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# '77 plenum proceedings

A SUMMARY OF THE NATIONAL EDITORIAL BOARD MEETING  
OF NEWS AND LETTERS COMMITTEES  
HELD SEPT. 3-4, 1977

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The Plenum was opened on Saturday, Sept. 3, with a welcome from Charles Donby who gave a preview of the many tasks we had before us to work out in those two days of discussion and decision, stressing that it could not be done without having all present as active participants. This was especially true, he said, for our Black Thought pamphlet because the relationship of Africa and the U.S. among revolutionaries was crucial in this period of economic, and political crises that have reached the life-and-death point with the N-Bomb, and which dictated calling our Perspectives Draft TIME IS RUNNING OUT. A special welcome was extended to the visitors we had present from Africa, and to the Kent State students who had come to participate in our deliberations -- and Donby stressed that the "time that was running out" was for the rulers of this capitalistic, racist, sexist society, and not for the revolutionaries out to uproot it both in theory and in fact. The timing of the great spontaneous outburst of the masses to come cannot be predicted; but if we are prepared theoretically, we will be ready for it when it does. None of our writings, whether our paper or our pamphlets or the many international editions of our fundamental works like Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution, are just "literature." They are all part of the voices from below as well as theory, whose unity will assure the American Revolution will not be one more defeated or aborted one. Donby then declared the Plenum open, in the name of the National Editorial Board and turned the chair over to the co-editor of N&L, Rolix Martin to organize the Plenum, introduce the presidium of five, and give the floor to Raya for the PERSPECTIVES REPORT.

Copies of the contents page of the National Chairwoman's report were in each participant's packet:

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

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

A. U.S. IMPERIALISM-CAPITALISM IN THE TRENCHES 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 con-  
structs not merely one world, but a two-  
fold world, divided and self-opposed."  
Egel, Phenomenology, p. 510

- 1- Mao's China in the Bi-polar World of U.S.-Russia
- 2- 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 FOR  
REVOLUTION AS WELL AS REASON AND OUR CONCRETE TASKS, 1977-78

Because this report was reproduced in full as Post-Plenum Bulletin  
Number One, it will not be summarized here. In the DISCUSSION that followed the  
presentation, Lillian Bay Area, described some of the anti-nuclear protests she  
had participated in, and the disappointment she had felt that only 800 instead of  
8000 had turned out at one. While others blamed "technical difficulties", Lillian  
confronted them, instead, with the "global politics" that were responsible--the  
pro-Russian and pro-China groups all absent because they would have had to attack

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the nuclear politics of these state powers as well as the U.S. Eugene, Los Angeles, discussed the conference of radical economists he had just attended in relation to "time running out"; what makes it alive for us, and how do we move those we meet closer to us, or at least make sure their rejection is on a high, not a low level. There was no real feeling among the radical economists that the Neutron bomb represented total disintegration. We have to keep asking ourselves what is the seriousness of the intellectuals we talk with, and test it not just by discussion but by participation with us in our activities. We can move some closer if we can show the concreteness of the revolutionary alternative to the non-viability of this society. The Paris Commune revealed that the fetishism of commodities was the truth of capitalist production, and not only exposed the inhumanity of capitalism but showed how to root it out with freely associated labor. Some of the intellectuals are just unreachable -- some of them because they have tied themselves to Maoism. The Perspectives shows that we cannot disregard China just because it is post-Mao; and it is critical for us to understand what we mean by "politicalization" because we can't win just by exposing their "politics" without showing that politics flows from a certain philosophy. Boss took the floor at URPE and spoke of the tremendous dilemma they were in as political economists who are still part of this system, reminding them straightforwardly that a political economist 100 years ago had to break with this society and align with humanity -- and half a dozen later came to thank her for what she said. The point is that Boss had felt a responsibility to take the floor on their question, but she set it on totally new ground.

Kevin, New York agreed with Eugene, but felt it was difficult to get intellectuals "at their innards" because none see the self-development of the mass movement. Thus a professor could agree with Kevin on the urgency of stopping the rulers from destroying the world, but on hearing him say he was dropping out of college to become a revolutionary, could say "but you might want to use the degree in 10 or 20 years". Kevin described some of the intellectuals he has worked with, especially the libertarians who are sure that if you have a revolution led by anti-Leninists you could never get a transformation into opposite. He contrasted the way intellectuals like Marcuse and Adorno have "gone back to Hegel" with the way in which we have gone back via Raya, noting that Raya first grappled with Hegel via Lenin, and then went far beyond. He also posed the question of why the classes last year seemed to have been a "still-birth" and what that means in relation to our needed politicalization.

Mike, Detroit was excited about the question Raya had posed on the difference between new beginnings and new stages. He felt time is running out for us to catch this critical point, because if you don't catch the true new beginnings you wind up with false new beginnings like so much of the Left and lose the continuity with Marx. He saw the crisis of revolution as the crisis in the method of revolution, and related that to the new pamphlet around the chapter on Marx's Capital. Whereas an auto worker he had discussed our Plenum agenda with saw everything as connected whether Africa or economics as a question of whether we would live in slavery or freedom, Mandol and Tony Cliff see everything as separated -- economics from politics, organization from history, philosophy from everything. What Raya's critiques of them reveal is that you have to have the continuity with Marx and the recreation of it by Lenin or you will miss the emergence of the new forces for revolution and new forms of organization, for your own age. Mike referred to the countless and varied discussions at the campus lit tables that involved those four chapters from M&F, pointing out that the whole question of how you see the world today revolves about the method of cognition. One of the visitor's to the Plenum had said he came because he wanted to understand the world today and how it got that way -- which seemed too passive; and Mike had presented what happened during the civil rights movement of the '60s, where ideas had the power to change "facts", once the method of understanding the world involved transforming it. That's the heart of M-Hism -- that the method of understanding is the method of changing it -- and the challenge to everyone present.

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Ron, Chicago, said the Perspectives showed how all the flash points become that because the two super-powers are charging the situation, but what is most frightening about "time running out" is how much of it comes from the possibilities of a direct U.S.-Russia confrontation. It is precisely this bi-polar world that the so-called "New Philosophy" in Franco wallows in. It is the very opposite of our philosophy which comes from the depths of the opposition to that way of thinking. He spoke of the crisis as being right within Russia itself, just as it is right within the U.S. -- so that Russia recently warned about the loss of production because of "lack of technological discipline". While in this country we have Time devoting an issue to the "underclass" -- they picked out all the same facts we did but they all added up to nothing, whereas all you had to do was look at the financial section of the same magazine which even they called "Rollercoaster to nowhere". Yet, the Left discussion group close to IS in Chicago regarded the revolt of Humboldt Park the same way Time might have, as just "underclass" -- which shows how much of our concrete activity flows out of our Perspectives, and how directly related Organization is to this discussion.

Lou Turner, Los Angeles saw the whole idea of the Black Thought pamphlet flowing from the Perspectives and discussed three people he had contact with who reveal a great deal about what "facts" mean and what they don't: one was a social worker from Soweto who had worked in a Cleveland ghetto here. She had a lot of information about South Africa but couldn't see the connection between Africa and the American question; she actually thought that workers and people on welfare here have it "good"; the second was an American Black intellectual who had been in Soweto 11 months, arriving in Aug. 76 just when Kissinger was there, but until I spoke with him, he didn't see any connections with America, either. Nobody seems to be trying to make those connections except ourselves; the third is a Black worker who talked with us about the conditions in his plant where they are worked so much overtime he only goes to work four days a week, and he said all the absenteeism reminded him of a play that came out in the '60s called "Day of Absence", which was based on the word IF -- if all the Blacks in a Southern town didn't show up for work, what would happen? The idea "what if" became important as a category. It's the "what if" that relates to reorganization of thought itself that we want to concretize in the Black Thought pamphlet.

Suzanne, Detroit, wanted to speak about Sexism, Politics and Revolution in Mao's China under Perspectives because she felt it was important not to leave it just for the WL session, because it isn't just for women. All everyone has talked about in this session has been the greatness of Marxist-Humanism, but we have to consider what that means when there is so much to do and we are a small group. We have begun to explain what sexism means -- that it isn't just relations at home or who does the dishes, but what it means to us as an organization. It isn't just that Raya as the founder of our philosophy doesn't get in Newsweek like Levy or Glucksman, but that the whole development of all our ideas has been ignored. The questions we have raised are the very ideas that are being put forward by the women in Portugal and every single country in revolution, like Angola, and Mozambique and Soweto. It's because they are women that their ideas are being ignored. What are we going to do, concretely, in the locals, to relate this new idea to our activity? If we take "Woman as Reason" seriously, everyone here, men and women alike, should be able to speak on this question.

Dan, a young auto worker visitor, from Detroit, who had been asked to talk about the explosive heat walkouts he had been involved in, said he felt 1977 would be looked back on as one of the hottest summers of labor unrest ever seen, and described what had happened after the walkouts, when 3 workers were fired and 400 given disciplinary layoffs. The workers had called two rallies to which 500 to 700 workers had come -- but later it had been hard to get people together for the continuing fight. Dan spoke especially about the role of the Left during this time when every group imaginable began handing out leaflets telling the workers what to do. The October League had been especially criticized by the workers, so that when they called a rally, the union sent all their union reps to fight them, but only 3 real workers showed up.

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Immediately following the Lunch Break the Plenum reassembled to hear two presentations on THE BLACK THOUGHT PAMPHLET, with Ray, New York, in the chair.

John Alan: Although "Black American Thought" appears as the third element in the proposed title of our pamphlet Frantz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought it must be the first and all-pervasive element in the completed pamphlet, because of the direct relationship of confrontation Black liberation in the U.S. has to the greatest imperialist power in the world, the U.S.; and because we know our deepest commitment must be to our own revolutionary development in thought and action if the real Marxist-Humanist quality of our internationalism is to emerge. Yet this element is the the hardest to write because we are not dealing with thought that comes from intellectuals, but with a process of thought that comes from the activities of Black people claiming their right to freedom, and how in turn that thought influences practice itself.

MASSES VS. LEADERSHIP: The dialectical relationship between Black thought and Black action in American history has never been understood by bourgeois writers. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. realized he was catapulted into leadership by the Montgomery Bus Boycott, but was dedicated to the abstract issue of human rights; yet he was far in advance of present-day Black middle-class leadership because he understood the importance of his leadership was in direct proportion to the mass actions. ~~Today, for all practical purposes, there is no national Black leadership that addresses itself to the Black masses.~~ The Black urban youth are the ones most aware of this separation. It was not until two weeks after the N.Y. Blackout that Vernon Jordan expressed any dissatisfaction with the Carter Administration; and Ben Hooks of the NAACP at once rushed in with a defense of Carter.

The Blackout and the activities of Black and Latino youth that followed was proof that Black Revolt is much alive and illuminated the real issues: Why are there millions of dispossessed youth, most of them Black? Why are there three generations of people on welfare? No answers can be expected from today's Black "leadership." All are hopelessly committed to the "theory" that resolving the problems of Blacks resides within the present system. They do not speak to the people living in the ghettos of Harlem or Jamaica, but to and for the White House. In the '60s the Black Power concept grew out of the civil rights struggles, and was a theoretical leap that the intellectuals did not grasp or develop. Just the opposite. Millions of words were written about Black Power by intellectuals but all reverted back to some form of separate commodity production under the control of a Black elite within the body of white capitalist economy. This was the ultimate solution in the thoughts of Nathan Hare, Stokely Carmichael, James Farmer as well as the more conservative intellectuals. None recognized that the majority of Blacks who can find work within this system see it only as long hours, bad working conditions, menial labor, lower pay, last hired, first fired, back-breaking labor under the constant pressure of both management and union officials: to speed-up, stay on the job until you're dead, and keep your mouth shut.

At no time in the schemes of Black Power were these questions considered. Nor did it address why, if integration failed so disastrously within the system of capitalism, separation could be considered possible to succeed. The source of these failures does not lie in the biography of a single personality but of the Black American middle-class and its relationship to the capitalist system.

FRANTZ FANON: In Wretched of the Earth, Fanon began to analyze the growing chasm between the African leaders and the African masses in the midst of the African Revolution. Yet only a few, even today, seem to understand that the victory of neo-colonialism which was the result, is the genesis for all the setbacks the African nations are facing today, whether it is the failure of any real Pan-Africanism to develop or the failure to take determined action against South Africa, or the continuation of African underdevelopment, as part of the world market. Russia and China are among the powerful forces within the world market and exact their "dues" from Africa wherever they can penetrate.

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Fanon's book was not a treatise on violence, but a re-creation of the dialectics of liberation for the colonial world as it emerged out of the colonial revolutions, demanding destruction of the old and the building of a totally new society -- and not the re-Europeanization of the former colonies via neo-colonialism. This was the essence of Fanon's revolutionary position and precisely because of this position he has been practically ignored by the African elite. If the African masses have consented to read Fanon, they have moved a large step in front of their "leaders".

Fanon was a great revolutionary, a great theorist, and a great humanist, but he was not a Marxist. Because of that he did not give us a complete picture of why the African leaders who opposed colonialism could in a few short years settle for the half-way house of neo-colonialism. This can only be understood in the context of world capitalism where the two poles of capital, the state capitalism of Russia and China on the one hand, and the so-called private democratic capitalism of the West, engaged in the singular task of subverting the African Revolutions.

The whole question of neo-colonialism is inseparable from the foreign policy of Carter's Administration, which, in Carter's own words, is a continuation of the Ford-Kissinger policy in the Southern part of Africa. The keystone is to delay any revolution in Zimbabwe, a policy urged on Washington by the outbreak of Soweto last year. With the election of Carter and the appointment of Andrew Young as US Ambassador to the UN, the policy began to involve the American Black middle-class in the "resolution" of the African problem.

I haven't been to Soweto, but I can see something new taking place there -- new in organization and new in ideas. The "techniques" are African in nature, involving consultation or talking things over with different groups, getting consensus, and then taking action. We can learn a lot from that. It was able to bring together all sections of the South African Black people who had not previously engaged in such struggles; it pulled off a General Strike in Johannesburg, no easy feat.

The task now is to get an outline for the pamphlet, which is what I've tried to develop here. I think the first section should deal with Soweto and New York to find what's new about them; then Fanon and his relationship to the present; and finally the whole question of American Black Thought -- which remains the hardest part to do.

Lou Turner: This pamphlet must be not only about Black Thought, but a challenge to reorganize it. If Franz Fanon speaks to us today, it is because he felt the necessity for that under the impact of the African Revolution and began that arduous task.

The experiences we have lived through in the '60s and the resulting impasse in the American Black Movement of the '70s, on the one hand -- and the new forms of revolt and thought coming from the African Revolutions of the '70s in the Portuguese colonies and in South Africa, on the other hand, give an urgency to the task for today. What marks the movement here today is the undercurrent of revolt that runs ever deeper but is not represented by any Black leaders today, though we have more Black representatives in government, industry, education and so forth, than ever before. We have never had more gains rolled back right in our faces, and never has so much of the capitalist economic crisis been laid on our shoulders. We are burdened by these Black leaders.

The actuality of the situation is bounded on one side by unemployment rates that surpass 80% for Black teen-agers in some areas and on the other side by revolt, from new organizational drives of textile workers in the South to the Blackout events in New York. It was only after that Blackout that Jordan spoke out against Carter. But it is not only that the "talented tenth" leadership has become spokespeople for this society. What of others who claimed to be revolutionaries, like Baraka, or Carmichael, or the Black Panthers now in alliance with the Democratic party?

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It is the depth of revolt which unites Black America with Soweto more than it is united with Black leadership in America. Soweto has been marked by the fact that whether the leadership is killed or exiled or jailed, more leaders emerge from below. An American Black intellectual who just spent 11 months there told me of how the youth have learned to taunt the "hippos" (the name of the 8-sided, armed police transports used to strike fear in Soweto residents). To divert the "hippos" from actual meetings, students would gather at a different place nearby to throw rocks at hippos that came to break up the meeting, then disappear and regroup somewhere else, while the actual meeting continued undisturbed.

Just as the Jesse Jacksons and Vernon Jordans are compelled to speak out after something like the Blackout, so the Black radicals hold conferences and workshops from time to time to appear serious about discussing Black struggles. But there is never any procedure for a dialogue at those conferences, and the workshops only break everything up into isolated categories. All of the retrogressions, whether of "establishment" leaders or radical intellectuals reveal that the relationship of the Black masses to the leadership has been transformed. Where the strength of a King or a Malcolm lay in their ability to represent the spirit of the masses that gave them birth, today there is total capitulation. The Jacksons, Youngs, Carmichaels, Karengas, Barakas, Newtons, are all in disarray, as political and economic crises face the movement.

In 1961 the African National Congress was forced underground, giving birth to the Umkonto We Sizwe, the armed wing of the Congress, at the same time that the nationalist Pan African Congress was forced underground, bringing about the creation of its armed section, POAO. Going underground was in effect going out of sight. But with 10,000 students marching on June 16, 1976, in consultation with organizations like the Black Parents' Association, student unions like the SASO, SASM, migrant workers in the hostels, a new form was found to wage struggle. Its spontaneity is its form, and not as undirected rage, for it was able to direct itself right to the nerve-center of the S.A. economy, Black labor, in a boycott that shut down 80% of Johannesburg's production.

Feel this Soweto and then listen to Fanon: "I am not merely here-and-now, sealed into thingness. I am far somewhere else, for something else. I demand that notice be taken of my negating activity insofar as I pursue something other than life; insofar as I do battle for the creation of a human world, that is, of a world of reciprocal recognitions..." Or Hegel: "It is solely by risking life that freedom is obtained; only thus is it tried and proven that the essential nature of self-consciousness is not bare existence, is not the merely immediate form in which it makes its appearance, is not its mere absorption in the expanse of life." Soweto is the philosophy of freedom in life.

No two Black situations are more alike than America and Soweto, but we reject any direct parallel that could only end up with false conclusions that the same situations should be provoked here, or that because Black Americans aren't struggling in the same manner as the Soweto masses, the movement is dead. What we wish to work out, instead, is the revolutionary dialectical relationship between the two. And that cannot be worked out without the reorganization of revolutionary American Black thought.

That reorganization has begun. At the Black conferences we have attended on the West Coast students were beginning to challenge the old radical leadership and now would-be leadership alike. And Black workers have shown the change in relationship between leaders and masses. One Black Unroyal worker put it this way: "Most management, as well as most of the upper union leadership is white. There are a few Blacks but they do the whites' bidding. We have a Black foreman, and this man is expected to fire more men than anyone. He is there to discipline Blacks. Is that progressive? I am not for joining the system, and all the arguments presented for getting Blacks into management are based on that."

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It is in Fanon that the two liberation movements of Soweto and America meet, both looking for what is needed to insure that we not overthrow the old but don't end up with what the rest of "independent" Africa has become. Fanon's critique is only the negative side of the question, the first negation. It is Marx's Humanism for which Fanon had an affinity but, dying so young, was unable to follow to its methodological conclusions, that philosophy recreated for our time by Raya, which develops the positive side of the dialectic of liberation, the second negation. We have to demonstrate that our revolutionary philosophy provides the methodology whereby the political battles ahead of us can become the pathway towards new revolutionary Black thought.

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When the DISCUSSION was opened, the floor was turned over first to our two visitors from Africa. Their contributions are being transcribed in full to be turned over to the co-authors of the Black Thought pamphlet, and will be summarized only briefly here:

Our visitor from South Africa began by saying that while capitalism is in a crisis, the revolutionary movement is also in a crisis, and is the reason neo-colonialism has won the battle in Africa so far. Fortunately for the people of Africa, the African owatts have always been called a movement. What was taking place was a struggle for independence, which embraced elements from the extreme right to the extreme left. As soon as independence from colonial bondage was won, for many the battle was over, and it was at that stage that neo-colonialism won the day. This is the stage Fanon rightly says is a luxury we can ill afford because it does not bring with it the creation of a human world. The true revolution in Africa is still to take place. There is only one country where the true revolution has begun and that is South Africa. It is precisely because of that that we can find parallels between what is happening among the masses in America and the masses in South Africa, in particular in Soweto -- because in both we find the struggle to create a new human world. It was in the mid-40s that the African people came out with the idea of a new road which called on the African people to look to themselves for their salvation, and stressed that it was essential to have a theory for revolution if the goal was to be achieved. All the oppressed sections were called to come together, including the white workers -- unfortunately the white worker did not answer that call. I was glad that Lou Turner said that when the AMC and the PAC were banned in 1960 the ideas did not die; you can kill a person or an organization but you cannot kill an idea. It is the dynamics of those ideas of freedom that are being given new expression in Soweto today. The African people have rejected the idea of Bantu education ever since 1949. The children who are leading the protest today drank that rejection with their mothers' milk. Today revolutionary movement in Africa has reached a new stage in revolutionary development.

Our visitor from West Africa: I feel what is missing when one talks of "African" is a class content. One never talks of Chiang Kai-shok and Mao Tse-tung in the same breath, but that kind of distinction is often missing when one talks of Africa. Let me give you an example of what I mean by talking about one country in particular -- Nigeria, because one out of every four Africans is a Nigerian, and what happens there is important to every other African. Let me start with the organization of African unity. In all their deliberations it never occurred to them to promote the free movement of people, so that to go through Rabat Nigerians or Ghanaians need visas but Americans and Europeans do not. The TV conception of revolution is that everytime there is some shooting you have one. No. Gowan was overthrown, but it was no revolution. One of the things most resented by radical Africans is the movement of cheap labor from surrounding African states to South Africa. Yet after there was the revolution in Mozambique that movement from Moz. to S.A. still goes on. Or take the Nigerian Press and how it reports the events in S.A. -- all you learn is how many people were killed, never what the movement is about. They don't want any revolutionary aspects against rulers brought out.

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There is a class in Africa in whose interest it is to have neo-colonialism, that we should still be divided into tribes. There is an enormous gap in wages -- and you cannot fool the workers about whether you have a new society. It is the intellectuals who get fooled. One can declare himself a Marxist, but he will be judged by the workers on what he does not what he says. And nobody has to be told he is oppressed. Workers talk bread and butter issues, they talk about inflation, which in Nigeria is running about 40%. At the very height of the troubles in South Africa, we were treated in Nigeria to a Festival of Arts and Culture. I have nothing against people getting together to dance, but what sense does it make to spend millions and millions of dollars to let the West know we have a culture. Why didn't we send some of that money to the Freedom Fighters in South Africa? Andrew Young is the hero of some of the intellectuals, because he is a Black who has "made it". Look at how Young proposes to solve the South African problem -- he says it can be solved by the businessmen if we can get them to see the light. What I am saying is forget the business of that African community where everybody looks after everybody as an extended family. There are classes in Africa. Neo-colonialism would not last if it were not in the interest of some Africans, it could not last if it did not have some collaborators. Nigeria and Kenya are the two countries who don't pretend to have socialism, and just count how many conferences we've had in Nairobi. We've developed what I call a Lagos-Nairobi axis. What we have in Africa now are changes coming from below. We won independence a long time ago and people are no longer satisfied. I think we are entering the period where what will happen in Africa next will be mass and class oriented so that the revolution that people have been talking about will actually happen.

Raya: We have just had a demonstration of the unity of theory and practice. We are very proud that we have Africans here and they have spoken for themselves, and they are not "from below", but from theory. I am very happy that they brought in the class nature and the need for a real revolution, a social revolution, which you cannot have without having one in South Africa. And I hope they will consent to be part of our pamphlet.

BUT, it is incorrect to let yourselves be tainted with the ideas of the bourgeoisie on neo-colonialism. Why blame it on the poor Africans? Independence alone was not their goal. Neo-colonialism came because colonialism was strong as hell, and was not going to allow Africa real freedom, whether it was Ghana or Nigeria they wanted world revolution. And they know from the beginning they had not got it. When he was fighting for power Nkrumah went to lead a general strike and be thrown in jail because he knew that was when all would be for him. After he got into power he moved away from the masses and was so overwhelmed by all that had to be done he thought he could play with the imperialists. The counter-revolution is so strong, and it's right in this country.

Yet the sense of world revolution is so strong that things never happen in just one country. In 1905 we had the Russian Revolution; Einstein discovered the relativity theory; there was a Zulu revolution -- nobody pays attention to it, but we draw the connections.

Here are the points the pamphlet must consider: One, the movement from practice -- Montgomery Bus Boycott through the 60s to the N.Y. Blackout. Why is it important not to play down culture? When Martin Luther King brought in Bubor we hailed it because he was bringing out humanism as the only direction they could go to get freedom. (He didn't want to show it, but it was Hegel that King was following and studied at Harvard.) At the same time we show this in South Africa and Nigeria. We can bring in the Aba events that Judith Van Allen wrote about here, and selected events.

Two, the movement from theory -- can take up Frantz Fanon, who was completely and liberately misunderstood by the Black Power people here. The greatness of the present movement has shown that their Black revolution is not for "Blackness" only but for world revolution, for social revolution. When I wrote for Presence

Africanism I asked "Why not a New International?" I was for Pan Africanism if it was a form of revolutionary socialism and when I asked why not a New International it wasn't because I had any illusions we had any such strength but because I was emphasizing it must be free from statism, free from American imperialism, from Russian or Chinese state-capitalism -- that it had to be an independent road to truly new human relations.

The third part, is markers on the way; we are not giving programs. Marxist-Humanism is one marker; whatever our African contributors want to call their pieces would be another marker -- and then leave ten full pages to ask readers' comments and collaboration. We want to show we are opening a door to work out something truly new and collective as a part of the world revolution.

Tennie, Detroit, said it isn't now to be writing about Africa and America -- the Black nationalists do it all the time calling Africa our mother country. But our pamphlet is different because we want to know the real relationship that unites Africa and America. It is easy to see the economic relationship because U.S. capitalism dominates all of Africa, but Roots showed even the first economic relationship, slavery, was not just economic. The truth is that the Black revolts in Africa and America have inspired each other for generations, and it isn't a question of "cause and effect". Yet something is missing in the Black movement today and we are seeing set-backs everywhere. Chicago seems worst of all, with the KKK and Nazis running wild -- but it could all explode any minute. We know not to expect anything from Black bourgeois leaders, but I wanted to know what revolutionary Black intellectuals were saying and got a sub to Black Scholar. All I have read in it is about Black culture and literature, about Africa and the Caribbean, about China and then not China but Cuba -- but never about the Black American revolution today. The great thing Africa and America share is in News & Letters -- you can see it in the bound volume in people writing to us from Nigeria and Ghana and Tanzania and South Africa, and in Black America speaking for itself to them. The importance of our new pamphlet is because Black liberation, in Africa and America both, needs a philosophy of liberation, so we won't wind up with nothing gained.

Ray, New York spoke on the polemical movement that Lou Turner had mentioned. We Marxist-Humanists are very much a part of American Black thought. When we look back at our own contributions we see ACOT, the AA Revolutions, Black Mass Revolt, Black Brown and Red, Maryland Freedom Union, Notes on WL, Working Women for Freedom, -- they show that though a small organization we have been active in the Black movement and have something concrete to contribute. While it may be true that the American thought will be the most difficult part of the pamphlet, we are not starting from scratch; we have to recognize our own history. We have brought Marxist-Humanism to the movement; I have become especially aware of how important that was to MFU developments. Great as Fanon was we can carry it further. One of the things we do have to confront is the sexism within the Black movement.

Bess, Los Angeles, said that she felt it important to have the thoughts of those who did not come prepared to speak, and may not think they can present their ideas as well as others, and do not think what they feel inside is important -- because all new beginnings are very difficult. Because the important generalizations cannot be made without the listening to these voices, she hoped we would hear from all the voices in the room before the Plenum ended.

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Terry, Chicago took the chair for the INTERNATIONAL REPORTS and turned the floor over to Duffone, Los Angeles:

Europe of the mid-1970s, East and West, is a Europe buffeted by crisis, economically, militarily and politically. But it is also a Europe of revolt -- from Poland's workers' opposition to price increases, to Italy's youth, women and worker revolts, to Portugal's new forms of apartidarismo, to the anti-nuclear protests in Germany and France, to England where the Left massively broke up the recent racist and fascist marches. We, as Marxist-Humanists, visited this Europe in Spring, armed, not with generalities, but very specifically with the PPLs on Portugal and Eurocommunism; armed with an attitude that saw the centrality of women; armed with a concept of self-organization; armed with Philosophy and Revolution becoming internationalized.

We found the most overwhelming revolutionary presence was women -- as movement and as revolutionaries; in Milan, in Portugal, in Spain. To catch this and see it as a challenge for the European revolutionary Left to reorganize itself took Marxist-Humanists armed with a 30 year development of a body of thought which had the specificity of women historically in its development. That specificity has continued with the new pamphlet on Sexism, Politics and Revolution in Mao's China and the new departure of seeing sexism as an evasion of theoretic responsibility.

Apartidarismo, we found concretely in Portugal, did not mean lack of organization, but creation of new forms of organization -- whether the mass assemblies of the Domestic Workers Union, or the MIM's clinic in defiance of the government, or workers' commissions despite government repression. And we met serious intellectuals who were searching for new forms to continue the revolutionary process. Not all were outside organization; one group -- MES-- appeared to be discussing forms of org'n from other than a tactical view. One said, "There was no space, place, to talk about Hogol and Marx in this rich year and a half," and added it was now necessary. We discussed with all these our search for new forces of revolution; new forms of org'n; our analysis of the Portuguese revolution Raya had written; our concept of not separating org'n from philosophic preparation for revolution.

We were not able to speak as one organization to another; we spoke instead to individuals, and thus have only the most beginnings of a political-philosophic-organizational intervention. The internationalization of P&R and M&F is our concrete point of departure for continuing to raise the Marxist-Humanist banner; but the fact that the Portuguese editions will be carried out by serious radical intellectuals, and published by a movement publisher, cannot be underestimated.

In Italy, the most magnificent opportunity is presented with the publication of P&R. As Bess noted in a recent letter, "Autonomia is hardly autonomous." It cannot be no matter how much it opposes the CP unless they grasp Absolute Idea as now beginning. You cannot start, like Aut Aut, trying to provide an ideological ground by looking at totality as a quantitative thing. Totality in itself is no answer, without the now beginning as integral to that totality.

The two Spanish editions of M&F and P&R which are already in our hands, will mean the presence of those ideas in Spain as well as in Latin America, and we are now working for the distribution of M&F in Spain. P&R's is already assured.

In England the primary task was to concretize a M-Hist organizational presence, which took two forms -- first the chance to speak to student and Black audiences at two campuses, as well as Bess and Mary meeting the editor of the WL journal Spare Rib, who had already been influenced by our ideas. Second was the joint meeting between Marxist-Humanists from the U.S. and Britain. It was out of this meeting that the proposal for a joint pamphlet around Raya's chapters in M&F on Capital came about. But it has been the development of what that pamphlet is to be in its entirety

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now form of Today's Crisis that takes us back to the U.S., and in fact takes the whole question of Internationalization back to ourselves where Marxist-Humanism's most comprehensive founding and development has taken place, and where, of necessity, IF internationalization is going to truly take place, we as the living embodiment of this thought will have to have deep organizational development.

The politicalization in terms of today's global crisis, the would-be Marxist Mandel's analysis of it, and Tony Cliff's degrading of Lenin and Marxist economic thought, could only be developed here by the founder of Marxist-Humanist thought. The relevance for the U.S. was clear from the recent conference we described earlier.

As for women's liberation, which is magnificent in Europe, <sup>it</sup> also has its most profound theoretical development here, by Raya. It compels a development of WL-N&L organizationally and politically.

The most concrete step towards the internationalization of P&R and M&F has to begin with what we do with the Spanish edition right here in the U.S. For the bi-lingual pamphlet we are posing I would suggest two points of concentration -- one, our presence this fall at the campus with the largest Chicano studies department in California and a very radical Latin American studies department. Second, our concrete relations with Mexico. The group we have met with twice in Mexico, which has just been involved in the strike at the National University, have just written us, and I would like to propose a trip at the end of the year to work out both discussion around the new Spanish P&R and having a contribution on the new developments there for the bi-lingual pamphlet.

Our internationalization also includes the new developments from China with the publication of "The Revolution is Dead, Long Live the Revolution" containing Raya's analysis of the Cultural Revolution; the publication of P&R in Japan expected this year; and the continuing Marxist-Humanist dialogue in Europe this Spring in Germany, England and France. But for us, the most concrete point of departure remains our development of M-Hist thought and activity in the U.S. That is the surest way to extend our hand to revolutionaries world-wide.

Mary, Detroit, supplemented Eugeno's report by concentrating especially on the women's movement and its implications for revolutionaries. In Italy, the land of spontaneity and massiveness, the WL movement faces today as enemies not only the Christian Democrats and the Church but the parties-to-lead, especially the CP, and has to face its need also for an organization of thought if/it is to remain independent. The Italian edition of P&R could not be more timely for WL. The universalism of Marxist-Humanism has been recognized by one group, ISIS, who have just reprinted the N&L-WL column on E. Timoroso revolutionary, Rosa Muki Bonaparte, in their bulletin.

In Britain we hear that Sheila Rowbotham has gone to the CP; while IS, which is where Rowbotham was when she forgot to include Rosa Luxemburg in her Women, Resistance and Revolution, has in 1977 suddenly remembered they forgot women as a whole for the past quarter-century. Yet amidst this disarray we find women like the editor of Spare Rib who saw in P&R a way for her own reorganization before we met her in person. The British-U.S. internationalization of P&R is the new joint pamphlet which can become a way to bring M-Hist currents there together.

It was in a land of revolution, Portugal, where those who best understood organization practiced apartidarismo and where the women were trying to answer: How to complete the revolution? In the face of a growing counter-revolution the MLM decided what was needed was to begin an independent newspaper; it was they who felt an immediate affinity to M-Humanism, offered us a platform to speak to them, and wanted to be publishers of M&F and P&R. We have been witnessing all day from the Perspectives presentation to now what it means to practice internationalism at home. We come from the land that is not only the mightiest imperialist country, but the land that has given the whole world a revolution in thought. That is what is needed to be ready for the needed American revolution that will finally unleash the world revolution.

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Boss, Los Angeles, wondered where to begin her supplementary report, when you recognize how terribly important for the world this small group here is, because this is where the restatement of Marxism for our time has been articulated. We take for granted a lot of radicals know about us, but Raya warned us before we left on our trip that we would have to begin with the Great Divide that Lenin's reorganization of his own thought meant. How true it was. Everybody calls him or herself a Leninist there. So what we were confronted with was how to present what Lenin did when he was confronted with a crisis in his own thought. When he went back to find what is Marxism he discovered he wasn't really a Marxist. But the Left in Europe doesn't understand that. When they want to go back to Lenin, like MES wants to, they go to the Lenin of "What's To Be Done?" As if Lenin didn't break with that kind of thought. Lenin wasn't just "updating" something.

In the chapters from M&F we are going to republish, you can see that it is what people were doing in all parts of the world that gave the form to Marx's Capital, whether it was the slaves that decided they wanted to be wage slaves instead of chattel, or the Paris Commune that exposed the fetishism of commodities. What makes a great thinker is to take these actions for human freedom and make the generalization. Lenin had to get that method before he could say never again with the Second International and show why it was never again. What we did around M&F in this country was to practice Marx's methodology when we reached state-capitalist theory and a minor said he wanted a different kind of labor, and Marxism and Freedom was given a new form.

In Portugal, and Italy and England what we kept trying to show was that unless you understand Lenin's break, you can't understand the recreation of Marxism in 1977. We came armed with that kind of thought. It is no accident that the women who wanted to work with Feminism had to leave their organizations -- in Portugal, in England, and in a sense in Italy. But it was only first negation so far. It is very helpful to have personal contact, and I hope it can continue despite our limited resources, so it can go to second negation.

In the DISCUSSION, John, Detroit, noted the strong emphasis on organization this year, where we went with something to project, not only to report what is but discuss how to change it. He referred to the periods of the 1937 Spanish Revolution and the 1945 Post WWII to show how world crises can force you to contend with philosophy whether you want to or not. In 1937, while organizing fulltime for the SP in New England, the SP was moving left and the CP right, and it was necessary to break with all of them and raise a new banner, at that time the 4th International in order to talk intelligently to workers. In 1945 returning from war, the SWP was in total disarray and the party-line was frozen on Russia as a workers' state, forcing me to analyze its role and come to a state-capitalist position, which I put forward. Later I found someone else had done similar work in the WP, went looking for FF --- and the rest is history. The relevance to today's discussion is that it is impossible to view us as laying down a line "for them", instead of seeing that others are searching for themselves -- because no others have unfurled a banner that could itself be a form of activity.

Diano, Los Angeles, said she was compelled to speak because Boss was right that it is just petty-bourgeois ego to keep silent because you are afraid you will not sound as polished as others and she felt an all-encompassing need for the Black Thought pamphlet. She described three Black women who had participated in their discussions in L.A., and the one who is in so many activities and going in so many directions at once that it is destroying her -- she hoped to be able to talk with her and get her to direct her energies to Marxist-Humanist work.

Ursula, Chicago, told of first-hand news she had from friends about the food riots in Poland after the announcement of 100 to 200% price increases. Store windows were smashed and communications cut off and the government at once tried to blame it on "hooligans". The need to

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hide the true events from the rest of the population was so great that in Warsaw they organized a rally for the government. Workers were horded from the factories to the stadium, where the people were told it was instigated by Jews. The section where the CP was seated clapped vigorously and that shot was TVed all over Poland and made to look as if all the workers were applauding as they then showed a distant full view of the workers filling the stadium. But no matter how they tried, the tricks didn't work. The government had to take the price increases back.

Olga, Detroit spoke about the decade since 1967, since that year represented a kind of watershed that laid the ground for the highpoint of 68 being followed by the counter-revolution of 69 instead of a new society -- in two ways, the Black Revolt and the Middle-East. The retrogression to the point that neo-fascists are openly appearing everywhere, not even disguised as "populism", is the more horrifying not so much because of the degeneration of capitalism (that has to be exposed as the root cause) but the responsibility of the Left, not just for what it didn't do in 68, but what it did do in 67. 67 was the Detroit revolt, a new highpoint for class and race; it was also the 6-day war in the Middle-East. In Detroit the Left was nowhere around though it tried to claim credit, and missed the point entirely, trying to make it against whites only, and missing the true internationalism of proletarianism. In the Middle-East, it anointed the Arab world as Socialism and the defense of Israel as Zionism, and laid the roots for the new stage of anti-semitism we see today. The greatest subjective fact during the same 10 years is the publication of P&R -- and it is no accident that although it was in 67 that Raya first proposed a new Black pamphlet, it was not until after P&R that it became possible for us to work out one that is not only Black Voices, but also Black Thought.

One of our visitors from France, whose comments were translated for us by Malcolm, spoke to us about the Women's Liberation movement in France; The WLM in France began with the struggle for the right for abortion, when it had the greatest number of followers. The law was passed in 1974 but it was only for a 5 year period, and we do not know what will happen when this period is up. Women consider practical work more important than theory. Small groups may try some theory, but the mass work is around abortion, contraception, liberation of sexuality. There has been work with prostitutes in which I participated last year. I believe the women's movement will come back with more force when the abortion law is re-examined by the government because it is not very good, and while the women want to improve it, the government would like to reduce it. (Mario also said she would be happy to try to translate Working Women For Freedom for French readers.)

Therese, another visitor from France, wanted to speak about the things that had changed the most in the past few years. The extreme Left has become very well known. Fifteen years ago one would not dare to say one was a Trotskyist. It was difficult to distribute leaflets at a factory because of physical confrontation with the Communists. Since 1968 the ideas are much better known by workers whether they agree with them or not. Right now there are three Trotskyist groups of about 1000 members each and two Maoist groups of lesser numbers. There are four daily papers of the extreme Left. What we discuss the most right now are the elections, and how battles with the police would affect them. What I am asking myself right now is, if the Left came into power how they would be used to discipline the workers to produce more. Some workers are talking about one day of strike per week, and the rest of the week take it easy. What I would like to ask you is why you are so indignant about the New Philosophy in France -- it was publicized by the newspapers but only discussed among certain circles of intellectuals. I do not feel it is taken seriously in France.

Bob, Detroit, said it had been exciting to hear the International reports because they were not just reports from afar, but concretized the Perspectives, especially so the one from West Africa which revealed some of the empty categories that disguise the need

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for revolution. I was reminded that at the height of the Cultural Revolution the banner of the Paris Commune was mentioned but it was an empty category which was exposed by Whither China when the demand for a real Paris Commune was raised. Yet Maoism struck a world-wide chord in those who wanted revolution but didn't go beyond the choices that seemed to be offered them. This year we find there was a continuity of the Red Guards who did take the P.C. seriously, with the reprinting of Raya and the theoretical continuation of ShengWu-lion.

Jane, Chicago, said Chicago was probably the most racist city in the U.S, and that is one of the reasons she was so excited to see the Kent students with their wonderful T-shirts "Remember the Spirit of Kent and Jackson State" which expresses true revolutionary continuity, not only with 1970 but all the way back to 1851, when Sojourner Truth gave a wonderful speech in Akron, Ohio that brought together women's rights and the underground railroad. In fact, it is not even just youth and women and Black, but has a proletarian dimension too, for it was Lordstown, Ohio where GM ran to get away from workers' revolts and found they couldn't. The women on strike in Elwood saw the connections when they said they wanted to do what the youth at Kent State were doing. And it's all these connections that we have to make explicit in the new pamphlet. What makes it urgent is the sorts of things you see in Chicago, where you can dial five different numbers to get the Nazi message for the day, where Black homos are bombed, Blacks waiting for buses are attacked, and huge racist mobs are meeting with politicians who insist the opposition to busing is not racist. It is revolutionary Black thought that is needed to guarantee the ideas of the Black masses will be put forward and find reality.

Toru, New York, spoke about the reputation Asian-Americans have for being silent, and the reasons -- whether a deliberate stereotyping to isolate us, or our language, or small numbers. But I know many who are not Asian-Americans and are quiet; and I know that sometimes I am not quiet. At the WL meeting on Friday I began to realize that talking -- for the poor, for minorities, for women -- is an active and wonderful fight. Every day we are treated as though we don't have much to say, so when we finally do talk it expresses feelings that flow from the wretchedness of this society. I suddenly understood why N&L talks about the four forces of revolution. I know that the more I fight against a society that tells me I am not worthy of freedom, the more I know it isn't true. It was my mother's passion to be able to express herself. Today, as a fighter, you cannot keep her quiet. The racism against Asian-Americans can be seen in the way this country's Chinatowns and Japantowns are being taken over by the Japanese and Taiwan multi-nationals while communities are evicted wholesale. N&L pays attention to everybody, and Toru said she hoped it would now look at the Asian-Americans.

Andy, Detroit said that his work with Donby on Indignant Heart had shown that the most important works we have on Black revolt are Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution, which had so much to do with the self-development of Donby that covers three entire decades. We more than any others appreciate the internationalism that Fanon represents -- but you cannot find internationalism expressed anywhere on earth that can match P&R. And we are not the only ones aware that time is running out. Those in power know it very well. The very appearance of the New Philosophy in France is no accident. What the capitalists are frightened to death of is the power of the revolt against them. They are terrified that the Left is going to win. Philosophy has received tremendous publicity in this country because they want it presented as an alternative, and we will all be hearing much more about it in the days ahead.

Felix, Los Angeles, said Raya's Perspectives had touched every spot on earth, where everybody is either in revolt or scared to death of those in revolt against them. Time sure is running out for the rascals, but it's just running in for us. I just spent a week on a farm. I used to be a farmer and I looked at a little old 50 model Ford tractor that they wanted \$1200 for -- and it was the same model that we had bought new in 52 for that same \$1200. Can you imagine, with corn selling \$1.50 a bushel, then and the same price today, how a farmer can stay in business? He is in the same posi-

tion as a non-union worker. We're all in the same situation. If we want to survive we're going to have to change everything around. And some people think we should support Russia against the U.S. I don't see any difference between Russia and GM -- they're both management so far as I can see.

Raya gave a SUMMATION for the entire day's proceedings:

I will talk about philosophy, but so concrete nobody will misunderstand it, and I want to begin with Marx. All Marxists are proud that Marx broke with philosophy and said philosophers have interpreted the world but now was the time to change it. They said they were going to change it, and that was Marxism. But it wasn't. Because he also said that it was impossible to fight it without realizing philosophy. What was great about Marxism was that it was total and demanded that the idea of freedom be made reality. That was his first fight -- to make philosophy real.

In 1852 when he wrote the 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte the intellectuals got mad at him all over again. They were insulted and insisted they had nothing to do with the disgusting bourgeoisie. Marx told them to consider the self-development of their thought, because they could not go further in their philosophy than the petty bourgeois they so despised. The relation of thought to reality is so deep you cannot change thought without changing reality.

Kautsky could give better speeches on the class struggle than anyone here, but when it came to changing reality totally, without dialectics it meant nothing, except betrayal. When they failed to react to the first form of reformism -- Bernstein's call to "remove the dialect scaffolding" -- Lenin was with them. But when he saw their collapse simultaneously with the collapse of capitalism, Lenin said maybe he'd better go re-examine what Hegel was talking about, what was "self-determination of the idea"? After he did, he said he would never again be with the Second International -- which every Trotskyist and Stalinist and Maoist repeats, without repeating what he said about HOW it would not be with the Second International, by returning to philosophy as the theoretic preparation for revolution. There is no other way -- otherwise you have activity and more activity, and wind up with the New Philosophy in France or with the Weathermen of the SDS.

You go through a very traumatic experience when you are a nobody and you dare to say that a great revolutionary like Trotsky is wrong and you are right, that Russia is a monstrosity and you're not defending it. He used "dialectics" all the time but didn't go through a dialectical transformation of his thought -- he just said he was going to continue with 1917. You don't understand methodology whatsoever if you only go by results of what has happened, no matter how great you are.

In 1947 in France a Camerounian came to the International conference. He said that after the war they wanted to know why they should remain under French domination, and they called a little meeting, but they didn't know what hunger there was for freedom -- the whole population came out. He said they didn't have enough membership cards, they didn't know what to tell the people -- and do you know what the CGT and the Trotskyists told him? They said he had to go back and first build a trade union! I had been there to talk on state-capitalism, but I was so excited that what I wrote back to the U.S. was that a new stage of revolution had begun in Africa. And not only a new stage, but they were higher than we were; the population to a man, woman and child.

And what happened then. What does it mean to say we don't have to pay any attention to Sartre and Existentialism? He disoriented a whole generation of revolutionaries, who did want something new, and did want philosophy. Let me explain what the title of the Perspectives -- IT'S LATER, ALWAYS LATER -- means philosophically. Hegel says Essence also must appear. Appearance and Essence sometimes come together. But when it does, will you recognize it? If you aren't prepared, it is too late catch it, and you will keep being in alienation.



Take Sexism, Politics and Revolution. It never failed that I was always defending some woman in the old organizations. When the war ended, and the men came back to the Trotskyist parties, they took back the jobs that women had been doing during the war, just like the bourgeois relations. Only now they had the women to blame for not growing. I defended one of the women I was always fighting with politically, asking how they dared to blame her instead of blaming the line they had set. What happened to what Marx had said when he was first founding his new continent of thought? That the man/woman relationship is the most fundamental of all? And he certainly was active in every single woman's movement of his day. Nevertheless, the minute a revolution happened, suddenly it became humanity, not women. Here is a man as great as Marx, as non-sexist in the theories and philosophy of revolution as anyone could be, and he himself sent a woman to France just before the Paris Commune erupted to see what she could find out and do there, as the representative of the First International. Yet why did he say the greatest thing was the Commune's own working existence without showing it was women who were the backbone, and actually began the communal form?

It took this generation to discover it was the women -- I hope everybody has read Woman Incendiaries. Why? Because when you, yourself, do not appear on the scene, even someone as great as Hegel or Marx cannot see it. We are the generation that saw women as Reason as important. What we are trying to do with Sexism, Politics and Revolution is to see that just as philosophy is important to everything that must be theoretic preparation for revolution, what sexism is killing is not us but the revolution in yourselves as men. To avoid what it is that we have produced is evasion of theory. We want to make the revolution total.

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The Session on Sunday, Sept. 4, began with Deborah, Bay Area in the chair.

The NATIONAL ORGANIZER'S REPORT by presented by Olga -- and has been transcribed and reproduced as Post-Plenum bulletin number two, sub-titled: Politicalization, Battle of Ideas and Organizational Growth. It will not, therefore, be summarized here.

Andy gave his sub-report on the paper, NEWS & LETTERS, immediately after, pointing to the situation in the mines, where the union and the industry alike are facing a crisis as a result of the 80,000 miners who were out on strike to protest taking away the hospital benefits they had won through hard battle way back in 1947. What is ahead may be quite different than anything that has been seen before, and it will be reflected in the pages in N&L, just as all important developments in labor have been recorded in the pages in the past. Andy held up the new bound volume of the last ten years of N&L, which is the history of the most important developments that have taken place in the world and an analysis you will not find anywhere else. Our written record of this decade will stand up against any in the world. It is doubly true with the 2nd bound volume, and triply so with our first which encompasses, then, all important developments from 1955 to today. Andy said he had become dramatically aware of this as he has been working with Charles Donby in what we have called an "updating of Indignant Heart" for a future German edition. In addition to the recollection of things past that have to do with the future, there has been a studying of the entire series of Worker's Journal columns which gives you a view of the philosophical development of a worker who is a Marxist-Humanist through the recounting of the specific events throughout the entire past quarter-century. It includes everything from the development of the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the civil rights struggles to the reviews of Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution, and is a glimpse of the wealth that N&L offers its readers.

In the pro-Plenary discussion, the idea of a regular 12-pager was offered as a perspective for the future. It was a proposal that was compelled

by the important objective developments in the world. That is connected to the question of our organizational growth in very direct ways. If we achieve the perspective of actually getting a Latino page, we will have the simple physical problem of where to put all the important reports and analysis that the objective situation compells. The perspective will not be discussed until the Convention, but we must begin to think towards it through the coming year.

Andy reviewed the past year in terms of achievements and failures, calling attention to the Youth page as an example of how a page comes alive when something like the communication with the British students transformed the whole March issue and created new relationships on which we are still building. The relationship between paper and organization is so integral there is no possible separation between them.

He called attention to the fact that we used to have a separate "Black Page" to assure there would be material on the Black dimension each issue, but Black so permeates everything and is on every page it is no longer necessary, as it still is for Women, Youth, and other revolutionary forces. The Organizational Report has already taken up such questions as our coverage of the ARA women's struggles and court fight, and posed the question we must project to others -- why is it that we and none others recognized this precedent-setting case as important to persistently follow; what gave us the organizational sensitivity to these women? It can only come with the integration of your philosophy and your organization. It permeates everything in our paper because we do not write about what "others" are doing, but what we are participating in with others. What distinguishes the paper is that when workers say "this paper tells the truth" it is because they know "I am there in that paper." They see the truth of themselves.

The discipline that a paper like ours imposes means that we do not just fill space; we do not have lengthy, wind-blown reports; even our ads are political "articles". Every 12-pager has been an expanded advertisement for revolution. The 12-pagers we are looking toward being able to have regularly cannot be seen as just "more space". They will be the opportunity to expand our conception of the unity of theoretical and practical tasks; they will give us the chance to have a Political-Philosophic Letter in every issue. That is the tremendous goal we are trying to achieve -- and it has to come from our own self-development. It can come no other way.

In the DISCUSSION, Felix Martin spoke as West Coast Editor: I'm a production worker. I've been a fighter against this society all my life. Some of the Left thinks revolution comes from the barrel of a gun. But in a society where the rulers' gun is a neutron bomb you'd better have more than that to bring to the battle. We say we put a lot of our faith in self-development. The way I found N&L was through an article I had tried to write that I wanted to world to know about; somebody I know from IS told me Worker's Power wouldn't print it but he knew "a little paper that would print anything" -- and I really wanted to know people who would print what a worker wrote. After I had joined the Navy I swore I'd never join anything else in my life, but I joined N&L because it was a place where people could come to gether with their own ideas and grow with each other. Our paper is the only one I know where you can find everything that's important to know that's going on in the world. We were giving out the March issue about the British students at the Mashinini meeting -- and those people, who had just brought him from England, didn't know a thing about it. And I want to say something about Indignant Heart, because when I read it I felt it was about my own life -- and here we are in the same organization. I'd like to tell those who feel they shouldn't join something until they know everything" -- if I hadn't joined N&L, I would have wound up struggling all my life and never knowing anything.

Suzanne, Detroit, who had been chosen by the WL-N&L national meeting Friday, to report on their three hour meeting, said she would concentrate on what is now. The main point was politicalization, making our philosophy concrete. Even things that may seem technical, such as Lillian's seeing her picture at a demonstration reprinted in other papers, and suddenly realizing that her pickot sign should have said News & Letters, are

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not technical when you work on what to say in a picket sign to let everyone know how you are different from all the other groups. She pointed to the large bodysheet size banner hanging in front of the hall that we had used at Flint, which read "1937-77 -- The Struggle Continues -- WL-News & Letters" and contrasted it to the constant "Hands Off...." banners others keep writing, because ours really said something.

Something that will be very important this year is the Bakke decision, which does not affect just students or just minority students, but women and Black workers. Urszula raised it in a totally new way, when she pointed out that anybody who wants to be a doctor should be allowed to study medicine, instead of limiting it to the few chosen by the AMA. That questions the whole capitalist system of medicine. It underlines the importance she, as a new member, will have for Chicago WL-N&L. It reminded us that Peggy had come to us as new member through the P&R classes, especially the one on Jade and the Chinese revolution, which gives a glimpse of how our newest pamphlet can be expected to speak to other women.

We discussed the many national and international conferences coming up, in that everyone was unprepared for the counter-revolution coming from women on anti-abortion, anti ERA. We had not known how to present alternatives right when they arose, rather than looking back to say we should have done it. We are going to be working out the best way to intervene at the Houston WY, including what our leaflet will say.

We discussed the lack of membership growth and its relation to our not being rooted in Black and working class struggles. Tommie pointed out we have always been rooted there, but the question is what have we done there, and related it to her activity next year in the National Alliance of Black Feminists, whose slogan "feminism is a dimension of humanism" has to be concretized so it does not wind up social work. The Essex women's strike challenges us to work with them in the same way we had done with ARA, and differentiate ourselves from all the radicals that have poured in.

But the most consistent way of concretizing our philosophy is through the paper, the entire paper, not just page 2. Women are involved in everything going on today, yet we tend to limit ourselves to "women's issues". How many women have we discussed TW or the PPLs with? If we continue to limit ourselves we will be like Sholla Rowbotham who left out Rosa Luxemburg because she didn't write directly on women. It is sexist to think other women would not be interested in what we are. Or that we can't approach men. The new idea Anne proposed for the column this year was to work at the column, and not columnist. Anne will take responsibility for every other column but each of us is responsible to submit columns around what we are active in. Inez was asked to write on what she discussed about the relationship between the Essex workers and Sexism, Politics and Revolution. This kind of politicalization requires self-reorganization by each of us, and is the basis for any true collectivity.

Will raised the question of Sexism in women two years ago, but it was difficult to grapple with. To think that sexism isn't as important as racism or exploitation means that theory to you is composed of pieces. Not to take yourselves seriously as women is sexism. Marxist-Humanism singled out women as a force of revolution at its very founding, and our philosophy has no holes in it. Raya has told us that we are going to have to work out for ourselves what she has raised in saying the sexism is an evasion of theory. We have to challenge the whole world, including the whole Left, and tell them we are not going to tolerate any longer the barriers that are being thrown up to keep us from winning freedom.

national  
Jim, Detroit, youth representative to the R&B, reported on the Youth Meeting held Friday, and the youth discussion that had been going on over the weekend.

Youth revolts all over the world prove that youth do not want this society; the N&L constitution brings them, as force, right alongside the workers. We have seen the youth revolt dramatically this year in South Africa, in Italy, in England, in California against the Bakke decision, minority cuts, and U.S.

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complicity in South Africa, at Old Westbury, and in New York city. At our national meeting we had present everyone from junior high youth to those already out of college and asked ourselves what brought such a diverse group together? High school has become nothing more than training for permanent unemployment, and the junior high student saw her school as preparation for drug abuse. A Black woman WSU student came and asked very concrete questions about our positions on everything from tuition increases to grading systems.

The Kent State protests have brought out opposition to the planned nuclear war, and there are ideological battles ahead that we have to be prepared for, and will not avoid. The WSU youth committee has tools to work with already -- a budget included. What we want is a serious dialogue with Kent on the anti-war movement to come, and how the Marxist Humanist movement can join with others to help create a new society. Integral to that is Todd and Bill's request for the May 4 Coalition to sponsor Raya for a paid lecture at Kent. We want to know if there are others like them who would like to read P&R and other Marxist-Humanist works in a discussion group of their own. We are not willing to trade permanent unemployment for another war and death. The alternative we choose is revolution and a new world altogether. The Kent students have made a leap over the 1970 students in joining together Kent and Jackson, and still another in the invitation to Marxist-Humanism in the person of Raya to their campus.

As for our responsibilities right here, we want to work toward a campus paper, a Marxist-Humanist paper that will raise questions students can discuss. And we want to have High School Blues come out again. The core of the universality is not in millage questions but that the system is fragmenting youth into fragments. We want to raise a new banner for youth. We've had some inkling of what we can do in the articles that have appeared in N&L this past year. What the column can help develop in the year ahead is the international dimension's relationship to the national movement, the anti-nuclear movement, the shop reports, and the relationship of all to the working out of philosophy for our time.

Mike, Detroit said that since we had a pre-plenum bulletin that printed the actual organizers' reports, he would not repeat that, but did want to deal with Detroit in a way that would relate to the Black Thought pamphlet. This city contains the highest contradictions of capitalism anywhere on earth. The industrial production of the Detroit area is equal to the entire continent of Africa, including industrialized South Africa. Nowhere is the concentration of dead capital over living labor greater. It's the pivot of American capitalism. It shows the most stark disintegration of capitalism at this stage of time running out; 86% of the Black youth are unemployed. The contradictions are enormous. We have a Black mayor, a Black council, a Black school board -- but no Black power whatsoever. And I think of all this in relation to the question of "anticipation" that RD raised in New Essays on p. 21, when she takes issue with Hegel about philosophy spreading wings at dusk-- because preparation for revolution demands something different than that. Mike took up the past ten years' developments of Black revolt in Detroit. Because Detroit is also the world center of Marxist-Humanism, we have to begin to realize what it means that this local is the one that has Raya present "regularly". We have to invite Raya with the same urgency as if she were on tour, and prepare ourselves for it. We have to work with workers in the plants, the youth on the campuses in a new way, to make Detroit not the highest contradictions of the old, but the inspiration for the new world.

Kevin, New York, spoke of our development in terms of the fact that there is a publication for everyone in the organization, it is a tremendous sweep and scope. The PPLs have to be seen both as a concretization of P&R and of the work RD has done since P&R. And New Essays have to be seen not just as an "updating" but as new, and singled out from all the other publications to give it the importance it deserves. The Hegel essay, right within it, has a discussion not only of Fanon, but of Kosik. It makes the idea of Trotsky as a

tantian explicit, in that critique. The Harroll piece seemed to me to parallel the Sartre chapter, and not only exposes but gives someone who has Harroll's ideas room to reorganize his thoughts. In New York, politicalization of philosophy can mean the paper continuing the dialogue on the July revolt; it can mean keeping copies of what we send to the paper and rereading not to complain about what was changed, but of learning why; and to concretize it for the youth, could it mean having classes around New Essays in our local or at the Free Association?

(Because time was running fast, and there were so many hands raised to speak, the time for speakers had to be cut, beginning with Kevin, from 10 minutes to 3, to allow all to have a chance.)

Tom, Los Angeles, talked about the shop paper they had put out at GM Southgate. He saw the undercurrent of revolt evident throughout American labor, exemplified by the persistent and militant absenteeism in the shops, and demanding a periphery of workers around each local. He discussed the work with their plant "Blue sheets" in which other workers besides Felix and Tom participated in the writing and editing. They so caught the spirit and thought of the other workers that when one foreman challenged workers he caught reading the Blue sheet to say who wrote it, one of them yelled, "I did" and signed his name on the spot, sending the foreman running.

Marianna, Detroit, spoke of what it meant that WL was so pervasive throughout the whole Plenum. The counter-revolution is coming down so strongly that WL fools it very clearly; letters and articles in the women's press reveal a roaching out for some theory, even if they do not quite reach it. Independent feminists are being forced to confront totality, and our responsibility as Marxist-Humanist women is to work out how to challenge the Left on their sexism. We have to intervene and we can't do it individually, but collectively, which is why she had asked for help in her draft of a letter to OOB. She had especially liked Anne's statement that "organization is not to be feared, but to grow in." We will win new members when they see N&L as the road to their own self-development.

Todd, a visitor from Kent, gave a short history of what had gone on at Kent State from the beginning of the students' protest against the building of a gym to destroy the site of the murders of May 1970, when the National Guard had fired on a demonstration against the U.S. invasion of Cambodia. He read in full the statement of the Coalition, of which he is an active participant, but said he wished to make a few criticisms of their activity: While they consciously had linked Black and white together, as the T-shirts with their "Remember the spirit of Kent and Jackson" showed, on their own Kent State campus the links had not been forged. He felt it critical to repair the schism that had developed between Black and white students; this was, indeed, what he and others were trying to do.

Bill, another student from Kent, supplemented Todd's report with some comments on how he viewed us all as part of one struggle. He felt that the administration and the establishment have the force, but it is we who have the power -- and it is that sense of history that you get as part of a struggle like theirs. There are points in history where different events meet and touch -- May 4, 1970 and May 4, 1977; or Soweto on the anniversary of last year's outburst. He felt the potential N&L has for creating action through letters is powerful.

Dave, Chicago, spoke of his excitement in learning that IH was going to be republished and what an impact it had made on him when he first found it. He discussed some of his experiences as a teacher, asking his classes what books they had read and liked when the answers were all "stories about real life," but not "tragic." One day he was talking to a student about Salvador Allende and what he really stood for and suddenly looked around to find 30 or 40 people listening -- when he couldn't have got them to listen to a word in his class. Then I began to understand what they had been trying to get me to understand. They knew enough about oppression; what they wanted to read was how to get out of it. And that's why I'm glad Indignant Heart will be back in print. It's the only book I ever found that does that.

Frica, Detroit, said she felt organizational growth was essential for the youth, and stressed the importance of lit tables, not only in selling but in knowing how to talk with those who come to us. We are interested in those who are interested in us; and growth is a question of who, not a quantitative how many. N&L is the most concrete expression of our philosophy, the most consistent way to let others know what we stand for. And now we have the perspective of putting out a Young Marxist-Humanist, along the lines that Eugene did when he was a college youth, with the important difference that he had to work alone and we have a whole committee that will help. It is showing youth as Reason that must come through in that, and in N&L and in every article we write. What is so great is that other youth can be part of our committee without having to be a member of N&L; that our committee is autonomous. The struggles youth face today are not the same as those of yesterday. Anti-nuclear war activity is different from anti-Vietnam. Time is running out; and at Kent State you could see counter-revolution in the way the cops treated the students of 77 every bit as much as the way the troops acted in 70. If we are impatient, we have a right to be -- the world has seen enough of barbarism.

The DISCUSSION continued after the Lunch Break with Chris, Bay Area, in the Chair -- and the session reopened with three applications for membership, Marchot and Bonnie from New York, and Roger from Canada were all accepted unanimously.

Anne, New York, spoke on sexism as the point of a Great Divide with all other schools of thought on one side and Marxist-Humanism on the other. Women are on the move, and thinking, everywhere; and the new pamphlet is a challenge to the Left to see that sexism cannot be separated from the question of alienated labor because freedom is a totality. We have to challenge the Left on their refusal to seriously contend with Raya's work. We also have to contend with considerable "anti-theory" in the women's movement. Our discussion Friday showed that WL-N&L committees are active in everything from Now to working women's activities to Black struggles, and with the purpose of concretizing the Marxist-Humanism we find in those activities.

Chris, Bay Area, said that everybody is talking about organization at this point, and not just we. All seem to be talking about what kind of organization can unite theory and practice -- but nobody else has come near to projecting what the PPLs have done. He felt that sexism is very much related to vanguardism, and discussed an incident in a Gay Rights Coalition with which he is working, and which calls itself a Coalition for Human Rights because they have been forced into becoming part of the revolutionary movement.

Peter, New York, wanted to work out the relationship between the Perspectives, the Black Thought pamphlet and the Youth discussions. The need to tie Soweto to the N.Y. Blackout had been discussed yesterday. Today Kent students were discussing the critical relations between the struggles of the Black students and the gym protests. The Black dimension is evident in every movement we look at. When you hear one of the Kent activists talk so passionately about philosophy you know that links aren't just links. It is not enough to have a lot of activity; where does it get us? The youth columns may be important in the process of working out these questions; they cannot just tie stories together, but must help show the relationships and open up a real dialogue with other students and youth.

Steve, Detroit, discussed the Native American movement in relationship to the coming Black Thought pamphlet. He had been reminded, when one of the African visitors had talked of the way tribes were used by the rulers to divide them, that the freedom movement has, on the other hand, been able to use them for freedom. We tried to develop the relationship of Blacks and Native Americans in Black, Brown and Red -- but the new pamphlet is a far greater challenge.

Shainapo Sheapwo, Detroit reminded us of how powerful Wounded Knee was in 1973 in building a movement. The solidarity with other minorities and with women, now that there is no such immediate crisis,

is no longer so evident. The attitude to and condition of women before then was not good. And now again there are those who tell me that my column on forced sterilization is going to ruin the relation of the men and the women in our movement -- and they're probably right. There have been splits in our movement; some even want to join the CPEC, incredible as that may sound. I appreciate the opportunity of writing a column for N&L because it keeps me digging to keep in touch with what is going on.

Susan, Detroit, spoke of her work with the Detroit feminist bookstore Harshelf, and what she could do to politicalize it. There is a contradiction in that the store survives on selling at women's events, but women do not come into the store itself. She also wondered where we would be if Anita Bryant's offensive had happened here in Detroit. She felt it important to work out our intervention at DWY with other women, and simultaneously work out our relationship as Marxist-humanists to them. The most important thing was not to cut ourselves off from others or from each other.

Roger, Toronto, spoke of the thinking that goes into making the serious decision of joining with a group like N&L. He spoke very briefly, because of the rush of time, about Quebec and the new developments there around Parti Quebecois, which we will have to continue as articles in the paper.

And Malcolm, Detroit, briefly pursued the same point, adding some information about the Inuit protest against the PQ new language bill, which will also be dealt with in the paper.

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John, New York, took the chair to introduce Charles Donby who was to present the FINANCE REPORT:

He began by stating that we had come to the point on the agenda where we had to answer some basic questions -- Can we really do all we planned? Can we raise the necessary funds from our own pockets, when we all already give so much and have so little? Can we project Marxist-humanism in such a way that many who are not members will also wish to contribute the maximum? Can we be creative in inventing ways to expand our finances so we not only assure the continuation of N&L, now a 12-pager three times a year, but also have the money for the new publications and the organizing work we must do, in one single fund?

Literature has always been our mainstay. And it is not only what is sold through the center, or on tours, but the lit that is sold by our locals, where a small local like New York, by extending itself to the whole East Coast was able to raise almost \$900 this year, while our brand new Chicago local was able to sell nearly \$500. At this point the totals for the entire year were before everyone to study, and it was clear from the deficit between regular income and regular expenses, even when lit sales are exceptionally good, that the absolute minimum to begin the work we wanted to take up for the next year would be \$15,000. The way we raised the funds for Indignant Heart before we ever had a paper was to ask those who wanted to see that story published make themselves responsible for raising the money. We can do the same for what we want to publish this year, if we are serious about making no distinctions between "inside" and "out".

The pledges to the new Sustaining-Publishing-Organizing Fund came fast from new members and old, and from friends who took the invitation to join us in the great perspectives we had set ourselves seriously -- so that by the end of the session and the discussion that followed the pledges totalled \$ 18, 350.00.

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Following the Executive Session, which heard a report by the National Chairwoman on "The Relationship of Marx to Engels; Its Relevance for Today", the motions flowing from all the discussions of the two days of meeting were voted upon by the membership of the NEB, with a consultative vote of the entire membership taken as well:

The proposal of the WL-N&L committees to stress column, not columnist for the next year was approved. Also approved was their motion to send an expression of support to the Essex workers and give them space for their story in the next issue. A calligram was approved to send to Harry McShane in Glasgow, which read: "The Marxist-Humanists of the U.S., in session, greet the British Marxist-Humanists, and you especially, as author of the Preface to our now joint British-U.S. pamphlet on Marx's Capital. In this year of the internationalization of publications of Philosophy and Revolution, and spontaneous worker actions in England and the U.S., the political articulation of the philosophy of liberation will prepare us for its realization."

All the reports were accepted, and motions were made and accepted to publish in full both the Perspectives Report and the Organizational Report. It was also moved and accepted that, rather than an abbreviated summation of the entire proceedings, the report this year be an extended summation, which could be offered for sale along with the Perspectives and Organizational reports.

Anne, New York, made a motion to thank the Detroit local for "the wonderful hosting, delicious food and comfortable beds" which was enthusiastically approved. The Plenum was then adjourned with a brief farewell from Raya for the Resident Editorial Board,

Olga Domanski, Nat'l Sec'y

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