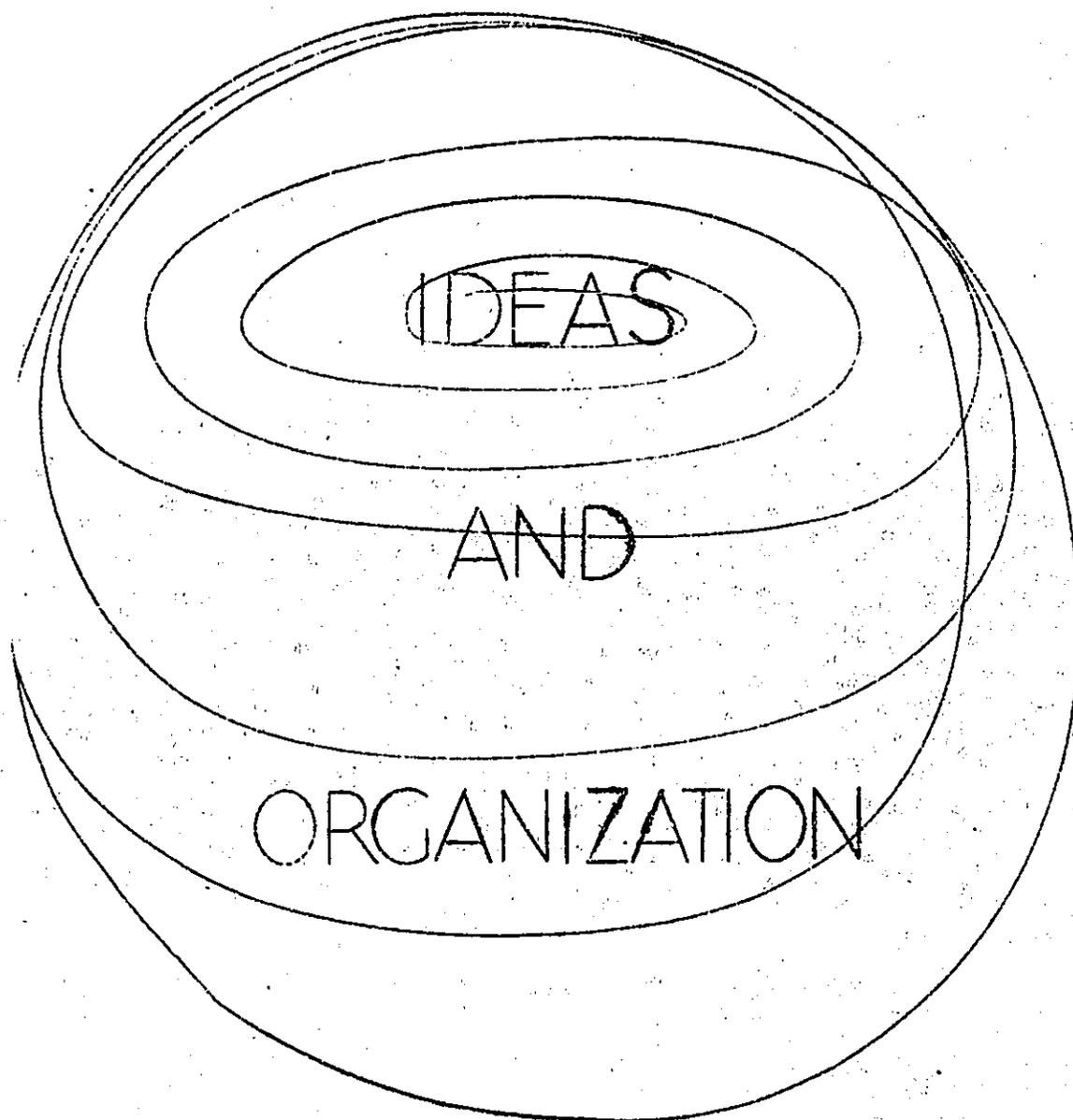


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~~Draft~~ Draft Resolution-

IDEAS AND ORGANIZATION

Introduction: The Time Is Late

The crisis over Berlin discloses the build-up for war, both militarily and in the deprivation of labor and civil rights. This has characterized the whole period from the U-2 incident and Khrushchev's noisy break-up of the Eisenhower Paris summit in 1960 to the quiet Khrushchev-Kennedy Vienna Summit in 1961. The politeness of the summiteers only served to dramatize the fact that each is carrying a big stick, both in military prowess and in the stranglehold over labor and minorities. Quite obviously, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, a decision has been made that, when brainwashing fails to bring obedience, terror must be used. Ever since the invasion of Cuba, the atmosphere emanating from the Kennedy Administration has inspired the type of thought control that marks the road to totalitarianism.

The latest military air show that Khrushchev put on, coupled with the new laws against "idlers" and the speech lauding horse meat as a delicacy, sum up the meaning of these times for the Russian workers. The increase in military spending and doubling of the draft quotas, while 6 million remain unemployed, the use of the Taft-Hartly Act against the maritime workers as well as the jailing of the Freedom Riders sum up the meaning of this period for the American working people. Clearly, the assassination of the Socialist Asanuma in Japan, and of Premier Lumumba in the Congo, on the one hand; the military coup of the French Generals in Algiers against the French Government along with the French Government's murderous attack on Tunisia, on the other, as well as the stillborn tractors-for-humans deal between Castro's Cuba and "private citizens" of the United States, are not the accidental results of a lunatic fringe, although these do not apparently directly relate to the leading contenders for world domination -- Russia and the United States --, the events mentioned are symbolic of the innermost essence of the age of state capitalism and its automated ICBMs bent on global destruction.

Now that the U.N. has shown itself to be not only a talkshop but an actual military force being used by Western imperialism in the underdeveloped countries, Russia will not be satisfied with unplanned-for windfalls, as Castro's Cuba has proved to be to it, but will proceed to develop, in a planned manner, the disintegrative forces from Germany to Laos, making sure that "peace" movements dot the home countries of Western imperialism. Politically, it would therefore appear that all we need to do is republish last year's Resolution on War and Peace, placing over it a sign reading: URGENT.

In truth, although that Resolution is more valid than ever, it does not, and could not have dealt with the new elements: (1) such intensification of war preparations that peace itself has become war by other means; (2) the new center of gravity designated by the Kennedy Administration's re-establishment of capitalistic Europe as the key to the world struggle for power; (3) the loss of a foothold in Africa and the winning of one in Latin America, which have impelled Russia to grab at the new of the colonial revolutions and make that the key to the policies of all Communist Parties. At the same time the African Revolutions, having reached the cross roads between the two nuclear titans, are beginning to form blocs which show that "neutrality" has lost its naivety. Because of this phenomenon, neutrality has stopped being

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a dirty word in the United States and, once again, old world powers are tugging at Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, that these become "neutrally" for "the East" or for "the West." Presently, Russia flirts even with Katanga. All is fair in a war for single world domination.

The very intensification of war preparations and the urgency of the times compel a return not only to principles of anti-war struggle but to the fundamentals of the new in world production. The time is late, and we cannot wait for the new book — nor delay it. And yet we must concretize this new stage of automated production that seems to have made a "discontinuous" leap. Leap into space with Soutniks, vanguards, Luniks, orbital and sub-orbital manned flights as well as unmanned ICBMs abound; and there are plunges into the depths of the oceans with the Polaris. But yet to be seen is any serious industrialization of the underdeveloped economies or any "newer life" in the technologically advanced lands. On the other hand, just as both the Hungarian Revolution and the African Revolutions opened a new stage of world consciousness, so the lateness of the hour must mean the practicing of Marxist-Humanist philosophy in organizational work. Nationally and internationally, the relationship between ideas and organization has ended the near-standstill in the continuity of Marxist thought, compelling regroupment. It is in this light that our own activities and perspectives must be considered. Hence the division of this Resolution into the following sub-headings:

- I. "Discontinuity" in Production and Conditions of Labor
- II. Continuity of Thought, or Practicing Marxist-Humanist Philosophy
- III. Activities and Perspectives

* * *

I. "Discontinuity" in Production and Conditions of Labor

As distinct from the Industrial Revolution at the end of the 18th century which produced our machine age, the Scientific Revolution in the mid-20th century got its spurt from the war and is wholly dominated by it. The "new weapons system" is not just a new form of "blitzkrieg". Rather it threatens the extinction of civilization altogether. Between 1949-1954, when Russia broke, first, America's A-bomb monopoly, and, then, achieved "parity" with her in H-bombs, it has become clear that while such "parity" becomes a minor deterrent to nuclear war today, it is a major stimulus to war tomorrow.

The "tomorrow" has moved ever nearer since October, 1957, when Russia shot out front with the launching of the Sputnik. Thereby, however, also hangs a tale, the truth of capitalistic production — its exploitation, its "production for production's sake", its contradictory growth while degrading the worker to an appendage of a machine, and its never-ending development of means of production at the expense of the means of consumption. For, while the Sputnik shows indeed an impressive mastery of the techniques of Automation, automated production in Russia has no different class content than it has in the United States. In both the conditions of labor have worsened; speed-ups in production have heightened tensions and increased industrial accidents.

The shortage of labor that continues to characterize Russian production expresses in no uncertain terms the workers' opposition to automated

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production. Productivity of labor, which remains the decisive factor in the determination of a new social order, spells out Russia's industrial backwardness more definitively than its spectacular space achievements spell out its military "first-edness". To single out ICBMs, or even machine tools in order to claim the opposite is indeed what has been called "misplaced concreteness," - and total blindness to the class content of world production in the age of state capitalism at the quintessential turning point in history called the Second Industrial Revolution.

Production in Russia, while it has much to do "to catch up" with means of consumption, such as it is under private capitalism, continues to be diverted to non-productive uses. At both poles of world capital, nuclear energy is used, not to transform deserts into oases, or to bring about a simultaneous development of agriculture and industry, thus laying the groundwork for abolishing the age-old class distinction between city and country, but for the destructive purposes of war.

The radical who wants to begin arguing on capitalistically laid ground as to the "rate" of industrial development in this or that country should be prepared to laud "the miracle" of West German production on the ruins of World War II. War destruction achieves overnight what the relentless process of technological revolutions and depreciation of existing capital takes years to do. And the country that is modern enough to respond in terms of the latest developments in the production process - as Russia, Germany, and Japan were, but China was not - experiences "miracles." German production, Russian science, and Japanese goods are flooding the Western markets now. On the other hand, in China, where there was no heavy industrial structure, the vastness of the land, and the 600 million humans could not produce a modern steel industry, despite the State Plan. Both poles of world capital pour millions, if not to industrialize seriously the underdeveloped economies, then certainly to win the minds of men. But these lands are poorer than ever. After centuries of capitalist world domination, two-thirds of the world is still starving! Above all, the atomic age cannot promise either advanced or backward economy any "miracles" of production; a nuclear holocaust can destroy the greatest of all productive forces - humanity itself.

Technologically, of course, the world development of automated production, nuclear energy, could spell out a different path to industrialization than capitalism. There not only is a backlog of 100 years of railway development and 50 of aeroplane, coal, iron, steel, chemical and electrical industries, but, as one source puts it: "It will be possible to use artificial fertilizers, tractors, modern agriculture machinery, modern artificial irrigation, electricity, atomic energy and so on in the countries of Asia long before the requisite metallurgical, chemical and electrical industries are developed there." (The Military and Industrial Revolutions of Our Time by Fritz Sternberg; p. 192). As the African Revolutions showed, no forces on earth can stop humanity's development forward and where the people in the technologically backward countries dared and won independence against all odds and with the greatest speed, there you have a creative upsurge of millions of people who can easily master the "techniques" of industrialization provided these are available, and they will be available to them, not under capitalism, but when workers control production and thereby give a totally new impulse to its development.

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The development from competition through monopoly to state control is only a manifestation of the inner development of capitalist production from cooperation to manufacture through machinefactory or "the automaton." That is why Marx's analysis of capitalist development remains valid for our day. Marx discerned that the dialectic of the concentration and centralization of capital would lead, at one and the same time, to "centralization of capital in the hands of one single capitalist or one single capitalist corporation" and the unemployed army, unless "new forces and new passions" would undermine the system and build a new one.

Lenin summed up the entire difference between the Second and the Third Internationals, between those who talked socialism and those who were building it, by the sole distinction of the conditions of labor. Since old radicals no longer base themselves wholly on the proletariat, they do not stop to ask questions either as to the conditions of labor of the proletariat, or as to the "accumulated wealth" of Russian production. Consequently, they see neither that of all the industrially developed countries Russia is still backward, both in industry and in agriculture. It is the only industrially developed country that still has over 40% of its population working in agriculture. Khrushchev admits that in per capita production, the United States has a 3 to 1 superiority. The super jets fly above muddy roads, and housing is so scarce that the best a paternalistic Khrushchev could do to reward the first Cosmonaut was to give him a four-room apartment.

In a word, Russia may be superior in the thrust of its rockets and jet bombers and the other paraphernalia of war, but that is distinctly capitalistic. Production, continuous or "discontinuous" is following no new path in Russia, much less in China, that differs fundamentally from its development under private capitalism.

The challenge, the greatness, the maturity of our age is due to the fact, and only to the fact, that the masses are so highly developed, so audacious in their challenge of the mighty, so talented in the ability to use the latest technological inventions in the remotest bushes that they need not follow the capitalist path to industrialization, provided power remains in their own hands.

II. The Continuity of Thought: Practicing Marxist Humanist Philosophy

The totality of the world crisis as we approach war has brought to an end the groping for new ideas and a new type of revolutionary activity that had enlivened the European movements in the years since 1956 when Russia's crushing of the Hungarian Revolution brought about an exodus from the Communist Parties. Even as the might of the Russian armies crushed the Hungarian Revolutionaries, so the might of the Russian "mass media," in and out of Russia and its satellites, lays a pall over independent thinking and succeeds in dubbing the new revolution in Marxist thought as "Revisionist," "Hegelian," "idealistic," "reactionary utopian," etc. The independent Marxist groupings in Western Europe did not contribute much to the search for a total philosophy by those who had newly broken from Communism, because by now they themselves stood naked in their empiricism and, in the despair over the smallness of their number were ready to cast ashore on any "new" ship, even one that had no rudder.

If the hallmark of our state capitalist age is that everybody wants to lead, nobody to listen, it is no less true that many who had broken with the concept of "the party to lead" share with the "vanguardists" the disdain for the Hegelian roots of Marxism. It is not only that the inter-relationship of philosophy and politics which gave birth to Marxism as theory and the practice of theory had so long been stored away as a mere "heirloom." It is, above all, that they are blind to "the masses as Reason."

It becomes necessary therefore once again to repeat our ABC's :

Over 100 years ago Marx saw that the very degradation of the laborer to an appendage of a machine would produce in him "a striving for universalism," the Marxian theory of liberation which was born out of the actual struggles of the proletariat of his time, was so deeply rooted in Hegelian philosophy -- is, in fact, organically inseparable from it -- because it was that which supplied the "missing link" between history as "accident" and history as a totality of the past and present actions of men which determine their future. Marx's concept of revolution was likewise "total" -- the old torn up by its roots in depth and in breadth and new dimensions created. The "negation of negation" was not merely the abolition of capitalism but the abolition of all that stems from it: the division between mental and manual labor, between science and philosophy, between work and life.

Marx developed his theory of the unity of thought and action, philosophy and revolution, because he held a vision of a new world, or "positive Humanism," which involved the unfolding of the world's greatest historic live drama of human liberation, a self-creation by millions of human beings who would reshape history "not out of whole cloth," but as they found it in fact, in the class struggles, a world they had not created, though they had produced all its material goods. To him history was not for contemplation: it was for the knowledgeable building of the future. It was not a "hereafter;" it was to begin this very day in the struggles which would unite theory and practice, release the untapped creative energies of ever new millions, thus ending the "pre-history" or class history of man, and beginning his true, human history.

The grandeur of this vision was lost by the "Marxists" after Marx of the days of the Socialist International (1889-1914) which had torn Marx from his Hegelian moorings, stripped him of his humanism, and transformed him into an economic determinist.

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The one grain of truth which accounted for this vitiation of Marxism was the fact that Marx could not have discovered "historical materialism" had he not stood Hegel "right side up." The one grain of truth became the Big Lie long before the Russian Communist Party -- after the death of Lenin -- grabbed hold of it in order to arm vulgar materialism with state power, thereby establishing the counter-revolution within the revolutionary movement itself. The only new element in this post Marxist "Marxism" was the manner in which the counter-revolution, having lost its old, private capitalistic foundations, held on like a vampire to the new forms -- from the Soviet Power to the State Plan, including the very language of Marxian-Leninism.

Theoretically, a valuable contribution was made by us when we made public what Lenin had kept private -- his Philosophic Notebooks -- written at the time he broke with established Marxism and returned instead to the origins in Hegelian philosophy, especially Hegel's Science of Logic.

As we showed in MARXISM AND FREEDOM, all of Lenin's works and actions from then on were permeated with the new sense of the contemporaneity of "the dialectic" -- the self-movement, the self-activity, the self-organization, the self-development of those who would reconstruct society on new beginnings through a unity of thought and action.

This never meant to us that there was nothing left for our generation to do but to repeat Lenin. Our own return to the dialectic, though based on Marx and Lenin, had entirely new foundations: (1) the American workers, who, in their battle with Automation, raised the questions of alienated labor and the question of a new relationship between thinking and doing; (2) the East European revolts, beginning in East Germany in 1953, going through the ferment in Poland, and coming to a climax in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. Since the publication of MARXISM AND FREEDOM we added the third new foundation opened by African Revolutions. Lenin did not dream, either as he re-read Hegel or as he led the Russian Revolution or as he met up with the Chinese Revolution led by Sun Yat Sen that when Africa came on the scene, so many new nations would be born and the world shaken to its foundations in less than a decade. Nor was the self-activity of the proletariat at the point of production as concrete for him as it was in politics.

In a word, Lenin had kept his Philosophic Notebooks "private" not only because of the urgency of the times -- the new world there was to build. This was true, but not the whole truth. No, it was because the total philosophy he had mastered -- and (as was obvious from his Will) he hoped his leadership would master -- was not yet conceived as one the workers would either master soon, - or fall prey to a new intellectual bureaucracy. Even as Lenin warned prophetically against the Communist "passion for bossing", which might cause a return "backwards to capitalism", he still did not see the counter-revolution as coming from the very men who had led the revolution. Even though he sensed the debilitating effect of a Marxist theoretician (Bukharin) who did not "fully understand the dialectic," he died believing that all "factional" struggles would straighten themselves out, and asking the Party not to hold the weaknesses of the leadership against it.

Nearly four decades have passed since then. Our generation has witnessed a total transformation into opposite of the Soviet state (into a state capitalist society). But at the opposite pole, we witness at the same time the complete maturity of the masses even in the most underdeveloped countries -- Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, Africa above all. When the African Freedom Fighters

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made themselves heard, they did so not only as fighters against oppression, but as builders of a totally new philosophic foundation — the universalism of technology becoming the basis for a new humanism which will embrace the whole world. As Sekou Toure put it in one of his speeches: "In the realm of thought, man can claim to be the brain of the world, but on the concrete level of real life, where any occurrence will affect both the physical and spiritual being, the world is always the brain of man. ... The science resulting from all human knowledge has no nationality African unity offers the world a new humanism This is above and beyond the problem of West Africa, and as far removed from the quarrels that divide the highly developed countries as are the conditions and aspirations of the African people." (Quoted in "Nationalism, Communism, Marxist Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolution," p. 32)

Here too the hour is late. We must meet the philosophic challenge not merely in "writings" but in practicing philosophy. As was shown in the expansion of our activities — both in "writings" (Workers Battle Automation as well as the British Edition of the Afro-Asian pamphlet) and in the participation in the Freedom Rides for racial equality — we have been breaking down the division between theory and action in whatever way we could. The new facet in our activity, in turn, has disclosed a more integral link between ideas and organization. This link, or manifestation, involves, at one and the same time, the new stage of development of the self-activity of the masses, and the relationship of our committees to other groups and movements. This relationship is taken up in another thesis. (See "Working With Other Organizations," Discussion Bulletin #1)

What concerns us here is the overall concept of the relationship of ideas and organization, both as a historic question, and as an urgent and immediate question. We are once again confronted by the sharp contrast between the technological, political, philosophical, in a word, total maturity of our age and its Freedom Fighters, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the spectacle of Marxist theoreticians, accepting every capitalist ground-rule for debate from the methods to be used by the Freedom Riders in the United States to the opposition to the Common Market along with the most insular British conservatives and the most outward-bound Communists. No more than a short decade ago the Communists sucked all into the "Germany must be reunited" slogan, and now everyone is for a "realpolitik" of two separate Germanys duly legalized by Khrushchev and Kennedy "co-existing" in the "free city of Berlin." As in Europe, so in the United States some Marxists have spent 20 years "analysing" Communism as state capitalism, and not only in Russia but as a world phenomenon in the administrative mentality of intellectual leaders as well as in production — only to get sucked into apologetics for Castro's Cuba as if the Cuban Revolution hadn't brought to life the dichotomy in the practice of revolution between the self-developing masses and the leadership bent on production results and the State Plan, as if conditions of labor and ~~activity~~ activity by the worker-producers were not the only defense of any revolution.

A reformulation of the relationship between theory and practice — the notion of a new "subject," that is to say, the force, the human force of the new society — is of the essence now. It is no longer a question of theory. It has become a life-and-death question for the African Revolutions at the crossroad; for the American Negroes riding the Freedom Buses to Mississippi jails as well as for British workers facing extended automated production in order for British capital to compete with their "allies." Whatever were

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Kennedy's motivations for re-establishing Western Europe as the key to the world situation, the point is that as Marxists we must expound the indivisibility of the technologically advanced countries and the underdeveloped economies. If, as Lenin put it in his time, the road to the abolition of capitalism as a world system may lead through Peking, rather than Berlin, it is no less true for our times than it was for his, that, without Berlin, the reconstruction of society on new truly human beginnings would be seriously impeded, if not made impossible. Berlin, Moscow, London, Paris, Milan, New York are quintessential to Accra, Havana, Tokyo, Dar-Es-Salaam, Conakry, Fong Knog, Cairo, Calcutta. Without the interchange of advanced and underdeveloped economies, all are bound for nuclear destruction. Just as the working people had the right, ever since the degeneration of the Russian Revolution, to ask "What happens after? Are we to be confronted after every revolution with a new bureaucracy?", so the Marxist movement must ask itself why the eternal division between philosophic theory and daily practice.

We must begin to practice Marxist Humanist philosophy instead of just talk about it or "use it as an analytical tool." Instead of shying away from Hegelian expressions, we must show that it is not perversity or obstinacy that compels the use of the phrases — "subjectivity" which has "absorbed objectivity" or the "second negation" instead of just the simple expression "the forward movement of humanity."

By no accident, nearly 100 years before the abolition of private property in Russia failed to bring a new social order Marx stated, in his Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic that Communism was not the form of the new human society, that only after "the second negation," that it to say, the negation that followed the abolition of private capitalism, could there arise positive Humanism, beginning from itself.

Marx's prophetic vision was not due to the fact that he was a "prophet" but because he dialectically carried proletarian practice into theory, achieving for the whole of mankind what Hegel had achieved only for the philosophers. But without Hegel's philosophical achievement, there could have been no Marxian philosophy. Nothing at all can substitute for the beginning of a new age such as had unfolded with the great French Revolution. Marx was not alive then; the genius who lived in that great historic period was Hegel.

In summing up the philosophies up to his time, Hegel gathered all the categories and pushed them straight up against the history of humanity in a live (i.e. dialectic) confrontation. His genius could add a new dimension to thought because he lived at a great historical junction and we can no more re-write that history to please the empiricists who want to deal only with the "new" of today (as if that had no history and just grew up like Topsy) than we could forget the tasks of our own times and merely jump into the future. Because the self-activity of the French masses tore up the old society by its roots, Hegel could give the dialectic or development through contradiction a new dimension. Because Napoleon, and not the millenium, followed the French Revolution, Hegel was forced back to his ivory tower to look for a unity of theory and practice in the Absolute. Yet the will of the future on the present was so overwhelming in the thought of that genius, that the logic of his Absolutes breathed a totally new, earthy air.

Because the proletariat of the 1848 revolutions was a very different class than the fledgling proletariat of 1789, and because Marx did not isolate

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himself in an ivory tower but participated actively in the proletarian movement, his philosophy was a concrete, "positive Humanism, beginning from itself," and not an abstract idealism out of the head of a philosopher.

Our age is 100 years later than Marx's and the maturity of the masses, in backward as in advanced economies, marks them truly as the "subjectivity" that has absorbed "objectivity," that is to say, the proletariat that is master of the objective world, mature enough not only to win revolutions but to apply science along with the transformed production relations to the reconstruction of society. Therefore, theory is not merely for the "new book," but for the life of the organization. The practice of philosophy must become a way of life. It may appear that philosophic terms like "subjectivity" that has absorbed "objectivity," are useless hangovers when one can "translate" all these into the simple political "slogans." In truth, there has never been a decisive turning-point in history that did not find that mere slogans as the worthless paraphernalia that turned out to offer no guide at all as to which fork in the road to take. One has always had to reach deeper than the appearance. And in fact there were all sorts of enemies within the proletarian movement, as well as out of it, that were shouting "Follow me," and none at all were there to listen to the new, hardly discernible force, that pointed another way.

History shows this was true for Marx. It was true for Lenin. History also shows that those who balked at going deeper into the theoretic past before leaping ahead at the mere noisiness of "Follow me, and move fast in doing it," were left at the crossroads to remain but a footnote to history. Such a bypath was Trotskyism. None, in all the varied splinters since, has risen even to the low stature of a footnote to history.

The hallmark of the Humanism of Marxism as it evolved out of a critique of the Hegelian dialectics and the practice of the proletariat is this: when self-activity is moved from thought to man, then and only then does the self-organization of the proletariat — whether in trade unions, communes, parties, councils, revolutions, soviets — become a new social order. And then and only then does the self-organization of the proletariat and the forward movement of humanity become one and the same. It is this single process of the world and of thought, of means and ends, of life and work, of unity of mental and manual labour, of theory and practice, that has produced Marxism as philosophy and made the young Marx write: "As philosophy finds its material weapons in the proletariat, so the proletariat discovers its intellectual weapons in philosophy... Philosophy is the head of this emancipation, and the proletariat its heart. Philosophy cannot realize itself without abolishing the proletariat, and the proletariat cannot emancipate itself without realizing philosophy." This characterizes our age more concretely than all the slogans for "immediate action" of all the old radicals put together.

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The year since the Convention has been one of modest growth in membership and considerable development in many other fields, most notably our participation in Freedom Rides. But, whether we take our point of departure as the publication of WORKERS BATTLE AUTOMATION here or the new edition of the Afro-Asian pamphlet by the Left Group of the Cambridge University Labour Club in England; whether we consider the new high achieved with having a full-time person in the office, or the usual lecture tour by the National Chairman which this time, however, resulted both in new members and in a different relationship to the African revolution through the actual meeting of some of the young African students in this country; whether we detail the activity with Negro youth on picket-lines, stand-ins, and Freedom Rides, or the regular issuance of "News and Letters" and the special Freedom Rider issue; there is no doubt that our activity has been intensive, when measured against our numerical weakness. The smallness of our membership, however, stands out, and that with the needed expansion of our subscribers must preoccupy us till the next convention. It goes without saying that we will take no step backward in finally having made ourselves responsible for a full-time person in the office. For the greatest of all our weaknesses is that too many routines still fall upon the Chairman and it became impossible to complete the draft of the new book.

Just as we could not have divided the establishment of "News and Letters" from MARXISM AND FREEDOM, so, in viewing our perspectives we can neither divide the new book from the projected pamphlet on Freedom Rides nor from freeing the Chairman for a full 6 months to make the trip to Africa and complete the book.

When a Freedom Fighter from Guinea as well as from Los Angeles, at the young age of 17 or 19, meets a Marxist-Humanist both as a theoretician and as a participant in his struggles for freedom, the communication achieved between them bears witness to the fact of the solidity of the theoretical foundation and therefore of the practice that flows inevitably from it. Such an "accidental" meeting is no more an accident than a carefully planned British edition of the Afro-Asian pamphlet by an independent grouping. It may be no substitute for a British edition of our main theoretical work, MARXISM AND FREEDOM, by British Marxist-Humanists (which we do think will finally be realized within the year) but all our achievements this year are the measure of the distinctiveness of our Marxist-Humanism as an organization. It is true we never have, and do not now, make a pretense to being "a party". We remain Committees but these News and Letters Committees disclose the type of relationship between ideas and organizations which shows a much closer resemblance to the self-organization of the proletariat and youth than it does to splinter groups.

In a word, we differ not only from organizations like CORE with which we collaborate on one or another activity but from organizations that do consider themselves Marxist, but which either repeat old clichés and see nothing new in our decade, or show a disdain for "systems-of-ideas builders." The truth is that neither "activism" nor an theoretical discussion of only the "new" can replace what the founders of Marxism have built up in a century. Without building on that foundation, one is only repeating the old error of

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trying "to electrify" the masses "from the outside" or "from the inside." Such an attitude is proof only of the deep-rootedness of the concept of "the backwardness of the masses". Or, if we may borrow a phrase from Shakespeare, it is "a beginning that does not know its end," a drama they have started to direct without having any notion of its outcome. Proletarians have class instincts that carry them far in their struggle for freedom; intellectuals have no such profound instincts and refusing to test themselves by history is not a proof of "spontaneity." Massive or scattered leaflets, tracts, will not only not produce a movement; they will impede the workers own spontaneous activity that is producing their hunger for a total philosophy. Marx not only opposed the petty-bourgeois intellectual's substitution of the "convolutions of his mind" for the actual class struggle; he opposed as vigorously the Weitlings who paraded their "proletarianism" as a substitute for theory.

Marxist regroupment is, no doubt, a necessity -- nationally, and internationally. But without a comprehensive theoretical-philosophic foundation, they only lead to new splinters. The combination of thought-out analyses, theoretical conceptions, worked backward into history and forward into the present are of the essence because the unity, and only the unity, of the self-developing movements of the workers, Negroes and youth meeting up with the equally self-developing movement from theory will produce "a beginning that knows its end."

For Marxist-Humanists any other beginning would mean faithlessness both to our historic responsibilities and to the spontaneously developing mass movement that hungers for a serious unity of theory and practice, in order to achieve a fundamental reorganization of society.

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Setting our perspectives within this context, we must find the means to assure:

- (1) That the Chairman will have six full months for a trip to Africa and the completion of the book. To do this, the money must be raised largely from sources outside the organization; but the time can be granted only by ourselves, through all of us expanding our activities and responsibilities in order to free the Chairman from them.
- (2) The publication within six months of a special pamphlet to be called "Freedom Fighters Speak For Themselves," which will include not only the activities of the Freedom Riders, but the sit-ins, wade-ins, bus boycotts and all other forms the struggle has taken. To do this, \$1000 must be raised, within the six months.
- (3) The expansion of sales of "Workers Battle Automation" and the Afro-Asian pamphlet, as part of our deepening participation in the class struggle, especially in trade unions and in the struggles of minority groups. To do this, we must also broaden our functioning both in and with other organizations, in a manner which assures the

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expounding of our own distinctive Marxist-Humanist philosophy.

(5) The intensification of work with the Youth so that an actual functioning group is built which will tie in the outside work with the Youth Page -- a task which the publication of the Freedom Fighters pamphlet ought to make very easy.

(6) The establishment of new committees in New York and Wisconsin, and the expansion of the committee in Pittsburgh with a view to having the latter responsible also to West Virginia.