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CONVENTION REPORTS

*From Organizational Consciousness
To Organization Building*

International Report

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FROM ORGANIZATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS TO ORGANIZATION BUILDING

ORGANIZATIONAL REPORT — September 3, 1960

I. Past Activities

Our life and times are so full of global crises and, to resolve them, so much depends on the confluence of the spontaneous workers' movement and that of Marxist Humanism that we can depend on that objective situation to have a sobering effect in any justifiable pride we may feel at some of our achievements since last we met in convention.

Indeed, when we measure our achievements, not against the few we are in number, but in respect to the challenge of the times, we are found wanting both in organizational growth and in cadre building.

OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE materials are at the foundation of organizational growth in general, and cadre building in particular. In giving this report of the stewardship of the leadership as well as the rank and file activity over the two year period since the convention, and more specifically in the year since the plenum, I shall be shifting back and forth between the objective and subjective aspects.

That period has come to a climax in the organizational growth we experienced as a result of our activities in the picketing in support of Southern sit-ins. This is true even when the new member is from the factory or college rather than the picket line because in all cases it meant the particularly live issues of NEWS & LETTERS and the local meetings, especially in Detroit, which grew to where we were outnumbered two to one--and these were unadvertised regular business-educational meetings.

It is this convergence of objective and subjective which constitutes the now in this year's report and which becomes the foundation for our perspectives for the next period.

We always operate on two levels, the immediate and the long-range. We naturally did not rest on any laurels from the picketing activity but proceeded to complete the project we had set for ourselves at the last convention--the pamphlet-to-be, WORKERS BATTLE AUTOMATION.

To the small organizational growth we experienced must be added this achievement to make possible greatly expanded work in recruiting. A doubling of membership in the next period should not be out of the question if we make others see what we see, that the pamphlet is both a result of class struggle activities and a new stage of

consciousness. Thus:

1) Although it is the result of ten years' work, mainly in listening to and thinking over what workers said and thought as well as in participating in their struggles, this pamphlet could not have been written had not MARXISM AND FREEDOM been written first. If I may, I would like here to expand the whole relationship of writing pamphlets, or even books, to the relationship of making a category out of a special event, that is to say, transforming the activity itself into a new stage of consciousness. This is especially critical for those who will be writing the youth pamphlet.

Take 1950, when two events of great importance occurred: 1) the miners' strike against the continuous miner, and 2) the high school students strike in New York, a real first in the development of American youth that foreshadowed the mass character of its activities today in the sit-downs and in the picket lines.

The first event was made into a category; the second was not. The first thereupon became part of MARXISM AND FREEDOM and WORKERS BATTLE AUTOMATION; the second vanished from the historic scene.

On the one hand, here is what happened with the miners' strike that let no one ever forget that that strike was so different from all others that it signified as well a new stage in consciousness: 1) The write-ups from "the field" were not "rewrites" but actual sayings of the miners and the miners' wives, on the picket line or off it.

2) I took that question of "what kind of labor," asked almost incidentally, and spent many a week pondering over it, rereading the Early Essays of Marx with that in mind. 3) The decision was then made that the outline of a book I was working on which heretofore had only been submitted to intellectuals, be spoken out loud with a worker present. The result of transforming MARXISM AND STATE CAPITALISM into MARXISM AND FREEDOM is known to us all.

4) Finally, it became the basis for all future writings of the editors and other writers who confronted Automation daily. A worker who was not a member felt free not only to contribute his story to the pamphlet but to change the title I had proposed, "The Automation Battlefield" to "Workers Battle Automation."

On the other hand, when the student youth strike took place, although every one of the "Johnsonites" in New York was excited about how "advanced" this spontaneous action was and thought the articles in The Militant certainly did not do justice to the strike, no one thought about it so hard that it became a pamphlet. What did become a pamphlet was "Artie Cuts Out." The few paragraphs on the student

strike are brought in quite extraneously. And an Arthur who was then dissatisfied with the pamphlet just kept piling up clippings upon clippings on the strike and these clippings were moreover the private property of that same Arthur (who has found his way back to the old, not the new, the dead Socialist Party). If Johnson and Grace think they can blame it on the youth, they must explain why the youth section has disappeared entirely from Correspondence.

The lesson is that we must not let these wonderful spontaneous actions now just disappear from history or consciousness or the actual activity for total freedom. The first necessity for that is consciousness not only of that which is going on, but also the relationship it has to the past and the future.

2) That, in turn, this lays the basis for the new book, and this is to be told to those it is sold to so that they can immediately begin to move into that philosophical world as well as using the pamphlet as a weapon in the class struggle in their specific factories, mines and mills.

3) That the back and forth between the objective world and technological development, on the one hand, and the class struggle activity, on the other hand, extends also to the concretization of Marxist Humanist fundamentals.

In a word, the new stage of consciousness becomes the foundation for the leap from mere consciousness of organization to the building of our organization.

That the worth of the sit-ins in South U.S.A. followed the mass demonstrations in South Africa once again demonstrates the global character of the struggles for freedom, as well as the totality of the aspirations. It is this inter-related character of essence and notion, i.e., the struggles for freedom not alone in their immediate aspect but in their ultimate goal of a new society, that we have always had in mind when we stressed the Hegelian-Marxian dialectic of "the pull of the future on the present."

As all fundamental dialectical laws, this pull of the future on the present is not limited to the objective situation. It extends to the subjective factors, both in the mass movement and in the narrower sphere of organizational development.

This is the burden of our discussion today.

In dealing with this, let us not forget two other great achievements during this period: 1) the European trip for which the NEB alone was responsible and which culminated in the estab-

lishment of two editing committees, one in London and one in Glasgow, who are responsible for the British page, and 2) our first pamphlet and still best seller, on the Afro-Asian revolution, which helps us extend not only to Europe but to Africa, the Middle East and Asia.

These were followed by lecture tours in this country where we broke entirely new ground in Massachusetts and Connecticut. Morgan and Barbara, who arranged this tour, can testify to the fact that an entirely new factor appeared because I had the occasion to analyze the current scene in both the Cuban Revolution and the anti-Semitic outbreaks. This opened the possibilities of new avenues to possible members, in the South American students and doctors who heard, and in those particularly affected by anti-Semitism and race hatred, as well as those interested in Marxian philosophy.

Clearly, when you consider how few we are, these are phenomenal achievements--which, in truth, could not have been accomplished had not the objective situation literally waited to be "organized."

And yet this--the organizational growth--remains the weakest point in our development. Without the organizational consciousness we aimed at in our last deliberations, we could not have witnessed the organizational growth we have experienced. But, in view of the fact that this new stage of organizational growth demands a great deal, a very great deal more work, the theoretical groundwork for it must be precise, unequivocal, and thorough, leaving not a single member unaware of his tasks. When our heads are clear, we can all stand taller and march faster.

The key to that forward movement is the creation of a cadre, consisting not only of leaders, but of ranks.

II. Cadre Building

It is insufficient to say that the compelling need to resolve the world crisis rushing headlong to nuclear destruction will compell the forging of a cadre to answer history's call.

A cadre does not "just grow up" like Topsy. It requires hard, conscious, persistent, continuous, self-sacrificing and knowing labor.

We have too often subordinated the Marxist principle that "Man makes history" to the second part of that statement, "but not out of the whole cloth." We must reverse, if not the direction, then the emphasis.

It is high time to shift the weight to the human, present,

limitless possibilities, once the will is there and the energy is commensurate with the will.

The nodal point here is energy, HUMAN ENERGY. Just as, in historic terms, freedom is the first necessity of life, so human energy is the first prerequisite of organization building.

1) Human Energy and Objective Urgency

Now human energy, in Marxist Humanist terms, is not just any kind of doing. God knows that we all have been active. But even those who have been more active than others have not achieved all they aimed at because they failed in placing this activity within a philosophic-national-international-and-personal context that was comprehensible to all.

In a word, human energy is neither just doing and not thinking, nor the reverse. The relationship between the two is the decisive factor.

On the one hand, most of us have to work to earn a living--and capitalism sees to it that it is very hard, exhaustive, degrading work, so that we are beat at the end of the working day and want only to get away from it all, even if it be only to sleep or watch TV.

At the same time, all of us know how emergencies can miraculously evoke untapped energies.

The same thing can be achieved by the feeling of URGENCY not alone in the objective situation, but in the subjective, organizational need to grow. That is to say this can be so IF you have mastered the Marxist Humanist method of relating objective to subjective.

It is this method of relating objective and subjective which will make you do today's things not tomorrow, but the day before they happened, so to speak. You can do it before they happened because you have anticipated them, waited for them, so that when they occur--and they always occur in so novel a form that they are unexpected even though you have anticipated them "in general"--you are already drawing the organizational conclusion. The urgency of the objective situation--whether it is in the Congo or in Jackson, Mississippi--"has transferred itself" to the organizational sphere.

2) Integration of New Members and Exploration of Yourself

Or take so simple a question as integration of new members.

On second thought, in view of our poor record, we better not call it a "simple" question. O.K., let's take the question of integration of new members.

It certainly cannot be done if the integration is limited to the influence that the old has on the new, and the new on the old, only when Sunday meeting-time arrives.

But even when each of us is ready to meet, work, and play with a new member outside of Sunday night, no one can really elicit from others unless he has elicited from himself all he can do, and not only as a good "Jimmie Higgins" example, but as a leader or leader-to-be.

Frankly, I do not know of a single member in the leadership or the ranks who is in a constant process of gaining that extra dimension from self-development that we always talk about at conventions and too often forget between conventions.

It is my conviction that each of us has many more talents than we have yet displayed or even that we know we have just because each one thinks he at least knows himself and therefore makes no attempt to dig, much less dig deep enough.

But you don't know yourself. It most you know yourself as your environment has created you, on top of which you add, like an extra room to your house, the fact that you have now accepted Marxist Humanism because you have joined NEWS & LETTERS.

To really know yourself--all your innate and acquired talents--you must begin the exploration of yourself with the realization that you help capitalism bury your talents through your failure to summon the extra energy needed for this excavation job as much as for any organizational activity. In fact only after you have done it, will the organizational activity, from distributions to membership growth, call forth that human energy whose source IS THE MARXIST HUMANIST METHOD OF ANALYSIS.

The first thing required here is that this digging is a collective digging. By yourself it cannot be done. The talents are not at your beck and call because they have not yet been born.

The proof of talents is in activity which calls these forth. Therefore this digging into yourself can only be done with the organization, both in inside and outside work.

Your talents can only be born through organizational growth and organizational growth depends on a cadre and a cadre depends on individuals and individuals depend on the objective situation

which compels the forging of a cadre.

This is not a merry-go-round. All these inter-dependents come from life itself, and life itself includes both the struggle for freedom and organization building which is to become the struggles' polarizing force.

In a word, it can be such only if you, i.e., each of us, make it so.

3) Time Schedules and Road Blocks

Now, WHY should each of us make it so? What is the compelling urgency in personal terms? And when we do feel the urgency, what is to give us the know-how "to make things, like the organization, grow"? And even if we have mastered the "know-how", how on earth can we free ourselves from the TIME SCHEDULE of office-factory-home that has us all enslaved even when we don't want to be?

Oh, there is the rub--don't we want to be dominated by that time schedule?

Think of how hard capitalism is working at making it appear as if it was your schedule.

In any case, the only way to find out whether you don't want to be dominated by that schedule is to upset it.

The masses are the makers of history and the only way you can find out whether you can answer history's call--THAT IS TO SAY, REPEAT IN YOURSELF THE MIRACLE OF CREATION--is to remove the road-blocks in the way of the masses who are actively reorganizing the world.

Time here is of the essence.

You will have noted that, in dealing with the building of a cadre, I took up the following elements: 1) Human Energy and Objective Urgency; 2) Integration of New Members and Exploration of Yourself; and 3) Time Schedules and Road Blocks. And, now to have free room to move to a cadre not limited to leaders, we must take up the question of the average man as philosopher and the new book.

4) The Average Man as Philosopher and the New Book

When we speak of the pull of the future on the present, of freedom as the first necessity of life, we are not unaware of the fact that, while man lives not by bread alone, he must have bread

to live. But this necessity to participate in all class struggles does not diminish, but, on the contrary, heightens the need of a total philosophy.

The real maturity of our age is proven precisely in this-- that at the very time that petty bourgeois political intellectuals speak of "the end of ideology," and philosophers bemoan a movement "from ontology to technology," the average man has become the man preoccupied with ideology, has become a philosopher.

It is here from whence the need arises for our next book. Perhaps the best approach to the problem of the cadre is not frontally, but indirectly, through consideration of the time differential between MARXISM AND FREEDOM and the new book.

When developing the Absolute Idea before 1956, the negative aspect--Russian state capitalism as signifying the new stage of capitalism the world over--was the predominant factor, and the positive aspect of Marxist Humanism, where it wasn't theory but fact, in the Hungarian Revolution, came in only at the end. Indeed the Hungarian Revolution first occurred while we were completing the first draft of the book.

Before the October 1956 Hungarian Revolution, Humanism then appeared as philosophy rather than as a fact. After the Hungarian Revolution, it became philosophy and fact. With Africa, it is philosophy, fact, and forward movement into the future.

Or, to put it in another way, in Africa the pull of the future on the present has found the present leaping ahead of itself.

Thus the situation, in 1960, is totally reversed: the positive aspects--both the new stages of the African Revolution and the new stage of consciousness, especially on the part of the youth throughout the world, are the predominant features.

Indeed the new stage of revolution cannot be separated from the new stage of consciousness. It is this which will dominate the new book.

While the Automation pamphlet could not have been written without MARXISM AND FREEDOM, the pamphlet, in turn, has laid the foundation for the new book not so much because it is a concretization of MARXISM AND FREEDOM as because it is a reflection of the fact that, although revolution is not yet present in the technologically most advanced land, the new stage of consciousness is here.

The why the organization must grow is embedded there.

The why the Marxist Humanist cadre must be forged springs from there.

Not the least of the roadblocks in the way of an unarmed people fighting the armed might of capital and state is the fact that it is ideologically disarmed not only by the paid penny-a-liners of the capitalist class but by the so-called vanguard groupings too busy trying "to lead" to realize that they are being led into the quagmire of a state capitalism, and too much of the cut of the administrative elite to be capable of learning from the masses the elements of a total philosophy which links it with Marxist Humanism.

In a word, the groupings calling themselves Marxists, let alone outright Communists, have become a millstone around the neck of the proletariat trying to free itself in body and mind from automated capitalism.

To remove this roadblock, to have the movement from theory to practice, merge with this movement from practice to theory on the way to the new society, is the why of organizational growth and of cadre building. The removal of the roadblock means the creation of a form for the release of the creative energies of the masses in which you yourself experience the miracle of creation.

Consider the five year span since we have been born as NEWS & LETTERS and began what no one else, in this country or abroad has, a paper edited by a worker, with the unique combination of worker and intellectual characterizing its every word, that has this month reached the climax of a special, collective (as well as making no distinction between member and non-member) pamphlet on WORKERS BATTLE AUTOMATION, the only one of its kind anywhere since Automation ten years ago became the symbol of production of our state capitalist era.

Consider the three (or nearly three) year period since the publication of MARXISM AND FREEDOM, which for the first time in 100 years, openly related itself to its American roots in the abolitionist movement, and re-established Marxism in its original form of Humanism which, by no accident at all, was precisely the banner of both the revolution against Russian totalitarianism in Europe, and that against Western imperialism in Africa.

Ponder on the why we, and we alone, published a year in advance of the current critical situation in Africa which has reached the crossroads an analysis of the Afro-Asian revolutions precisely from the point of view of contending ideologies as well as struggle for freedom.

Look over again the timeliness of the "South Africa, South USA" issue and see whether anyone else with loss of a tradition in analysis of both the Negro Question in America, the connection of imperialism with the race question—not only Negro, but Jew and other minorities—could possibly have risen to the challenge of the times.

All these achievements, without looking at the international scene where we have certainly made our mark both in the unfurling of the Marxist Humanist banner in general, and concretizing it in the British Labour News page, not rewritten from the bourgeois press, properly "class angled" as the old radicals do, but written by British workers and intellectuals themselves.

Now the new book cannot be written before it is written. Thus no contents page is available to make explicit what is implicit here—that we alone can write the sequel and are ready to undertake the extra responsibilities involved in creating free time for the Chairman.

The implications for organizational growth and cadre building must be, however, further spelled out, and must become your concern today and your work tomorrow.

III. ONE AGAIN—Organizational Growth and Cadre Building

The cadre must not be limited to the leadership.

It must consist of the organization as a whole. This is first and foremost.

Even a cursory look at the difficult situation which confronted Lenin directly after the revolution, and plagued him to his death, 1918-1924, will tell us how all-important is the necessity to extend the cadre to the whole organization.

Here was a revolutionary leader, the greatest the world had until then seen, burning up with the new knowledge that the party work must be checked by the NON-PARTY MASSES. Otherwise the party built to be the vanguard of the masses would inevitably degenerate into a lord-servant relationship, was, in fact, already in the process of decay, now that the party was in power and its leadership contaminated with "a passion for bossing."

Yet, so critical was the situation which threatened the young workers' state surrounded by world imperialism aiming at its overthrow, that Lenin could not impart this new knowledge either to the party, or to the International which had adherents not in power, without tying this new truth to its opposite because it

too was true—that so thin was the leading stratum of Old Bolsheviks that any sharp divergences between them, as Kronstad had proven, could cause the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and thus reverse the very course of history, as indeed it was reversed in any case by Stalin after Lenin's death.

Not even great Greek tragedy, the GRESFIA included, was so burdened with conflicts between fate, desire, knowledge, ignorance, human action and its consequences for the future of humanity.

Now we cannot keep piling up the tragic moments in history. We must instead reverse the course of "the party to lead."

This is no small mission for any grouping as small as ours. And yet we and only we can do it.

Only we can do it because only we are so wholly immersed in what the proletariat does and thinks and, at the same time, refuse to shift to their shoulders what is our task as Marxist Humanists: unfurling a banner and building an organization to uphold it for there are no such things as ideas "as such," but only people who have such ideas.

It is no good scooping up Marxist Humanism inside yourselves. It wants out. You must find the way to let it out.

The workers will join when they will join.

The youth will join when they will join.

The timing depends not only on the objective situation, of which we are all aware, but also on our creation of a form for the practice of workers' talents in the production of a paper like NEWS & LETTERS, or pamphlets like WORKERS BATTLE AUTOMATION, that can become weapons in the class struggle and thus lead to reconstruction of society.

The organization, in a word, is a form for the release of the creative energies of the masses as they prepare for this reconstruction of society from the ground up.

We cannot shift to their shoulders what is our responsibility as Marxist Humanists, and we cannot wait for the objective situation alone to thrust the masses in our direction as if either they were nothing but "objects," or there were no other roads for them to take. We must go out to meet them at every step of the road.

Only then will they recognize that we have also something to

contribute that no other one can—that new dimension in themselves that comes from knowing their proletarian history and the philosophy that arose out of the unity of the struggles of the workers and the specific intellectual called Karl Marx at the critical turning point in world history when workers first came out on their own, 1848. From there through the Civil War and the Paris Commune all the problems of today were posed. But we must do more than pose. We must solve them.

It is a great responsibility and a miracle of creation.

A very first, beginners' step toward that historic call is the creation of a cadre that is the organization as a whole. The leadership is its core now, of course,—and it has proved itself worthy in the last five years—but it itself will now need to be tested both in relationship to organizational growth and the need to function without me at the center for the next few months.

No matter which way you look at it, from historic heights, or daily routines, the organization as a whole must become that cadre. Whether as writers in NEWS & LETTERS, as talkers at local meetings, or contacting, each must practice Marxist Humanist analysis not to oneself but OUT LOUD.

IV. Getting Down to Brass Tacks—or Our Routines

It is easier to talk about history; I ought to know; I do so much of it. But when you get down to brass tasks, history is only the sum of people's doings.

To answer history's call, therefore, you must be there, doing things all the time. Answering history's call means affecting the very course of history.

A great deal of spade work must be done before ever we are in sight of that as a reality rather than a goal.

As a start, let's begin by putting our own house in order.

1) First and foremost by having a full-time person in the office.

Don't ever forget that no different were conditions in 1915, as contrasted to 1955 when we began, that, despite the compulsion Lenin felt to reorganize his philosophic foundations, he kept these Philosophic Notebooks private, whereas we felt the compulsion to make philosophy available to every man, especially the worker.

It is true that America, 1960, has a proletariat much more

developed than backward Russia in 1920.

It is true that the maturity of our age, on a world scale, would prevent isolation of a successful proletarian revolution.

It is true that at this moment we do not have the fortunes of being confronted with any such great responsibilities as Russia was in 1917.

Nevertheless, the lessons of history can not remain in text-books, but must guide us in our work, even the everyday routines.

In transforming the cadre from such a thin leading stratum to the organization as a whole, we will become capable of meeting the challenge of the times, removing all road blocks in the way of the masses whose "quest for universality", or new relation of doing and thinking, will bring them to the Marxist Humanist organization as the beacon they saw on the horizon when the intellectual forces aligned against them seemed overpowering.

That's enough raison d'être—reason for being—historically and personally, for removing, at its root, enslavement to other time schedules and doubts as to "what" makes things grow.

DOINGS WILL MAKE THE ORGANIZATION GROW, AND DOINGS IN THOUGHT, IN RECOGNIZING THE NEW WORLD STAGE OF PROLETARIAN CONSCIOUSNESS AND DEVELOPING IT, ARE NO LESS IMPORTANT THAN DOINGS ON THE PICKET LINES EITHER OF THE PROLETARIAT OR THE YOUTH.

But why are we so small? you might ask. To answer that is to make you aware of your responsibilities to make it grow.

Above all else you must be practiced in Marxist Humanist analysis. You must convince your shopmates or fellow students. You must know your Marxist Humanism, which means know how to EXPRESS it.

2) With the Automation pamphlet, and the youth work, you will find that, having the office open every day is a necessity. You will then want it open every night. But let the new youth cadre worry about evenings. If we discharge our responsibilities in the day time, they will discharge theirs in the days and evenings.

3) The very doing of the immediate tasks—regular, timely publication of NEWS & LETTERS, and mailing and sale, and subs for same; publication, sale, and using pamphlet as recruiter; subscriptions and mailing of promotions; thinking and doing of youth work so that the editing of the Youth page is a collective work that brings us into ever newer strata; expansion of periphery also through neighborhood work and getting other platforms for Marxist Humanism, not to mention regular weekly meetings, correspondence with locals,

contacting--when all these immediate tasks are done within the context of the objective situation and the challenge of the times, then we will have a cadre and build the organization.

4) There is only one way to show our seriousness and that is to raise the \$5,000 fund necessary for maintenance of NEWS & LETTERS, having a full time person in the office, putting out the new pamphlets, begin work on the new book. The fund you will deal with when John reports on Finances. Here I wish only to limit myself to the single aspect of a full time person for which the organization is responsible.

The key is in the phrase, "for which the organization is responsible" for no organization is serious which does not assume that minimal responsibility.

We have had full time persons, but the organization was never responsible for them, although when we first started, we did make ourselves responsible for one full-time paid functionary.

We must do at least that much now. Whereas not having financial responsibility may have helped--financially, it hurt morally, that is to say, organizationally. An organization unaware of its day-to-day responsibilities is unprepared for the leap ahead.

There is nothing routine about a full-time person in the office. She has to do everything from an organization secretary to a technical assistant, from a mimeographer to a business manager, and from a literary agent to a co-editor.

In the next period when the organization's growth is our main job, people in and out of the organization must have a place to congregate daily. That place must "exude" Marxist Humanism.

The business of the office is more than business. It is paper-publishing, organization-building, contacting, friendly and unfriendly chats, in a word, a center for Marxist Humanism.

It must have its office open day in and day out. It must have a person having no other task than thinking of the organization twenty-four hours a day.

No matter how much one thinks that he can think of the organization twenty-four hours a day at home, it is not the same thing as doing so within the setting of a business office.

Along with this, and not as opposite as it looks at first glance, is the need for footloose individuals, ready to go anywhere. If, for the time being, we cannot go South, we should cer-

tainly be able, within the year to establish a new SUB-CENTER in Pittsburgh for Pittsburgh-West Virginia and points South.

What Mari could do in two short months at the center, what Morgan and Barbara did and will continue to do on a larger scale in a new place like Springfield, Olga and Andy, with Otis and Johnnie-Mae should be able to do tenfold in that new sub-center IF we gain sufficient members here so that we can release them for that work elsewhere.

The ability to send ERS members back to the field is related to a historic question as well as to one of immediate organizational growth. When I raised the question of our historic mission, I stressed, at one and the same time, that only we can do it because we alone are so immersed in what the proletariat does and thinks, and the fact that 1960 USA is very different from Russia 1920.

There is, however, the question of so-called "Oneness" that is related to historic mission that the leadership discusses off and on.

It is this: how does it happen that only one stands as symbol of that new total philosophy which the instinct, activity, and reasons of MILLIONS out to reconstruct society on totally new, truly human beginnings: a Marx for his age, a Lenin for his, etc.

I doubt anyone can answer that question. But no one need to preoccupy himself with it.

One thing is sure and verifiable.

It is this: the fact that only one may be the link in history in something to be proven, not merely asserted. It can only be proven in history-making actions, which cannot happen before they happen.

Thus, Lenin is certainly not only the founder of Russian Bolshevism, but the rightful inheritor of world Marxism. Yet, Plekhanov, not Lenin, was the father of Russian Marxism. Karl Kautsky, not Lenin, was the rightful heir of Marx and Engels as head of international Marxism.

Finally, the party concept which did make Lenin famous in his own right long before 1917 contained a duality which Stalin was able to take full advantage of in transforming the vanguard party into its monolithic opposite.

Nevertheless history has rightly validated Lenin's claim to being heir of Marx by recreating it for his times and thus adding

a new dimension to it.

History has validated this claim not because of the party concept which everyone, friend and foe alike, especially foes and dubious friends, is ready to assign to Lenin as his "original" contribution to Marxism, although until 1905 he followed Karl Kautsky, only adapting it to Russian conditions.

After 1905 he did make original contributions to the party concept, until 1915-24, when, beginning with the re-organization of his own philosophic foundations, and continuing through the historic creation of a workers state through the self-activity of the masses, the party concept did become truly original, but by no means a finished concept.

What was the warp and woof of everything--from party to revolution; from revolution to reorganization of production relations; from reorganization of these to the hard pull of attempting to end division between mental and manual labor--what was the warp and woof of everything with Lenin, I repeat, was the concept of "THE MASSES AS REASON." IT IS THIS AND THIS ALONE WHICH VALIDATED LENIN'S CLAIM TO THE HISTORIC CONTINUITY OF MARXISM.

On the other hand, Leon Trotsky can't lay this claim to historic continuity of Marxism-Leninism, not because as some jesters like J.R. Johnson had us believe, Lenin didn't designate him as heir apparent or "deputy chairman" and thus allow for what is known among capitalists as "orderly transfer of power," but because Trotsky's inherent administrative mentality was never too far away and therefore came quickly to the surface the moment the masses were not in motion. Neither Lenin's saying so, nor even Trotsky's great revolutionary leadership when the masses were in motion could have made history validate that claim.

The one and only thing that would have validated that claim would be if he had based himself on "the masses as reason."

It is the masses as reason who made the greatest revolution in history.

It is the masses as reason who challenged their own state directly after they themselves established it.

It is the masses as reason which left future generations the world over the richest and only viable heritage to build on.

The answer to the question of "one-ness" as well as the question of "the party to lead" is simple. It is this: it is not for anyone to pronounce what only history can determine.

What is more decisive than either "one-man" or leadership's relationship to rank and file is the transformation of the organization as a whole into a cadre.

In the transformation of the whole organization into a cadre what is decisive is neither "one-man" nor "the party to lead," which we have long since rejected.

What is of moment is the fact that we have established the American roots of Marxism as well as the world-wide urgency of his original Humanism.

There is no critical period in American history, from Abolitionism and the Civil War, through the CIO and the present struggle against the labor bureaucracy that we have not put our mark on both by Marxist analysis and through linking it to the present inheritors: the working class, the Negro, the youth.

There is no critical world development presently, from Russia to Cuba, or from Hungary to Africa, or France to Japan, or Italy to USA, where we have not discovered, and aligned ourselves with its Marxist Humanist groupings.

Small as we are you but have to look at our world-wide subscription list to see how far we extend.

What I am saying is while it is not for us to pronounce what only history can determine, what we can determine is our task of growth and development. If we do our work right, if we continue to elicit from the youth, for example, as we have from workers, if we can launch them on that great voyage of self-discovery, then the road from the Automation pamphlet to the youth pamphlet has obviously led through organization building.

You see now how, in order to show the inseparability of objective and subjective, I was brought back from historic heights to concrete tasks. In conclusion, therefore, let us spell these out further:

1) The paper. Has someone here thought of the next three issues? The REB has already assigned the October issue on the international situation to Olga, the November issue on elections to John, and the December issue on the Year's Round-Up of Class Struggle in America to Derby. Need anyone say more about our "subjective activity" of publishing and the objective situation, nationally and internationally?

2) The pamphlet. Surely everyone of us has thought and talked and worried about the Automation pamphlet and the money to raise

toward its publication. But the doing of the concrete has already taken place in the office in two ways, i.e., the editor's appeal and the first of the follow-up practicals.

Inez is already assigned the technical responsibility for getting the pamphlet out and will see the printer now that the convention has made its decision as to how many to print. This, moreover, is timed also to what the British will be doing in trying to get a paper-back edition of MARXISM AND FREEDOM with which the next reporter will deal. Again, how can one separate objective and subjective or national and international?

3) Regular activity. No doubt, every local as it gets back home will take up the execution of all that we have voted upon here, but the REB for itself has already spelled out the following: the day after the convention is over, Inez and Olga will resume neighborhood work, which last time netted us twenty-five subs, and a new periphery of friends, some of whom, I hope, will have joined by now.

4) The youth pamphlet. I propose we set up a youth committee responsible for making the connections in the South and having as a perspective a draft of the youth pamphlet in six months.

Simon, who is to intensify the work in his shop, will, with Andy, resume the general contacting of workers, concentrating on the Automation pamphlet as a weapon in the class struggle as well as recruiter.

For specialized contacting of youth and near-members, John and Johnny who is both head of youth and a worker. For intellectual contacting, including lectures, as well as promotionals in office, Saul; and, finally, all--all--all for sales, distributions, as well as educationals to match the needs of integrating new members. Among other things; these types of educationals mean not waiting on the Chairman before one analyzes an objective situation.

It all adds up to active participation in the class struggle and in the field of ideas which constitutes the "know-how" of organization building.

Now all we need to do is build the organization, beginning right here and now to add some new members so that, as we move from philosophy to fact, we are big enough to be seen by the working people and youth searching for a new way of life and ready to remake the world.

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INTERNATIONAL REPORT by Bess

What makes my International Report part of the Organization Report is that we are concerned with the building of a Marxist Humanist cadre on an international scale.

Our heads are now sufficiently clear on the question of the building of the party that we are not afraid any longer of "the party to lead", that is, the party that Lenin built for his time. We are building the party for our time.

Two years ago I reported to you on our first organizational trip to Europe -- Italy, France, England, and a correspondence with Scotland. It was a voyage of discovery of the radical groups since the Hungarian Revolution. It was clear then that these radical groups had not become the polarizing force for the thousands who had torn up their CP membership cards in disgust. It was very evident to me that those members had not found their way into a Marxist movement because there was no genuine Marxist movement. Some had found their way to Trotskyism -- actually few of them did. As the Resolution on War and Peace shows, Trotskyism is the back door into CP for all of them.

The people whom we did contact at the time did decide to establish a Centre for International Correspondence between America and Europe, and since then you have seen some of the issues of Prometeo that published our theses. It was at that time also that we signed contract for the Italian edition of MARXISM & FREEDOM and, while it took another trip, to really make it -- we at least do know now that the proofs of the book have been read, and it will finally appear -- soon.

The point, however, about that centre -- the negative point -- is that no one there, outside of ourselves, had thought out the ideas of building a party for 1960 -- at most they thought still in terms of Lenin's building of the party as if Stalinist bureaucracies arise out of bad intentions of human beings, rather than the age of state capitalism. In other words, the centre didn't look to harness the forces in our age for building a party for our time. At the same time the responsibility they undertook for getting M&F published does show a high appreciation of theory and international solidarity.

Finally there was the visiting of publishers to see whether we could get an edition of MARXISM & FREEDOM in England as we had done in America. It became clear only with the Chairman's trip and the British editing committees -- that if there is to be a British edition, it will only be when a MARXIST HUMANIST CADRE is there to be responsible for it. This year then that is the greatest achievement to report -- that there is such a cadre. They have a part of their own and it is this which made possible our joining of forces.

The Chairman's trip was of a very different kind, as you see. Its intention was to present the Marxist Humanist theory in its analysis of the international situation that they were facing, including the question of the building of a party for our time. Or, more specifically, to gather the forces in the world we live in which are to be the basis of such a party.

These views were presented not only to radical groups, but to much wider audiences, both on campuses and trades union groups, intellectuals, workers, students, including the groups that had broken with the CP because of its destruction of the Hungarian Revolution and had formed the New Left groupings. The fact that these by now have once again degenerated into "leadership groups" that are at the service of the Labor Party shows that it is impossible to create a polarizing force unless you yourself have reorganized your thinking according to Marxist Humanism.

So great is the need for total conceptions that the results of the Chairman's tour were immediate. We now have two Editing Committees — in London and in Glasgow — which aren't "just" an extension of NEWS & LETTERS. The method by which these groups edit the British page of N&L is the method by which to look for the forces in their country to build a Marxist Humanist organization that will be that polarizing force both for Britain and for Africa — or the former British empire.

Every time I read the British Labour News that conception is before me. I judge and get a feeling of that country. If the British page is not yet what ours is — they have not had the 5 years experience we have had in publishing a workers' paper. Not only is the experience not there, but, what is actually more important, the 3 years that we have had with MARXISM & FREEDOM.

That brings me to the second aspect of the British page. When they will have had M & F in their bones as we have had — and with an introduction by Harry McShane — they can't fail there, they will be ready not just to have a British page — but a British paper of their own.

I am sure I need tell no one in this room about Harry McShane's past either in the class struggles of Scotland or in the Marxist movement. He now says he will start writing the Preface. This means that the British workers will get distilled, so to speak, both the practice and the theory of Marxism, especially the practice for some 3 long decades of their own history. It means a direct organizational relationship of MARX ISM & FREEDOM to the British scene.

He has spoken several times, in letters to Rae and elsewhere, that the chapters on the "Paris Commune", "The Logic and Dialectic of CAPITAL" as being his favorites. This means that, in calling attention to them in his Preface, he is exposing the emptiness of all the radicals with their pretensions to lead; he can make a direct connection instead to the Hungarian Workers Councils, and to the Marxism of our day: Marxist Humanism.

I for one look forward with great anticipation to that Preface.

I look forward equally to the fact that this edition would have one other thing the American doesn't have -- and that is, that in place of the Essays we published as Appendix, the British friends will publish the Afro-Asian pamphlet with all the extra new articles on that by Rae.

But, above all, it is the fact that it will be a paperback edition, something we couldn't produce. This means that it isn't just "another" edition. Frank Williams, who had done so magnificent a job for Raya's tour, is really putting out in this great task of a paperback edition. A paperback popular edition -- one that you can so to speak get at every drugstore and railroad station -- brings such a new quality to the whole idea of MARXISM & FREEDOM that from a book it becomes a manifesto, a foundation for a party.

That is why it is so all-important for them and for us to have it extended to where it contains the Afro-Asian pamphlet. It means throwing down a challenge to the whole British Empire, including the aristocrats of labor in Great Britain.

What I am trying to say is that what the Negro Question is to us in America, the Afro-Asian section of M&F will be to them. Only we had the privilege of having the Negro Question right within our country -- rather than in the outside, in the Empire. This taught us a great deal of the self-activity of Negroes and the forces of revolution.

Some of you have had a chance to see and hear Eric Heffer when he was here, and saw the corruption that Empire has meant to the British workingclass. As the Negro in this country didn't let us forget how corrupt was bourgeois democracy, so the Afro-Asian pamphlet within the covers of M&F will teach the British proletariat the greatness of the African Revolutions as part of the British workingclass total search for new philosophy and new society.

It is evident from Frank's letters that he feels all that too. The problem now is not to spread ourselves out with publishers, but to try to get something on the dotted line by making a business proposition for them. Thus, as you know, I have \$300 put aside toward that. I now propose also that the organization undertake the minimum purchase of 500 copies of a paperback edition. With these two concrete things to dangle before publishers, and Frank's work on it

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as a Marxist Humanist who has the world before him when he talks to publishers and their British speaking empire in which to sell, it ought not be long before we will hear from our British friends, both in London and Glasgow that such an edition is in the works.

It will mean a new stage of growth on an international scale of a Marxist organization and a Marxist theory for our time.

One final word on the organizational aspects in Europe and that is what you already know: PROMETEO'S publishing our international thesis. Or, more correctly, the French special bulletin section of the international correspondence center within the covers of PROMETEO. No doubt the next issue will publish our WAR & PEACE Resolution and that, in itself, will be a drawing together of the international groupings.

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