

INTERNATIONAL REPORT by Boss (1960)

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 Proletso that published our theses. It was at that time also that we signed a 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 page 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 MARXISM & FREEDOM to the British scene.

He has spoken several times, in letters to Rao 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 Rao.

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 go 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 Peffer 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. This, 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 jangle before publishers, and Frank's work on it

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.