

A Few Words

IT WASN'T THE CIA, and it wasn't the phone company, and it wasn't even the U. S. Postal Service. Frankly, it was us. We didn't publish a February 1975 Ramparts because we couldn't afford it.

At Ramparts, of course, economic crisis isn't news. But we're glad to say that, without a tax rebate or a public works grant, for our own finances at least, the worst seems to be over. To us that means survival is no longer a question, though as usual it will be a struggle. Or, in other words, if you can keep it up, so can we.

To our subscribers—we will be writing again soon asking for your continued support. If you are not a subscriber, helping is simple: just become one. Then you will receive our periodic State of the Magazine communiques too.

(In any case, everyone can help by filling in our readership survey which appears on page 13 of this issue. It will boost our chances in the magazine advertising game.) Naturally we will extend all subscriptions by one month.

The Editors



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Essays in the Theory of Capitalism and Imperialism
James O'Connor

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PROSPECTS OF A REVOLUTION IN THE U. S. A.

Stanislav Andreski

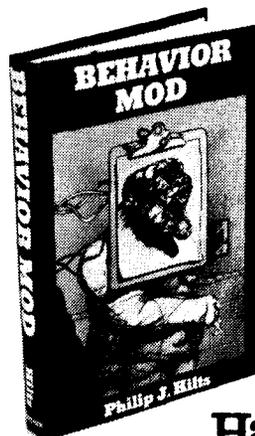
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Harry Boyte
"Prospectus for a New Party"
in *THE PROGRESSIVE*

"We must first understand that, at present, everything in the American empire is for sale: morality, the public interest, politicians. . . . The travesty is that those who brought us the Indochina war and the arms race, the body counts and the smart bombs, that those who call corporate imperialism economic growth and who starve our society for private profit, have been able to come forward as men of gravitas and decency."

Marcus Raskin
"The System Impeached"
in *THE PROGRESSIVE*

"Our prosperity was built on the quicksand of militarism and monopoly. We mortgaged our future to both — so that we could exact discipline for the Pax Americana; now we must pay the mortgage by lowering our standard of living. The 'Band-Aid' economics of President Ford, whose geniality temporarily obscured his Nixonite philosophy, cannot begin to solve the crises of an imperialist economy."

Sidney Lens
"Running Out of Everything"
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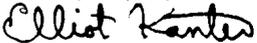
The two-page questionnaire below is what is known in the trade as a readership survey. We are asking you to take the trouble to fill it out and send it in because it could be of help in our efforts to sell advertising in Ramparts. Potential advertisers like to know about the audience a magazine will reach. And we would like to know where we can best concentrate our ad sales efforts.

The questionnaire is anonymous and postage-free. This page can be clipped out and folded to make a do-it-yourself reply envelope (see the back). First fold it in half along the dotted line, and then in thirds so our address is showing. Then staple or tape it, and drop it in the mail. (Newsstand readers can use the subscription offer envelopes bound into their copies of the magazine.) A high return will in itself be evidence of a committed and attentive readership. We thank you in advance for your response.

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6. How old are you? under 16 16-21 22-25 26-30
 31-35 36-40 41-50 51-60 over 60
7. Currently, are you
 in school working unemployed by choice unemployed by necessity retired
8. If you are a student, what is your level?
 high school college undergrad graduate school other_____
9. If you're not in school, how far did you go?
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10. If employed, what kind of work do you do? administrative the arts writing teaching
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 other_____
11. Are you single living together married, no children married, children under 18
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12. Do you own or rent your home?
13. Describe your community. urban suburban rural
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14. In the past year, have you traveled? inside the U.S. in Canada Latin America
 Caribbean Europe Africa Asia the Pacific
15. Which credit cards do you use? none BankAmericard Master Charge other bank card
 Carte Blanche Diners Club American Express oil company other_____
16. About how many books do you read a month?
 less than one 1-2 3-4 5-6 7-8 more
17. What magazines do you buy regularly? _____

18. How many books a year does your household purchase?
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19. How many records? less than 10 10-19 20-29 30 or more
20. What kind of music do you like?
 rock classical popular country and western jazz other_____
21. How many films do you see a month?
 none one two three four or more
22. How often do you drink
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 liqueurs
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 gin, rum or vodka
 soft drinks

23. Do you smoke?
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bicycle (over \$50)
25. What about automobiles?
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Thank you for your time

ELLIOT KANTER
For the Ramparts Staff

P.S. We welcome your comments about the magazine, or anything else. Please use the right-hand column below.

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In Defense of Paranoia

An Exchange between Carl Oglesby and David Horowitz

“The Nixon crisis had a class structure, not merely a cast of characters—a structure left standing after Nixon’s fall. And the forces of resentment and bitterness that molded and powered his political imagination, and put his nihilism to work, are most certainly still out there.”

In his article “Fascism and Other Nightmares,” (RAMPARTS Sept. ’74) David Horowitz sets out to show that fears of fascism in Euro-American politics I expressed three years ago “have been proved groundless by subsequent events,” that I am still “operating on the assumptions that buried the New Left under a wave of sectarian paranoia . . . during the disintegration of SDS and the heyday of the Weatherman war machine.” He bases his claim that my fears are groundless, incredibly enough, on Watergate, as though three years ago anybody could guess that the end of the White House secret political police would be their arrest at the Watergate.

On the contrary, what we learned as a result of Watergate—what we happened to learn by virtue of an accidental bust that happened late one night and was hardly even recognized as a watershed until eight months had gone by and McCord’s letter to Sirica finally unzipped it—everything that Watergate has let out shows that the “paranoias” of the Sixties fascist-criers like myself were based on rather clear-eyed judgments of Nixon, of his group, of their intentions, and of the

methods they would introduce to national politics. It would be naive but plausible for Horowitz to say, now that Watergate (as he thinks) has informed and saved us all, that fears once soundly based now stand relieved by the providence of Watergate. But to say that Watergate revelations show the error of that fear, and to boast with Horowitz that “even three or four years ago, the fear of fascism didn’t make much sense to some of us,” in my mind flies totally in the face of reason, recent experience, common sense, and that tradition in radical thought that recognizes a difference between a few blossoms being cut and roots being unearthed. Sure, a few comrades have gotten out of their trials because of Watergate side-effects in the legal system, and there is at the moment a great flood of happy talk on the point of our system’s newly demonstrated workability. But does Horowitz really mean to join that chorus?

It seems to me, indeed, that Horowitz is guilty of the fault that Steve Weissman found with me—namely, of actually trusting that the system does work, that “corporate liberalism,” the essentially benevolent despotism of an

essentially civilized ruling elite, will cut in at the last minute to reassert itself against chauvinism.

I totally disagree. I think the Yankees certainly have recaptured the throne in the Watergate confrontation, and that they are in a solid political position between David Rockefeller’s Ford and Ford’s Nelson Rockefeller. But then the Yankee banks and Detroit iron have generally gotten along pretty well anyway, and the ascendancy of the two is not the making of a new national coalition, it is merely the spectacular return of an old one. In other words, it is the return of *an old program*, of soggy bits and pieces of programs long discarded, approaches long abandoned, a little conservative here, a little liberal there. Watch the economy. That is where we will see if the Yankee mutineers know how to run their old ship.

Put it this way: If radicals think—as I think everyone ought to—that the kind of political threat posed by pre-Watergate Nixon is rooted in social conditions as well as in the personality problems of a small group of palace officials, then they cannot logically also think that the purge of Nixon has removed the sources of that threat.