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 this issue is intended, not only for all other organi-
zations, but even for our own. We do it because our age is in such
total crisis, facing a choice between absolute terror or absolute free-
doom. 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
jump in and discuss these Perspectives with us. We are not pre-
paring 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 Spinola and developing into a social revolution lead by a neo-fascist General Spinola and developing into a social revolution) the party of the working class can no longer avoid any
separation between theory and practice, philosophy and revolution,
workers and intellectuals, "inside" and "outside". We are not pre-
paring 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.

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 Vietnamese? In fact, the party of the working class can no longer avoid any
separation between theory and practice, philosophy and revolution,
workers and intellectuals, "inside" and "outside". We are not pre-
paring 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.

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 destruc-
tion of the old without working out, as a totality, a philosophy of liberation
and a movement developing without putting an end to the separation of philosophy from revolution? Or even assure no retro-
gressive movement appearing once the mightiest of all imperialisms, U.S.A.,
still stands very nearly intact? To upstream that Tito, we need both revolu-
tional principles, but this means the mistake 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 and every 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, of course,
that the economic crisis generates new forms of revolt, and with it
an 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 not done since the movement from above 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 occupation when and if
in Africa where they battled for freedom from Western imperialism, or in China where
the masses battled the challengingえた 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 it the reason the centrality of theory? Isn't it the philosophic appearance rather than
only economic or even military perspectives? You see, though the
Chinese always talk of revolution, revolution, revolution? The fact is
that it is only words and not action; its talk is highbrow, 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 Eu-
rope understood that U.S. troops are still need-
ed in Europe to be prepared against "Russian imperialism," Russian "social
fascism."

That nevertheless such acts by Mao's China—and they are by no means
limited to Europe, but extend to Africa and "of course" Asia—can be over-
looked while the revolutionary phrase-mongering is taken at face value by
intellectuals, Black included, is incomprehensible. Big Business, still another "explanation" for tolerating 5 percent un-
employment, refuses to separate the inseparables—the objective situation,
and the "inseparables"—the aged and crippled—numbered 2 percent unemployment. Since
this actually 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

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

Thus, where unemployment in 1974 was edging a hefty 6 percent, by 1975 it had spiked
up to 9.4 percent "average." Always, this, for Blacks, has meant in capitalist 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 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 overall 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, 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 is 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 "con-
ceptual 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 un-
employment, as if that meant maximum employment. It was, said that comptuil-killionaire politician, only
because "working women* and teenagers" entered the
labor force, as if these humans wanted jobs only for the
Mrs. Chen! People are not only one better than all of them by substituting inflation for unem-
ployment as "Public Enemy No. 1." This, for kine, made 7 percent unemployment "tolerable."

HOW 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
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News and Letters

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Draft Perspectives for 1975-1976:

1975: 1976:

Mao Power is its own end

VOL 20—NO. 7

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IMMBH

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course, but what is of utmost importance is that, though they still talk of all man’s “false premises about the decline in the rate of profit, no matter how lush in mass, they do admit this new situation is here in the form of a “boom” period “after the long hard 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. For from trying to stop that monstrous international arms race, we only go from bad to worse. The U.S. has yet to admit and he is not referring to Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but to the future—are they 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 production of all kinds can only come from labor in that both the laborers and capital are accumulated productive forces. 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 infallition. But even that has its limits. When more and more machines are used and less and less, relatively, 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. If it ever produces a genuine depression, it will be caused by a reduction in the rate of profit. It will cause a depression in the rate of profit. The conflict of profit with the rate of profit will cause a collapse into stagnation, it is clear. If the rate of profit declines below the rate of capital, creditors will lose their money. But it is also well known that the rate of profit alone can be lowered by the rate of accumulation of capital. The rate of profit is determined by the amount of capital and the rate of profit.

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 were simply taking over the apparatus of the state and enforcing a policy based on the workers’ interests. The thermoelectric instructor was 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 summit at next month’s SALT II. The SDS is not in a position to be able to do anything, but the workers who would try to work out what to do next, free from both opportunistic policies and labor “leaders.” The next month, Washington, D.C. saw still another mass demonstration, this time billiards against the war. 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 in West Virginia, whose 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 Senged gave — voices were heard not only from just underdeveloped countries, but from the U.S. itself.

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 in which he was received with the red-carpet treatment. 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 itself at the very top level in the U.S. that it was ploting to disrupt the world. It has already released the Mayaguez and its entire crew. This was followed with a declaration of the U.S. government to the UN that it would “supply” arms to South Korea. Moreover, it was nothing but that Japan, too, declared that its “life-line” was in Korea. And if “anyone” still doubted that U.S. imperialism was the Pacific superpower in the world, they had better think again. In fact, not even Japan and China, to say nothing of South Korea, Kissingen hurried to announce that the State Department has chosen as new Ambassador to the UN, still another Harvard professor imperialist ideologue, Pat Lotyshman, in charge of dealing with China. Nixon, it is to say, is more open to the U.S. against the UN in general and the Third World in particular (Commentary, May 15, 1975), 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 never had a “war of movement” trip, it was Russia that gave Ford a royalist welcome and military bases, and also announced that it would 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 at all, but in its relationship to last year’s quadrupling of prices as a rectification 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.

EVEN SINCE THE October 1973 Arab-Israeli war he had initiated, Sodot’s deNationalization was more than a turning away from Russia. Kissingen announced, still a a year later, that he plans to continue it. In fact, he is now even closer to Russia than that. He is now even closer to that. He is now even closer to Russia than that.

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. And that is why, for all the show of deep anti-kingship which signified the need for the PLO and the need for a war with Israel, the world had no real surprise at an effort to give Libya “more sophisticated” arms than it ever sold Egypt. All of these capitalistic, imperialistic policies, these so-called arms sales, have been covered by a Russian military parade in the Soviet Union.

Sadat’s initiative and the Suddi’s quadrupling of oil prices. The second event was Iraq’s (which was Russia’s main battlefield 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, the U.S. had to give in on the whole “strategic delivery vehicles” that the Vladivostok agreement had set. Because Russia is every bit as deeply mired in crisis, and no doubt in an effort to work on just that point, Fabre is now discussing the possibility of an economic cooperation between Russia and the U.S. The thermonuclear warhead is assured a 1,500-mile high-precision range to its target. This means that the workers cannot continue to be held back, for a new “peace” has already 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, Qaddafis, and the rest.

Egypt insists that despite all Qaddaf’s talk against Israel, the “truth” is that Qaddaf is arming Libya, not so much against Israel as against Egypt; that is why Russia has done nothing about the “Arab-Israeli” war, and that is why it has not been caring for or engaging in “contingency planning,” but rather the demonstrations and strikes that had broken out. Sadat’s amiable attitude to the PLO meant, not a turn to the U.S.A. It is just, this time, this type of maneuvering that convinced U.S. imperialism to consider that the Arab rulers do not do the job against Russia as effectively as Israel.

* * *

If the U.S. imperialism no sooner suffered defeat in Vietnam and Cambodia than it revealed itself at the very top level in the U.S. to be the very first to win its independence from British imperialism at the end of World War II. And that is why, for all the show of deep anti-kingship which signified the need for the PLO and the need for a war with Israel, the world had no real surprise at an effort to give Libya “more sophisticated” arms than it ever sold Egypt. All of these capitalistic, imperialistic policies, these so-called arms sales, have been covered by a Russian military parade in the Soviet Union.

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British workers face inflation, unemployment, pay controls

By Harry McShane

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

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

THE ‘SOCIAL CONTRACT’

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

He has managed to get the national conference of the union to accept the social contract as a means of saving the Labour Government and ending inflation which is running at an annual rate of 28 percent. The T.U.C. has since met him and accepted. It just happens, however, that the leaders of the T.U.C. have only entered the wood. Some of the trade unions have come out against the social contract. The full T.U.C. does not meet until September.

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

THE COMMON MARKET AND THE ‘LEFT’

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

Harold Wilson is interpreting the vote on the Common Market as a mandate for anything he thinks up. By making the Common Market a Left vs. Right issue, the power of the Left could be foiled to the point of no return. A large amount of energy was put into that campaign by the so-called Left.

When the new program of controls was finally pre-

(Continued on Page 10)

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Black intellectuals probe role of Marxism and American workers

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

When I would raise the question of the Black Scholar debate or Black nationalism, every worker would say, “We don’t have time to listen to that crap. What we really need is unity and understanding among Black and white workers. We have to fight both the company and the union today in order to survive in the plant.”

INTELLECTUALS, EARLIER GROUPS GONE

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

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

I went back a few years to DRUM, ELRUM and FEUM — mainly groups of Black workers organized in the plants. You can’t have the same kind of success in this society, alone and with their secrets. There is no time in the plants today for talk of separating Blacks, whites, and minorities that have to work in a plant for their living. I talked to these people separately, but they were all together on the importance of unity.

PHILOSOPHY IS CENTRAL

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

(Continued on Page 10)

NEWS LETTERS

VOL. 20—NO. 7 AUG—SEPT. 1975

Human Power is its own end

By Charles Denby, Editor

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

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

Workers charge Briggs plant (now Chrysler Mack) during June 1852 strike. United actions in the plants. You can’t have the same kind of success — the fact that Black intellectuals have not found it among workers. I have talked with people are like.

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(Continued on Page 10)
Yellow Springs, Ohio—The Socialist-Feminist conference held here July 4-6 attracted more than 1,400 women from all over the country. It was theoretical but a “working” conference, and indeed, the “socialist” meeting. When the so-called Third World concrete, that is, rooted in the masses of women.

One of the first criticisms made was that only a handful of Black and working women were present at this “socialist” meeting. When the so-called Third World women did meet to plan their panels, they discussed endless organizational problems, no one asked why they should not take up time with “little issues like food stamps and people hungry. We talked with a woman who had been active in the Women’s Movement for many years and had come to the meeting. When trying to organize organizationally, the relationship of Women’s Liberation to the working class, which she saw as the pivot to revolu­tion.

Yet the only group in her geographic area that she felt a “working class perspective” was a vanguard party that denied the validity of all the women’s movement — a conclusion she refused to accept.

Indeed, the maturity of our movement appeared in re­porting to be into some distorted view of class society, instead of being seen as one of the many “new” perspectives on women’s liberation. This is why, for example, all talk about superstructures to explain women’s oppression is not some final abstract goal for “the day after,” but is instead the daily, concrete process of achieving a totally new society. We seemed to be repeating parlour games and we were ciphered present, and we managed to show in the workshops we attended that both the party-builders and the class­building women had their back to the wall.

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

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

Science seen as theoretic substitute for women’s activity

by Deborah Morris


The bulk of Charnie Guettel’s essay is a critique of feminist theorists, who, she maintains, have been mostly in the liberal bourgeois tradition, but also in the critical Marxist tradition. She states: “We must call for a science and for this socialism is necessary.”

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

THEORY LEFT TO FUTURE

The last section of the book is called “A Marxist Alternative.” Women’s full integration into production is necessary for equality and that full integration is not possible short of the socialist revolution as the field of women’s liberation as the key to women’s liberation.

Guettel proposes that women’s theory must be based on the fact that women are oppressed by the forms their lives have taken on in capitalist society.

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

We begin with a woman who was active in the Women’s Movement for many years and had come to the meeting. When trying to organize organizationally, the relationship of Women’s Liberation to the working class, which she saw as the pivot to revolu­tion.

Yet the only group in her geographic area that she felt a “working class perspective” was a vanguard party that denied the validity of all the women’s movement — a conclusion she refused to accept.

Indeed, the maturity of our movement appeared in re­porting to be into some distorted view of class society, instead of being seen as one of the many “new” perspectives on women’s liberation. This is why, for example, all talk about superstructures to explain women’s oppression is not some final abstract goal for “the day after,” but is instead the daily, concrete process of achieving a totally new society. We seemed to be repeating parlour games and we were ciphered present, and we managed to show in the workshops we attended that both the party-builders and the class­building women had their back to the wall.

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

—News & Letters Women’s Liberation participants

Socialist feminists open dialogue on future action

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

On June 21, 25,000 people, mostly women, demon­strated in London while 500 more marched in Glasgow. They were saying a loud “No!” to a restrictive abortion act being passed with all its social and political ramifications.

The welfare protest falls short

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

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

We were coming up the question of women's liberation are stuck to be helping them but are really cutting them off wel­fare behind closed doors. People on welfare are being broken by this. That is why they are forgetting what they are really fighting for.

One guy was very angry with the people and the way they talked to women. He said, "The next time you get yourself in this kind of trouble, I’m going to go out and say, ‘What are you listening to these people for, they are just going to make fun of us all.’ I’m fighting for myself, I’m thinking about our lives being threatened and how bad the world is getting and what we can do to change it. The welfare demonstrators never got around to pre­senting what we really want in Lansing for, which was for our rights.

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

—Tommie Hope

All women not represented at Mexico IYW conference

Detroit, Mich. — Although the International Women’s Year Conference was sponsored by the United Nations in Mexico City, both bastions of male-chauvinism, it brought to light some important things about women’s roles in virtually every country suffer the most, in the areas of nutrition, health care, education and basic needs.

They also showed that the idea of Women’s Liberation is truly global in its scope and that more and more women are already liberated in their own countries. Hortensia Allende of Chile, and others, were able to bring up the question of women political representation. Women in Latin America, they see as a whole human element—their own force for revolution.

The official conference included 1,500 delegates, one man of them, and the rest either wives or appointed representatives of male leaders, who were elected to work on a Ten Year Plan for Improving Women Worldwide. The way they went about this was exemplified by representatives from Spain who wrote a letter to UN Women that women were already liberated in their own countries.

The important part of the conference was the unofficial sessions, where groups of women who had come on their own, met and spoke on conditions in their countries. Horensia Allende of Chile, however, did not have a delegate to the conference. Women are already liberated in their own countries.

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The media played up the idea that the demands of American women were far removed from Third World women's demands. There is no demand for all of Women's Liberation, and as if hunger and poverty do not exist even here. It was clear, however, that the world is the same colorless, the rest of women political prisoners, and issues such as a women’s right to control her body.

—Suzanne Casey

Welfare protest falls short
Growth of gypsy cabs points to racism in NY taxi industry

New York, N.Y.—The 60,000 men and women who drive and service taxis in New York City are still in a state of flux. But there's one division that's been especially exploited by city politicians and union bureaucrats—half the cabs in this town are legal "yellow" cabs, while the other half are illegal "gypsys." On the surface, the only difference is a piece of cloth on the driver's head. That's all it is. Years ago, the city issued some 13,000 of them. But the only way you can find a "yellow" cab today is from someone who's taken out of the business, and they go for as much as $25,000. That means it costs about $2,000 to put a cab on streets, while you can get a gypsy going for as little as $5,000.

Ten years ago, there were almost no gypsys. But in the heat of the mid-sixties, most of the cabs were black. It was a different time, a different place. And they had an outpassion that gave them leverage. The CIO taxi local started an anti-gypsy campaign among its members. But the gypsys fought back. In the late sixties, gypsy drivers favored a "yellow" cab. A union that could unite the two halves of the taxi industry in New York would be one of the most powerful forces in the city. But the local hasn't made one move in that direction. With an almost all-white leadership, it's not hard to understand why.

But Black, white, Latino and Jewish men and women workers at 50th Street, a yellow garage, have recently raised racism as an issue in the hiring of a veteran Black driver. The objection? He was black. And the bosses and the union and the bosses haven't been able to move them.

We're all watching this one closely, because if Blacks, whites, Latinos and Jews, men and women, can hold their heads high and see racism at one garage, we can do it where we work. And if we can pass the test of racism in the yellow industry, we can get past the petty distinction between yellows and gypsys. We'll be a force that can't be ignored.

New York cabdriver

FROM THE SHOP

Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich.—The fire department was once looked upon as a must, as it relates to safety in the plant. Years ago the company would call workers in from different departments to inspect a location that was described as "dangerous". This was because it was "dangerous" to be in the area and to work around it. The production workers were related to the fire department.

Today the company has completely eliminated the safety department. They make it look like an official job, but there are no safety rules they seem to enforce are ear plugs and safety glasses, and many workers feel it is much easier to avoid a fine and be fined, or not be fined, than to wear them.

Another thing the union doesn't do anything about is vacations. The only time I've seen the union chairman, Arthur Wilson, was during the closing of the shop. His pledge was that we would be able to take our vacations when we wanted, instead of at the convenience of the company. That never happened. And the union doesn't even enforce its own contract.

The only thing that can be done is to go back to the shop and talk to the workers. That's the only way to get the union to do anything about it.

Ford Rouge

Dearborn, Mich.—Over the last month, they have been bringing back the women workers in the Dearborn Assembly Plant. That's because there are now more women workers than men. This production workers were related to the Dearborn Assembly Plant. I feel that it's necessary to have women workers in the plant, but the company doesn't agree. They have problems with the women workers, especially in the assembly line, where the women workers are being paid less than the men.

Something else has changed too. At least half of the yellow cabs are now Black and Latino. That's because there are now more black and Latino workers in the company. The company is trying to get rid of the gypsys, but they are not successful.

But it wasn't true. Midtown Manhattan and the airports have always belonged to the yellow cab. Flames were heavy for any gypsy driver who could get the line.

Lately though, things have been changing. Owner-driven and small groups of gypsys now outnumber the big fleets. Not only that, they're organized. A few years ago, over a thousand gypsy workers and community supporters staged a series of occasionally violent demonstrations in the Bronx. The city got the message, and harassment of Black drivers has fallen off. It's only part of much more that is involved in the growth of gypsy cabs.

There is no end to the growth of gypsy cabs. It is only part of much more that is involved in the Steady Man issue, above all that they speed themselves up on the job and cater to the company bosses in various ways for their "privileged" position. Because once those bosses realize that the working class can this cycle of "divide and exploit" be broken down, it will arouse workers to organized revolt. But the proposed agreement does nothing to prevent the shutdown of the shop. To accept either alternative would be to step into a trap, but accepting the wage cut— as the machinists did—establishes a dangerous precedent, not only for this particular shop but for others in the future. It is a matter of time before the machinists will have their wages cut again. If they refuse this next time, the members of the machinists will be brought in as replacements.

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

His platform speaks of defending the "middle class" (workers who are still employed) against the "backbone" of the rest of the nation (the unemployed and "freeloaders") and "intellectuals" and "elitists" (who see through the machinations of the capitalists and their demagogues).

The only way that we, as workers, can spell sequel deviant a meaning that is clear to us is to make clear to ourselves that there are basically two classes of people.

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

—J. Hillstrom

ILWU trades job rights

San Francisco, Cal.—Negotiations for a new longshore contract have merely been a continuation of what the ILWU official had been trying to achieve. The proposed agreement does nothing to eliminate extended shifts, reduce hours with no reduction of pay, and put an end to the "bullying, mugging, etc."—all the issues of great concern to working longshoremen. And there is a special gimmick against the work stoppage, a provision for cutting everyone in the port off the Pay Guarantee Plan as a retaliation.

The single issue that by itself reveals the gulf between the unions and the workers, and the union officialism is the notorious Section 9.43 of the contract that allows Steady Men. This includes about one-third of the workers. The proposed agreement does nothing to prevent the shutdown of the shop. To accept either alternative would be to step into a trap, but accepting the wage cut— as the machinists did—establishes a dangerous precedent, not only for this particular shop but for others in the future. It is a matter of time before the machinists will have their wages cut again. If they refuse this next time, the members of the machinists will be brought in as replacements.

—F. Hillstrom

Job crisis demands unity

New York, N.Y.—I'm pleased to turn my column over to this issue to Jack-o-lbot over worker's rights. Today, the greatest fear of capitalists and union bureaucrats alike is that these crisis times will arouse workers to organize their efforts. But the corporations, labor and business, are prepared and armed with the same methods laid down in the last century to create dissension among the ranks of workers.

During recent union contract negotiations, machinery is working to stifle the movement, reflecting either a huge wage cut or the closing down of the shop. To accept either alternative would be to step into a trap, but accepting the wage cut— as the machinists did—establishes a dangerous precedent, not only for this particular shop but for others in the future. It is a matter of time before the machinists will have their wages cut again. If they refuse this next time, the members of the machinists will be brought in as replacements.

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—J. Hillstrom

—Afternoon shift worker

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—I really liked the story on race relations at Fleetwood (see N & L, July, 1975). It is not just the laid-off workers who are suffering. The foremen are also suffering. It is not just the Steady Men who are suffering. The Steady Men are such a small group. The only way that we, as workers, can spell sequel deviant a meaning that is clear to us is to make clear to ourselves that there are basically two classes of people.

Another thing the union doesn't do anything about is vacations. The only time I've seen the union chairman, Arthur Wilson, was during the closing of the shop. His pledge was that we would be able to take our vacations when we wanted, instead of at the convenience of the company. That never happened. And the union doesn't even enforce its own contract.

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The CIA in the last issue pointed out that in the '60s—the period most of the disorders produced such mass opposition that Eis­
struggles began, and the Korean War all Black is now 50-50 Black and white,
country, each one of which becomes the promising to end it. It shows the con­
hower won the presidency only by pre­
gation of the schools in the North that I 
gews would have been on the wires 
cemalizing together. In the lunchroom 
was made last summer and more is 
couldn't help feeling that the situation 
graphic picket signs. Strikes and dem­
streets are trade unionists, Native Amer­
rism in this country has always 
agement and the company play with. But 
all it took. No further reports of returned 
with the temperature re­
only inflation, but more people going 
tion (or oil), but at the cost of increased 
addition to toe effect on the kids, it is a 
for defense and extension of the Portu­
relationship instead of an "I-Thou" re­
only hear about the famous ones. Surely 
only disastrous result. It was good to 
thought the company is going to make us 
back without laying off anyone. But I 
their contract. On Monday, July 7, he 
cepted on Sunday mornings. Milk re­
and Armored Personnel Carriers, made 
length. The cases of Russell Means and 
mped Knee events are still being handed 
and indictments for the Feb. 1973 Wound­
Dennis Banks were dismissed, but more 
three hundred FBI 
wan, as he started a fast to show 
that milk was supposed to be accepted at temperatures up to 60 de­
cept in the picture said simply: "Not 
"Morning Star" challenges the state auth­
for an Indian family is around 
cherry for an Indian family is around 
there. The Grand Jury is still sitting, 
\[Continued from page 10\]
Second Class Postage Paid at 
Second Class Postage Paid at 
Co's has lots of work cut out for it. 
these big news into giving us their sup­
next time when 7,000,000 parents go hungry 
and money than they have to to feed and 
but as three years. 
\[Continued from page 10\]
\[Continued from page 10\]
a house-to-house, kick-the-door-down search of every building on the reservation. There were almost 1,000 homeless abandoned their homes. Two thousand Native
Tribal leaders were on stand-by at Mt. Rushmore. And to top it all, the law and order people locked the building with the literature to keep Indians from using it. Not even Kunger can get in any more. Apparently this is the only way the state feels it can win in court. To fight this Banana Republic Gestapo nightshroud of censors, legal, political and workers are urgently needed. Please contact Ken Olson, Suite 400, Minneapolis, Minn. 55401. (phone 1-812-224-7687).

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**SWISS UNEMPLOYMENT**

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

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**INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCE**

Now that the International Women's Year Conference held in Mexico City is over the evaluation must include how it will affect both the organized and the unorganized women's movement. Despite the well-publicized friction and the exclusion of the segments of women who are truly the revolutionary force, the most positive effect of the conference was that women are talking to each other at each formal session, learning about conditions in different cultures and exchanging ideas. The theme of the conference—Equality, Development, Peace—in the end will be concretized to mean the difference in total liberation.

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**SOCIALIST-FOSSILISM**

The planners of the Socialist Feminist conference, held in Detroit last month, decided to circulate millions of copies of their booklet, "Women's Freedom Movement," though it made impossible for meetings of the whole to have discussions, had their own "conveners" (read: controllers) at each workshop, limited the number of discussions to two tables, and when a discussion ran over a ten minutes limit, called people out of order when they said they represented any group other than a "Marxist Feminist" one, turned the mike off when a Latina woman was trying to speak, and turned away women who had come to the conference at airports, bus stations and at the conference itself. These are the women who are going to make a revolution and things just like the one we've got to me.

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**STALINISM VIA MAO**

Maoism infects a lot of the so-called "democratic socialists" such as NAM, as well as the openly Maoist groups. While the Chicago Police Department still refuses to allow a conferer on organization or questions of strategy and tactics, they have much in common with those their strategy of the Labour Party of Britain for instance. One of the problems is that those that are being fought against to be killing the ability of one strategy vs. another. Theory cannot be reduced to a question of tactics. If this is true then the Left might as well call itself Marx, dig up Dewey and the pragmatists, and say "We've got the theory, who cares if it works?".

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**POSTAL WORKERS**

At the Grand Central post office, they are not through replacing those who have left. We keep working harder and harder. My foreman told me to close 15 machines and then he posed to the rest of you who use these machines, and if I can't I should come in early to catch up. It's so bad that now when there is a bomb scare they don't evacuate the building; they tell us to keep working while the security people go around looking for the bomb. One woman had her head blown off by a bomb, but they never publicized it.

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For the last few weeks we have been having a lot of trouble about what we are told not to worry, just don't light any cigarettes.

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**OIL EVICTION**

KQED, the San Francisco "Public Broadcasting" station has announced that NAL predicted last January in the article "Workers Strike Against Oil Eviction." Bill Osterhaus, $50,000 a year station manager, of which 7 cut programs from one hour program to one-half hour and suggested that it might be terminated entirely by December 31. The station has been-president of protest letters and phone calls, he said that the cuts were the result of NAL's not sufficient to continue the format which won numerous Emmys and Photo Awards, but the station's Newsroom and public interest films—and that is the only really big money would come from the public were not sufficient to continue the format which won numerous Emmys and Photo Awards, but the station's Newsroom and public interest films—which they did not control. Osterhaus is carrying out reality just what Nixon tried to do for years ago, and a TV and tried to muzzle all media which be and the industrial-military complex, i.e. the state in all forms. They created a membership support committee is fighting to reverse this blatant attempt of monopolies to drive the people of this country like a victory will have to take place on the national level to succeed locally.

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**WE ARE**

WHO & WHERE

The paper is the monthly publication of NEWS AND LETTERS COMMITTEES, an organization of Marxist-Humanists that stands for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private form as in the U.S. or in its state form as in the Soviet Union or China. The National Chairwoman, RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA, is the author of Philosophy and Revolution and Marxism and Freedom which was put out in the Soviet Union and is available internationally, as American Civilization on Trial concretizes it on the American scene.

In opposing this capitalist, exploitative, racist, sexist society, we participate in all freedom struggles, practice the unity of worker and intellectual, any and all power to the people and in joint with us both big and small freedom struggles and in working out a theory of liberation for our age. Our publications and our meetings are open to all who are serious in their search for the answers to these historic challenges.

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**REPUBLICAN AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION**

Revolution is in the air in both Portugal and Spain. There is confusion in Portugal, but there are hopes arising from the formation of organizations in the United States. The fantastic Armed Forces Movement is split three ways. They seem determined, however, to fight against the things Maoist groups have done to it. The Maoists are constantly manipulating theory for most of these groups go no further than the utility of one strategy vs. another. Theory cannot be reduced to a question of tactics. If this is true then the Left might as well call itself Marx, dig up Dewey and the pragmatists, and say, "We've got the theory, who cares if it works?"

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**Who We Are**

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

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Harry McShane

Glasgow
SOLIDARIDAD

Argentine workers open new stage of struggle
by Eugene Walker

The ending of the general strike, far from signaling a solution to the economic and political, as in the past, has crystallized the situation for the next stage of tissue paper over the fabric that is Argentine. The power of the general strike forced the government of Isabel Peron to rescind its re­cent ban on the strike. When workers had won in the latter part of June in face of an inflation rate of close to 200 percent.

It is a situation that is not only local but by the rank and file. As such it showed how deep the division is growing between the class-collaborationist Peronist leadership of the official trade union movement, the General Workers Confederation (CGT), and the militancy of the Argentine working class.

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

ANTI-LABOR SOCIAL PACT

The working class suffered under the Social Pact with an inflation rate of over 100 percent last year. The immediate crisis began in September when the government ordered a series of austerity measures to deal with the worsening economic situation brought on by the inflation, blackouts, the notorious foreign reserves, and the run on the dollar.

For months finally in a matter of days. The working class tried valiantly to keep up by negotiating new wage settlements. But the government attempted to set a 50 percent ceiling on wage negotiations. The trade unions faced with rank and file pressure negotiated settlements as high as 150 percent, which still failed to match the rate of inflation.

The labor leaders chose to support the workers in the fight for the Social Pact, according to the wage scale had little choice. The actions of the workers themselves forced the leaders' hands. Strikes erupted throughout Argentina in protest against the Social Pact measures and to pressure trade union leaders into taking a stand against President Peron and her rightist strongest Jean Maria Peron.

The strikes from below brought economic standstill to Cordoba and Mendoza, the second and fourth largest cities. Work also stopped in a dozen large factories in Buenos Aires. Most were in metallurgical (whose leadership was most closely aligned with Peronism), textile, auto and construction industries. Several thousand workers gathered in front of the CGT headquarters to demand the resignation of Lopez Rega and urge leaders not to negotiate.

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

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

RANK AND FILE VICTORY

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

The latest reports indicate that agreement between the Peron government and the nationalists’ leaders has been reached allowing the wage increases to stand. The government’s new agreement will stick temporarily is not the crucial issue.

What is crucial is that it has been shown quite clearly that the labor movement has moved to the forefront pocket most of the time, but it does not by any means have the Argentine working class.

Our economic and political life has been controlled by the U.S. government. Since our country is agricultural, with a one-crop economy, we are totally dependent and free, because we are strongly influenced by the U.S. who decides what will be developed and what will not. The U.S. who decides what will be developed and what will not be developed in our country.

The so-called illegal alien is another sad story under the U.S. shark. The Dominican people cannot live under this system. We have not believed that we are independent and free, because we are strongly influenced by the U.S. Our workers open new stage of struggle.

—Dominican exile

UFW pickets GaBo dinner

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

Over 300 people picketed the wine commoditizers’ dinner, where they were giving to give the crown of Gallo Wine Co., which the union has been on strike for against two years, the Man of the Year Award.

Upon hearing of the demonstration, GaBo decided not to show up to collect his award.

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

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

That sort of bargaining which is the problem for good faith on the part of the union. The farmworkers have learned in the past that there is no such thing as good faith to the growers, they do not wish to accept a bad contract and Cultural Op­

We began a fight to keep control; to have the students not the ultimate answer but they are important steps.

—Former farmworker

September 1975

News & Letters

Workers in fields from age 14

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

Oakland, Cal.—I've worked in the fields since I was 14, beginning with the Bracero program and picking tomatoes, apples, artichokes, chives, potatoes, and more. The majority of time I worked in lettuce and celery around the Watsonville area.

I worked for the infamous Bud Antle, who at one time was the largest lettuce grower, and who has always had the worst working conditions of all growers. I recently found out that they had the Teamsters there ever since I worked there, but we never knew it. It's like they kept it a secret. They didn't tell us about it.

I did as much work at 14 as adults did. There were many young kids working in the fields, because the wages were so high and you could buy clothes with the money. The union says to Gallo and the others, "If you don't give them the Man of the Year award, we're not going to let you show up to collect your award."

At that time you didn't distinguish between Chicano workers and non-Chicanos, they were all undocumented workers in the field when La Migra came, they would run and jump between the rows of celery, when they could. We didn't know they would come back around, and when the man asked to see our papers, somebody wouldn't have theirs on them, and they'd say, "We don't have any papers, you take us to the Border Patrol." That would relax the tension and take the attention of the undocumented workers.

—Chicano activist

State Chicano fight to save minority studies

Los Angeles, Cal.—At California State University at Los Angeles we have had a number of independent programs such as the Economic Opportunities Program, which enrolled ex-inmates who are Chicanos and helped them survive academically and fi­nancially, as well as programs such as the Ecological Project, which they could then direct and eventually could even cut out.

We started a fight to keep control; to have the students not the ultimate answer but they are important steps. Up until now many of these programs were student­ directed. The administration decided to umbrella these programs into a single program controlled by an administrator selected that the people had gotten and that is why it is so im­portant to maintain some of these programs. They are not the ultimate answer but they are important.

—Chicano activist

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

That sort of bargaining which is the problem for good faith on the part of the union. The farmworkers have learned in the past that there is no such thing as good faith to the growers, they do not wish to accept a bad contract and Cultural Op­...
ITALY SURPRISED BY LEFT ELECTION VICTORIES

Milan, Italy—The extraordinary landslide victory for the Italian Working Class (CI) in the June 1975 election—by a margin of only 1.6 percent—has surprised almost everyone here. The question most commonly being asked is whether the people simply voted against the Christian Democrats or made a specific choice. Obviously both are true.

This can be seen through the different political choices made in the North and in the South, a clear result of different class relations and organizations. In the North both Communists and fascists gained votes, while all other parties suffered losses. In the North all of the left parties made gains, especially the previously almost-totally socialist party.

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

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

POLITICIANS IGNORE REALITY

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

The first major problem is unemployment. In the South, unemployment is all too often for immigration, and in the North industry has collapsed, especially in the auto industry. Unemployment is as high, if not higher, among the young people as among the old. The second obvious problem is price inflation. This has hit almost every sector of the economy, and many small and medium-sized industries are losing their savings. All of this, if it has not thrown people into the ranks of the working class, has at least made many identify with working class parties.

STRIKES BEFORE ELECTIONS

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

Then the functionsaries of the National Collection office went on strike against higher wages, but because of the inequality of the laws regarding the taxes paid by the poor and the rich, they ended up to collect taxes from the poor until the law is changed. All of the parties and unions went against them — "a small group that was trying to control the laws of a democratically elected government"!

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

—Correspondent

MASS YOUTH, BLACK, CHICANO ACTIONS FIGHT VIEW OF REVOLT

By Jim Mills

When I first lived in Gainesville, Fla., as a student in fall, 1971, there was very little history of protest. The previous spring, the Black Student Union took over the University of Florida administration building, leading to Black enrollment and the tackling of Black studies. The president, a known racist, had everyone arrested without any kind of communication with us, as hundreds of Black and white students rallied outside in support.

There is now a U. of F. Institute of Black Culture. However, there are still far fewer Black students than you’d expect at even the least university.

TWO WORLDS APPEAR

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

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

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

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

NEW DEMONSTRATIONS ON CAMPUS

Yet in spring, 1973, I tried to help a student movement to save a humanities teacher from job termination because he insisted on a dialogue of ideas in the classroom instead of publishers’ bullshit. This movement stopped short of greater action because its goal was to reform the tenure process—instead of beginning with this fight to reform the federal system.

The court battles and tuition hikes in spring 1973 produced spontaneous student demonstrations once more. But when the National Lawyers called a strike, it failed completely—not because students are apathetic, but because the relations of organizations are separated from the ideas of the mass movement.

WHAT KIND OF ORGANIZATION?

I had read in News & Letters about the United Farm Worker Movement struggle against agribusiness. Working with them on the boycott got me one position, because, by this time, I had realized that a college education had loudly led one to live the division between mental and manual labor and is totally incompatible with the seriousness of revolutionary thought and activity. Again, the intervention of work experience had made it impossible for me to make a mindless bourgeois existence, the other people who were actually fighting for their lives.

What was really important was that this whole period of four years I spent in Gainesville was the kind of organization that is needed to carry on the total fight against this movement. Separated from this by the voices from below—the farmworkers I’ve worked with—I have the closest I came to it with the class in Marxism and Freedom some friends and I held. But the pull is great on students to think that masses are capable of doing what they don’t realize, and to see the fight against capitalist alienation as an individual struggle. That was not challenged in a way we could touch by the self-activity of the forces of revolt.

—By Jim Mills

PINE RIDGE RESIDENTS LIVE WITH DAILY PARANOIA

Knee, life on Pine Ridge was very difficult, but now it’s almost impossible. One woman said, “It’s like living in an occupied prison.”

It is no surprise to hear about the tactics that the federal government is using against the Indians of Pine Ridge. This movement is an example of the ongoing Indian movement. They remind me of the tactics used against the Black community in Detroit when officers and stuffed animals (STOOGES) were told to go out and start hallucinating. Black men they claimed had shot some police officers.

The only surprise is that immediately after the FBI investigation began work, national TV news carried stories of one of the traditional tribal elders reading a petition to the FBI demanding that the FBI get off of their reservation. Since then, the Federal Justice Department has imposed a news blackout on the investigation.

HARASSMENT COMMON

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

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

For more information or copies of the Pine Ridge residents petition, contact: AIM, Box 3677, St. Paul, Minn. 55101, phone (612) 227-7085.
Colombia, which has a poor and stagnant economy and a history of civil war and paramilitary violence, was formed in 1982. The country's political landscape is defined by the armed conflict between the government and various guerrilla groups, including the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the National Liberation Army (ELN). These groups have engaged in a decades-long conflict that has resulted in thousands of deaths and forced millions of Colombians to flee their homes. The country's economy is predominantly based on agriculture and mining, with coffee, coal, and oil being the main exports. However, the country faces significant challenges, including poverty, inequality, and corruption, which have led to widespread unrest and undermine the country's development efforts.
The Draft Perspectives for 1975-1976

(Continued from Page 2)

I) The Party?

Marx had no theory of the "Party." It was only after his death that Marxists, reducing their theory of the state to class struggle, found that the state was the class organ of power and 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 foot­

steps that it is that "The State and Revolution," the fundamental work of theory in What Is To Be Done? What saved them 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 necessary to go on with the Party, which Mao Zedong called a "local organization" and must be disciplined by "its, i.e., the proletariat.

WHEN THE GREATEST CIVIL WAR in Mao's lifetime erupted—the Civil War—

the Party became the "political vanguard of the proletariat." The "political vanguard of the proletariat" is the highest form of self-organization. The Paris Commune's "working existence." That form of organization, being workers taking destiny into their own hands, was the base of non-statism and non-capitalism, i.e., socialism. The Party, 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, naturally, it became the deed of the Party. The new concept of the Party. 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, for fast intellectuals "bringing socialism to the work­

ers, were not retrogressive enough. Mao, in interview, also berated the American people for taking their intellectual tasks to that of "popularizing" Marx and writing political manifestoes, and wrote his (3) See Vol. IX, of Lenin's Speech at the Eleventh Congress. (4) Sheng Wu-lien's Manifesto is reproduced extensively in Selection Works, Russia's "return to capitalism" was nowhere to be heard as he genuflected before Stalin (1) Marx's philosophic phraseology and Cabral's view of "the centrality of theory." (2) The Choirmon, "The Thought of Lenin's lifetime erupted—the Paris Commune—

in the approach of 1917 itself, after he had fully grasped both the dialectic and Marx's important works, "The Origin of Capitalism." 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," nuclear warheads and first strike capability, the UPl's Helen Thomas tried to verify it with President Nixon, and here came Mr. Clean's forked-tongue: "Well, the U.S. still has the policy that we reserve the right to use nuclear weapons. And we will continue to do so until the world is completely rid of the menace of nuclear warheads."

"This type of spiritual life is the absolute and universal inversion of reality and thought, their own destruction is their only safeguard, and only if, and only if, the International, the emerging world, divided and self-opposed." (5.10) Who does not recognize Mao, both as revolutionary and counter-revolutionary as "in place of revolt appears amorosity..."

"This is the world crisis compels us to fight these absolute terrors with the philos­

ophy of Right, the organization and Philosophy: Party? The Dialectic?

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 policymakers is every bit as nationalist and as imperialistic, forcing every independent struggle, no matter where it is, "to take sides." All that is left for them is to scuffle on the margins, in the latest country about to be free—Angola—because each has aligned differently in the Sino-Soviet orbit. Within the essentially nationalistic function, it is natural for them to be working to cut itself an sphere of influence. As if they were not already enough, those who dare call themselves Left and are not directly attached to their various states, are inevitably caught in the self-emancipation of the proletariat. And when she was brave enough to say that she didn't answer her question, whether we'd better 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.

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 plan for accepting it in a cold war toy, it is also that the U.S. is being taken out of the European theater (which never was around Europe) Frade-15. The tragedy cannot lie there because that was inborn in NATO, as it has been in capitalism from the start, producing, of necessity, its own gravediggers. This has become 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 amorosity..."

The Choirmon. "The Thought of it was not enough to write and orate on Marxism; one—and none more that the intellectual—

was that (1) Marxism and Freedom, Lenin's premonition of just such counter-developments had him asset that if, and only if, "the population to a man, woman and child" holds destiny in its own hands, retrogression was not possible. Retrogression was neither possible nor for liberation. His sudden reversal toward 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."

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 in Marx's phraseology, "The Thought of the Party." It was only for his death that Lenin recognized that Marx'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 ground is but 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 Sart) gets a mind of his own. Does Ego or Self merely replace that of master, or can he "weitergeben" (give back) that which has been wrested from him? Answering this question, contrary to those who would say that Stalin was "spiritual 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 in Marx's phraseology, "The Thought of the Party." It was only for his death that Lenin recognized that Marx's greatest work, but also the source of all, (including the revolutionary) dialectic.

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they are grounding themselves in Mao's concept of "20 years in one day" by becoming instant Marxists. This is the open breach with all Marxist discussions other than that of The Chairman. Far from being for revolution, it holds on to tails of state-capitalism calling itself Communism as it dreams of state power. It is "the dialectical combination of the gun 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 pretension base, NAA already oversteps the point of no return, while grasping on their monument built on a popular front that would give them a base.

Mao has the state power to communicate "the late Hegel" whose views "are even more accurate than Hegel." As a result, "propaganda as systematically as possible, to reduce essentially the negation of negation". (5) Mao's ignorance of the Hegelian-Marxian dialectic was recognized by Hegel too but Mao was not yet born. "The alienated type of mind, driven to the essence, was never strictly speaking a true utility," it reduces the opposition to a transparent form, and therein finds itself. .. Absolute freedom has thus squashed and balanced the self-appropriation of universal forms into a single "factious".

Hegel did not, after all, fully know Mao who had reduced his "absolute freedom" just to one. But the philosophy of revolution that will give the new directions, no longer be fitted in by a faction or a Party, or One Social storm from under the whip of the state, no longer be fitted in by the unconscious underground. We must, there fore, 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 whole of the new movement from practice was born anew and was directly related to the move ment of the humanity's.

3) The Committees

ONE AGAIN WE ARE BACK to the relationship of organization to spontaneity, to philosophy. And it is here where we have it to spell it out most concretely for 1975-76, and in some sense for forever. For we have not measured up to the challenge of Philosophy and Revolution as Organization Builder.

Now, then, the organizational question, when it comes to its own growth, has to take into account the participation of liberation struggles-class, Black, women, youth—but the manifestation of that ever-deepening philosophy of liberation in organizational form.

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

Reviewers stresses essence of freedom in Philosophy and Revolution


Throughout Philosophy and Revolution Raya Dunayevskaya never loses sight of freedom and revolution which is the driving force of Hegelian Marxism in its claim to greatness. As she relates it, Hegel organized upon the separation of theory and praxis ...

As EARLY AS 1858, Dunayevskaya's Marxism and Philosophy stresses that "the liberation struggle between Hegelian thought for Marxist politics." This message has now been absorbed to suit both the real and ideal of class struggle between the working and Soviet imperialism. In the new context of detente, the need to speak clearly is even more imperative—and revolutionary. In a real sense, the struggle between Hegel and Marx is the strongest link in the chain of human freedom and revolution. Since the struggle for the human mind outweighs the significance of the orientation of the Marxist mind, best to Party directives and academic prejudices, Dunayevskaya's faith in the praxis of liberation is driven on three points: Hegel's thesis is that theory is the method; Marx's thesis is that theory is the foundation of practice, doctrine, state oppression and economic exploitation calls for an end to philosophy.

Dunayevskaya has a keen sense of the political movements that keep philosophy alive. The claim to greatness is one that Hegel in turn was more likely to have in mind. Whatever one's position, who lacks it is lost. Yet the same is true of the whole visionary politician. The great politician, therefore, must belong not to the realm of philosophy, but the realm of politics. Dunayevskaya's apoloogy to Lenin joins with similar efforts firmly in the ground of revolutionary history where Marx could meet him. It took Diamat to separate Marx and Hegel in the up-and-down land of Soviet state oppression...

Dunayevskaya speaks clearly where others, Sartre, Camus, and the like, are so unsure. The longest time. In the context of the cold war, the French existentialists could be interpreted as meaning to bridge the gap between the state and Soviet imperialism. In the new context of detente, the need to speak clearly is even more imperative—and revolutionary. In a real sense, the struggle between Hegel and Marx is the strongest link in the chain of human freedom and revolution. Since the struggle for the human mind outweighs the significance of the orientation of the Marxist mind, best to Party directives and academic prejudices, Dunayevskaya's faith in the praxis of liberation is driven on three points: Hegel's thesis is that theory is the method; Marx's thesis is that theory is the foundation of practice, doctrine, state oppression and economic exploitation calls for an end to philosophy.

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