

and on a broader scale, or we will certainly not deserve a place in the leadership in 1966. Yours, Raya

July 22, 1965

To the REB-NEB  
Dear Colleagues:

Today I received a letter from Japan regarding the trip there. In many respects we have had to deliberately underplay its importance, but now that it is becoming concrete it is not only a question of the money due, ~~and~~ (not to be underestimated since they raise also the question of a translator and the poverty-condition they are in) but, above all, what it means in the functioning of the organization without the Chairman not only for the months of the trip but for the better part of a year so that the new book can stop being a project, and start being a reality.

It is this which must preoccupy us all as a task, a test, a concrete fulfillment. It is this which I wish to discuss with you now. It is this which must be central to the executive session at the Plenum. (A Monday morning <sup>session</sup> will, after all, be unavoidable and, though this will be strictly limited to REB-NEB and its alternates it will nevertheless probably mean the ranks will remain as it will require transportation, etc.)

It is true that at a discussion quite a way back John reminded us that we must all be aware of the fact that ~~we~~ I'll be returning, not to organizational work, but work on the book. But, frankly, judging by the loose attitude toward deadlines, the lack of initiative in devising tasks for ourselves (each individual; no exceptions), and failure of communication in any serious sense, I cannot say I face the prospect with confidence, though I am determined that not even lack of confidence in the leadership's smooth functioning without me will in any way stop me from doing what I feel must be done, and has too long been delayed. I must, however, tell you how I feel and why:

1) This is our tenth anniversary, and yet there has not been a single pamphlet produced--not even those written by others--that has been produced without my active participation. (And this was not due to my wishing to be actively involved in all.)

2) I do believe we have a cadre for producing the paper. But even here there has been gross underestimation (if not in words, then in deeds, or, more precisely, lack of them) of my unique contributions in the sense of knowing what to do and how to do it if ~~you~~ not around to make them.

3) Knowing how to exert leadership not by fiat but by superior solutions such as were certainly needed, but not forthcoming, at the last convention when the Venezuelans, with whom every one heartily disagreed, nevertheless dominated our sessions. Or knowing how to influence rank and filers in their functioning in other organizations--again not by dictating a line, but projecting it by oneself functioning in that other organization. Or by being prepared in advance to assert leadership at plenums and conventions, and discussions preceding or following these.

(I mean beginning in Sept., & thereafter)

4) Above all, this is the year, not just of carrying on without me, but of growing. There is absolutely no reason on earth why, with the FSM pamphlet, the new avenues among youth above all, anti-war and civil rights activities that will follow that we should not finally have a breakthrough in membership. But for that we need leaders, each of whom thinks of how to execute his responsibility and more, and not going for childish "tit for tats." We cannot live on what we were in 1955 when we knew on which "side of the barricades" to be on. We must prove ourselves anew

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