

NEW LEFT REVIEW #52 (November-December, 1968)

The ~~scholars~~ scholars would be quite apt, indeed accurate, description of the intellectuals of the New Left. Knowledge ~~is~~ not only tailored to fit the preconceived political thesis that would justify a prearranged conclusion, but is also conveniently forgotten. Pushed back into the unconscious. Thus, we get the expression "as Lenin and Mao Tse-tung repeatedly stressed" which gives the illusion of Lenin and Mao being twins and not only in thought but ~~in fact~~ <sup>lived</sup> contemporaneously. Or, a historic example which applies neither to Lenin, nor to Mao Tse-tung if given in their own words as if ~~it~~ it applies to what is occurring this very moment.

At the same time great ~~pretensions~~ show of "erudition" is made to theory, such as Tom Nairn's expression "real posters, walking paragraphs from the Manifesto of 1848 and the Grundrisse." All this is in the British editors' introductory note to the special issue of the review called Festival of the Oppressed, France 1958-Special edition, which throws <sup>in</sup> "culture" in a totally new meaning as totally unrelated to either to Mao or to history as is possible. Thus, the three lessons, especially the first, of France for Britain reads "First, it underlines <sup>the</sup> tremendous force of the importance of Marxist theory and revolutionary culture... Secondly, the May events highlighted the potential of small revolutionary groups in helping to unleash a class storm that shook society to its foundation. The focus that had historically divided these groups in France were forgotten in the unity of actual struggle: in this decisive test it was their common combativity, not their different doctrines, that counted... thirdly, it has at the same stroke, made indispensable the vital revolutionary role of intellectuals."

They further list Andre Guecksmann as the "fundamental theoretical document of the younger generation of students and intellectuals who launched the movement in May". <sup>xx</sup> Andre Gorz is played up as the other big shot and his "The Way Forward" speaks of the Guevarist strategy which, he says, means "the immediate aim of armed insurrection by a minority is not to beat the forces of repression, not to conquer power, not to start a general insurrection -- but progressively to create the conditions for a political radicalization of the masses." And again "terrorism is thus not a short cut which economizes on political work: it is the point of departure for such work, and creates the need and the conditions for it."

"The abortive May revolution cannot take the place of political preparation or of formative experience." And then he adds that this is not for purposes of criticising "gratuitously" the CP leadership there as to pose the question "which type of revolutionary party and which strategy, not to mention "the function of ideological synthesis." Whatever that means but evidently it is related to a "continually updated analysis"

*Handwritten notes:*  
- "The scholars" (circled)  
- "Erudition"  
- "pretensions"  
- "the young generation of students and intellectuals" (circled)  
- "the function of ideological synthesis" (circled)  
- "continually updated analysis" (circled)  
- "the abortive May revolution" (circled)

*Handwritten notes:*  
- "Knowledge is not only tailored" (circled)  
- "pushed back into the unconscious" (circled)  
- "twins and not only in thought but lived contemporaneously" (circled)

*Andri Glucksmann*

Andre Gorz: (originally published in Les Temps Modernes, August, September 1968)

"to put it another way, this new type of revolutionary party can no longer follow the Leninist model. It is no longer confronted by a despotic and repressive State, but by a State which is essentially political and which bases the legitimacy of its repressive actions on its ability to mediate politically between contradictory interests that are continually reduced to forms of ideological expression which makes this mediation possible. And it is no longer confronted by a homogeneous upsurge of the popular forces against repression but by a number of upsurges, all relatively distinct in their anti-capitalist aspirations, all pursuing at differentiated and specific levels a sovereign self-determination by social individuals of the conditions, ends, and framework of their social activity. It is impossible to demand immediate unification - by a line imposed from above of all the various movements (of manual, technical, scientific, artistic, cultural and other workers, etc) as a precondition for the frontal conquest of the State. It is only possible to articulate their specific aspirations within the perspective of a common goal which contains them all and at the same time transcends them: the goal of a socialist society, itself pluralist and 'articulated'. This is the society which the revolutionary party must prefigure in its methods and action if it wishes to fulfill its proper function. It must disintegrate the power of the political State while presenting itself as the mediating and synthesizing instrument for the independent centres of power which are struggling to emerge on all the various levels of civil society."

*Andri*

*Mediating synthesizing instrument*

Strategy and Revolution in France 1968

*Andri Glucksmann*

"To read in the May sky the conjuncture of the 'students' movement' with the 'workers' movement' (adding the trail of the technicians' comet) is to watch the planets turn while forgetting the sun. The worker, the student, the young technician, the research worker: together they bring into question the whole organization of the production of wealth. The general revolt is the revolt of the producer: "it is less the immediate labour performed by man himself at the time that he works than the appropriation of his general productivity, his comprehension of nature and dominion over it through his existence as a social body that appears as the supporting pillar of production and wealth"37 Grundrisse Vol.II. p. 222

*Andri*

This mini-Maoist throughout his article does one better than Marcuse in misusing the Grundrisse, especially in using it not only in the factory but in insisting "No stratum of the population escapes division. Humility before the 'needs' of the (capitalist) economy may affect certain fractions of the working class; 'in machines, knowledge, appears as an alienated knowledge outside the worker' Grundrisse, Vol II. p. 213.

*QI*

*The distance between  
decrease & convergence  
in 1968-1969*

In other places AG appears positively spontaneist, such as "but the withering away of the State pre-supposes the withering away of the party" but actually it is only in order to come up with his own brand of elitism.

"The equilibrium maintained by the party in a revolutionary situation in turn installs it within three great contradictions: around it, organizations try to outflank it to the left; inside it, cadres threaten to turn the leadership in both directions; facing it, the party of order can prepare to destroy a Communist Party which, although it freezes the 'disorder', is nonetheless itself frozen disorder: a frozen abscess is better than a generalized infection, but it remains an abscess."

"Each crisis raises fears as to the strength of the safety-catch, obliging the French Communist Party to choose its camp. (Nothing excludes the possibility that it will pride itself at the cost of an internal explosion - on the singular honour of being the first legal Communist Party in a fascist State. Then we shall know that, by the intermediary of the CRS, the cossacks will be enforcing the rule of order in the Latin Quarter for the protection of the Kremlin, while the trade union polices the factories to endure respect for western order.)  
This is the Gordian knot that is strangling Europe; this is what blocks the May movement."

Despite talk of "withering away of the parties", he then pulls out elitism, 1968 in a worse way than it was in its concept "from without" that it was in 1903:

"This work-bringing revolutionary consciousness from without - defines, according to Lenin, the three tasks, theoretical, political and economic, of a Marxist Party. The tasks survive even when the Party is missing: every revolutionary movement struggles on three fronts."

The three fronts turn out to be "time", "space", and "development of the action", all leading to THE PARTY, THE PARTY, THE PARTY. Not only that, it turns out that the remarkable phrase of Marx ~~which he used~~ which he used when just he and Engels were involved is now used by this arrogant man to try to mean at one and the same time elitism to the point of a single man or two.

*Glucksmann's  
Productive  
Force  
material basis  
aka H.N. based on  
Frankfurt*

- ① NRP  
p 87 begins "Youth & the Revolution"  
Productive Forces
- ② *Book etc* "a reservoir of productive forces"
- ③ *marx* - a - change / career
- ④ *rest* - control / pulled
- ⑤ *psf of substance* "topical" distance to  
decrease & convergence  
of new forms - productive forces

12418

12417

p. 4. AG.

*Handwritten notes:* Party - ...  
Party - ...  
Party - ...

He then takes up the three fronts also on this level: "the 'theoretical front' (also traditionally called the 'ideological struggle'), reduced, however, so that theory means only "a guide to action". It is here where he has references to both H and the Situationist, actually meaning "the transformation of action into a mutual spectacle, of public opinion into pure news and of politics into anecdoté."

The second is the <sup>political</sup> ~~economic~~ front and then comes the economic front, all leading to "the Party as Problem", at which point -- "two powers restrain the revolutionary movement: the power of the State and the Communist leadership" -- it would appear as if he opposed the CP. But actually ~~nothing~~ is further from the truth:

"Marxist political thought distinguishes two strategic dead-ends: 'leftist' adventurism ('basing a revolutionary tactic on revolutionary feelings alone'; attack everywhere and always) and rightist-opportunism 'revisionism'; retreat always and everywhere) Dialecticians add that these two errors can sometimes complement one another ('he who would be beauty becomes the beast')"

To which I would add that the two enemies -- adventurism and revisionism -- are not half as deadly as the counter-revolution within the revolution, which is what all this bosh is about.

"The so-called extreme-left (the PCP) also presumes to regard the May movement as a mere resultant. The motor is elsewhere; in the specific, heterogenous economic and social demands of the workers on the one hand, and of the students on the other."

"Not for a century has a movement more closely resembled the very movement of 1848 that Marx had in mind."

"Its anniversary was being celebrated when this 'explosion' occurred, an explosion in which official thought can wonder at its own stupefaction, while the whole society totters, drunk with its discovery of the possibility of a revolution which only seems so miraculously original because it is the most classical of all."

*Handwritten notes:*  
p 89 11/10 what Le; not just 'good' ...  
p 114 12 Party to "WK-teamo" ... 'specialist'  
p 116 13 "retreat" ...  
p 117 14 Party "a party" ...  
p 118 15 1968 May 2A publicly ...