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report on organization

PHILOSOPHY, SPONTANEITY AND ORGANIZATION

Report to the National Editorial Board.
Meeting of News & Letters Committees
August 30, 1975

By Olga Domanski, National Organizer

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Post-plenum bulletin No. 2 will contain a summary of the entire plenum proceedings and the concluding remarks by the National Organizer following the discussion. Post-Plenum bulletin No. 3 will contain the Perspectives Report to the Plenum by Raya Dunayevskaya. Both bulletins available from News & Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48207.

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REPORT ON ORGANIZATION, 1975

by Olga Domanski, National Organizer
to News & Letters Committees Plenum, August 30, 1975

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE is not just the title of our world perspectives thesis -- it is the question we must ask, and answer, in every single concrete session of the Plenum -- and none more so than this one.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE -- Labor Day, 1975, to build News & Letters Committees, in order to be with the masses, who are out to tear up this stinking society, helping to make sure that this time the revolutions that are bound to erupt will not be aborted or soured. That is a task that does not begin after or with the revolutionary situation, but long, long before. And this preparation for revolution does not involve just ourselves -- though that must be where we begin -- but as many as we can reach. In short, the reality of capitalism, which we discussed at length this morning, is stifling. And the transformation of that reality demands a unity of the struggles for freedom with a philosophy of liberation. Working out how to guarantee that unity is what our organization is all about -- and why we say that spontaneity and organization must be one.

You know, sometimes the vanguard organizations -- those Alienated Spirits -- are so pitiful you almost feel sorry for them. Take NAM -- now that's some "new American movement": They just finished their convention in Oberlin -- and they printed some material in their paper, too, to "prepare" for it. They describe the objective scene as they see it -- with pictures to prove it, of the great strike wave in the U.S. early this year, and the victory in Vietnam, and the freedom in Angola, with not a word of any of the contradictions within these situations, though they do talk about the unemployment and the racism here -- and then they come to this amazing conclusion: "Whatever we make of these various developments, one fact is indisputable: no unified, militant mass movement has developed in the past year despite the deepening economic crisis -- the working class remains bound by passivity and the lack of political consciousness." Naturally, the task of Marxists, as they see it, is to analyze what is "really at work" (and you can be sure it isn't the dialectic they will see), and then, of course, organize the revolution. If ever there was a separation between spontaneity and organization, that is it. And they are not the worst among the Left, but perhaps among the best.

But we cannot just criticize others as "vanguardists". Much less laugh at them. If we can't project our philosophy, we are in a sense responsible for their growing. What right have we to be disgusted with the fact that elitists like that drew 1200 women to a socialist-feminist gathering, if we can't draw 12 to one of N&L-WLs? The truth is that the objective situation is perfect for Marxist-Humanist growth. And it is high time to answer "Where do we go from here?" directly in terms of the growth of N&L Committees.

OK. Let's begin with where we are right now. What did we accomplish in the year since last we met that can be ground for next year -- and for the future?

First and foremost, we did gain new members, and they are surely only a microcosm, they do represent a multi-dimension of forces -- Black, Brown and Red, youth, and workers, and women. And we saw them involved at

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once not only in all sorts of activities, but precisely those activities that were breaking new ground for us, and were of the greatest importance, whether that was a co-author of one of our new pamphlets, or as new columnist for the paper, or helping to create a new youth committee, or launch a newsletter like Unemployment Lines. Masses as Reason is not just for the outside; we practice every single day with all those forces represented inside our organization, as well.

Second, we did meet the challenge of the objective situation -- especially the worst recession in 34 years, which hit its hardest blow right here in Detroit. We met the challenge first by not allowing the fact that those who had got jobs in the shops were laid off within a few months after our Convention to end our "proletarianization". The proletariat last year was primarily in the Unemployment Lines, and that's where we went, too -- with N&L and with our newsletter. The whole world crisis was so heightened by the end of the year that we met that, not by "retrenching", but with an expanded 12 page special issue -- something our readers responded to more concretely than to any other issue we can ever remember.

It was precisely our response to the objective situation throughout the year that brought forth all sorts of new developments that we had not even imagined at the Convention -- whether that was the two 12 page special issues, or the three new pamphlets, or the two new youth publications. And that does not mean that we did not carry through successfully what we did plan -- especially the new classes in Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution, which, by the time we gave them, we found had to include also American Civilization on Trial, and which showed internalization as the highest form of organizational direction. Those classes went on simultaneously in all the locals, and resulted directly in membership growth and in a new growth as Marxist-Humanists for all who participated in the presentations and the discussions.

AND YET NONE OF THIS HAS TRULY MEASURED UP TO PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION AS ORGANIZATION BUILDER -- the goal we set ourselves two years ago, when we met to add Philosophy and Revolution to our very Constitution. Nor will it in the year ahead, unless we grapple with that directly. And with what precisely makes N&L unique among all the Left, and should make others wish to become part of this uniqueness because it is vital to the struggle for the new society, which the whole world knows we had better win soon.

The truth of the matter is that P&R as Organization builder began long before P&R was ever written as book -- or even thought of. And the truth is that, though we began N&L in June of 1955 -- and that this is our 20th anniversary -- we were born, not in 1955, much less in 1956 when we finally realized we didn't even have a Constitution, but in 1953, when we were still in Correspondence Committees.

What is our uniqueness is not the rejection of the vanguard party, or even the committee form of functioning. We had already broken through on that way back when we left the SWP in 1951. In fact, that far back we had even related our committee form to the American Committees of Correspondence of the first American revolution, and had already started thinking of publishing a work on that question. It is only this year finally coming to be, and it will surely be a much, much different pamphlet as an extension of

PSR than it could possibly have been then -- and we will go into that more later. The point to establish here is that our uniqueness is the espousal of a committee form of organization which has both workers and intellectuals, both Black and white, both men and women, AND philosophy. And the philosophy is not just an added ingredient. It is the central core.

It is the philosophy which makes the relationship of the workers and the intellectuals in those committees new -- with the workers taking on the so-called intellectuals' jobs, and the intellectuals having a vital role to play in working out the unity of theory and practice. Because it is not just any philosophy we are talking about. It is dialectics. It is concretely the translating of the Absolute Idea for our age into "the movement from practice to theory" as well as from theory to practice -- and building everything on that. That is precisely what Correspondence, with CLRJ as the leader maximus, did not do. And it is precisely what News & Letters, once the formal break with CLRJ came, two years later, did do.

In short, 1953, and those Letters on the Absolute Idea represent our Great Divide -- a philosophic leap that was at one and the same time the point where our continuity with Lenin was established, AND the point where we broke with Lenin.

In her paper to the HSA last fall -- one of the absolute highpoints, along with her tour, of all our activities last year -- Raya gave an exquisitely organizational talk, whether those scholars recognized it or not. Reread it and see if you do not agree. What the Hegelian scholars had, surprisingly, asked Raya to expand on was the relationship of Lenin to the Absolute Idea, and that is what she developed in the first ten pages. And then she summed up what that all meant this way:

"It is this appreciation of the Absolute Idea, not as something in heaven or in the stratosphere, but in fact in the objective world whose very ground is the Notion, that has statist Communism so worried about Lenin. Ever since the June 17, 1953 East German Revolt and the emergence of a movement from practice to theory and a new society, they have rightly sensed that Lenin's break with his own philosophic past produced the Great Divide in the Movement that has yet to run its course."

And then Raya takes up the last 12 paragraphs of the Absolute Idea and the movement from practice for two long decades since the 1950s, that has itself become a form of theory once its spontaneity discovered the power of thought along with its physical might. And I think she was describing, organizationally, us -- though News & Letters Committees could naturally nowhere be mentioned by name. What else could possibly be meant by "the Great Divide in the Movement that has yet to run its course"?

Lenin's Great Divide was reached when the Second International collapsed, at the outbreak of WWI. Marx, too, had his Great Divide. His very earliest and total break with bourgeois society came in 1843 -- but it was proved in life with the 1848 Revolutions that covered Europe from end to end. They were a new turning point in modern history because they opened the era of mass proletarian revolutions, and they necessitated a break from all other tendencies (and every one present today was present then, if only in embryo.) And Hegel had his Great Divide -- from Kant -- under the impact of the Great French Revolution. Such Great Divides do not come often, and they are always related to great objective and historic turning points. And so was ours.

As Raya put it in Philosophy and Revolution, "It was because the masses had found a new way to freedom that a new leap in cognition was possible." To be precise, in the U.S., the miners' battles against automation 25 years ago, the historic '49-'50 strike in which they posed the philosophic question of the day -- what sort of work should men do?; and in East Europe, the 1953 East German workers revolts against Communism. These were the historic turning points that coincided with Raya's grappling with Hegel's three final syllogisms -- something nobody in the Marxist movement, including Marx or Lenin, had ever done before.

It is important to remember that Raya was not studying Hegel as a philosopher, and, in fact, had never been "permitted" to consider philosophy as her domain. And the grappling with Hegel was not being done to figure out what the miners' strike meant. It was being done to figure out what our organization meant, and where we were going, as we were on the threshold of coming out with a new paper. Correspondence, which was to print its first issue that fall.

Only by figuring that out could our organization become a viable part of the objective reality, helping to move it forward to a new society.

Because Great Leaps do not come from nowhere, I think it might be good to trace back our "origins", even though very briefly, all the way to 1941. Tendency-building is something that is at one and the same time so spontaneous and so demanding that you are often conscious of what you have done only after it has already attained a new stage. The truth is that before the birth of N&L as N&L, no less than 15 years had gone into its self-development. The objective situation here was the outbreak of WWII. It was 1941, and Raya broke through on the idea that Russia was a state-capitalist society. She had just returned from Mexico, having broken with Trotsky on the question of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, but she was a "rank and filer" in the WP. She found to her amazement when she read the convention documents in the WP Discussion Bulletin that another had submitted a document by exactly the same name as hers: "Russia is a State-Capitalist Society." And that one was a "leader", J.R. Johnson. The development of a theory of state-capitalism out of that was a great theoretic leap, but was not yet a philosophic one -- and organizationally the meeting of Raya and Johnson, and shortly after that Grace Lee, produced the state-capitalist tendency as a faction within the WP. Raya's work in the next two years produced the first serious, painstaking study of state-capitalism. It was based on original Russian documents, but the theory of state-capitalism was not an analysis of Russia alone, but of a whole new stage of world capitalism.

Now here is what is important to follow. Raya was not supposed to be the "philosopher". That was supposed to be Grace's job, except that Grace didn't know either Marx or Bolshevism -- she had had no experience in the movement but came straight from college. Raya was supposed to study Marx. And she did. She did it so well that in the course of studying the original Marx she found the 1844 Manuscripts -- and she promptly wrote the article "Labor and Society", the first statement based on the Marxist-Humanist Essays, to serve as the introduction to the studies of the Russian economy. (Naturally, the WP, which felt required to print those articles in the New International, did not print that introduction. But we have mimeographed it, and it is part of our history packets, and an important part of the archives on deposit at Wayne State University.)

But philosophy, politics, and economics were still being kept separated as conscious tasks, and whenever the tendency discussed the book that was to be written, it was always Grace and Johnson who were to do the philosophy, while Raya was to stick to economics. In 1948, when organizationally we had left the WP and gone back into the SWP, Johnson went to Nevada to write "Notes on the Dialectic". But the only thing he did on the Absolute Idea turned out to be all quotations. Raya had meanwhile turned to translating Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks from the Russian. She did it in two months (January-February 1949) and gave it as a gift to Johnson, and then she was to go back to her own work on economics. (Here is how Johnson had assigned the work: Grace was to do from Kant to Hegel; Raya was to do from Marx on; and Johnson was going back to literature and writing on "American civilization".)

And that is when the 1950 miners' strike erupted in West Virginia. Raya went there and decided she could finally do her work on Capital written from American grounds. The outline of what was originally called State-Capitalism and Marxism, and eventually became Marxism and Freedom, which Raya presented to the tendency, had two new vantage points around which the whole work was to revolve: the American workers and Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks. (And for the first time, a worker in the tendency, JZ, was involved in these discussions -- because of the new vantage point.)

It is surely no accident that by the time of the SWP Convention that year, the document that was handed in, written by Raya and Grace and Johnson, summarizing the whole decade of the development of the state-capitalist tendency, for the first time included philosophy as integral with politics and economics. (That is the tendency document, State-Capitalism and World Revolution, about which you have heard so much, and which Johnson has since reproduced as his own.) The important thing to note is that this is more truly the split document from the SWP than the nonsense that was handed in a year later when we actually left the SWP once and for all.

OK. It is now 1953, and we finally think we are not a faction, but an independent organization of our own, ready to "drown ourselves in the masses". Raya has moved to Detroit as we move to a paper. Raya is still not supposed to deal with "philosophy" -- "just" with organization and the paper. But she was impelled to be active on philosophy because she took the paper seriously. We were told the workers were to run riot in the paper, and that meant abolishing the division between outside and inside. But we had to know what the place of the theoretician would be. While Johnson was busy contrasting organization to spontaneity, concerned with the dialectics of a mass party, Raya was concerned with the dialectics of our organization, knowing the masses would do what they would do, and what we had to answer was what we would do. The paper could not be separated from the organization, and neither could be separated from philosophy.

And it was then that Stalin died, and Raya suddenly broke through on the Absolute Idea as showing a movement from practice to theory, and the East German workers proved it in life six weeks later in the June 17 revolt against Communism.

Now we have told this story many times. But it is illuminated anew at each stage we reach. And I believe it is illuminated anew this year as well. Because this breakthrough was not just a theoretic leap, such as that

which was made in 1941, but a philosophic one which required a break -- an organizational break -- before it could ever be consummated. That is what 1955 represents. And it was not until that break that instead of being only a faction -- this time within the state-capitalist tendency, and we didn't even know that is all we were -- we became a whole new organization, a whole new kind of organization. Not just Committees, but Committees for whom philosophy, dialectics, was integral.

It is this story, this organizational story of N&L Committees, that makes the Archives on deposit at WSU so important to our work. Look through that bulletin again, with these eyes.

No wonder Johnson wrote, after the split -- or so we have just been told -- that what was wrong with us was that we had too much Bolshevism left in us. He was absolutely right. And no wonder Ray startled Marcuse out of his chair when she showed him her letters on the Absolute Idea in 1955, and he read the paragraph in which she credits Hegel with being a Bolshevik! -- when it came to thought, because of his rigor and dialectic flow, because of his patience at not skipping a single link in the chain of historic events and self-development of the Idea.

It may be that we will be able to concretize P&R as Organization Builder when we begin to see that it is Absolute Idea as Organization Builder we are really talking about. And that when we say we recognize philosophy, not philosopher, what we mean is that we align with what is the genuine movement for liberation (which is what dialectical philosophy is), not party-to-lead (by whatever organizational name it calls itself, or whatever "philosopher" is holding sway.)

Now, with all this in mind, let's return to the question of WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE for the year ahead. It is a year that is sure to bring developments we can't even imagine this weekend -- just as last year did. What we can discuss are the myriad ways we are planning to further concretize P&R as Organization Builder, for that is what every single one of the things we are planning must be.

First, of course, we are planning three special 12 page issues of the paper (which will be more fully discussed tomorrow under that report) -- and we have in hand the 12 pager with our Perspectives, that is surely not a finished issue with this Plenum; we will first begin to really work with it as we adjourn and go out to tell all those we can reach what these perspectives laid the ground for -- what we want their participation in, in the months ahead.

Second, we have the lectures at UCME on "Women as Thinkers and as Revolutionaries" -- a magnificent opportunity to bring together all the threads of the WL activities we have begun during the past year -- and not only in Detroit, though it is here we will surely have the greatest advantages. The lectures will be taped and we will plan to have them available on cassettes for all to share -- and not only WL activists, surely. There is not a single question the movement faces today that will not be illuminated by those lectures -- not one. Whether it is race and class, or organization and spontaneity, or philosophy and revolution. Rayn will not be having as extensive a lecture tour this year as last, though she will make some trips to the East Coast, and is invited to Chicago for April -- but those lectures all can share.

Third, we will have some people back in the shops -- even if only temporarily. And we have the experience of Unemployment Lines from the past year to build on and expand with. In Detroit there were over 100 names we received from the issuance of the first newsletter -- and yet we allowed it to become almost a "stillbirth" because our own first attempt at a meeting around it was such a flop after the excitement of the rally in Washington -- instead of building on the results we did have. We will be trying to work together in a new way to develop Unemployment Lines into something new this year.

We will have Ron full-time at the center for another year, as well. And considering all the creative things he invented this past year, from the seminar in P&R to the supplement for Uniroyal, we have great expectations.

For the first time ever that I can remember we will have functioning Youth groups in each locality -- center, East coast and West coast -- which will represent both high school youth and college youth, and which have already had the experience of their own new publications, High School Blues, and Under 21, to build on.

We will have the Archives, with a new Volume XI that centers directly around Philosophy and Revolution and we will have someone working directly with them, which is sure to open all sorts of new doors.

And we will have, above all, the new pamphlets and Political Letters to work with philosophically and organizationally, and which will touch every force of revolution with which we are active. It is these we must spend a little more time on here. First, the Political Letters. What were they when we had such a series before, and what will they be now, when they come out a full 15 years later in our development and after P&R? The old series began in April of 1961 -- Raya happened to be in L.A. when the invasion of Cuba, the Bay of Pigs, startled the world and events were moving fast. Raya hurried to express her position to the organization at once, because she felt the whole question of war and peace might be involved, which would test Marxist-Humanism in the immediate future. When she returned to Detroit the next week, it was decided that the Letter should become a weekly feature. They were just for us, and typed only in 10 copies. But soon others began asking for them, and then we began to mimeo them and eventually sold subs to them.

What the letters provided for Raya were two things: first, a means whereby she could respond quickly to all the myriad world situations without having to wait for the monthly paper, or having to choose which one was the most important to write about that issue. And second, they provided a way to write more informally than for the printed page, when you must weigh very carefully, if you are a Raya, every single word you write. The result was a fantastic collection of letters on every possible question, that touched every part of the globe. Just look through the table of contents. I just reread the one she wrote in the China-India war on Dec. 8, 1962 -- and it has much that is invaluable for understanding India today, though Indira Gandhi was nowhere on the scene yet. It was sub-titled "The Relationship of Imperialism to the Ideological Struggles" -- which gives you a clue as to how unlimited these Letters were to the specific incident that might be the subject of the particular letter.

And now, we are going to have the advantage of a brand new series. It cannot possibly start until the new year, after the UCAE classes are

finished, and it cannot possibly be tied to a rigid, weekly schedule -- but it will be responses to the myriad situations that are bound to arise in the year ahead. And all will be aimed both at our own preparation for revolution and inseparable from that, at drawing in our periphery who will be able to subscribe to the series, and with whom we will be able to discuss the Letters as they come out, and long, long after. I don't think we will truly appreciate what all this new labor Raya has proposed she undertake will mean for organizationally and philosophically unless we see it as the opportunity to test ourselves in the battle with all others on the most current subjects in the days ahead.

And along with these new Letters, we will have all the new pamphlets we have already begun work on. Black, Brown, Red is the one we will have in our hands the minute this Plenum adjourns -- and we know that, far from being merely a "new edition", it is truly a brand new pamphlet with both a new Latino and a new Indian section. There is absolutely no substitute for having the voice of the force of revolt be simultaneously the voice of a Marxist - Humanist. All have already seen how powerful is the section written by Shainape Schopwe. The other great new aspect is the reproduction of the Spanish language sections in the modest little 5¢ pamphlet that ties together as one the voices of Chicano men and women, Puerto Rican worker, Uruguayan student with the excerpts from Chapter 9 of P&R and the review of Sin Nombre with the announcement of the Spanish edition-to-be of P&R. It is sure to help us make the Latino page into a powerful organization builder.

Before the end of the year, in hand to greet the Bicentennial of the First American Revolution, and as preparation for the one-in-the-making, we will have our brand new pamphlet on the American Committees of Correspondence, with a special introduction by the REB to draw the organizational threads together in the same way that American Civilization on Trial did on the occasion of the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation.

We will also be continuing the work around the other two pamphlets to prepare them for publication, and it is here that it is so necessary to see that all of these new pamphlets flow from P&R, or we will never get what we are talking about, no matter how many times we repeat "P&R as Org Builder."

Let's back up, again, historically in our self-development, for one more minute to see what happened in our organization after we finally broke through, not alone on the Absolute Idea, but to the organization that consummated it: N&L Committees. We all know the story of how we assigned Raya at our founding convention to finish M&F -- and how we singled out, as the twin poles of our organization, the paper with worker as editor, and Marxism and Freedom which would re-establish both the American and the Humanist roots of Marxism. We had M&F in our hands by the end of 1957 and from that day to the day that P&R appeared, every single pamphlet that we produced was a further concretization of M&F. Just consider -- tremendous as M&F was, and deep as it penetrated the American roots, it could not possibly deal in any detailed way with the so-called "Negro Question" -- it could only show the direction. It took American Civilization on Trial to do that, and before it, Freedom Riders Speak For Themselves. It was, first of all, no accident that of all who participated in the Freedom Rides, we were not only the first ones for years to have any pamphlet at all on the subject, but we were the only ones ever who published a pamphlet like that. The very

title revealed the distinguishing mark of Marxist-Humanism -- the creation of the form where, when freedom fighters speak for themselves, the doing and thinking becomes one unified whole. But that was not all it did. That pamphlet forged a relationship between the Freedom Riders of 1961 and David Walker, who published his Appeal way back in 1829, and because history is not only past but present, and because activity is not only activity like going to jail for a principle, but activity as thought, in the midst of the story of the marches and sit-ins and bus boycotts, we reproduced an editorial from N&L on the state of civil rights -- not just in terms of the Black struggle, but of those who resisted thought control, in terms of the Supreme Court ruling on the Smith-McCarren /cts. In other words, the pamphlet was a concretization of Marxism and Freedom which had taken up 200 years of the freedom struggles, in terms of the black struggles that were going on at that very moment.

That is the way in which our pamphlet on Working Women that we will be working out to completion in the months ahead, must concretize Philosophy and Revolution. What makes it such a challenge is that, tremendous as was the leap that M&F represents, P&R goes far beyond it, building from that established ground. P&R is more concrete because it is more total for our times. It concentrates on the revolutions of today, and the revolutions yet-to-be, yet shows the historic link between philosophy and action -- and the traps and deadends that lie in wait for those who try to separate these inseparables. And it will, of necessity, be an organizational pamphlet of the highest order because, just as philosophy is not the added ingredient of N&L Committees, but its very core -- so the distinguishing feature of our N&L-WL Committees is not just our concentration on Black and working women, but that concentration with philosophy -- or better expressed, that concentration because of philosophy, dialectics.

It is not only that we will show masses as Reason, and masses as self-organization, but that we will be able to show spontaneity and organization as inseparable, as one and the same thing. That is what will make the pamphlet, not a "popularization", but truly an extension of Philosophy and Revolution -- a further development of the Absolute Idea -- a pamphlet that should make women want to become part of this exciting movement towards liberation that N&L Committees alone represent in all the Left.

What should make us see that task as urgent is precisely what is happening in the WL Movement, which illuminates the whole movement. Just consider again the 1200 women NAM was able to draw to that conference in Antioch. That surely shows how alive is the WLM and how thirsty for ideas -- and many of them were turned off by NAM's elitism, for sure. The point is that all the old politicians, whether in old or new garb, whether with "big names" or no names, are there, ready to divert the movement back into all the old traps -- Angela Davis into the CP, Sheila Rowbotham into Trotskyism or Maoism, Juliet Mitchell into Structuralism.

Because none of them see woman as Reason, they are all one form or another of the Alienated Spirit that we have been talking about throughout our pre-plenum discussions. That section of the Phenomenology -- Spirit in Self-Estrangement, or the Discipline of Culture -- is the specific part of the Phenomenology that best illuminates our epoch of state-capitalism. It may be easier to see Mao as the one who has "constructed not merely one world but a two-fold world, divided and self-opposed" -- and who thinks that he can decree unity where there is none. But it is not just the state-powers who

are included here. It is all the Marxist tendencies who suffer the inversion of reality and thought, and reject the totality of "Absolutes as New Beginnings."

In their impatience to get to the Absolute -- the new society -- they are grabbing at shortcuts that deadend at state-capitalism. The impatience that workers feel to get rid of this society which is killing them is one thing, a totally different thing, that in no way contradicts the fact that to really win the new society requires "the labor, the patience and the suffering of the negative" that none among the Left but Marxist-Humanists seem to understand in the slightest.

It is how we unite theory and practice that defines each age, and each stage. That is the importance of the pamphlets we are writing, and of every single concrete activity we engage in, in the year ahead. It is that which makes organizational responsibility, for us, philosophic responsibility. And it is that responsibility that we are inviting all who are not yet with us in N&L Committees to join in helping to work out.

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