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Editorial Board: C. Axios, C. Berl, C. LaRosa, L. Marcus
T. Perlman, E. Spannaus.

Managing Editor: E. Spannaus

Production Editor: S. Cohen

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Draft Program of the European Labour Committees

OUR DIRECT MARCH TO WORLD POWER

BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ICLC

In the last phase of decay of the rotting Ancient Roman Empire, the capital was moved to Constantinople. In a brutal touch of historical irony, the decay of the post-war U.S. Dollar Empire has now advanced to the point that the capital of the collapsing system is being shifted from the political shambles of Washington toward the ridiculous little town of Bonn under the even more ridiculous leadership of a Social-Democratic posturer, West German Chancellor Willy Brandt. To make the farce more cruel and more complete, the chief lackies of the dying capitalist imperium are none but the leaders of the Soviet state.

As we show in the analytical section of this programmatic statement, the emergence of the Brandt-Brezhnev coalition has a twofold interconnected significance. Like the decay of Rome on which the destiny of contemporary imperialism is modelled, this Constantinople period is the outgrowth of a deepening general collapse of the system itself. Like the new regime of the Emperor Constantine, the Brandt-Brezhnev coalition is not the harbinger of new glories, but a mere prelude to the spread of starvation, plague and barbarian depredations. The new "Popular Front" of Social-Democrats, Communist parties, assorted capitalist factions — and the trash of the small Left — is an interim

measure whose only "successful" outcome could be the complete demoralization of existing working class forces, and thus the preconditions for the establishment of outright fascist bestiality.

In deed, the Social-Democratic and Communist spokesmen for this farce seem astonishingly sensible of just such an historical mission. According to some of the contemporary spokesmen for the economic and labor programs of the Brandt-Brezhnev coalition, the reason for the rise of Adolf Hitler in 1933 was the failure of the Weimar Republic to resolutely adopt and enforce the fascist economic and anti-labor program of Hjalmar Schacht **as social-democratic policy!** Brandt, whose German policy is directed to the reconstitution of a single Weimar Republic (as the BRD and DDR become indistinguishable in depravity), proposes to face the challenge his former Weimar predecessors "evaded." Brandt, with the strong support of the Soviet leadership, proposes to prevent the capitalists from wishing to call in the fascists; Brandt wishes to save the new Weimar Republic by avoiding the "mistakes" of the Weimar past; Brandt is proposing the rapid assimilation of Schacht's fascist economic and anti-labor measures by the Social-Democratic-Communist alliance — to appease the enraged capitalists!

It won't succeed. On the contrary, such fascist and proto-fascist corporativist measures as **Mitbestimmung, Participation, Quality of Life**, etc., merely accelerate the dismemberment of existing working-class institutions and otherwise improve the opportunities for the inevitable fascist barbarian hordes to come.

What can stop this betrayal? What can prevent the ensuing fascist victory and holocaust? The world Social-Democracy? — a Social-Democracy now rapidly assimilating an outright fascist economic and social program of "reforms"? The Communist parties? — the chief supporters and left border-guards of the Social-Democracy? The so-called "Trotskyists," who have made "Trotskyism" a rallying-cry for the application of sexual impotence to the domain of politics? The Maoists, whose mindless-action-not-program converges increasingly upon the purgative mythos of Mussolini's Blackshirts? Where is there even a tiny kernel of organized forces to mobilize resistance to this threat of holocaust?

The International Caucus of Labour Committees? The idea is ridiculous, is it not? Concede that the U.S.A.'s Labor Committee organization has swept rapidly past the North American Communist and "Trotskyist" groupings to become overwhelmingly the rapidly-growing Left-hegemonic force in that sector! Concede even that the recent developments in Europe portend an even more rapid explosion of Labor Committee growth on that continent. Can the ICLC reach a position of such Left hegemony in merely a few years that is could lead a world socialist transformation within the present decade? Is the very thought ridiculous? By no means. We know precisely how to manage sufficient growth and to use that growth to win in precisely the course of the present decade. This programmatic statement provides a broad outline of our perspective for such work, a general working-guide to both our own members and to those broader forces being drawn into collaboration with us.

We are absolutely determined to win and we know how to accomplish that victory.

Our qualifications for this undertaking can be briefly identified as follows.

Firstly, the growth of the Labor Committee as an international tendency benefits from the fact that there is no serious Left "competition." We are the only alternative existing in what is otherwise a political vacuum on the Left! The Social-Democracy and the Communist parties have joined the enemy camp, and the array of "Trotskyist male impotence" and Maoist decortication left outside our own tendency is worse than no alternative at all.

Our perspective for rapid growth are immediately located in the lack of any serious "competition" under

circumstances of intensifying radicalization throughout potential political working class social forces. We understand that not only in general terms, but also concretely, and we are focussed on making the most of that tactical advantage.

Secondly, we are the only internationalist grouping in existence, the only socialist organization organized and committed to deploy our forces in a coordinated international way. The other groups in existence, to the extent they pretend to be internationalist **in their literary postures**, are merely poorly-coordinated confederations of national-chauvinist groupings.

Thirdly, **we have assimilated all the theoretical and other professional qualifications actually developed by the preceding century of socialist history, and have added to this new, potentially-terrible political weapons based on new discoveries into the lawful processes of the human mind. We are rapidly developing political combat qualifications enormously beyond anything which might have been imagined by any socialist organization before us, and we fully intend to use these new political weapons to maximum effect.**

Fourthly, **we have determined to a high degree of exactness the precise policy tasks of the working-class assumption of total power in this decade, and have a quality of ruthlessness such as can be maintained only by an organization commanding such scientific certainty of its tactical and strategical objectives.**

We do not attempt in this following statement to restate all of the essential points we have already made with sufficient clarity in other published documents in circulation. We do not detail here, for example, the policy of socialist expanded development, which we have adequately elaborated in other locations. We concentrate here on mainly two points! Firstly, we present our analysis and tactical orientation concerning our present effort to disrupt and destroy the Brandt-Brezhnev "Popular Front" schemes, presenting this tactical outlook as the present practical expression of our longer-term direct drive toward the assumption of world power. Secondly, we include in this analysis a more exacting presentation of the conception of the organizing process, the method through which our daily work leads directly toward the preconditions for taking power.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION

For some months now, the worker in the "Free West's" economic-miracle oases has been haunted by an eerie suspicion that what he considered the eternal world-order is now on the brink of collapse. At regular intervals now, the monotonous murder-and-rape headlines in the yellow press are interspersed with really

horrifying news. Gone are the worker's familiar **Bild*** headlines on the latest taxi driver killing in Hamburg or Berlin. Every morning, just before the factory gates close behind him and he performs his daily metamorphosis into a cog or a lever in the assembly line — every morning the latest news about the currency crisis pops out at him in obtrusively thick letters: "Dollar Hits New Low Point!", "Gold Price Soars!", "Inflation Carousel Out of Control!", etc.

While the worker pursues his machine-existence and tries to forget his horror, his wife is doing her daily shopping rounds, and is likewise thrown into a panic. Granted, her meager budget was never really big enough to provide her family with good grades of meat, fresh fruit and vegetables; but this week you can't even buy sufficient quantities from those "weekly special offers;" eggs or potatoes will just have to do. Inflation is driving prices of the most minimal necessities up to dizzying heights. — Who knows, tomorrow we may not even be able to afford bread!!

And even after knocking off work, back between the four walls of the two-and-a-half-room apartment which houses five, this ugly suspicion still doesn't lose its grip. It was only five years ago that the "national fathers" could still smile back from the TV set, oozing confidence. Massacres in the Congo or in Vietnam — the usual requisites of the news broadcasts — merely served to arouse thirst for sensations, and made it easier to change from the day's monotonous machines, into the squeaking rats of the night, wallowing in their pornographic nests called bedrooms. Then came the boredom. Nothing new came out of the Vietnam war, and all the excitement went out of seeing decapitated or mutilated women and children. And then a few months ago, this boredom finally receded from the TV screen. But this time, no new atrocities or still more barbaric massacres flash on the tube; instead, only figures — cold, irrefutable figures.

"On the Frankfurt exchange, the dollar hit a new record low for the year, 2.2305 D-marks."

"The consumer price index rose during the month of April 1973 to 8.2 per cent over the level of the preceding year; for a worker's family of four, the index rose by 8.8 per cent.

The fatherly, smiling face of Nixon, Brandt, Giscard d'Estaing or Schmidt has changed into a cynical sneer, every month proclaiming that after intensive effort and tough negotiations, the solution has been found — a solution no one really believes in, since two days later they reappear...those figures, ever more piercing, inexorable.

* This daily rag, read by millions of German workers, makes the New York **Daily News** seem an intellectual treat — Ed.

It is these figures which are now engraving themselves in every worker's mind, pursuing him mercilessly with the dull awareness that the world is plunging into Chaos.

Like a crash of lightning, these figures obliterate all the illusions of the past, and out of the depths arise all the fears the working class has felt once before, when — like caged rats despairingly biting one another — they were driven into a corner...before they were finally slaughtered.

And then, Europe began again; and such an auspicious beginning it was. The Americans, in the most costly campaign in history, swept away the entire chaos of the old world in 1945. The horrors of German fascism were banished, the eternal disputes between the individual powers, such as England and Germany, rendered impossible in the future, because now there was only one power on which all others depended — the U.S.A. Staving off the horrors of a cannibalistic Bolshevism in the East never required any great effort; just a little coaxing from Churchill and Roosevelt, and Stalin called off the revolutions brewing in Asia, Western Europe and the Balkans.

The path was clear for the beginning of a genuine "Age of Peace," especially after the Americans had suitably prepared the West European working class. From the years 1945-48, the allied occupation forces used the ideological cover of trying to root out the last vestiges of fascism to subject the working class of (especially) Germany to a period of horror and dread which in many respects surpassed the time of German fascism. For two years, the glorious liberators from the U.S.A. consciously held the population's living standard at a level comparable to that of Brazil today. Average daily consumption amounted to between 900 and 1100 calories.

It was in this period that the German working class finally learned to infuse its poverty with a vast dose of self-discipline.

"Ecological Crisis"

Now the Club of Rome announces the cynical, terrible capitalist truth: we are in the midst of an ecological crisis which if not counteracted will bring a catastrophic end to human existence within a century. The capitalist solution proposed by the Club of Rome portrays an even more inhuman future — the survival of some at the expense of all, the relapse into barbarism.

The capitalist system knows no other way out. Helplessly it is confronted by the increasing depletion of raw materials, especially fossil fuels. Helplessly it is confronted by the energy crisis and the pollution of air and

water. A real solution to the "ecological crisis" will only be brought about by socialist expanded reproduction, i.e. the constant acceleration of the productivity of labor through constant qualitative expansion of existing technologies.

The "solution" on the part of capital is entitled "zero growth" — **Haushalten** (housekeeping) under capitalist conditions (including commodity speculation) based upon existing raw material and energy sources. Electricity and gasoline, later on other commodities including food will simply be rationed. Nor will this exclude the "socialist" states. In East Germany, for example, much as in a half-developed country such as Turkey, electricity has been saved now for years by cutting back on street lighting.

Nostalgic people must be rejoicing. The old times are here again when we walked on foot or at most rode bicycles for transport, when we went to bed early because of lack of lighting, when the cities at night would be shrouded in darkness as is Nature's will, and when even bread and water were highly valued things.

Meanwhile, grain speculation has taken on such drastic forms that bakers in Naples recently decided that at the existing grain prices they could not afford to bake their bread. They would have not been able to sell without taking significant losses. Thus for a period of days there was no bread in Naples. The uprising that occurred as a result was organized around one single demand, the demand for bread.

Such acute shortages of basic commodities will become an increasingly familiar phenomenon in the coming years. The analysis of the development of commodity speculation points up a terrifying prognosis, especially with regards to various types of food. Wheat will be unloaded into the ocean and cows which might otherwise provide milk will be slaughtered by the thousands rather than providing for an even partially adequate supply of bread and milk for the world's population. "The planet in crisis" does not come close to meeting such basic needs.

Mankind today finds itself in a situation analogous to that of the seventeenth century, the time of the Thirty Years War. Plundering and looting hordes, the armies with their auxiliaries three times their own size roamed through the countryside spreading terror and destruction. Everybody lived by plundering and killing, living off the war and even off the flesh of each other. People who had not already starved to death among those thirty per cent of all human beings at the time who were destroyed by the Plague. Feudalism had reached its final phase and this phase was genocide.

Today capitalism, at that time the savior of the human race, has reached its end; people speak of ecological crisis, and again the solution is genocide. Eight

million people will be victims of the catastrophic drought in Mauritania. In all corners of the Third World the old epidemics are breaking out again: cholera and smallpox speed up the death by starvation. It would be an easy matter for the developed sector to transport necessary food by ship or by plane into the disaster areas, but the decision is a different one: genocide. It is the logical outcome, for the Third World would not be what it is if capitalism had not been built from the outset upon the most brutal exploitation of these countries.

Thus it is impossible from the standpoint of capitalism to prevent the starvation of eight million people, people who are condemned to first watch their livestock perishing in the brutal heat of the scorching plains, then to watch how their children slowly languish and finally die a painful death, ultimately dying themselves of cholera or simply of hunger and thirst — today in the year 1973.

Brutal death is the tribute of the Third World to the ruined capitalist monster. In the developed sector the monster kills more slowly by demanding an always increasing tribute from the working class. This tribute represents the actual possibility of future social development as expanded reproduction. Capitalism destroys the productive working class.

For the average worker qualitatively sufficient nourishment has never been realized. The terrifying thing, however, is that this miserable level of subsistence in Europe has already been declining for many years — in England by twenty per cent since 1966. Consumption of meat in Europe is up to fifty per cent less than in the United States, and even there the spiralling meat prices are making headlines everywhere.

A similar process of decline can be observed with respect to housing. In France construction of housing has been stagnating for the past ten years; in West Germany, Italy and England it has declined by twenty to twenty-five per cent. This translates into an immense lack of housing, and immensely high rents, not to mention the quality of existing housing. More and more often one reads that somewhere an old building has collapsed, burying people in the rubble. A working-class family may indeed consider itself lucky if in some silo-like apartment building with paper-thin walls they manage to get a two-and-a-half room apartment for five persons in order to vegetate in their numbed existence.

Inflation eats more and more into the wages of the European worker which in comparison to the United States are already at an incredibly low level. Life in narrow living quarters, shortages of all kinds and hard physical labor leave no room for even the possibility of any kind of qualitative development of labor powers. The training of apprentices in West Germany is the crassest example of what capitalist education actually

amounts to. It is no education at all, but torture fulfilling essentially two functions: first, integration of the young man or woman into the sado-masochistic apparatus of the white-collar-blue-collar apprentice hierarchy; and secondly, incredible exploitation as evidenced by the fact that apprentices performing the same type of labor as older workers are rewarded with only a pittance, mere pocket money.

Qualified skilled labor is dying out. While, for example, in Italy forty-four per cent of middle-aged workers represent skilled labor, only thirty-two per cent of workers between the ages of twenty-one and thirty fall into that category. The possibilities of getting an education at the various different educational institutions are on the decrease both relatively and absolutely, not to mention the actual quality of education. The average schooling time has stagnated since the 1950's — in the United Kingdom at a level of nine and a half years, in France at five years and in Italy at an incredible three years.

By means of this systematic dequalification capitalism itself produces the decline of the productivity of labor and compensates for this through the massive import and recycling of peasant labor — the so-called *Gastarbeiter*, human beings being used up much like the *Fremdarbeiter* of the Third Reich. The *Gastarbeiter* are the first ten million victims of the recycling of human beings in Europe: what is happening to them today is a terrible preview of a fascist future. Fascism is the only possible future perspective of capitalism. Fascism means that one day within the next ten or fifteen years McNamara's recent comment on the situation of the Brazilian working class will hold for all of Europe: "The next generation in Brazil will no longer be able to work."

The human race is literally being torn to pieces by the capitalist monster. Like feudalism's death-agony in the seventeenth century, the existing misery not only kills people but actually banishes everything that defines human existence from the consciousness of the tortured creature who has to depend upon pillage, murder and treason in order to survive — increasingly the case for the black ghetto population in the United States, the starving peoples of the Third World and the petty criminals and prostitutes of the underworld and the miserable quarters of the large European cities today.

Consciousness of a human society and the possibility of continued existence suffocates in the morass of social misery. The philosophy of this poverty is anarchism, and worship of the irrational, Far-Eastern meditation. Lack of feeling and compassion is the only thing that can make tolerable a world that is not understood. Nostalgia for the past, cruelty, absurdity, indifference — these are the key thoughts of Andreas Gryphius, the poet of the Thirty Years War. Not acci-

dentally they are the force of the worldwide spiritual depression of humanity in the period of the great capitalist "ecology crisis," the depression which is also recorded in the continually rising suicide rate both in the advanced and underdeveloped sectors.

Within worldwide capitalism this process of material and social decay can only accelerate. The socialist countries in Eastern Europe do not have the slightest chance of holding back this process or extricating themselves from it. On the contrary. The Soviet Union will strangle its masses in the capitalist world market so that not even with their own energy can they reach the technical level of the ruined U.S. economy — the minimal conditions for a human existence among Soviet citizens. Exactly at the moment when the decay of the capitalist West is evident to everyone in its total hopelessness, at that point the Soviet Union finds itself compelled to of its own will step into the morass of the capitalist economy. The only alternative to this decision is the socialist world revolution, and this the Soviet bureaucracy wants to avoid at any cost.

Economic Basis

With the Bretton Woods Agreement in 1944 a period of apparent prosperity was ushered in by the capitalist class for the last time in the history of human society.

All serious disputes between various capitalist rivals, disputes which previously were so often the source of strife, were now made impossible, for henceforth there were no more rivals. There was only one power, the U.S.A., which could finally set to work, unhindered, to grant true freedom to most of the world's people — in the form of dollars!

In order to be certain that their efforts at building the "Free West" were not disturbed, they first prepared the Western European working class, particularly in West Germany and with particular methods, to make them receptive to the freedom of the dollar. The Marshall Plan and the sanctimonious aid organizations like CIALOG and CARE had to appear to everyone as charity, after the same "benefactors" had consciously let the European working class vegetate at a level of existence comparable to that in present-day Brazil.

Compared to the total standstill of industrial production in the first twelve to eighteen months after the war's end — in the summer of 1945 most factories in Germany were closed, not because of technical and organizational difficulties but by orders of the Allies, particularly the Americans — there naturally occurred a real growth of production in the next years.

But for what?

For the working class. Because after a certain point slaves that are not fed become worthless. In the fifties

houses were built, there was more to eat again, and soon some sort of car too.

The image of German cities, neglected during the war, changed after years of hard and stubborn work. Out of the soot and ashes grew the gleaming facades of so-called modern civilization, drenched in glistening neon light, office buildings, department stores, banks, office buildings, banks . . . etc.

Those who had to create this "wealth" were so completely and utterly dazzled by these lights that they mistook the ever-slower beat of their pulse for comfort; they did not notice that their blood was inexorably being drained off.

Those few others whose *raison d'être* as bourgeois had really blossomed under fascism could sun themselves in this light, for the sucked-out blood of the working class was their *elixir vitae*.

The center of the capitalist world was Washington, where political power was organized to exact the tribute to the world-ruling dollar credit system. That was the Golden Age of the dollar empire; it didn't even last a quarter century, a pitiful shadow of the two centuries of the Roman Empire.

At first dollars streamed by the billions to Europe and the rest of the world, as official government credit. In primitive accumulation, particularly against the Western European working class, they found the social wealth which their owners in Washington demanded. Of course the workers in the BRD (West Germany) or in France received wages — in a few years higher indeed than those of a foreign worker in the Third Reich — but they received no means of consumption with which they could have realized a human standard of living. They were **kept in their place**, so that they could function as accessories to an assembly line. That part of their necessary standard of living which could have made them human was withheld, because on the dollars there were numbers whose equivalent in real value their owners demanded, completely legally, and received, too.

Dollar credit financed the export of high-grade capital goods from the American economy to capital goods producers in Western Europe, where at greatly reduced labor costs the capital goods necessary for the efficient extraction of raw materials and basic commodities from the Third World were in turn produced. In thus financing Europe's role as capital goods supplier to the Third World, U.S. capital was able to realize enormous profits on the reduced costs of imports from the underdeveloped sector.

The fact that the expansion of production in the U.S.A. had already come up against the limits of the credit system represented no essential difficulty. The political preconditions for the massive expansion of

private American capital were further extended by the EEC; there Ford could move just as freely and feel just as at home as in the U.S.A. The enormous increase in American private investment in Europe in the 1960's represented merely a variant of this system. The fact that the whole world was plundered under the guise of economic reconstruction, in order to balance the books of bankers in New York did not change in the slightest.

For two decades the books really did balance. For every dollar you owned you could, with an easy conscience, imagine a solid pile of real wealth to which you had title.

Faith in the dollar was complete, and rightly so.

It seemed that capitalist wealth would grow *ad infinitum*, or at least so long as it was possible for the government to maintain, with certain ostensible concessions, the illusions of the working class — above all, the illusion that they lived in a **democracy**, in **freedom**.

During these happy two hundred years the morning perusal of his newspaper could only strengthen the bourgeois's feeling of satisfaction and optimism. He could rely on his statesmen and their political parties. Every four years the people had the opportunity to express an opinion about these statesmen. And the people thanked them for the self-sacrificing service they performed for the working class. Hadn't Adenaur and Erhard led the West German working class out of the misery of the war and the allied occupation? Hadn't they given everyone an equal chance in 1949, with the 40 Deutschemarks of the currency reform?! Hadn't they transformed the ragged women amidst the wreckage of 1945 into smartly dressed housewives by 1960? — into women who no longer needed to degrade themselves breaking stones, who now, as they scrubbed the steps of their new private homes on their knees all day Sunday, really had the feeling of being worth something, of giving themselves and their families some significance through their activity?

When the point was reached in Europe at which further expansion of production of social wealth threatened the value of existing capitalist capital, and production was carried out with more and more deficit financing from the state, then the sleepless nights of these formerly so complacent bankers began. They looked desperately for a spot on the planet whose riches could help them out of their fix. But they found nothing because nothing remained; a few hundred years of capitalism had already virtually devastated everything, particularly Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

In 1967 the first harbinger of the chaos of 1973 exploded into this idyll of bourgeois democracy. The bourgeois tried to pull his head out of the noose of illiquidity, at least in the short run. Though he's been in general quite good-natured up until then, at least

towards himself, he came up with a gimmick that in the long run was extremely self-destructive: speculation.

The first victim, the Bank of England, in November, 1967, wasn't really taken seriously by anyone. But every time that the central banks' credit policy reached a critical point — either when further expansion of credit brought on the danger of runaway inflation, or when drastic deflation nearly caused the collapse of the whole economy — the destructive game was repeated. In the successive waves of speculation no central bank was spared. It was only after four years of this that the bourgeoisie could bring itself to make public the fact that all their talk of the prosperity of the "Free World" of the West had been a bare lie from the beginning. On August 15, 1971, Nixon freed the dollar from gold convertibility; that is, he declared that the basis for confidence in the whole capitalist economy no longer existed. The pretense of dollar stability was exposed as completely unreal.

The working class grasped relatively quickly that the time of peaceful illusions was past. May, 1968 in France, the Hot Autumn of 1969 in Italy, and the wildcat strikes of September 1969 in West Germany were the beginnings of the mass strike movement, that in this decade can forcibly destroy the illusions of the bourgeoisie about **their** future.

Only the Left, for all the vastness of the student movement and the zoological abundance of its comical descendants, has not grasped the fact that Nixon has snuffed out its chimera too. The Left is still mounting attacks on its pipe dream of gruesome imperialism, without sense of understanding, always in a vacuum or amidst the billy-clubs of the police.

Since 1967 the bourgeois awakens every morning feeling only the terror that he no longer has any certainty, even if yesterday's old faces still smirk at him from the newspapers, even if a new leer presents itself to assure him that here is finally someone who will help him get his due. What has become of these poor, tormented men of finance? How, above all, have the statesmen and political parties repaid them for being over the years the most careful guardians of the democratic order?

These men, publicly so modest and inconspicuous, gave **everything** in the first post-war decade. To their workers, they gave job security with countless social benefits which a worker of a hundred years ago couldn't even have allowed himself to dream about — cheap factory housing, cheap canteen meals, and once every month a free package of the concern's product worth two-and-a-half-hours' wages. For the state they crippled themselves, paying out everything that they had been able to lay by in taxes, because the workers were supposed to enjoy the prosperity of the "Free West" not only during the short time of their daily work but

their children were also to be educated in modern schools and their entire families were to receive the quickest and most modern health care whenever necessary. With this self-sacrificing program the bourgeoisie had the greatest success through the 1960's, especially in Western Europe. But how shabbily they were thanked for it!

The smallest crisis, and their trusted statesmen and politicians leave them in the lurch! Alas, when the bourgeoisie, after long years of concessions, insists for once on **its** rights, it experiences only disappointment.

All that they've demanded since 1967 — at first timorously and gradually, since that memorable August, somewhat forcibly — is that now the workers make some concessions too, for once; that now the governments and the "parties of the people" make clear efforts to help save the value of the country. The bourgeoisie can't do it alone.

In those first years it was still understandable if not every politician was equally able to deal with the new problems. As good intentions as many a government leader or economic minister might have had, the working class didn't let itself be talked into suicide quite so easily. In Italy fifteen different government coalitions shattered in as many months. By the end of 1972 all traditional bourgeois-democratic regimes of Western Europe — Holland, Belgium, France, West Germany, etc. — were forced to confess their incompetence and resign.

But there are no more excuses. There had been enough time to figure out what to do. Understanding generally ceases when certain gentlemen don't even show their intention of helping the bourgeoisie in its time of need, but think only of their own political skins.

The men in the banks and stock exchanges haven't had a restful night in months. They have been constantly racking their brains trying to figure out how, using any conceivable dodge, they can save the life's blood of our civilization. During the day they don't find a moment's rest as they run from two telephones here to three others there, trying to get hold of gold bullion on the London Exchange for as little money as possible, so that they don't have to sell it at too high a price to the dentists (who in that case could no longer give their patients the best possible care).

They are, of course, concerned with the material well-being of the worker. They try to be the first at the Melbourne Wool Exchange, so that workers in West Germany can still afford wool socks despite the rapid decline in the supply of sheep. After the catastrophic bad harvests of the last years in North America and Western Europe the speculators risk their money and hunt from Tokyo to Chicago and over the **whole** European continent just to get their hands on **the last**

remnants of grain, rice, or soy beans so that at least the North American and Western European working class can stay alive, even if it is already too late to save the workers of India and Brazil.

And it's exactly in the most important countries that those responsible don't do the slightest to soften the fate of the bourgeoisie. Nixon, in the Autumn of 1972 and early 1973, simply refused to demand the necessary sacrifices from the working class. Indeed, because of him the most important meeting places, the international currency exchanges, were actually closed to the bourgeoisie for three weeks. In the space of just a few months such treacherous politicians risked all the gains that the bourgeoisie had achieved through centuries of hard work and which they desperately tried to safeguard.

Is it any wonder if the bourgeois folds up his newspaper one morning, disappointed and embittered, because once again he's had to read that the government somewhere okayed a ten per cent wage increase? Is it any wonder if he slowly begins to think whether things wouldn't go just as well without this miserable pack of ingrates in Parliament who trample all over everything you give them? Is it any wonder if this bourgeois remembers certain institutions, like perhaps the CIA, and considers whether they might not be able to help him more?!!

And there he discovers what he has really always known about himself. The unbridled anger which wells up in him is really nothing new to him. For hundreds of years, for as long as he's lived, he has fanatically loved and simultaneously hated his objects and possessions. He was always ready to destroy whomever disputed his right to those objects without a qualm. So it is this time, too.

The truth about the dollar is out: it doesn't exist.

But that only increases his hate, his anger, his rage. His formerly tormented features congeal in a cynical sneer, like that of a vulture who sits on a branch and waits for prey. With maniacal determination he rushes from currency exchange to currency exchange, from the gold market in London to the beef slaughter houses in Chicago, from the grain exchange in Hamburg to the art market for old icons in London, and staking out a claim to anything that looks as if it might lend a semblance of life again.

He no longer concerns himself with his cohorts. On the contrary. The more fatal blows he is able to deliver this time, the less dispute there'll be from the others next time over his right to the plunder that remains. He means to survive, even if it kills him.

But he encounters someone else, who has inspired panicky fear in him over and over again, for hundreds

of years. Even if he must destroy his own existence, perhaps then he'll at least succeed in finally and absolutely destroying this insidious enemy, who again and again seems to finally give him some peace, only then to hit him in the face with the red flag.

The bourgeois transforms himself into the loudly laughing Mephisto, whose pealing laughter grows louder and never-ending when he sees how the grain that he just grabbed yesterday, before bread could be made with it, lies in his warehouse and dries up while the hands that reached for bread are agonizingly pulled back and stiffen with rigor mortis.

That gives him satisfaction: 400,000,000 hands in India, 16,000,000 in Mauritania and soon who knows how many in Europe and North America.

Up until now the bourgeois has only savored the beginnings of his own sadism. Now, there is no way back for him. He wants chaos. Without socialist transformation in this decade, he will give us fascist holocaust.

Ideology

The Social Democracy is raising the hatchet and the working class is baring its neck for the chopping block. The relative ease with which Schachtian economic programs and corporatist forms are being introduced in Europe cannot be ascribed only to the backing they receive from the Communist parties and trade unions. What ultimately determines the susceptibility of the working class to anti-working class policy is the left credibility of its ideological packaging, which in turn facilitates the CPs in their role as its chief merchandizers. Bourgeois ideology chains the mind of the working class to its illusions, blinding workers to their reality, making them tolerate the intolerable and call it militancy.

The Italian worker protests: this could never happen to him! Maybe it's true of German workers, he says. They, after all, lack his class consciousness, his history of struggle and his shop-floor militancy. But the Italian? Why, he's different! Different from the German, different from the French and the English too. He feels he is quite another species!

Yet, in Italy the Social Democratic program was actually forged not by the center-left government but by the CP-led trade union league which cunningly played on the deep-rooted, alienated sense of self of the average worker. In Italy what informs the identity of the individual is not primarily his trade union or political party affiliation, but his ties to his place of birth: every Italian is first a Neapolitan or Milanese, a southerner or northerner, then an Italian. The belief that each region has its particular characteristics, that northerners work hard, that southerners are chronically lazy, etc., func-

tions to justify and perpetuate relative degrees of backwardness actually caused by the manner in which capitalist development of Europe has taken place. Southern Italy, like southern Europe as a whole, has been raped of its agricultural potential and workforce to feed northern Italian and European industry. Ideology masks this intolerable reality of primitive accumulation with "southern laziness."

Proverbs abound in Italian to this effect: in Milan people work hard; the Turinese are two-faced but polite; southerners know how to live, but don't like to work, etc. Despite the nuances inevitably lost in translation out of the local dialect, the message is clear: the Italian worker has no identity as such, but is a discrete chauvinist point on a geographical chart, a mere cipher clinging for his identity (and this is the meaning of the term **campanilismo**) to the bell-tower of his village church. That is the alienated self-conception which has tolerated, justified and perpetuated the intolerable reality of Italy — a country raped by capitalist accumulation, bled of its agricultural labor-force in the south to feed decaying industrial plants in northern Italy and northern Europe with wandering ex-peasant **Gastarbeiter**. They all speak their local dialect in eloquent testimony to abysmal educational levels and literacy rates.

The chauvinist says the 10,000 dialects are a sign of cultural wealth, not misery. But this chauvinism is simply a mask for the embarrassing disease of impotence. And impotent men are not born, but made that way.

So-called human relationships in the Italian family put a clamp on creativity soon after birth. The oppressed mother lives out a degraded existence as housewife, worker or cleaning woman — a **donna a ore** who measures out her degradation scrubbing by the hour. She acquiesces to her husband's infidelity to allow him the illusion of manliness in another woman's bed. Rendered impotent to love by oppression and her husband's weaknesses, she addresses her frustrations to her son, suffocating his humanity in material anxieties and caramel candies. She wraps him in her skirt and tells him to be a man, to hide his fear and Papa and the world under a mask of virility. Thus the little Latin Lover grows up a devotee of Catholic schizophrenia, viewing the awesome woman figure as saint and whore at once. Sexual initiation by way of the chambermaid or streetcorner prostitute is his confirmation rite to the faith; running away two days and nights with his 15-year-old counterpart is the act of virility that wins him the right to marry. This is the Latin Lover, the impotent little man who locates his humanity in strutting from one bed to another, effectively multiplying relationships to the hybrid whore-saint woman he seeks to destroy.

The entire militant Italian left has this neurotic love-hate relationship with Mama — the Church and the

CP. It is the moving force behind a history of political impotence — impotence to face the glaring ugly reality that Mama CP is lifting her skirt to a bourgeois gentleman. This is the psychology of the impotent militant worker who hysterically affirms his virility by running around and around in anarcho-syndicalist circles in his own little world, the factory.

Chauvinism, in this larger sense, is nothing but impotence glorified by ideology. The chauvinist is nothing but the impotent individual who, faced with the Herculean task of overcoming the cultural and material misery of the Italian "boom," despairs of controlling whole processes and thus clings frantically to what tiny piece of wretchedness is undeniably his — his factory, his department, his work squad. He turns against this objectification of himself and militantly acts out the anarcho-syndicalist comedy, throwing a tantrum against his very own capitalist boss. Like his German counterpart, he identifies with his firm not to look after its interests, but to raise hell, **fare casino** against the local boss. In mass strike periods the collective tantrum directed by the factory councils takes the form of factory occupations: "Now nobody can take away my little factory, my own true self!" the workers cry.

In 1920 Italian industrial workers, organized in the factory councils theorized by Antonio Gramsci, were caught up in the mass strike process sweeping through post-war Europe. Militantly they seized the means of production as Gramsci saw them situated in the single factory, and occupied the plants physically. Locking themselves inside the engine room of industry, they ran production for the capitalist bosses biding their time outside. Southern peasants aching to join the "revolution" were held back from occupying the land by their guardian union leaders and were picked off by the fascists instead. War veterans and other unemployed were treated as foreigners until they found a national identity offered by the fascist goon squads. The class conscious factory workers had no time for such intrusions; they preferred to lock themselves inside the stinking bathroom and militantly guard the pot — constipated, impotent and scared. All that remained for the fascists to do was pull the chain and flush them away.

After twenty years of fascist misery, tolerated as the recovery of national pride and dignity of autarky, the Italian workers organized the glorious anti-fascist coalition resistance. Allying against fascism, the popular front coalition sacrificed man and the revolution to deliver itself from Mussolini into the clutches of American imperialism. That was the finest hour of Italian workers' internationalism. And the PCI has never forgotten it. Nor has the PCI forgotten what a close call it had — how it had to wheel and deal to snatch the guns from the hands of ingenuous partisans who wanted revolution.

This time no such risks will be taken. The myths of 1920 and of the resistance have been rolled into one

sacrificial rite. Northern industrial workers will not go it alone, allowing their backward chauvinism to exclude the southerners; and the popular front alliance will not be a temporary fighting formation, but a true working relationship. Italian workers will unite — to fall all together.

They will unite, CGIL union leader and PCI member Luciano Lama stated in his “global proposal” to the new center-left government, in a “policy of alliances” including some “small businessmen.” They will broaden their sphere of factory hell-raising to make a “social struggle” against the civil service sector as a way of “improving the quality of life.” Northern workers burdened with the privilege of material well-being, will relieve their guilt by bridging the historical gap between North and South; they will sacrifice their privileged wretchedness to their underprivileged southern brothers.

Ah, sweet sacrifice! The worker's hope for real humanity has been crushed by his family, the Church, schools and the PCI. The crisis is making mincemeat of his institutions and threatening the last scrap of his identity. What else can he do, then, but degrade himself still further, make himself an object and define his life activity as the wilful, militant sacrifice of this meager self? He has been beaten and whipped by society all his life; why not lay himself squarely on the operating table for castration? No need for anaesthetic. He's a man. He can castrate himself. Hand the surgeon the scalpel.

He won't be alone. That's the meaning of democracy, Christian Democracy. The Church has always said so. All men are equal in their impotence before the superior being, whether Christ or Mussolini. Men must be humble, equal, all spitting on material well-being. Workers are the victims of history, the Church and PCI have always said. They cannot presume to lead themselves out of wretchedness, but must humbly bow to their own backwardness; they must not fight for a better living standard, for the PCI says that its corporativism and the Church says it is pride. Sacrifice, they say, is the way to self-identity; castration is being a man.

“We have to ask for sacrifices,” Rumor sobbed in his programmatic address. “The government will have to tell the country some bitter truths . . . we run the risk of living beyond our means, of irrationally consuming our resources.” Thus the Brandt of Italy sells austerity to Europe's poorest sector, knowing that the impotent workers, North and South united in the struggle, will democratically line up for self-slaughter. Just like those “different” Germans.

And the scared little men of the PCI, born in the 1920 anarcho-syndicalist tragedy, educated under fascism and excelling in the resistance treachery, adjust their

Powerful Men masks and invite the Italian working masses to celebrate their impotence at the “communist” country fair. The party seizes on the summertime to turn Italy into a macabre fairground with festivities in every town and province where it urges workers to drink up, make merry and celebrate the pathos of lost struggles and sacrifices. Like their comrades staging the East Berlin Youth Festival, they preach solidarity. Drink Bulgarian wine and cry victory for the sell-out defeats in Spain, Vietnam, Greece. Drink your local wine and remember the glorious anti-fascist resistance, the Popular Front that delivered you to post-war capitalist looting.

Drink up: this time the stakes are higher. The martyrs and saints of the past will now be you, stripped of the glory. Lift your glasses and drink to the angry little impotent victims of history.

THE ORGANIZING PROCESS

Bourgeois society has left its members without a chance. It has brutally destroyed whatever human hope, whatever hope for human love, for a fulfilled life may have been in them at any point in their lives.

It has almost entirely extinguished all hope. It has left people scarred — but the scars can barely hide the pain beneath, and only too often they cannot hide it at all.

Now, that the death agony of this society has set in, the chains of illusion have become brittle. As yet, they have not been replaced by the chains of fascist terror and thus the desperate wish for survival makes hope grow anew. However weak and uncertain, the fundamental desire that men encounter each other as men and as masters of nature begins to break through — in strikes, in protests, **as negation**.

The Dead “Old Left”

The well-worn phrases employed by the left in Western Europe in the attempt to buy the allegiance of the working class are a slap in the face of this hope. The slogans and so-called programs of the various left organizations merely document the utter inability on the part of these members of privileged social layers to identify the potential human being in the worker, to turn to this human being to give him a chance to develop.

The left addresses the proletarian as he is. Bestialized, banal, impotent. The left pretends that it must orient towards the existent needs of workers — needs that are themselves defined by nothing but the cruel terms of capitalism in decay.

The left manipulates words which they do not understand. They say "alienation" and "ideology," but comprehend only the obvious, in order then to confirm it.

Telling a worker in this period that he is being exploited, that he is made to work harder, and that inflation is swallowing up his wages, is to act like a priest who preaches that the world is full of sins. The worker who listens to such a left will have to expect a miracle from red flags as do the faithful from the statue of a saint.

At no point after World War II has the working class in Western Europe been able to reproduce itself at a level demanded of a productive class qualified to operate the necessary technology of the second half of the 20th century. De-qualification of the work force and intensification of labor define only the objective side of this process as the accompanying circumstances of capitalist decay.

Much more devastating is the subjective side of this process of decay in terms of its consequences for the individual. The growth of the barbaric principal of "all against all," latently present in all class-in-itself institutions, is generally furthered by the left through its support of class-in-itself forms.

That distinction of the capacity for self-conscious creative thought which constitutes the general practice of the institutions of bourgeois society has reached a degree of almost complete bestialization. Individuals have systematically been reduced to a state in which their whole thinking and feeling is nothing but a reaction to objects (things).

Schemas, cliches, and precise repetition mechanisms enslave the civil servant much as they enslave the worker and have long since reduced the dream of human freedom to a cruel mockery.

Love has degenerated into pornography. Text and pictures of BRD family magazines represent what constitute the defined actual needs of the working class. The woman has been totally degraded to an object and is capable of no more than satisfying a degraded man.

As the "capitalists' problems of capitalism" are no longer a secret even to the naivest Trotskyist, Maoist or CPer, there organizations are now taking steps to organize the working class.

In "Papagallo"-fashion the leftists sneak up on the worker, bury him under a pile of cheap compliments, always deeply convinced that their victim is in possession of certain natural qualities which they themselves are sorely lacking. Let man be helpful, proletarian, and good!

Like the lover in a soap-opera they approach the beloved object anxiously trying to hide from him their own impotence. Degenerate and insensitive to their own problems they cannot cope with and instead idolize the problems of the worker. They go into the factories and coax the worker into listening to their degraded ideas. Slyly discussing soccer, the boss or bad working conditions instead of speaking of the necessity of socialist revolution, they actually demonstrate their contempt for the worker.

Their general lack of success has its obvious reasons.

Today, at a time of overall collapse, a deep-rooted existential fear is beginning to break through and is shattering the belief that things will remain as they are. The stereotyped chatter of the left is losing its credibility entirely, and the same goes for the leftists who presumably stand behind the things they say. Unable to comprehend that thought and emotion are inseparable, the leftists do not understand that they cannot afford to banalize any aspect of their lives if they want to be taken seriously as revolutionaries. They have failed to understand that their thought-processes are subject to definite laws, laws they will be able to master only if they constantly impose on themselves the demand of complete self-consciousness.

Their claim that they are uncompromisingly opposed to this society cannot be taken seriously, because they themselves, their everyday lives in their entirety, are proof that they are unwilling to be uncompromising towards themselves. As long as they do not explicitly recognize the sado-masochistic character of their own social relations as a problem, failing to locate it as the real basis of ideology, precisely to that extent will they be unable to transcend the problem and to destroy the workers' ideology.

Barely scratching the surface of ideology, they are condemning advertisement and the illusion of the "public welfare recipient" state — things that have long ago lost all significance. To heal the patient the doctor to clean out the wound, must drain the pus and get to the source of the infection. The real putrid matter that clogs up the mind are the bestialized social and sexual relations of people to each other. Men and women who chase through life constantly presenting themselves as potential bed partners, losing all respect for themselves and thus necessarily for others as well.

What is the essential difference between the prostitute selling herself on the street corner, and the action of the sales girl in a boutique making herself up into a pretty doll, or the leftist reciting his repertoire of slogans, his girl friend who tries to fit in with that left image, and the Papagallo on the beach who wants to look as potent as possible?

Everyone knows it is impossible to be human — well then, why not at least be a grade-A beast? And who cares if you end up in a cow shed, a pig sty or a chicken-coop?

The left is trying to organize the working class — and it tries to lure the animals with all kinds of bait.

The “Trotskyists” say, we want you to control your own stable, and even if the fodder runs out all around you, don’t worry about it, it is your stable that counts. The Communist parties say, you know there are rats in your stable and they are stealing your fodder — but you should co-determine whom it is stolen from.

The “Maoists” say, the stable is the real thing and whoever is not in it yet should get in it fast.

The Alternative Approach

The reality we live in does not permit such games. It is not cattle we are fighting for — cattle only have one future, the slaughter-house — but that ounce of humanity in us and the conditions that will permit its development.

In the battle for humanity there is only one effective weapon. Self-consciousness (of ourselves) as revolutionaries and knowledge of the reality which we must change, are the fundamental premises of the process of organizing the working class for world revolution.

We will not tolerate a single mental or psychological block to obstruct our own thinking and feeling, and this is what gives us the right to ruthlessly attack ideology and banality in others.

Becoming conscious of our own self-consciousness, we will be able to produce self-consciousness, consciousness of the self, in those whom we are organizing. We realize our self-consciousness in the other not by pandering to the existent alienated self, the “little me” with all its so-called needs, but by addressing the potential creativity in the other, the self-consciousness within him.

If, in such fashion, we simultaneously organize cadres and workers for self-consciousness, we put them in a position to produce, on their own, self-consciousness in others. The organizing process is the self-conscious organizing or self-consciousness of self-consciousness, etc. If we have a self-conscious grasp of each one of these stages and **comprehend it as a self-expanding process**, then this will continuously expand our own self-consciousness.

If in those whom we organize we produce that which is human, i.e. self-consciousness, as opposed to the

unconscious state of irrational feelings and ideas based upon such feelings, then we realize actual human love. Expanding love and the self-expanding process of organizing self-consciousness are identical. The conscious production of self-consciousness in the other is the only form of human love.

On this barely-defined basis, the organizing process is still just the abstracted process of Hegel’s pure **Logos** as actual infinity. It is ahistorical and without real connection to the objective world. However, the production of self-consciousness in the working class is the pre-condition for its existence as a productive class which can organize expanded socialist reproduction.

Expanded socialist reproduction as the expression of the self-consciousness of the working class represents, through the totality of its products, the sensuous mediation of self-consciousness and the pre-condition for an expanded stage of self-consciousness.

Decaying bourgeois society has increasingly degraded the worker (with his potential self-conscious creativity) to a half-conscious attachment (appendage) of machines. The entropic process of capitalist working-class consciousness, much as that of the objective environment, will not reverse themselves on their own. Even in widespread strikes and with a general deterioration of living conditions, working-class radical ferment will not by itself develop into **revolutionary** ferment. Precisely because the entropic development of natural resources as a consequence of capitalist economic forms makes necessary the self-conscious creative development of revolutionary new technologies for the universal labor process, the organization of creative self-consciousness in the working class is the necessary pre-condition for socialist revolution. Exponentially expanding socialist reproduction will then provide the material basis for an end to man’s dependency upon objective needs, for human freedom.

The organizing process in its Hegelian conception as actual infinity, i.e. as the self-conscious organizing of self-consciousness, is as such a purely pedagogical one. Hegel, in his world of abstraction, is essentially a civil servant (**Beamter**) for whom sensuous reality appears in his papers (folders) in abstract form, but who remains estranged from reality itself. His self-consciousness is that of abstracted pure Logos (abstract mind), his conception of reality remains imagination (**Vorstellung**), he cannot **actually grasp it (begreifen)**.

The pedagogical approach to organizing cadres and workers in general on the basis of self-consciousness is actually a correct one; however, it is limited. If the spoken word remains the **sole** sensuous actualization of communication between human beings, then this demonstrates its limitations.

Organizing around a theoretical concept is a necessary phase in the formation of a cadre organization, which abstractness, however, must be left behind as soon as possible. If left organizations work primarily on university campuses, and in addition to that are governed by mistaken theoretical premises, then the extent to which they are changing reality is no greater than that achieved by the civil servant when he closes his folder at five o'clock.

Ludwig Feuerbach and his notion of grasping reality go beyond the civil servant's mentality. For him the process of becoming self-conscious implies sensuous access to the objective world. However, his process of the exchange with nature ends with the sensuous actualization of the idea, since for him the object is static, unchangeable, in-itself. At the point of actualization the process is finished; now something else has to get underway. And thus Feuerbach's mentality remains that of a clerk or a salesman (*Angestellter*) who makes his sales pitch, sells his commodity, and then looks for the next buyer.

Such a clerk mentality is characteristic of the conventional left and its notion of political practice. The organizing process is identical with a **concrete** goal, the **immediate demand** must be won. The formation of consciousness generally stops at this point, the sensuous actualization of the mental process becomes an act in itself, and in this fashion an in-itself-consciousness can be developed in the working class.

Since the world can only be really grasped (*begriffen*) in the form of a process in which the particular aspect is determined by the whole, this Feuerbachian form of organizing is of necessity ahistorical and inadequate to the extent that so-called **concreteness** only generates a political reaction in itself.

For example, every round of wage-contract negotiations is such an action in itself, blindly welcomed by the left as an occasion to repress its frustration with its own inhuman and unfulfilled existence. Around a particular strike, various left groups attempt to mobilize workers in terms of a specific contents. Once the strike is over, successfully or unsuccessfully, the contents is forgotten, the mobilization ebbs away, and, upon the next concrete occasion, has to be whipped up again.

The problem is this, that the lawfulness of the universe, which penetrates all aspects of being, is not understood. Any competent mathematician could explain to this left why political work on the basis of "bad infinity" cannot achieve its goal. The end of a line can never be reached by again and again halving the distance. Revolutionary consciousness does not develop linearly by adding knowledge in piecemeal fashion. Revolutionary consciousness can only develop dialectically, through self-conscious intervention into and changing of the objective conditions. These objective

conditions, by their being different, in turn produce a higher level of self-consciousness.

That is the Marxian conception of the organizing process as it finds its expression in condensed form in the first Thesis on Feuerbach. **To be a revolutionary means to possess the unbound power of Prometheus, of Prometheus who has broken his chains. The power, the love of Prometheus is not the soft and gentle sensuousness of Feuerbach which is over with when it becomes concrete. It is the vehement passion which loves development in the other and uncompromisingly hates and destroys what hinders such development.**

Equipped with this weapon we will fight what really blocks the consciousness of human beings in this society, those neuroses that are the deepest foundation of ideology. **Neither in the left, nor in the population in general, is there a single individual who is not crippled in one way or another by neurotic notions. Sado-masochistic social relations, degraded libido structures make everyday life into hell. Envy, greed, distrust, sexual fantasies, lowness, meaninglessness, and bitterness, an unending sequence of inhuman, alienated feelings, which everybody is carrying around with himself and with which he has paid for his neuroses.**

These feelings which are the symptoms of neurosis nobody actually wants, everybody longs for human relations — in the factory, in the university, at home. Everybody more or less senses this discrepancy between what is and what should be. Still, all that crap is tolerated.

Why?

Because the truth about a life without meaning would be intolerable. Because men and women in this society piece by piece have to paste together illusions in order to be able to survive, in order not to lapse into despair over the fact that they can't see a way out. Real human beings are too vulnerable for this society.

In childhood it is already necessary to develop a shield of stupidity, ignorance and illusions. As the child grows older, increasingly "enriched" by experience, the shell grows harder and thicker, taking up more and more of the inside, finally almost destroying the inner human self. In the end the person is "programmed" to cope with any typical situation that comes up, i.e. has developed the adequate response or role for every aspect of the **imaginary** world.

Lack of success in this game leaves open the choice between suicide and mental institution.

But people don't talk about such things. Anxiously they try to hide their weaknesses and their vulnerability from others, and most of all from themselves. Only a glittering facade will deceive the enemy, i.e. everybody, and hide the many wounds underneath.

The facade is easily accepted. It is tolerated because it supports one's own illusions. "If you accept my fairy tale, I will accept yours, and jointly we can pretend that things aren't so bad after all, that reality doesn't exist." If the husband can play this game with his wife, the worker with his co-worker, then the trick can work on a larger scale as well. Then it is true, too, that Brazil and India are far away and have nothing to do with us.

But behind the facade everything remains as it is. What remains is primarily the idea that "the main thing is that I am making out alright;" "first of all I have to think of myself and solve my own problems." This inability to grasp and lend support to the Thou remains the source of all continued suffering. This impotence, the inability to find a human relationship to the other, is the mechanism which is reproduced time and time again and always increases the bestialization and banalization of social relations.

This impotence is the sad result of so-called motherly love, the inability of the parents to love their children. The mother who concentrates all the love she cannot give to her husband upon her child, makes the child the object of her love and gives the child a sense of itself as an object and thus of love in general. That well-known motherly love, if it does not include the love of the father, is nothing but hatred, the love between mother and child nothing but a sado-masochistic relation. Through the exclusiveness of this constellation is mediated the rotten understanding of merely reacting to the existent infantile needs of the other.

This is continued in the life of the adult: reaction to the feelings of the other, which are the alienated feelings of a crippled individual. To tolerate these feelings in the other and to be understanding of them has nothing whatsoever to do with love and only means condemning the other to existence in the form of an object, to hate him, since one does not give him the chance to develop.

The self-conscious need to change the other into a self-conscious human being, the realization of the I in the Thou is the only real kind of love. Realization in the other is the conquering of impotence, of the cause of one's own suffering which results from the unchangeability of the I.

That is the weapon which bourgeois ideology cannot deal with, because it depends upon keeping the I isolated. As long as everybody remains fixated upon himself, no socialist movement can come into existence. As long as bourgeois, petit-bourgeois and petit-bourgeois leftists and, most importantly, workers, remain self-fixated individuals, this world can be governed by civil servants and the police. Love as self-developing self-consciousness in the Marxian sense is the medicine by which bourgeois society will be destroyed.

Love as responsibility for the self-consciousness of the other is the method which will drive the civil servant insane, because he cannot catalogue, enumerate it or file it away. Love in this sense is what even the policeman would desperately like to have because it would give meaning to his life.

Programmatic Application

On the basis of this conception of the organizing process we will rapidly implant ourselves in the consciousness of the working class as the only serious alternative to the popular front. The struggle against the increasing destruction of human self-consciousness based upon the positive alternative of the organizing process is the concept; the struggle against national ideology and the specific neuroses are the predicates of this concept. The difference and the varying degrees of destruction will be analyzed and exploited as part of the international strategy.

Members of (for example) the German CP (DKP) will discover the psychological truth about themselves in the description of the impotence of the Italian CP (PCI) and will thus be in a better position to become conscious of themselves and of their function. The French working class will gain a better understanding of the meaning of the "quality of life" to the German working class and they will recognize the impotence of the French CP (PCF) which is incapable of anything but supporting the "quality of life" demands of the French social democracy.

In all European national sectors the working class can learn from the frustrations of the Swedish working class with the Swedish model of the welfare state, and had better come to recognize its own illusions. The international working class will gain a precise understanding about the way in which the bourgeoisie attempts to tie Zero Growth ideology to existing national ideology, and they will see that living conditions will deteriorate no matter what the specific disguise of the slogan "more democracy in the factory rather than higher wages."

From the outset, the organizing process will proceed from the international concept. For example, our intervention into the youth organization of the social democracy in West Germany is no more limited to West Germany than our recent confrontation with the group **Lutte Ouvriere** is to France.

For the goal which is at issue is an ever higher stage of self-conscious comprehension both of reality as it presents itself as a whole today and of the role of every individual in this process. The SPD "Jusos" not only think of themselves as the youth organization of the SPD, but as organizers in their own right. But in this they are victims of bourgeois ideology. On the one hand

they are involved in other organizations — youth organizations of the trade unions or Gastarbeiter organizations, and they remain tied to class-in-itself institutions. They do not consciously attempt to break down the ideological barriers between young workers and students and thus fail to create the organizational preconditions for the recognition of common interests.

We will confront especially those "Jusos" who are engaged in organizing *Gastarbeiter* with their responsibility for the European working class as a whole — a responsibility which consists in demonstrating that European recycling schemes constitute an attack upon all segments of the working class.

The fact that we will provide a revolutionary per-

spective to the youth organization of the SPD, thus taking away the basis of the party itself, will drive the SPD leadership into panic. The SPD was the only European party which had at least partly succeeded in absorbing serious radicalized youths. We will extend this strategy to Europe as a whole, and thus will quite suddenly confront the British Labour Party, the Young Socialists group, and everyone who still holds on to the security of popular front politics with class-for-itself politics.

We know how, following our success in the U.S.A., we shall achieve left hegemony in Western Europe and begin to organize the working class. And on the basis of this knowledge we will assure a positive outcome to the alternative of this decade.

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MOP UP WOODCOCK!

The National Executive Committee of the National Council of Labor Education announced that the NCLE will press Operation Mop Up against the Woodcock leadership of the United Automobile Workers.

Beginning immediately we are launching a total political organizing war against the UAW bureaucracy. When we have the forces, we will throw the leaders out of the labor movement forever.

The UAW leadership is now leading the entire crushed and demoralized American labor movement to accept and sell police layoffs, speeding, slave-labor recycling, and every other means the capitalists have for protecting their property in the Second Great Depression.

If we presently had the

forces, we would get rid of these renegade scoundrels tomorrow. We are setting in motion the exact tactical plans by which we will build these forces, and at precisely the first opportunity we will drive them out. These forces will take approximately ten years.

To organize any fight, any working class defense, we need to organize a revolutionary labor movement to fight capitalist counter-revolution, our own program for worldwide expanded reproduction. We are building the labor movement, a dual union, the political union of employed and unemployed working people as UNKRO, the National Union of Workers and Welfare Rights Organization.

Today there is no replacement for trade unions. As

renegade and traitors as they are, they still represent the only line of defense workers have. Workers must therefore stay united and defend the union as best they can against sabotage, breaking and union-busting coming from the employers and their little helpers in the union bureaucracy.

At the same time solo workers and other unemployed workers must come out to join the unemployed, unemployed and welfare victims in UNKRO, the National Union of Workers and Welfare Rights Organization.

The unemployed must join with those "scoundrels" who have plans here to page 13



Above: UAW President Leonard Woodcock (center) and others. Below: Tens of thousands of unemployed workers in New York City, protesting to drive out workers' demoralization (Germany, 1969).

CPers in PSP Echo Daily World Lies

NEW YORK, Dec. 4 — The Puerto Rican Socialist Party has officially joined the ranks of the police-infiltrated left in their collaboration with the growing U.S. Labor Party. A leaflet issued here by the PSP last week entitled "What is the Labor Party?" repeats Communist Party USA attacks against the U.S. Labor Party, thus demonstrating that the PSP too has been "infiltrated" by the police.

The leaflet depicts the U.S. Labor Party as a right-wing group playing a New Role of attacking, persecuting and revolutionary organizations the PSP specifically mentions (LA agent Ismael Baraka of Newark as a "progressive black nationalist" and of using black and Hispanic gang members to do the same).

We would expect PSP to inquire into the quality of the leaflet especially as to whether it is the Daily Communist Party PSP membership. A few months ago in each further evidence of the basic government (PSP) collaboration with the Labor Party.

Just from the fact that the leaflet is nothing but a continuation of CP Daily World standards, the deliberate attitude of CP hacks at distribution of PSP hacks at distribution of PSP hacks is revealing. Prudent

as to their collaboration, the CPers mustered long explanations of how the CP "with all its contradictions," it still left. The new Labor Party, you're reactionary. Your organization attacks left groups.

PSP Logic

Pedro Roman and Carlos Casado, Revolutionary Youth Movement cadres, listen and "Please turn to page 13"



Feds Launch Frantic Attack on RYM

by James Williams

Dec. 4 — A series of militant police actions in the end of last week showed that federal agencies, probably the CIA, directed law enforcement agencies to suppress the RYM effort to stop RYM organizing.

FLASH! Dec. 3 — Today a leading RYM organizer from Bedford Stuyvesant was arrested on charges of robbery. When RYM organizer Jack Brown showed up in court to answer the charges, he was arrested and charged with "conspiring with a woman" and "obstructing government administration."

In Brooklyn, on the evening of Nov. 29, members of the RYM were arrested after being identified by police by supporters of police agent Jimmy Caron. This was in preparation for an invasion of the home by Caron and a number of his paid armed supporters.

Also in Brooklyn, on Dec. 3, a police officer was arrested on the same charges of robbery. Party organizer Mike Mancini's testimony in the neighborhood could only have been known through police viewpoint — he had previously spent only a few hours in Brooklyn as Labor Party

member and had driven into Bedford Stuyvesant earlier in the day to aid Brooklyn RYM members in their investigation of the L.A.A. separatist show.

In New Jersey, on Dec. 1, RYM organizer and U.S. Labor Party candidate for Senate in New York State Boyd and his allies were the subject of an area-wide highway shoot. While driving through the small town of Mountains Lake, their car was pulled over by police from several jurisdictions. They were allegedly arrested as principals in an armed and held on bail of \$5,000 each on charges of possession of a "controlled substance" in a motor vehicle and "transporting stolen prop-

erty into New Jersey."

The close timing of the three incidents, the combined use of undercover cops and the "on demand" Baraka-Caron crew, and the coordination of police surveillance and activities across state lines are further dramatic proof that the Federal government is directing the attack on RYM.

Caron the Cop

The Nov. 29 Caron disruption was carried out at a public RYM forum in a church in the Bedford Stuyvesant ghetto. Jimmy Caron, holding a pack of double-etched copies from CIA operative Ismael Baraka's Plans here to page 13

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