world show how they mean to transform the "Spirit in Self-Estrangement" into a road to revolution.

II. The African Horn, On the One Hand, and On the Other, The Portuguese Revolution

The Draft Perspectives, in order to stress that no spot on the globe is free from getting sucked into the world market and its power politics, pointed to the latest little country, that literally has no wealth at all, over which imperialism could fight — Djibouti. Nevertheless, its achievement of

5738

independence disclosed not only the neighboring powers looking hungrily at it, but the Big Powers as well. Because it is a port, and thus a key to the Red Sea, one of the powers looking hungrily at it now, Ethiopia, has one of the two superpowers, Russia, on its side.

Poor Ethiopia. There is hardly any other country that is falling apart quite like it. Besides Eritrea fighting for its independence and Somalia claiming a good part of Ethiopia for its "Greater Somalia", there are no less than five resistance movements within the country fighting the military regime. Here is (was) the second largest country on the African continent, with a fertile soil that used to be the envy of Africa, and the one and only country in Black Africa that was independent when the rest were colonies. When Mussolini's Italy invaded it in the 1930s, not only did the non-fascist imperialist countries come to its defense, so did all the Left, Blacks especially, with the Trotskyists gaining their first West Indian Black leader, C.L.R. James. (For you historians, it is there i.e. England, where Padmore also arose as "African", and what would later become "African Socialism".)

Yet with the 1960s initiating Black Revolution throughout Africa, the one that was not successful was in "independent" Ethiopia. And now the very military regime that overthrew Haile Selassie and has the opportunist affront to call itself "Marxist" is the very one to carry on old imperialist adventures against Eritrea and Somalia, as well as counter-revolutions against the resistance movements of the Ethiopian masses. As it is disintegrating from all these battles within and without, in comes Russia (and of course Cuban "advisors") despite the fact of Russia's critical previous alliance with Somalia, where it already has naval and air base facilities at Berbera which are vital to the Indian Ocean's strategic balance.

Now it happens that Western imperialism is happy over what it considers to be Russia's fatal error in choosing to tilt toward Ethiopia. There is no point to taking sides between the various imperialisms -- Russian or Western -- but neither is there reason to overestimate the West's "reason". The global politics always come down to the two superpowers, each aiming at single world control and each looking over its shoulders for: where is China.

The Middle East has been and remains the main immediate point of crisis. But Russia has now lost out in Egypt, and despite holding on tightly to the

-14-

PLO and Syria, it is not overly secure in the Middle East; is very much shaken up also in India; therefore any entrance to the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea is crucial to it. As if it wasn't bad enough for a country calling itself Communist to participate in these myriad capitalistic-imperialistic double-crosses, we also have the situation that while it's certainly in the forefront in its anti-Zionist, anti-Israel anti-Semitism, it is finding itself aiding Ethiopia as is Israel.

One thing that happens not to have gotten much attention is that the Red Sea, which Saudi Arabia wants to make into an "Arab lake" while Ethiopia ~~used to sound more revolutionary in its insistence that the Red Sea was in~~ African "territory" and in any case was a world waterway, is that the Red Sea is also the outlet to the Port of Elat. Saudi Arabia is offering some very fancy gold to Djibouti to close its port to Ethiopia.

Now, as if all these points of crisis were not enough of a crazy quilt pattern of little power alliances, Big Power alliances, in the volatile Horn of Africa, enter China who is asking the U.S. to make sure to stop Russia's power play in Africa, all the while having both West and East, North and South; believe it is Taiwan that is the issue!

No, it is by no means a question of who of the powers is the "wiser" and who is making the "fatal" mistake in the Horn, or even whether there will be room for oil tankers to travel through the Red Sea to the West, but who will finally get single global control in this state-capitalist age.

Politicalization can help disentangle the crazy quilt pattern of bed-fellows in this age of state-capitalism. Because state-capitalism is the determinant of global politics as time is running out, such monolithic singleness of decision as "The Chairman's Absolute Freedom" can only end in "Absolute Terror" and not in any one nation -- China or the U.S. -- but humanity's very survival. The absolute opposite of that are the revolutions started and yet-to-be.

Politicalization is not something imposed by politicians, especially revolutionaries, on the "pure" economic crises. Rather, it is those deep economic crises which the capitalists try to get out of without then giving up their death-grip.

Take an outright revolution such as in Portugal. How so sick and

5740

Ghost-like was fascism that one of their own kind, General Spinoza, carried off the first coup in the hope that he could maintain Portuguese capitalism if he loosened the reins on Africa. What he didn't recognize, the Portuguese revolutionaries did, and that was that the African revolutions actually initiated their revolution as well.

1975, then, as against 1974, was the start of the genuine social occupations of factories and seizures of land, factory councils and tenants' and neighborhood commissions, strikes, 15 political parties, and myriad political meetings, not the least of which were Women's Liberation meetings as they were the first that didn't leave the question of women's liberation till after the revolution, but demanded answers on the day before, the day of, and the day after. Above all, there was the release of revolutionary forces and thought from ever-new layers of the population, out of which upsurged the one true historic new word -- apartidarismo (non-partyism).

It was then when world capitalism recognized that there really was a revolution, and that this revolution transformed "small Portugal" from inconsequential to what may very well put an end to NATO's southern flank and thereby really undermine it altogether. But at the same time there were the revolutions in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, East Timor, that might also stir up a rebirth of May 1968 in West Europe.

The first of the capitalist "wise men" was that ex-Nazi, now Social Democratic Premier of West Germany, Willy Brandt. His yeoman work for world capitalism was then recognized on the one hand by the U.S.'s Prof. Kissinger, and, on the other hand, by Russia, which saw the need for it to destroy the Portuguese Revolution.

And, oh yes, let's not forget China -- in the person of Teng, the one who had delivered the new philosophy of what they called the "Second World", as they gilded the capitalistic world of West Europe plus anyone choosing to align itself with China. The Mao-Teng expression -- the "Second World" -- was declared preferable to the "capitalist roaders", as China declared there no longer was a socialist world. It all sounded as grandiose as the fakery of clergymen asking: Is God Dead?

All the state-capitalisms calling themselves Communist, though split in two, had risen to destroy the Portuguese Revolution, just as the candid

private capitalists had been doing all along with the Socialist Party as the spokesman for law and order. The counter-revolution, though it was unable to destroy the revolution in toto, is going along quite steadily in its continuation with capitalism on the installment plan.

The remaining hope is in the fact that since the counter-revolution had not succeeded in destroying the revolution, there is room still for restarting the revolution, provided that :

(1) The counter-revolution is recognized in its world-wide strength, in both private and state-capitalist lands, whether these call themselves "democracy", "socialism", or "Communism", West and/or East. And, just as "West" is both West Europe and the U.S. and NATO, themselves in conflict, so "East" is both Russia and China, whether in conflict or in "indestructible friendship";

(2) The masses therefore recognize that they, too, must be international, and call upon world revolutionaries not to let their solidarity be only one of words, but help in whatever way they can, focusing always on the enemy at home, that is their own exploitative rulers, whatever be their names; and, above all,

(3) The masses recognize that just as self-emancipation was their task alone, so their self-development and their organizational sense will make sure that apartidarismo, in throwing out the "party-to-lead", proceeds to so totally a new relationship of practice to theory as to forge a unity of philosophy and revolution.

* * *

C. AGAIN AND AGAIN: THE DIALECTICS OF LIBERATION AS CONCRETE FORCES OF REVOLUTION AS WELL AS REASON: OUR CONCRETE TASKS, 1977-78

The dialectics of revolts and revolutions of our time, though none have come to full fruition, did forge new beginnings.

Thus, out of Portugal came the magnificent new concept, apartidarismo. Moreover, even the counter-revolution could not fully destroy either the fact or the concept. The revolutionaries, even though they must now function under the whip of the counter-revolution which, moreover, has come not only from the outside via NATO and the West European Socialist Parties, but from the indigeneous SP under Soares who is once again giving the Communist Party

(which had so disgraced itself during the actual revolution) the covering it needs to look Left now. Yet the revolution has given reality to another new phenomenon -- Women's Liberation.

Or more precisely put, what came from the Women's Liberation Movement that had circled the globe in the mid-1960s, the Portuguese Women's Liberation refused to leave as a question to be answered "after" revolution had been "completed". Thereby they not only exposed the male chauvinism within the Left, * but showed how incomplete all revolutions, even the greatest (Russia 1917), had heretofore been. No longer will any revolution be able to put off for after the revolution the question of women as Reason as well as force.

Thus, out of China's Cultural Revolution came such Left opposition as Sheng Wu-lien, who wanted to transform the "Cultural Revolution" into a genuine proletarian revolution, and the monolithic single-party state into a non-statist form of workers' rule like the Paris Commune. The fact that Mao branded them as "ultra-Left" could neither hide his own state-capitalist class nature, nor kill off the movement, as witness the reappearance of ultra-Left presently in Hong Kong. (See The Revolution is Dead -- Long Live the Revolution, published by The '70s, an anarchist group in Hong Kong; Part III has the voices from mainland China.)

Because the crisis is so total and the revolts so continuous, it no sooner stops in one place, be it China or Paris, May 1968, or Portugal, 1975 -- when it arises in Soweto. As it happens, our year (which begins once we have completed our Plenum, i.e. in October) began last year with Soweto, and again now this year it is Soweto. Only this year it is not only South Africa but what seems to have no direct connection with it -- the Blackout in New York. Yet this too disclosed the true intercontinental character of the Black Dimension. Which is why so simple a matter as an accidental Blackout in New York, in its way, acted as expose of the Achilles heel of American capitalism, its racism -- the imperial carrier of poverty to the Blacks in America as in Africa.

* See European Report by Eugene, p. 10, from notes of meeting with BASE-F.U.T.: "Only those who did not turn to electoral politics had Woman as a question. That is because all the parties deal with women only as a wage problem. If they really defended the Woman problem, they would lose the votes of men and they don't want to do that. Freedom of women is an attack on the structure of society. The parties don't defend publicly the concept that women's bodies belong to themselves."

It is by no accident that what we plan for next year on the Black struggles in the U.S., in Africa, in Latin America, especially the Caribbean, is seen in the very title of our projected pamphlet: FRANTZ FANON, SOWETO, AND AMERICAN BLACK THOUGHT, for we cannot forget that Frantz Fanon was neither African nor American, but West Indian. This revolutionary from Martinique, in whom inherited the French culture he so rejected, was a world character. It is from him I learned that the first guerrillas actually started in the U.S., in its revolution of independence from Great Britain; then guerrilla warfare was rediscovered in Spain by those struggling for independence from Napoleonic France; and in the 20th century this became a form of struggle for the fighters for freedom in Africa. It is they who refused to separate their struggle for freedom from the philosophy of liberation.

In fighting against Sartrean Existentialism, Fanon, though he considered himself an Existentialist, wrote that Sartre's "Black Orpheus"

"was reminding me that my Blackness was only a minor term.
In all truth, in all truth I tell you, my shoulders
slipped out of the framework of the world, my feet could
no longer feel the touch of the ground."

Then in order to expand the many roads to revolution, Fanon quotes the great poet Aimé Césaire to demonstrate that you have a road to revolution from the "Land of Anguish" :

"Those who invented neither gunpowder nor the compass
Those who never learned to conquer steam or electricity
Those who never explored seas or skies
But they knew the farthest corners of the land of anguish ... "

Octavio Paz's Labyrinth of Solitude focuses on a similar road to revolution on the Latin American continent.

The overwhelming, incontrovertible fact of the actual continuous revolts is that out of the "Spirit in Self-Estrangement" comes not despair, but the road to revolution.

Moreover, the philosophy of liberation refuses to borrow its clothing from statist powers calling themselves Communist -- whether attached as is Cuba to Russia, or as is Albania to China, who dared call the Cubans in the Angolan Revolution "mercenaries".

As against the Black Scholar's rediscovery, in their latest issue, of

the Cuban Revolution, when but yesterday they were discovering "power comes out of the barrel of a gun" from Mao, the Black masses reject those "mind-forged manacles". That profound magnificent poem of William Blake was not just poetry but was revolt against all* that was 18th century England. Revolutions have always been a release of mind as well as of body.

Take the next century and listen to Louise Michel, at the very time when the Paris Commune had been defeated and she was incarcerated on a god-forsaken island; she wrote, of all things, poetry:

"Life itself becomes too dear,
So vast here are one's dreams."

~~It is because there is that totality of mind, body, and heart in the~~ spontaneous movement of masses from force to Reason, that, from the start of the American enslavement of the Blacks, the triangular trade of slaves, molasses and sugar from Africa, to Latin America, to the U.S., became the triangular exchange of aspirations for freedom on every subject from nationalism to culture to new human relations.

It was Fanon who captured the world dimension by seeing the sharp distinction between national consciousness as a form of internationalism and a new humanism, and the narrow nationalism of statism.

American Black Thought and the American Black struggles for freedom, as far back as the 1930s, had drawn a sharp distinction between the limited petty-bourgeois "cultural renaissance" and the struggles they had to engage in as workers breaking down the craft narrowness of the AF of L, and creating the CIO, even as they moved to break from Communism by refusing to bow to World War II's alleged transformation the minute Russia joined in. In this the Black masses as vanguard were in advance also of Black middle-class intellectuals who followed "Culture's path".

At this moment, nothing short of the totality of transformation of all human relations can act as banner. It is to that end that our Black Thought pamphlet aims, and I will be the most careful listener to that session of the convention which will spell out the perspectives for the pamphlet, Frantz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought.

* And I mean ALL, when you consider that back 200 years the little London group had as members Tom Paine as well as Mary Wollstonecraft as well as William Blake.

-20-

For now, may I make the observation that, just as the French and Haitian Revolutions signalled the end of the ancien regime, the 1848 and 1871 revolutions, on the level of Marx's new continent of thought, very nearly spelled out for us the tasks of the 20th century.

For example, what 1917 did for the world was to indeed begin a new century of new human relations and point them to color as well as to class. But it, too, didn't truly become global until our own generation.

In a certain sense, you could say that 1917 took all the way until the 1960s before ever it was "supplemented" by the Black Revolutions, and thereby became both Black and global, and not only global geographically, but in depth, that is to say, total, with the emergence of the youth anti-war and the women's liberation movements.

The internationalization of Philosophy and Revolution is that type of indication of where we're going, and is made fact for 1977-78 with editions in Spanish and Italian and Portuguese and Japanese and German -- and we hope we'll even get to France, they surely need it as they exude the de-humanized thinking of the "New Philosophy". None are an accident.

It is this which makes imperative the concretization of philosophy as politicalization. As the Perspectives Draft put it:

"Because politicalization had, in the hands of the Old Left, meant vanguardism and program-hatching, we have kept away from the very word. It is high time not to let 'the vanguard party-to-lead' appropriate the word, politicalization. The return is to its original meaning in Marx's new continent of thought as the uprooting of the capitalistic state, its withering away, so that new humanist forms like the Paris Commune, 1871, emerge. Marx himself was so non-vanguardist that, though 'his' First International had dissolved itself, he hailed the railroad strikes spreading throughout the U.S. (climaxed by the 1877 St. Louis General Strike) as both an elemental 'post festum' to the First Workmen's International Association, and point of origin for a genuine workers' party."

Gramsci had a different way of "politicalizing" philosophy when he, instead of present-day Maoists' perversion of the priority of superstructure over economic base, wrote:

"The Hegelian 'Idea' is resolved into the structure as much as the superstructure, and the whole method of conceiving philosophy, has been historicized; in other words, the emergence of a new kind of philosophy ..."

5746

-21-

Gramsci, of course, is referring to Marxism. Or as he put it elsewhere, the dialectic is not only the philosophy of consciousness but the "inner substance of reality". *

Tomorrow there will begin an unprecedented national week of public protest, sponsored by the Full Employment Council which includes the UAW as well as the NAACP and Urban League and civil rights groups in general, the Consumer Federation of America as well as the United Steel Workers of America, and even extends to the National Council of Churches. It will bring together a million people in 150 different cities around the states. When we pointed at the beginning to the meetings and demonstrations for full employment, we naturally didn't mean that this symbol of resistance is the actual ground of revolution. But the group spelled out what 7 percent unemployment means -- 10 million Americans are out of work. And they themselves must admit that that does not include what they call "hidden unemployment".

That anyone can call it hidden, when millions are not only out of work but have given up any hope of ever finding a job, shows how statistical their minds are. In fact, they capitulate nearly totally when it comes to the question of youth unemployment, when their demand is for "full employment of those over 20". Youth unemployment, too, is not exactly hidden, as everyone has to admit when reams of articles show the endless lines the moment a job is announced, and reams of articles show that unemployment among youth is 34 percent, and in hard-core ghettos reaches into the 60 percent range.

When we talk about our activities on all these fronts, especially at the point of production and the point of unemployment, we don't separate that from the need for theory. In fact, what makes it imperative to reproduce the four chapters on Capital from Marxism and Freedom is the present global economic crisis; hence the title of the pamphlet, Marx's Capital and Today's Global Economic Crises. The fact that it is a joint pamphlet with the British Marxist-Humanists and it carries a foreword by Harry McShane, means both ground for Marxist-Humanist growth in England, and may

* It is ironic how natural it comes to the IS, no matter even when they quote something on the dialectic, to manage to leave out the philosophic totality. What Tony Cliff did in degrading Lenin as philosopher, Chris Harman did in writing two special pieces on Gramsci centering around his Prison Notebooks without once mentioning how heavily philosophical they were, specifically against Bukharin's Historical Materialism, specifically for the revolutionary nature of Hegelian dialectics, as if all that was pertinent about Gramsci was to expose the Communist perversion of Gramsci as "Eurocommunist". (IS #99:100)

5747

-22-

I suggest right here one more unscheduled activity -- classes in this next year, beginning mid-January.

Intensified international activity will also result with South Africa, and the projected Black Thought pamphlet, not to mention the fact that here it should initiate a whole new stage of struggle and relations with other Black organizations as well as our expansion of Marxist-Humanist growth.

On a different plane will come new relations with Chinese and our mini-pamphlet on Sexism, Politics and Revolution. And it goes without saying that the internationalization of the publication of P&R will mean totally new relations with the Left in the various countries where it appears, and in this country which has every nationality on earth, whether with Puerto Ricans or Mexicans, with Germans or Portuguese, with Italian or Japanese. Philosophy and Revolution will help make of Marxist-Humanism one world, in place of having always to deny Americanism as if it could only mean imperialism instead of the Other, The Proletarian Revolutionary U.S.

But this is not the place to spell out the concrete activities, especially the expansion of News&Letters. What you see before you in the bound volume of N&L for seven long years gives you one view of the world none other gives you. The point is now to become not just a reader as we expand but writers-editors yourselves. Let your voices be heard, and your thoughts and your labors. Again, just as you will get an Organization Report, you will have a N&L report, and Youth and Women's Liberation will follow.

So all I'm doing here is merely mentioning them in passing, so to speak, in order to stress that the politicalization begun with the Political-Philosophic Letters will first now be extended in the way in which we function in the Movement, in other organizations, and in our organizational-philosophic-political-membership growth as the warp and woof of philosophy in ACTION -- and action as the remaking of the world, beginning with preparations for the American Revolution, not because we are under the illusion that we are now in a pre-revolutionary situation, but because we know that the totality of the capitalistic crisis is such that for them TIME IS RUNNING OUT. FOR US IT HAS JUST BEGUN.

Raya Dunayevskaya
Detroit, Michigan
September 3, 1977

5748