I.S. BULLETIN

NUMBER 44 AUGUST 23, 1973

TABLE OF CONTENTS

IMPORTANT NOTICE -- Members must bring with them Bulletins #41, 42, 43 and 44 which contain convention documents.

1. Useful information for the 1973 IS convention.
2. *Third Camp Socialism and the IS -- Dave F. for the NAC
3. * Press and Publications - Ilene W and Kay Stacy
4. * Amendment to the Labor Document - Kevin Bradley
5. * Amendment to Tasks and Perspectives - Conventions and NC meetings - Mike P.
6. Building the IS - D. Crees
7. * Amendment to Tasks and Perspectives - Program - Mike Stewart
8. Reply to Reorient - Mike Parker
9. Where We Stand - DB, CF, etc.
10. On the Necissity to Pause for Self-Examination - S. Jacoby
11. A Draft Program for the International Socialists - Kevin Bradley
12. *Motions by Mike Stewart

* denotes convention document

* * * * *

NOTE------ The joint Tasks and Perspectives document by the NAC includes material in Bulletin #43 and also the following:

Section III- General International Tasks, Ist approximation of Mackenzie T & P in Bulletin # 42

Sections VI - X of Mackenzie Labor perspectives in Bulletin # 42
and also a three page amendment by Kevin Bradley on current trends in the labor movement which is not yet available.

* * * * * *

IMPORTANT NOTICE ********** You must bring Bulletins 41 -44 to the convention with you.

USEFUL INFORMATION FOR THE 1973 I.S. CONVENTION

Location: Again the convention will be held in beautiful Detroit, Michigan, at Trinity Methodist Church, 13100 Woodward Avenue, Highland Park. See map and directions on reverse.

Dates: The pre-convention NC is scheduled to begin at the church at 8 pm on Friday, August 31. The convention itself starts at 9:30 am Saturday morning, Sept. 1, and is expected to continue until about 4 pm Monday, Sept. 3.

Registration: Everyone attending the convention must register. Registration fees will be: Detroit members $7; other midwest $5; New York and east coast $3; west coast $free. Registration tables will be open Friday during the day at the I.S. office, 14131 Woodward, and at the church during the NC. Saturday, registration will begin at the church at 9 am.

Convention Assessment: The per capita assessment to pay for the convention has been set by the NAC at $12. Therefore, delegates will have to pay $60 and members-at-large $12 before they can be seated.

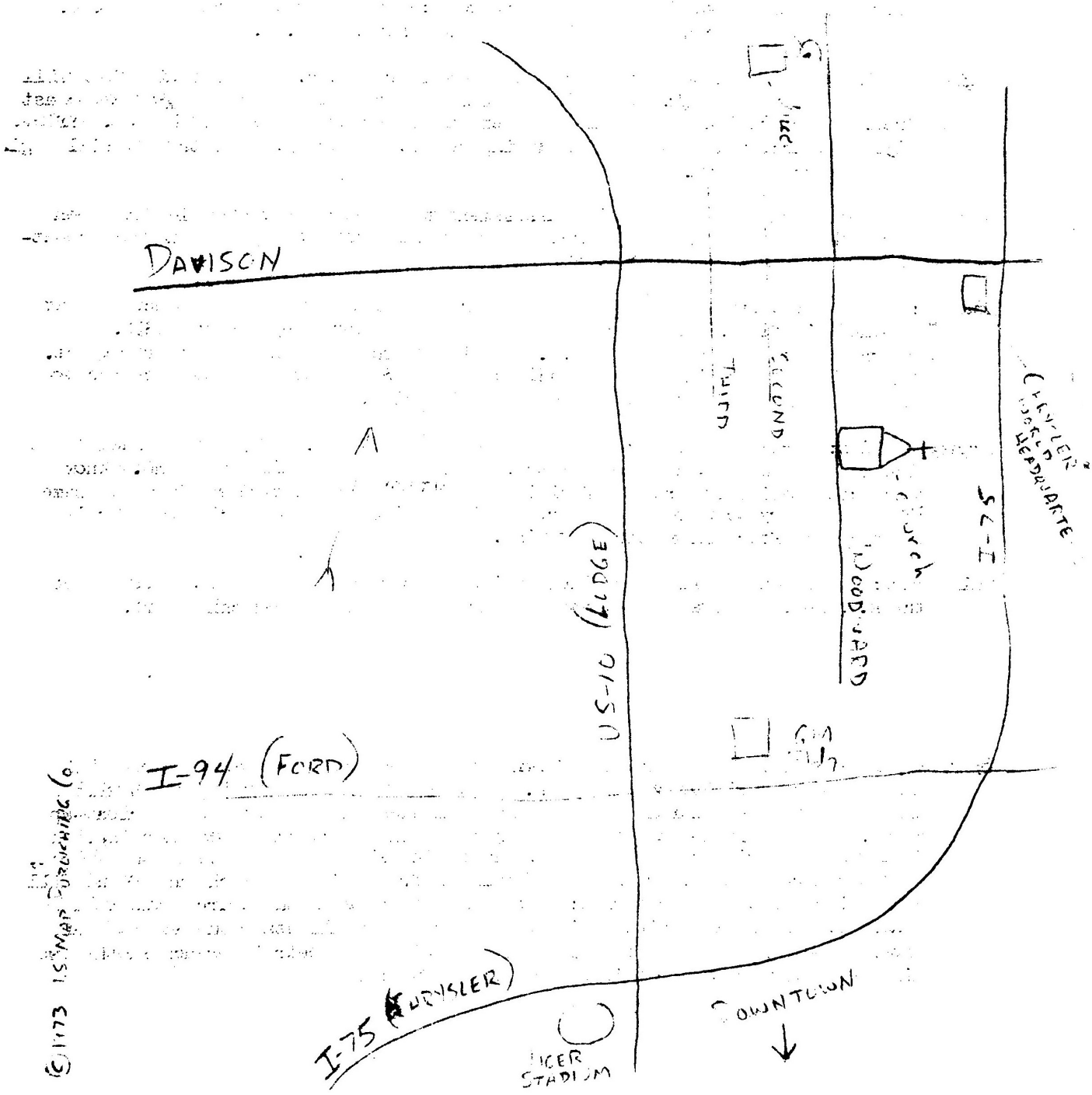
Housing: Unless you want to stay in a motel, bring a sleeping bag and expect to stay on someone's floor. Director of Housing will be Maryann--phone 867-4372. Branches should let her or the N.O. know in advance how many members to expect. If you will be arriving in the middle of the night, please make advance arrangments with us so as not to wake up the entire city.

Transportation: Travel commissar will be Pat--phone 883-5045. If you will need to be picked up at the airport or elsewhere, please try to let him or the NO. know your schedule in advance. To facilitate being picked up, members from the same city should try to travel together, and if possible, try to arrive in Detroit late Friday afternoon or early evening.

Child care: Child care will be provided during the convention sessions. Please let the N.O. know in advance how many of your children will need child care.

Special rules: Despite the behavior of some of our members last year, we are being allowed to use Trinity church again. To ensure that the Detroit branch will be allowed to use the church in the future, comrades will participate in clean-up crews, be friendly and courteous to anyone attending church Sunday morning, and follow some special rules: 1) no beer or wine will be permitted in the church, on the church grounds, or on the sidewalk in front of the church--any found will be confiscated and not returned; 2) anyone littering on the church lawn will be fined $5. Anyone who thinks this is not serious should stay home and send an alternate--it makes a great deal of difference to the Detroit branch whether we will be permitted to use this church in the future.

Travel directions: From wouth and east, come into Detroit on I-75. From west use I-94. In either case, exit onto the Lodge Freeway (US-10) North. Exit from the Lodge Freeway at Davison East. Take the first exit off the Davison expressway (exit marked "Woodward, Second, Third"). Stay on the service drive to third stop light, which should be Woodward Avenue. Turn right at Woodward to #13100 for the church, OR turn left at Woodward to #14131 for the office. (Note: cars parked illegally on Woodward during the Friday rush hour will be towed away.)



THIRD CAMP SOCIALISM AND THE I.S. Draft by Dave F. for the NAC

INTRODUCTION: This document was originally commissioned following the April NC, as part of the responsibility of the joint leadership majority for defending the basic viewpoint and world outlook of the I.S. The rapid heating up of the faction fight following the NC, which forced the NAC to spend virtually full time on factional activity, was responsible for the delay in producing this as well as other Convention documents. Apologies are hereby offered for its delay.

WHAT IS THE THIRD CAMP?

The split in the I.S., as the NAC stated at the time (see "The Crisis in the I.S. and the Road Forward") was not a split over the Russian Question, "Shachtmanism" or the third camp per se, but over the political conclusions drawn from conflicting ideological views for the work of revolutionary socialists in the labor movement today, in the U.S. The course of the faction fight, however, showed the necessity for a restatement of the basic theoretical views of the I.S., which so many members and even leaders of the organization readily abandoned as soon as these views came into conflict with their newly hatched sectarian panacea. Only a cadre which understands and is able to defend these views, and to advance them through intervention and struggle in the workers' movement, will enable us to overcome the theoretical flabbiness which led to the split.

The third camp viewpoint represents the continuation of Marxism, Leninism, and Trotskyism in the epoch of imperialist -- capitalist and Stalinist -- decay. As a political tendency, and in particular as a propaganda group defined primarily by its ideas, the I.S. must be willing to stand upon and fight for, no matter what the consequences, a theory and a world outlook which is uncompromising in its advocacy of an independent working class policy. In particular, despite the attractive power and ideological pressure exerted by every conceivable form of substitute for working class revolution -- social democracy and liberal reform, "structural reform", third world nationalism, Stalinism (especially Castroism and Maoism) -- which are reflected in a thousand different ways inside the workers' movement, the working class can achieve power and establish socialism only insofar as it destroys all the fraudulent, substitutionist theories of "socialism" generated by alien class forces. The I.S., which is not a party leading the workers in struggle but rather a small propaganda group, will play a progressive role only insofar as we contrubute theoretically and practically to demonstrating the bandruptcy of all such substitutionist conceptions. (These are the conceptions which, for popular usage, we group together under the heading "socialism from above").

The third camp viewpoint begins with the proposition that in this epoch, all forms of social and economic organization, other than the direct rule of the working class, are historically outlived, bankrupt and thoroughly reactionary. Only workers' control of production, and workers' power organized to control the state, is a progressive resolution of the crisis facing humanity. Because of the level of productive forces achieved on a world scale, this proposition holds true with all its force in the colonial, semi-colonial and "underdeveloped" or "third world" countries, every but as strongly as in the advanced industrial or

"metropolitan" countries. Furthermore, we contend that the failure of the workers' movement in the last half century, i.e. the failure to carry through a world socialist revolution, has generated a fundamental crisis of consciousness inside the working class. It is the absence of revolutionary class consciousness, i.e. of the understanding by the working class of its own historiaal mission, that constitutes the fundamental barrier to the achievement of socialism in the modern world. For this reason, the exposure of the nature of all existing societies -- that is, stripping away the ideological cover, the mythology that masks the real class relations in these societies -- is the central task of revolutionary theory. In particular, every theoretical and political claim put forward by both Stalinist and capitalist ruling classes to represent a 'progressive' alternative to each other must be destroyed.

These ideas, of course, separate us in stark class terms from the bourgeoisie, the trade union bureaucracy, and the Stalinist ruling classes and parties. Inside the revolutionary movement itself, however, which is ideologically fragmented and divided because of the very crisis of consciousness in the working class itself, this world view divides us to one degree or another from virtually every existing current. We give no quarter to any view, inside the revolutionary movement, which ascribes any progressive significance to Stalinism as a social system, including the view that Stalinist societies represent a form of workers' state or that STalinist class rule plays a progressive role in underdeveloped economies. Similarly, we make no concessions to illusions about bourgeois democracy which may be held by opponents of Stalinism. We also fight uncompromisingly against fraudulent conceptions such as 'neutralism', as well as the view that ascribes a progressive economic and social role to various anti-democratic nationalist, military, or bureaucratic regimes which exist in the "underdeveloped" countries.

What we stand for, theoretically and practically, is the independent self-organization of the working class, economically and politically, in opposition to all exploiting classes and class societies. In carrying out this struggle, we are part of the same movement represented by the Communist League of the 1840's, the First International organized by Marx, the Bolshevik Party and the Communist International, and the struggle of the Trotskyist movement in the 1930's to rebuild the revolutionary parties destroyed by the Stalinist counterrevolution.

The struggle for independent working class politics has been the underlying common issue in every significant split in the world revolutionary movement. Under the pressure -- ideological, political, and material -- of class society, various sections of the movement in every historical period have abandoned the interests of the working class, to support the rule of the imperialist aims of one or another ruling class. The destruction of both the Second the Third Internationals are two of themost important examples.

Third camp socialism, as an independent political tendency, originated in the split in the Trotskyist movement over the imperialist character of the second World War and the class nature of the STalinist bureaucracy. During the 1940's and 1950's, this tendency existed in this country as the Workers Party and

the Independent Socialist League, until the ISL -- weakened by the collapse of its revolutionary perspective following the war and the ensuing period of capitalist prosperity and Stalinist expansion -- dissolved in 1958.

During its existence, the WP/ISL was the only political tendency which did not adapt or accommodate to either the capitalist or Stalinist ruling classes, which fought consistently to break the allegiance of the working class internationally from the two reactionary social systems competing for its loyalty. While other tendencies in the labor movement entered the camp of one of the imperialist rivals, only the third camp socialists maintained consistent opposition to each.

Despite its correct theory and policy, the ISL and almost its entire cadre failed to survive. While its understanding of the three-cornered class struggle in the modern world enabled it to analyze the expansion of Stalinism, the complete capitualtion of social democracy and the trade union bureaucracy in the West to capitalist imperialism, and the collapse of the Trotskyist movement into an appendage of Stalinism, the ISL itself was unable to maintain and carry out a perspective for the labor movement independent of the same social democratic labor bureaucracy.

In 1958, the ISL -- in contradiction to its entire theoretical understanding of the relationship of social democracy to imperialism -- abandoned its independent existence and entered the social democracy itself. Within a few short years many of its former cadre had become apologists and champions of the most hideous crimes of U.S. imperialism. The rebirth of our political tendency in the early years of the 1960's took place in opposition to the abandonment of the revolutionary third camp perspective by those who had championed it.

A full discussion of the history of the I.S. and its predecessor organizations is beyond the scope of a Convention document. In the coming year, one of the main responsibilities of the NAC is to organize a systematic program of education that will include a series of classes on the revolutionary movement and the third camp world view.

The work of the I.S. today stands on the shoulders of earlier generations of revolutionaries in the workers' movement. The theory and perspective we seek to develop today demands a critical evaluation and assimilation of the contributions of revolutionary Marxists in the past. Our Tasks and Perspectives and labor perspectives documents, in particular, are part of the continual process of revising, evaluating and re-applying our theory to current reality and the tasks confronting us. In the next year, a document setting forward the interaational perspectives of the organization must be developed as well. Such a perspective will include a discussion and perspective on the crisis of Stalinism today.

The following secions of this document discuss inoutline form some of the central aspects of our world view: the relationship of democracy to the struggle for socialism; the class nature of Stalinism; and the question of the revolutionary party. None of these are full ideological statements or complete discussions. Rather, they indicate the basic framework within which the further development of theory and practice must occur.

II. SOCIALISM AND WORKERS' DEMOCRACY

The viewpoint of Marx and Engels, established firmly in their demunciation of the utopians and in their early political works (The Communist Manifesto), is that the conscious revolutionary activity of the working class is the only basis for achieving socialism. The entire experience of the twentieth century -- including the building and then the destruction of an international revolutionary workers' movement numbering in tens of millions --confirms this viewpoint.

For Marx and Engels, unlike the later "orthodox" theoreticians of the ossified social-democratic parties, socialism was never conceived as the "automatic" or "inevitable" resultant of capitalist crisis. Capitalism creates its own grave-diggers, wrote Marx -- a productive class whose needs would increasingly conflict with the private ownership of the means of production, the drive for private profit and accumulation. The key to this conception, however, was that unlike every other exploited class in history, the modern working class is not simply the blind, unconscious agent of economic forces having the character of "natural law". The working class, because of its position in capitalist production and its resulting capacity for economic and political organization, is capable of consciously overcoming bourgeois ideology, grasping its own interests and consciously overthrowong the bourgeoisie and re-shaping production and all other social relations.

Consciousness, then , is central to the Marxist--that is, working class -- conception of socialism and of the transition from capitalism to socialism. The dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e. the process of abolishing classes and dissolving the repressive, coercive apparatus of class rule (the state) under the direct rule of the working class itself, is the highest level of organization which working class consciousness and struggle can create.

Consciousness, of course, is necessarily crystallized and advanced through organization. Revolutionary consciousness and struggle does not emerge from nowhere, or suddenly appear in the working class when the objective crisis of capitalism reaches a certain intensity. Nor can it simply be brought into the class from the outside, as a set of ideas put forward by a radicalized or revolutionary consciousness, is prepared and developed in the course of previous, non-revolutionary struggles in whi9ch the workers develop their own independent organizations to defend their basic class interests. The capacity of the working class for self-emancipation, i.e. revolution, is inseparably linked to its capacity for self-organization in the porcess of production itself.

The necessity of collective self-organization, of ceaseless struggle by the workers to defend their basic needs and elementary rights, implies the n necessity of a struggle for democracy. Even when bourgeois society and bourgeois democracy have ceased to be progressive in any sense, the working class must-- in order to defend itself -- fight to maintain democracy. The workers must struggle against all efforts to resolve the crisis of bourgeois society by destroying democratic rights of organization, including the right to strike, to organizae unions, to carrry out political and economic agitation and progaganda. These struggles help to prepare the class to organizethe struggle for

power: they also help to maintain the independent mass organization of the class without which no struggle for power is possible.

Workers" democracy, therefore, is not simply a structure or a form of rule established by the working class in power. Rather, the creation workers' democracy is part of the struggle for power itself. In a revolutionary crisis, the workers' struggle to defend their rights, their conditions and their standards of living leads to the formation of broad, revolutionary classwide institutions--the workers' councils -- which link the workers to the struggles of all the oppressed strata in society and serve as the vehicle for the political rule of the working class itself. Long before the appearance of these formations, however, the organized struggles of the workers -- against the capitalists, the state and the bureaucracies within the labor movement -- have created and trained a politically conscious vanguard which is capable of providing backbone and leadership to broader layers of workers and to the revolutionary mass organizations which spring up in a period of crisis. Only through these struggles is it possible for organized revolutionaries to participate in "building the leadership" for the revolution.

Socialism, then, is not the "automatic" product of capitalist decay but rather the conscious, democratic creation of an organized working class. Furthermore, socialism can only be maintained and strengthend through the broadening and strengthening of democracy by the working class inpower. The working class will not voluntarily exploit itself, i.e. will not voluntarily surrender its contr trol over the social wealth it produces to any "benevolent" elite. The economic tule of the wroking class is necessarily collective and democratic -- that is necessarily political. With out direct, democratic political control over the state, the working class rapidly loses its control over its own destiny, its ability to rule in its own interest and its consciousness as ruling class. Any elite, "benevelent" or otherwise, ruling in place of the working class, rapidly loses the support of the workers themselves and is forced to turn to repression, coercion and exploitation to maintain itself. Thus, the centrality of democracy to socialist revolution, and to socilaism itself, is a cornerstone of revolutionary working class politics.

STALINISM AND THE THIRD CAMP

The failure of the world revolution, and the destruction of the Russian Revolution, led to a series of catastrophes which, in the eyes of many, challanged the entire world view of Marxism: i.e. the ability of the working class to carry out sucessful revolution on a world scale. These catastrophes included: the rise of a new, anti-capitalist social system based on nationalized property, not democratic (i.e. working class socialism) but totalitarian (i.e. bureaucratic collectivist); the emergence of fascism, a new expression of the barbarism of capitalism; the defeat and strangulation of the workers' movements; a new world imperialist slaughter; and the division of the world into rival imperialist war camps, competing with each other for the political and social allegiance of the working class.

Central to this entire process, of course, was the emergence of Stalinism as the gravedigger of the revolutionary movement and as the alternative to socialst revolution itself. The maintaining of Marxist theory and a revolutionary perspective, therefore, rested first and foremost on the ability to analyze and come to grips with Stalinism as a social and political phe-

nomenon. For this reason the analysis of Stalinism is central to the third camp viewpoint. In meeting this challenge, our movement found it necessary to re-examine and re-apply virtually the entire body of Marxist theory, removing in the process various revisionist conceptions which had developed as a reslut of the Stalinist courterrevolution.

The analysis of the main features of Stalinism, was begun by Trotsky. Trotsky's view of Stalinism was based on his perspective of rebuilding genuine revolutionary Communist parties following the degeneration of the Comintern. It is not necessary here to summarize the totality of Trotsky's analysés as they developed throught the 1920's and 1930's. His view of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution and his main conclusions, are set forward in The Revolution Betrayed and In Defense of Marxism, and briefly summarizdd in relevant sections of the 1938 program of the Fourth International (The Death Agony of Capitalism). It is worthwhile, however, to set forward briefly the assessment of Trotsky's contributions developed by our movement in the course of the split in the FI,

Trotsky's theory, recognized the necessity of a systematic and comprehensive explanation of the following features of Stalinism: 1)Internationally, the bureaucracy abandoned the revolutionary internationalism of the Bolsheviks and the early Comintern. The Communist Parties were reduced both politically and in their organizational structure to appendages of the Russian bureaucracy, serving its foreign policy aims. This was the single most importatn factor underlying the defeat of revolutionary upheavals from the Chinese Revolution of 1925 --27 on ward. In all cases, the policies of the bureaucracy constituted a complete break from independent working class organization and perspective. By 1932, Trotsky even posed the possibility that in China, the peasant-based C.P. could become, in a revolutionary crisis, the class enemy of the working class and its vanguard. After the crushing of the Spanish Revolution, in which the C.P. and Stalin played the role of counterrevolutionary vanguard, Trotsky declared that the Comintern had become a thoroughly counterrevolutionary agent of the bourgeoisie -- a vidw which required drastic revision in the following period.

2) Inside the Soviet Union, the rise of the bureaucracy was based not upon a continuation of the revolutionary policies of the Bolsheviks and Lenin, but upon the exhaustion of the revolutionary vanguard and the destruction of the Bolshevik Party. The general course of this process is set forward in Max Shachtman's definitive essay The Struggle for the New Course. The growth of a bureaucratic apparatus, controlling both the party and the state and having all the features of totalitarianism, led Trotsky finally to the conclusion that this bureaucracy and its apparatus must be overthrown and smashed, rather than reformed through a regeneration of the party. In this context, Trotsky abandoned his defense of a single-party dictatorship in the workers' state and raised the demand for multi-party democracy.

3)Finally, and most important, Trotsky recognized that the economic policies of the bureaucracy -- whatever their success in expanding the productive forces and particularly in establishing heavy industry -- were necessarily based upon the destruction of all independent working class organization and freedom. In other words, the thoroughgoing totalitarianism of the bu-

reaucratic dictatorship was in no way "socialistic" -- as claimed by various proponents and apologists for the bureaucracy -- but corresponded to the social aims and requirements of the bureaucracy and, in particular, its goal of suppressing the workers' living standards. Trotsky also contended that the bureaucracy required complete independence from working class pressure in order to successfully carry out the wild zig-zags on which its economic policies were based -- and that the contradiction between socialist needs of the society, and the efforts of the bureaucracy to use economic construction to expand its own power, would create terrific social tensions which would be central in the destruction of the bureaucracy. This contention, while quite correct, would also require re-interpretation.

Thus Trotsky's views were based upon the completely counter-revolutionary and totalitarian character of the policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy. There was, however, a central flaw in his conceptual framework, a flaw which led to fatal contradictions and the collapse of the theory itself. For Trotsky, the central feature of the rule of the bureaucracy was <u>its inability to carry out a class policy of its own, independent of the working class and the bourgeoisie</u>. Trotsky's entire perception of Stalinism, his projections for its future, and his interpretations of the contradictions within the Soviet Union, were based on this fundamental concept. It was this concept, however, which was to prove theoretically and politically incorrect.

Trotsky's view of the bureaucracy as resting between the working class and the bourgeoisie, with no independent class policy of its own, led him to his basic conclusions: the theory of the Soviet Union as a 'degenerated workers' state" which would be transformed by the workers through a "political revolution", not a social revolution; the view that the bureaucracy's policies would undermine nationalized property and lead to capitalist restoration; the view that in foreign policy, Stalin was nothing more than a toady of the bourgeois imperialist powers; and the view that the rule of the bureaucracy itself was being torn apart by internal conflict at such a rate that its collapse from the pressures of the working class and world imperialism was imminent. It was also this view that enabled Trotsky to regard the "working class forms of property", i.e. the nationalized property which he regarded as the remaining achievement of the 1917 Revolution, as signifying the survival of working class relations of production. From this, and from the imminent collapse of the bureaucracy itself, Trotsky concluded that the defense of the Soviet Union in an inter-imperialist war remained the duty of the entire world working class.

The critique of this theory, and ofits implications, was the main theoretical contribution made by our tendency to the survival of Marxism. Beginning from a rejection of certain of Trotsky's conclusions -- particularly the defense of the Soviet Union in a war in which its own role, from the Stalin-Hitler pact onward, was clearly imperialist in content -- our tendency developed the understanding that Stalin'spolicies were <u>not</u> in fact, either internally or in foreign policy, subordinate to either the bourgeoisie or the working class. Central to this understanding was the analysis of the Stalinist bureaucracy as a historically new and unique <u>ruling class</u>, whose power rests upon nationalized property, especailly modern heavy industry, which it controls through a totalitarian state apparatus.

The character of the social system established by the Stalinist bureau-

cracy is also the foundation of Stalinist imperialism. The subjugation and exploitation of smaller nations and the oppression of national minorities are among the features of capitalist imperialism which emerged in the development of Stalinism as well. The growth of national conflicts within Stalinism today illustrates that social contradictions flowing from imperialist relations are as permanent a feature of Stalinism as of capitalism in this epoch.

This analysis made possible the theoretical re-arming of the revolutionary movement, in particular an explanation of the ability of Stalinism to survive the war, to expand, to develop the productive forces -- and the thoroughly reactionary character of its survival, its expansion, and its economic growth. It is this analysis which also makes it possible for us to examine today and come to grips with the development of Stalinism and the contradictions which confront it as a more mature and developed social system.

The crucial insight contained in the theory of Stalinism developed by Shachtman and his co-thinkers is the view that the bureaucratic ruling class is historically unique, based on the decline of capitalism and the failure of the working class to resove the crisis of modern society through socialist revolution: that is, that the bureaucracy represents neither the bourgeoisie, nor the working class, nor for that matter a return to some form of pre-capitalist society. For this reason, the Stalinist social system is called bureaucratic collectivist, and the theory is called the theory of bureaucratic collectivism. While many of the germinal ideas of this theory were put forward by earlier opposition currents in the Soviet Union and the Trotskyist movement, and while the name itself was used by Burnham to denote a quite different "theory" which identified Stalinism with fascism and denied the very possibility of socialism, there is no question (except for certain self-styled "orthodox Marxists" who like to play philistine games with theoretical questions) that the theory of bureaucratic collectivism as developed by our movement represented a new and unique viewpoint.

Many of the charges raised against the I.S. as a political tendency, especially in the faction fight with the"Revolutionary Tendency", reflect our failure to substantially develop our theory and under standing of Stalinism throughout most of the last 15 years. This is part of the general theoretical stagnation of the Marxist movement, and of the IS as well, which we have a central obligation to overcome. Nonetheless, we contend that in at least three crucial areas, the theory of bureaucratic collectivism has demonstrated its superiority as the basis for an analysis of contemporary Stalinism.

First of all, our theory made possible the re-interpretation of the central ideas put forward by Trotsky in a way which explains the fundamental outlines of Stalinist society and its origins. This is an extremely powerful analytical weapon, as a few examples will show. Where Trotsky, for example, regarded the policies of the bureaucracy as weakening nationalized property, thereby bringing its won rule to the point of collapse, our understanding of the independent class aims of the bureaucracy show that these policies strengthen nationalized property -- for anti-working class and anti-socialist purposes. Where Trotsky saw in th the purge trials the indication that the contradictions within the Soviet Union had reached the breaking point, our movement came to realize that these trials represented the

consolidation of Stalin's power and indeed the first step in preparation for the coming imperialist war. Where Trotsky saw in Stalin's foreign policy his subservience to the bourgeoisie, our theory enabled us to predict and explain the ability of Stalinism to advance both through accommodation to the bourgeoisie and through mobilizing the masses around anti-capitalist demands in periods of crises. Finally, our theory shows that the totalitarianism -- that is, the single-party dictatorship and lack of basic democratic and trade union rights -- which is inherent to Stalinism does not reflect, as Trotsky thought, the lack of class independence of the bureaucracy but rather are precisely central to this independence.

From this latter conclusion flows the second major contribution of the theory of bureaucratic collectivism: namely, the central and decisive importance of the Struggle for democracy in disintegrating the political and social power of the bureaucracy. This is expressed in the central contradiction of Stalinism: the necessity of socialist planning in a society whose mode of social and economic organization -- bureaucratic totalitarianism -- makes real planning impossible. The fusion of political and economic power makes every economic question a political one, in which the necessity of workers' democracy becomes central. Even in those countries where the working class has not yet gone into visible, independent motion against the bureaucracy, the depth of general social discontent among broad layers of the population over the lack of freedom, the material hardships imposed by bureaucratic dictatorship, and the desire for a realization of the aspirations of socialism which the bureaucracy is forced to rhetorically proclaim as an ideological cover for itself, indicate the explosive potential of the question of democracy under Stalinism.

It should be noted here that the theory of bureaucratic collectivism makes possible a Marxist, as opposed to vulgar economist, understanding of the relation between the bureaucratic class is a fetter on the forces of production, which must be overthrown: not because the bureaucracy "cannot expand the productive forces", which is demonstrably false, but rather because the impossibility of socialist planning under Stalinism disrupts the economy, producing new forms of crises, depresses the masses' living standards, creates new national antagonisms and brings the needs of the workers directly into conflict with the nature of the economic growth and thereby with the rule of the bureaucracy itself.

Third, of course, the theory of bureaucratic collectivism has produced the most accurate description of the methods of Stalinist expansion and the role of Stalinist parties in the labor movement of the advanced countries and the Third World. The ability of Stalinist parties in various countries to lead national self-determination struggles, as in Vietnam; to become integrated into or even to become the leadership of the trade union bureaucracy while supporting the bourgeoisie, as in France; to become the "left" wing of popular front coalitions with bourgeois, reformist and centrist parties, as in Chile -- all the while helping to suppress the threat of independent revolutionary working class action -- show that the independent class aims of Stalinism, national and international, may be expressed through a variety of different policies. These policies, whether they lead to the maintaining of bourgeois democracy in the face of a revolutionary threat, to the victory of Stalinism, or to the drowning of the workers in blood

(often including the Communists themselves, as in Indonesia, when their policies are subordinated to the desires of Moscow or Peking), are essentially based upon the unique ability of the Communist Parties, because of their anti-capitalist character, to discipline the working class when it threatens to break into revolutionarey motion. The existence today of national Stalinist ruling classes, often independent of Moscow and in competition with each other, also demonstrates the independent class character of the bureaucracy, based fundamentally on its economic and social domination of its own working class.

Thus, the three-cornered struggle for the world is not simply a confrontation between two imperialist war campus and the working class, but a clash of three essential class forces in which the politics of inter-imperialist a lignment and realignment play a fundamental, but no longer completely dominating or decisive role. With the return of crisis to capitalism and the sharper and more contradictions in the Stalinist world, the third camp is re-emerging as a viable, realizable revolutionary perspective in this period. Tens of millions of workers and oppressed colonial masses, no longer dominated by the politics of the two reactionary ruling classes of the world, are looking for a way out to the left of the traditional reformist and Communist Parties. This process, which is still largely unconscious, has not yet produced massive breakages from these parties -- because to most, the revolutionary alternative is not yet visible. The next step, on the scale of workd history, is precisely the emergence of this mass independent movement a conscious and organized force. At that point, the third camp as a historical and social reality struggling for the revolutionary socialist transformation of society, will again be a material force.

IV -- PARTY AND CLASS

Integral to the revolutionary third camp viewpoint is the understanding of the central role of the revolutionary workers' party in leading the working class to power. Only organized revolutionary leadership, capable of overcoming the uneven consciousness of the variouc layers within the class, can carry the revolutionary struggle through to victory. In the current period, when the deepening instability of world economy and the rebirth of mass workers' movements are creating the conditions for the creation of new revolutionary parties, the views of our tendency on the party take on rapidly growing significance.

The destruction of the revolutionary workers' movement, under the blows of fascism, Stalinism and the long post-war stabilization, brought with it the collapse of the independent revolutionary parties of the early Communist movement. The Trotskyist movement, which fought to build new revolutionary parties from the defeats and betrayals of the odd, also fell victim to the triumphant world reaction and its own theoretical and political degeneration.

By the late 1940's, with the capitulation to the spread of the Stalinist social system (the theory of "deformed workers' states" which constitutes the essence of Pabloism), the Fourth Interaationa had reached a dead end. The substitutionist method whcih clearly expressed itself in the "deformed workers' state" theories could only lead to further accommodation -- to Stalinism, to nationalist forces in

the colonial world, to the middle class and the labor bureaucracy in the capitalist countries -- and to resulting splits and fragmentation in the movement. With few exceptions, the Trotskyist groups long ago lost the capability to provide the basis for the rebuilding of genuine revolutionary workers' parties.

It has remained for our tendency in the world revolutionary movement, growing out of the split in the Trotskyist movement and the subsequent 30 years, to maintain and revive the conception of the revolutionary party as one which is rooted, developed and built within the working class. It is our viewpoint, virtually unique in the revolutionary movement, which maintains the view that without the revolutionary party there can be no successful socialist revolution, no dictatorship of the proletariat, no construction of socialism. We reject equally the conception of "peaceful transition to socialism" advanced by the reforminst and bureaucratic parties of the West; the bureaucratic or military "socialism" of various dictatorial regimes (from Egypt and India to Chile and Tanzania); and the "dictatorship of the proletariat" which Stalinists and "orthodax Trotskyists" recognize in the so-called Communist countries, where no workers' parties of any kind exist and where the workers themselves are deprived of all rights of independent economic and political organization. Socialist revolution, and the construction of an independent revolutionary workers' party -- which exists nowhere in the world today -- is a necessity in every country in the world, without exception.

Like the revolutionary movement as a whole, however, our tendency has gone through an extended historical period of virtually total isolation from the movement and the real struggles of the working class internationally. In part, this isolation was due to the objective conditions of economic stability and growth . . which produced reformist consciousness in the working class, and the domination of politics by the two reactionary war camps of Washington and Moscow which generated a profoundly conservative, patriotic and backward consciousness among the workers in both camps. Partially, however, this isolation also reflects the theoretical and political decay of the revolutionary groups themselves. The maintenance of independent revolutionary parties was impossible due to the exceptional length of the post-war boom and the massive economic growth which characterized it. The maintaining of revolutionary political currents inside the working class, however, explaining to the advanced workers the role of the union bureaucracy, the limitations of the period of prosperity and therefore the limitations of the reformist perspective, and attempting to advance the ship flowr struggle to the greatest possible degree of militancy and consciousness, would have been possible had the revolutionary movement itself femained healthy. Had this been accomplished, especially in the U.S., we would have a much firmer and deeper cadre of leaders for the rebuilding of the movement today. Further, the social and political weight of the working class would have been far greater in the various protest movements of the 1960's. Thus, the weaknesses produced by the virtual absence of socialist ideas from the working class for twenty or more years create additional political and organizational difficulties for us today.

It follows from this, both in the U.S. and in the other countries where revolutionary socialists have any political forces or influence, that the key strategic necessity of the current period is the re-introduction of socialist ideas into the life and struggles of the labor movement. This conception, which we are attempting to carry out primarily through an industrialization perspective, is the central goal of all our activity. The construction of revolutionary parties, and the formulation of a revolutionary strategy and set of demands to lead the working class to struggle for power, must begin with the integration of basic socialist ideas into the ongoing class struggle.

Our view of the revolutionary party, and its relation to the class which it leads, is largely summarized in the writings of the British I.S. The ISGB has made unique contributions, both theoretically and through practical example, to solving the problem of building the revolutionary party as a contemporaty problem, i.e. as a strategic task of revolutionaries in the second half of this century. What is needed here is a brief statement of the main ideas which are crucial to our view and strategy.

From the history of the revolutionary movement -- both its successes and failures -- we have learned the fundamental importance of thoroughly democratic relationship between the revolutionary party and its class. This is the lesson, first and foremost, of the successful revolutionary leadership provided by the Bolshevik Party in the Russian Revolution. The conquest of power grew out of the previous "conquest of the masses": the period of preparation, explanation, discussion and common action with the workers which the Bolsheviks carried out through the mass revolutionary organizations, the Soviets. The health of the Party, both in the struggle for power and in the workers' state, rested upon its intimate daily and democratic relation to the class -- a relation not based upon command or bureaucratic routine, but upon comradely debate with the workers and responsible participation and leadership in their struggles.

The same lesson is provided by the negative experiences of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution and the destruction of the Communist Parties as revolutionary organizations. Trotsky's struggle, both against the bureaucratization of the Bolshevik Party and against the disastrous policies of the Communist Parties throughout the 1920's and 1930's, demonstrated that the C.P.'s never achieved, or rapidly abandoned, the relationship with the masses that the Bolsheviks had built. The substitution of commands, bureaucratic (usually conservative) routine, or ultraleftist "electrification of the masses" for genuine political leadership rapidly became the main features of Communist Party policy. These policies, which corresponded to the growing weight of the bureaucratic apparatus and the authority of Stalinism within the Communist Parties, aided immeasurably in the transformation of the Communist Parties into international agents of the Stalinist counter-revolution, standing above and in opposition to the interests and revolutionary aspirations of the working class. The confidence of the working class in the revolutionary movement, largely destroyed in the last several decades, can be restored only if revolutionaries demonstrate in practice their commitment to a democratic, principled relationship to the organizations and the struggles of the workers.

In order to establish such a relationship, it is not sufficient for the revolutionary party to uspport on paper the ideas of workers' democracy. The party must represent, in fact, the organized political expression of a revolutionary layer in the working class itself. The party must be based upon a cadre of workers who are leading militants in the day-to-day struggles of their class. This is the essential foundation that enables the party to have a democratic relation to the class, tactical flexibility, and a set of strategic demands and perspectives to advance the political consciousness of the class as a whole.

This conception -- the necessity of a cadre of working class leaders as central to the life of the revolutionary party -- is not new. Nonetheless, we stress its importance because of the history of the general destruction of the workers' parties in the last 40 years. The revolutionary party cannot be built upon the intelligentsia or through "injections" of socialist consciousmess into the class, but only through the activity of the working class in its own mass organizations. Thus the defense of these organizations, especially (in the industrial countries) the unions, and political activity within them is central to the work of revolutionaries. The general crisis of society helps to generate anti-capitalist sentiment among the intellingentsia, many of whom can play extremely important roles in building the revolutionary movement. Nonetheless, it is no longer possible to maintain the idea, once held by the "orthodox" theoreticians of social democracy, that the intelligentsia is the "natural" carrier of socialism into the working class. The rise of STalinism and fascism, especially, have shown that in the absence of an independent class-conscious workers' movement anti-capitalist sentiment among intellectuals and other non-proletarian strata is more likely to take totally reactionary directions thatn that of working class socialism.

The daily work of the revolutionary party in the labor movement points toward, and pre-figures, its goal of sccialist revolution. In its daily work the party strives to overcome the existing backward and parochial consciousness of the class. This is the goal of the demands, the program, the strategy and tactics which the party puts forward in order to advance the level and politics of the workers' organizations. In the labor movement today, this is our goal in building independent rank and file organizations in opposition to the union bureaucracies, as well as our advocacy of independent political action against the capitalist parties and of a labor party in the U.S. Because of its relation to our goal of socialist revolution and wokkers' power, our role in the workers' movement today is counterposed to that of all other tendencies -- reformist, liberal, bureaucratic, centrist, and Stalinist -- whose goals and class aims are different from ours.

It is impossible to undertake here a full examination of the views of Lenin and Trotsky on the revolutionary party. Essentially, however, these views are rooted in the concepts we have put forward here. We seek to reapply them to the task of building new revolutionary parties to replace those which have collapsed. For purposes of discussion in the revolutionary movement today, however, it is necessary to contrast our views with those of the epigones of Trotsky -- who wrap themselves in the mantle of quotations from Lenin and Trotsky without regard to their context or content.

For the epigones of Trotsky, the nature and role of the revolutionary party is based more or less on the repetition of certain phrases from Trotsky's writings, in a manner which reduces the conception of the party to an idealist caricature. Chief among these phrases is "the crisis of the proletarian vanguard , i.e. of revolutionary leadership, which Tratsky identified as the fundamental obstacle to successful revolution during the 1930's. As our tendency recognized historically, the sharp change in the objective conditions following World War II, the stabilization of capitalism and the growth of Stalinism, meant that the crisis in the workers' movement could no longer be meaningfully discussed in those terms. Those groupings which continued to regard themselves as sections of a world revolutionary party, contending for revolutionary leadership of the working class, wound up contending instead largely against each other. The vast majority of these groupings either retreated into the most sterile phrasemongering sectarianism, devoid of revolutionary theory or perspective, or else undertook to find social forees to subistitute for the working class as the agency for socialism. With few exceptions, these groupings -- although capable in some cases of reaching considerable size and influence among radicals to the left of the Communist Parties -- have played little or no role in building roots for the revolutionary movement inside the working class.

What has <u>not</u> changed since 1930 is the urgent necessity of socialist revolution for the liberation of mankind, and the fulfillment of all the material preconditions for its realization. What <u>has</u> changed is the historically specific nature of the crisis inside the working class, which is expressed today as the crisis of consciousness: the absence of a workers' movement in political struggle against ruling classes. The return of instability and crisis to capitalism, the deepening crisis of Stalinism, the re-opening of the perspective of permanent revolution in the "under-developed" countries, opens up the possibility of crystallizing a new revolutionary wing among the leading militants in the struggles of today. The political tendency which is capable of carrying out this task will be best equipped to contend for revolutionary leadership of the working class in the mass upheavals and crises of the periods to come.

Press and Publications
By Ilene W.
As amended by Kay Stacy

Last year's convention had only a hurried discussion on press and publications, and subsequent NC discussions on Workers' Power have been unsatisfactory. In this area, more than any other, the gap between our intentions and our results remains almost as wide as it was a few years ago. The basic pamphlet series outlined in last year's T&P has not been written; the theoretical journal mandated by last year's convention has not been porduced; and the membership is still very dissatisfied with the newspaper.

While much of the problem has been a function of our failure to develop a clear stable line and from the sharp internal disagreements that developed over the past year, there are other deeper problems involved.

The first, and most crucial, is that the development of a clear propaganda line cannot be divorced from the development of the organization as a whole, but seen as one aspect of the growth of the organization, which in its successes can, in turn, help to cohere and develop the national organization.

Leaving aside the question of a single-tendency national organization, the IS has never even been a multi-tendencied national organization with a committment to common practice and functioning. With three years marked by regionalism and parochialism as our recent history, it is no wonder that we have failed to develop a clear stable propaganda line.

It is within this context that the fate of the paper must be viewed, it is both tied to and contributes to the health of the entire organization as a national political grouping. It is essential that the convention establish a clear basis of political agreement both on fundamentals and perspectives in order for that to be reflected in our propaganda.

But the problem also stems from the organizations failure to commit sufficient resources -- both in terms of personnel and money -- to a publication program. For a propaganda group, an extensive publications program is absolutely essential, for it is primarily through our press that we can put forward our program and our conception of workers' revolution and socialism. This means that the organization must make its publications program as high a priority as industrialization or internal education. Above all, it means that we must create a cadre of writers capable of turning out the pamphlets and articles we need.

At present, especially outside Detroit, many comrades are very reluctant to devote their time to writing because of the uncertainty over whether pamphlets or major articles would be accepted once they were completed. While a committment to sufficient resources will help to correct this situation, the Editorial Board must also consider one of its primary responsibilities communication with those comrades who have taken the time to write for the organization. A professional staff would acknowledge reciept of articles and inform the author of their disposition -- including a political motivation for changes or rejections,

that is, motivations that would help train and encourage comrades outside the national center who are interested in contributing propaganda.

In the past year the NAC has taken important steps forward in this regard, by developing the beginning of a staff for Workers' Power and by hiring an editor for the theoretical journal. This process must be continued. But in addition, we must go much further toward implementing the motion passed by the 1972 convention that stated: "The NAC should see to it that members who wish to write for IS -- regular contributions to Workers' Power, pamphlets, booklets, major articles -- be given time off from all other organizational responsibilities, and sufficient time to complete their work."

As that motion stated, the intention is not to create a static group of writers removed from the rest of the organization, but to give comrades the time and training that we need in order to produce a "professional" cadre of writers, such as the British IS has developed. Without this, the organiation will continue to pass the same requests for pamphlets and articles year after year without result.

In the past few mohths it has been necessary to cut back on many of the advances made during the past year. It is essential that this cutback be ended immediately after the convention -- that the IS recommit itself to publishing a theoretical journal, beginning at the latest in the winter of 1973-74, and that Workers' Power resume its biweekly schedule with a perspective of becoming a weekly, hopefully within the coming year.

A. The Quarterly Theoretical Journal

The recent faction fight has demonstrated the need for developing our theory in the most urgent sense, both for the education of our own cadre and for our ability to function as a combat organization in the working class. It is absolutely necessary that we have a quarterly journal in order to do this--an internal discussion bulletin is not an appropriate or adequate vehicle for the serious development of theory, or for the longer analytical pieces that are inappropriate for Workers' Power and too specific for pamphlets.

The convention therefore mandates the NC and NAC to go ahead as rapidly as possible to implement the proposals passed by the 1972 convention and to set up a quarterly journal.

B. Workers' Power

Certain important improvements have been made in WP since the 1972 convention: a small staff has been developed, the paper has gotten more of a political focus and has begun to carry regular coverage of the IS itself, and editorials are now a regular feature. But the paper still falls far short of what is needed, and a major overhaul and rebuilding is required.

One problem that we will continue to have for a period of time is the difficulties created by a lack of a stable, consistent readership. One major result of this problem is the need to restate over and over "the line" so that people know where we are coming from politically. While this need not be done in the

consistently hack-ish fashion that it has been in the past, and while it need not be done in 6 or 7 articles in each issue, it will remain a serious problem for the newspaper for some time.

The problem will be partially vitiated by drastic improvements in the paper over-all, in consistent sales of a paper our people are proud to be hawking, and by regular and concerted subscription drives.

This is, however, another clear example of the development of the paper as a useful propaganda tool only occuring within the context of the development of a national organization, national propaganda line, and a nationally enthusiastic committment to the dispersal of our propaganda.

Last year's T&P correctly outlined the functions of the newspaper: to convey our program -- our analysis, demands, and strategy for the period -- and our basic political conceptions to a larger audience than we can reach directly, in a popularized form that is comprehensible to the audience we want to reach, and that clearly persents our conception of the socialist alternative to the current crisis.

Unfortunately, Workers' Power still does not do that. Reflecting the weakness of the organization and the resultant confusion in line, the newspaper presents only the sketchiest line, and often contradicts itself from page to page. Furthermore, the paper does not clearly present the assumtions underlying our politics -- assumptions that are generally made but never explained in the articles, so that the reader cannot follow many articles unless he understands the politics of the IS beforehand. In the coming year we should concentrate on the following specific steps to improve the content of the paper:

1) Major articles should be implementations of the line passed at the convention and NCs. Lines should be carefully unfolded over a period of time. Priority should be given to our line on inflation and opposition to government economic policy, both in terms of wage controls and state intervention into the labor movement.

2) The labor party line should be presented as our major strategic conception for the period, both in terms of explaining the need for political independence in carrying out (1) above, and in terms of a regular expose of and attack on the Democratic Party. There should be regular coverage of the ralationship between the labor bureaucracy and the DP, and a regular critique of the legislative program of the Democrats, in addition to the emphasis on economic policy.

3) In addition to carrying regular coverage of strikes, rank and file groups and the treachery of the labor bureaucracy, the paper should carry more educational material explaining the need for a rank and file movement, the nature of the unions and the bureaucracy, the role of the working class, etc. Our conceptions should be counterposed to the liberal ideologists.

4) The emphasis on coverage of blacks should continue and be strengthened by more emphasis on the need for black organization, and the crisis in the cities, a regular attack on the black democrats and on white "solutions" ranging from liberalism to Wallace.

5) Regular coverage of women's issues should resume in line with the perspectives in the NC document on women.

6) International coverage should place far more emphasis on explaining basic political conceptions such as the nature of Stalinism, the role of working class people in the Third World, etc. Most of our international coverage is now incomprehensible to most working class militants, not becsuae it is too "advanced," but because it assumes an understanding of IS positions that is never spelled out in the paper.

7) Book reviews, film reviews, sports, articles on popular culture, etc. should be a regular aspect of the papar. These articles must, however, be much shorter and livelier than they have been to date -- not apolitical, but not heavy essays either.

8) The paper should begin to run regular centerfold features on more educational questions: what is socialism, are the Stalinist countries socialist, the need for workers' revolution, women's liberation, etc., as well as on topics such as elections under capitalism, productivity, and other that have appeared.

The polity of running such articles over more than two issues should be discontinued, unless each and every article is capable of standing on its own as an acceptable WP article.

We are for running continuing series' of articles, such as "The Meaning of Marxism" in Socialist Worker, or Frank Marquardt's series "Economics for Autoworkers" (available in the UAW Local 7 union paper, Wayne State Labor Archives), or a series of self-contained articles taking up different aspects of the oppression and exploitation of women under class society, etc.

9) As soon as pollible, a 4-page Spanish language section that translates the major articles should become an integral part of the paper.

10) Columns, no matter what their subject matter, should never be launched without a thorough discussion by the Editorial Board that particularly focuses on the political conception of the audience the column is aimed at. Without a clear conception of the audience, the author is bound after a few articles to fall away from the sharp, clear political discussion we want the paper to have. The column will flounder, and die eventually.

We do encourage the development of regular columns. We recognize that a series of columns, as well as being an excellent addition to the paper, would be an immense help to attracting the stable readership we are seeking.

We believe, however, that coulumns begun without sufficient Editorial Board discussion of their political goals, and without a clear understanding on the

author's part of the nature of committment involved, will only lead to start and stop attempts, especially at those columns we desperately need -- women and blacks.

The present format of the paper flows mainly from the political conception behind it: half-magazine, half-newspaper, aimed at close contacts and our general periphery -- people who already have some form or another of common agreement with us.

We believe the IS today needs a newspaper that can both present a socialist analysis and strategy and can be used to bring us into contact with militants who we may not otherwise reach. That is why we have made a commitment to factory gate selling: we believe that audiance now exists in the working class.

The newspaper should look like a newspaper. Greater use of photographs should be made instead of illustrations, though cartoons should be continued. Columns should look like columns, features like features, short articles minor, long articles more important, editorials like editorials, and centerfolds should only be laid-out like centerfolds when they are actually centerfolds. In short, the form of the paper should heighten the content and the political emphasis we want to have in our press.

Our paper is not an agitational paper, nor is it the paper of a "small mass party." It must, however, present a clear line that puts forward what we think working class militants should be fighting for, and how we think they should conduct that fight. That is, the paper is intended for distribution to a much broader layer than ourselves or other socialists -- we have decided that we want to distribute it at the plants we want to focus on. It must therefore be written in terms that are comprehensible to working class militants who are not socialists and have not had any formal relationship with the left. It should not be "written down" but much greater care must be taken to see that political assumptions are spelled out in nonjargonistic ways, that lines are carefully developed, not presented in slogans, and that points are made clearly and consisely in journalistic style.

We must not assume that our audience is familiar with Marxist theory or terminology. Our basic conceptions can be developed and illustrated while writing about concrete events. In order to do this effectively, articles should be limited, and focused around one of a few main ideas. WP cannot attempt to be a substitute for a theoretical journal in which each article is expected to be a fairly complete discussion of our position on the topic in question.

We also reject the notion that, at this time, a primary task of the newspaper should be to educate the I.S. membership. To expect this would be to perpetuate some of the same serious problems we have now in terms of who the articles are addressed to.

Putting out a professional paper requires a professional staff, and the bulk of writing will thus be done by the staff in the national office. It must be understood, therefore, that the staff has the right and responsibility to rewrite

articles coming in from other cities when that is necessary, without hindering the right of minorities to present their views in signed articles. The development of a national staff must be further systematized by having one or two members in each major branch assigned to be local staffwriters for WP, instead of the current "system" of branch editors, which has not worked out at all. Comrades with special expertise must, of course, remain on call for particular articles, and interested new comrades should be encouraged to develop their writing skills, but we must move toward the situation where the paper is produced by a staff. Only in this way can the paper have a clear focus, rather than reverting to its earlier status of being a grab-bag for whatever people felt like sending in.

AMENDMENT TO THE LABOR DOCUMENT, ADD TO THE END OF PART VII, THE PACE OF THE CRISIS

by Kevin Bradley

We need a theory that explains the nature of the unions and the political conclusion that flow from this analysis. The unions must be seen as the totality of the rank and file and the leadership in their relation to the companies and the State. A company union is one where the company has decisive control, where in fact the leaders of the "union" are accountable to the company and removable by it. A statified union is one where the leadership is accountable and removable by the state. An independent trade union is one which basically is free to defend the interests of the workers. At the same time the union bureaucracy usually collaborates to a greater or lesser extent with the company and the state. These relationships must be made clear.

Unions, despite the class collaborationist nature of their leadership, remain working class institutions, in fact instruments of class struggle, in no matter how muted a form. They remain the only mass organizations with which workers defend themselves from the capitalists in this country. Today the outstanding fact about the unions is the enormous gulf between the rank and file and the labor bureaucracy. The bureaucracy is a privileged stratum that does not have to share the conditions of work on the job. It is in a position to force things on the ranks, i.e. has a dominant power position in relation to them. It functions as the labor lieutenants of capital in the working class movement with the capitalists using the bureaucracy to discipline the rank and file. The bureaucracy as a group strives to strengthen its own power independent of both the ranks and the company at the same time that its power still rests on the ranks and in its collaboration with capitalists or even the State.

Much confusion has been introduced among revolutionary socialists from Trotsky's pamphlet Trade Unions in the Epoc of Imperialist Decay. That fragment of a pamphlet assumed the nature of the period that existed in the late 1930's, i.e. that no expansion of the means of production could realistically be expected. Therefore all but the most minor reforms were practically impossible to win without massive struggle which would challenge the very basis of capitalism. Fascism was already triumphant in Germany, Italy, Spain, Austria and in parts of Eastern Europe. The second imperialist World War was imminent. Capitalism was still in the deepest Depression it had ever experienced and the State was making new inroads into the economy as the capitalists tried to pull out of the Depression and prepare for war. Under such conditions it became critical to the capitalists to draw the unions under the control of the State if at all possible. This process would be facilitated by the fact that most sections of the labor bureaucracy accepted the economic goals of the capitalist state and in particular its goal of imperialist war against fascist Germany.

In Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay Trotsky said the following about the unions:

> They can no longer be reformist, because the objective conditions leave no room for any serious and lasting reforms. The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat.
>
> Impossible are the independent or semi-independent reformist trade unions. Wholly possible are revolutionary trade unions which not only are not stockholders of imperialist policy but which set as their task the direct overthrow of the rule of capitalism. In the epoch of imperialist decay the trade unions can be raally independent only to the extent that they are conscious of being, in action, the organs of proletarian revolution.

What happened was that virutally no revolutionary unions came into existence. Far from reformist and independent unions being impossible, they flourished, won reforms and a base of support among the rank and file. Trotsky argued that they could not be democratic internally:e

This page is missing in the original.

> Democratic unions in the old sense of the term, bodies where in the framework of one and the same mass organization different tendencies struggled more or less freely, can no longer exist. Just as it is impossible to bring back the beourgeois-democratic state, so it is impossible to bring back the old workers' democracy. The fate of the one reflects the fate of the other. As a matter of fact, the independence of trade unions in the class sense, in their relations to the bourgeois state can, in the present conditions, be assured only by a completely revolutionary leadership, that is, the leadership of the Fourth International.

The bourgeois-democratic state proved to be quite possible in the great bulk of Western Europe, North American and Japan. Unions in the US are less democratic in many ways today than in the late 1940's, but compared to the CGT in France for example they are models of democracy. In the CGT there are no regular union meetings for members, factions are illegal, and prohibited in fact through expulsion, etc. In the US union meetings are held although attendance is small and periodic faction fights and internal disruptions do break out. It is possible for opposition tendencies to develop and take power in the trade unions, witness the recent victory of Miners for Democracy.

Trotsky went further and stated that if the labor bureaucracy failed to keep the working class in line they would be replaced by fascism:

> Monopoly capitalism is less and less willing to reconcile itself to the independence of trade unions. It demands of the reformist bureaucracy and the labor aristocracy who pick the crumbs from its banquet table, that they become transformed into its political police before the eyes of the working class. If that is not acheived, the labour bureaucracy is driven away and replaced by the fascists. Incidentally, all the efforts of the labour aristocracy in the service of imperialism cannot in the long run save them from destruction.

Again, the opposite occurred. Since reforms became possible with a minimum of struggle the working class was not on the verge of revolt and the bureaucracy was not needed as the political police to keep them in line in such a manner that if it was incapable of doing it fascism would replace them. This is not to deny that the labour bureaucracy tried to discipline the rank and file, to get the ranks to accept the contract and not disrupt labor peace, etc. But this is quite different from keeping the ranks from fighting for any reforms, when no reforms are possible, but the rank and file is compelled by its miserable condition under decaying capitalism to rebellion.

The Second World War in fact saw a distinct drawing closer of the unions and the State in the US. Labor leaders made the no strike pledge and devoted all their efforts to increasing productivity and renouncing the needs of the rank and file. The Stalinists were most extreme in this respect. Labor bureaucrats took part in the direct planning of the war state, although they did not control the governmental apparatus. (John L. Lewis, however, who was a reformit bureaucrat tied to capitalism led massive class struggle during the war, which Marxists must be able to explain.) Fascism conquered the entire Erropean continent except for the areas controlled by Stalinist Russia. All the independent trade unions were destroyed or forced to go underground. They were replaced by totalitarian labor fronts.

The end of the war saw a remarkable resurgence of the unions. In many ways they were stronger than ever before, although they did not use their great strength in a way comparable to the early 20th century once the immediate post war upsurge was over. In Britain the Labor Party took power and the labor bureaucracy took responsibility for running the capitalist state for the capitalists and at the same time carried out considerable reforms in the intersts of the working people.

In the US there can be no doubt that the labor bureaucracy had a much more collaborative relationship to the sttte during World War II than anytime since. The period of the Vietnam War is most instructive as a comparison. George Meany and the great bulk of the labor bureaucracy were fully committed to the imperialist war policy. But neither Meany nor any other bureaucrat made any suggestion that workers voluntarily give up the right to strike or even tone down their demands because of the war. This fact was a remarkable testiment to the effects that the New Left and the accompanying broad spread of anti-Establishment ideas helped dull the rabid anti-Communism of the 1950's. At any rate the fluctuation of drawing closer and moving further away between the bureaucracy and the state through the post War years never brought the two as close together as they were during World War II.

The process of the unions being drawn closer to the capitalist state has variously been called "the integration of the unions into the state," the "amalgamation" or the "statification" of the unions. It is clear that the completed process is a totalitari labor front, brought about by a political revolution in society that destroys capitalist democracy and means the physical destruction of the unions. Some comrades point to the relationship of the labor bureaucracy to the Democratic Party and consequently the state as evidence of the integration of the unions with the state. The ideas of statification has led some comrades to think that the unions are not basically workers institutions. This terminology only introduces confusion and at times considerable theoretical and political error. The relationship should instead be referred to solely as the collaborative relationship between the unions and the state and the attempts on the part of the capitalist state to regulate the trade unions.

The collaboration between the bureaucracy and the state points out to the conscious, willing action of the part of the bureaucracy in the relationship. The bureaucracy is not compelled to follow the wishes of the state, but does so for many material reasons. The bureaucracy is always striving to strengthen its own power and it does this by seeking to make itself independent of the ranks, the capitalists and the state in turns, and by creating a base of support in them at the same time. The bureaucracy's power in an ultimate sense rests on its base in the rank and file, in that if it totally fails to deliver the goods, especially in a crunch, the rank and file will either get rid of it or leave it behind. Consequently it is due partially to this fear of the rank and file upsetting its peace that the bureaucracy collaborates with the capitalists and the state precisely to get a base of support there, to use these alien class forces to protest its position, to protect it from the rank and file. The bureaucracy may increase its collaborative relationship with the state because it fears a capitalist offensive aimed at the unions and its position, and sees in the state a force to be used against the capitalists. And in fact at times the bureaucracy must turn and mobilize the rank and file when it comes under severe attack from the capitalists and the state and sees no other way to protect itself. These various collaborative relationshiss and the attempts to develop alternate bases of support work within a basic framework, that established by independent unions in a class society, their power relationship .

What distinguishes independent unions from company and statified unions is not only the source of control but also the fact that an independent trade union can assert its power against the company and make its will felt, it possesses and uses certain coerci force. The labor contract is the formal expression of the relationship of forces. A good contract which establishes high wages, good working conditions, the right to strike during the life of the contract, the right to union meetings on the job, etc. expresses that the union has forced on the capitalist and the capitalist has been forced to acknowledge in the contract a restriction of the degree of exploitation, the erosion of management prerogatives, in fact caitalist property relations (in the sense of social relations) to some extent. A poor contract with sweatheart wages, the right of the company to fire workers at its pleasure, the open shop, immediate firing for work stoppage etc. reflects the overwhelming power of the capitalist in relationship to the union.

The counterpart to a lousy contract which the capitalists impose upon the union or in fact expelling the union all together is the case of government regulation of the unior

In this case the capitalist state imposes its power upon the unions. This is done by the Taft Hartley Act for example which outlaws the closed shop and the secondary boycott, bars Communists from office and makes provisions for strike breaking injunctions. The labor bureaucracy fought the Taft Hartley "Slave Labor" Act at one time, though not so hard as to set up a Labor Party or to call general strikes against it. But today it has by and large made its peace with it, not even bothering to campaign for its recall. This collaboration of the bureaucracy with restrictive measures which are brought to bear against it is of a type with a local bureaucrat who lives with and doesn't fight a rotten contract. Some parts of state regulation of the unions benefit the bureaucracy (and even the unions) of course. The granting of exclusive bargaining rights and forcing the employer to bargain "in good faith" are examples of this, just as dues check off in a contract is another. The state and the capitalists can see that the bureaucracy will make its peace with some regulation or domination as long as its power is protected. It is precisely peace, the absence of class struggle, the interruption of work, that a contract and the recognition of the power of the union through the contract and under the labor law are designed to purchase.

The major element of power that the unions possess, as the bureaucracy itself is always fond of saying, is the right and the exercise of the strike, and other methods of disrupting work. The unions as a regular rule trade the absence of struggle, labor peace, for certain practical gains, for power recognized by the company. The failure to understand this will leave any revolutionary who works in the unions powerless. The capitalists and the state make concessions to the unions, acknowledge their power, precisely to obtain labor peace, so that work may continue.

A major component of the ideology of liberalism concerns labor peace. Liberalism is the ideology of those who want to make reforms, but within the system of capitalism, without endangering it. Liberalism strives for harmony, to bring rich and poor together (hopefully by eliminating poverty), to bring capial and labor together, to have social peace, to make changes without strife. This ideology of labor peace is particularly suited to labor bureaucrats who desire it to protect their social position : too hard of a struggle on the part of the union may cause the capitalist to try to crush the union all together, thus wiping out the job of the bureaucrat, or it may, through bringing the ranks into motion, cause them to overthrow the bureaucrats in the process. Of course the labor bureaucrats want peace from the company so that the status quo and the bureaucrats' positions may continue intact. The capitalist class usually wants labor peace too, unless it is in the process of weakening or destroying the unions. The capitalists and the state come to desire a collaborative relationship with the labor bureaucracy as a way of controlling the ranks. In fact the labor bureaucracy only has importance to the capitalists if it has a base of support in the ranks. If the rank and file is unresponsive to the urgings of the bureaucracy, if it shows in practice that it refuses to listen to the bureaucracy's heedings to cooperate with the company, then the bureaucracy is useless to the company, brute force will have to do the job or a new bureeucracy recognized which still has a base of support within the ranks.

The way the bureaucracy maintains power over the rank and file is precisely that it has a political base of support in the unions . It is a common error for revolutionaries to assume that because the workers are disgruntled or alienated from the union that the bureaucracy has no real support. The bureaucracy itself is made up of an apparatus constructed on a patronage type basis; the bureaucracy gets people jobs, backs them up when they have grievances, puts them on committees and enables them to take time off work with pay, etc. It is obvious that these favors are not done for everyone, simply those who go along with and support the bureaucracy, who form part of its machine and organize its base of political support.

The bulk of the rank and file believes that they need to rely on leaders. They leave union affairs to those who make a career of it. They do not believe that they or their fellow workers can stick together or have the experience to lead themselves and thus must rely on leaders to do it for them. A key indicator of the backward level of consciousness

of US workers which at the same time explains the political base of the bureaucracy among the ranks is that working people do not think that they can run things collectively. Overcoming this is obviously of paramount importance to socialists, a precondition for the self activity and organization of the working class.

Most working people today are mainly interested in forgetting about the job at the end of the work day. While on the job they may become involved in collective resistance to the boss and think about the union. But after work the "locker door syndrome" goes into effect. Working people want to shut work out of their minds, to enjoy what leisire time is available with their families, to relax, etc. At the current level of class struggle and economic well being in this country only a small handful of workers get involved in union affairs. Some do so simply as a way of being integrated into their union machine, as a way of freeing thmselves from work, to get cushy jobs. Others, and these are the militants who are crucial to us, become stewards or otherwise get involved in union affairs because it is the best way to make life tolerable on the job, because they have been chosen by their work mates to represent them in the ongoing fights with the compa

When a union gets recognition of a stewards system from the company it is forcing the company to deal with certain representatives of the workers, it is institutionalizing certain power relationships through the stewards. Not surprisingly companies have striven over the years to turn the stewards into grievance handlers only, to weaken their power as much as possible.

The condition of stewards in the US varies widely according to the worker-steward ratio, how they are appointed or elected, their role under the contract, their real power, etc. It is a measure of how far we are removed from the working class that we know so little about the state of steward organization in the US today. The potential of what a steward can be can be illustrated by what a militant steward does. When the foreman tries to talk to an individual worker, they all know to tell him to get the steward. The workers know and are educated by the steward that the foreman will try to play individual favorites, to pit one worker against another. If the foreman piles up work on one person, the steward by a gesture may indicate a call for a general slow down while he or she goes in to talk to management. When grievances are filed or the foreman gives the workers a hard time, the steward*is to make life miserable for supervision, to interfere with production. Workers are not left to solve their problems as isolated individuals but in a collective wa

We strive to build this type of steward system, where the stewards are real leaders of the workers in collective struggle. Where stewards are appointed we seek to get them elected. Even while they are appointed, while we are fighting to get elections, we seek to have militants appointed by organizing workers collectively to "fire" rotten stewards and force the union to accept the steward of their choosing. We seek to strengthen the power of the stewards over the union executive board. For example, we seek to amend union by laws so that a steward council has the power to overturn executive board decisions between union meetings. By engaging in the fight for such a demand, it immediately raises the question of power in the local and will produce a full scale challenge from the bureauc

In a similar way we seek to increase the power of the stewards over the company. We strive to get the company to acknowledge that no changes in work methods or operations can be made without the approval of the stewards. We seek to get such guarantees written into the contract. Such demands will produce a fierce response from the capitalists, and obvious can only be won by the well organized and collective power of the workers and their ability to force such a relationship on the company.

An individual steward in a big plant will be restricted in the exercise of power if other stewards do not fight in the same way or if the local officers won't back them up. This raises the question of where effective power lies. In the plant the aim is to have militants control the shop commiteee or stewards council which is part of the process of backing up the stewards on the shop floor.

*coordinates a collective, harrassing response. The power of the workers and the steward

The question of power in the union extends further, to the bargaining unit, or to the question of pattern bargaining. If the bargaining unit that the capitalist has to deal with is bigger than one plant or one employer, effective power on the union side resolves on those who control the negotiations or make the key recommendations in bargaining It will be some time before the rank and file insurgencies we seek to build can challenge directly these power centers but focus and pressure has to be brought to bear on them right from the start. Demands must be placed on those on key committees and an attempt made to create a militant, fighting left wing in them. Elections then to bargaining councils and the ability to pull workers into them and create a focus on them is a measure of our ability to get workers to concentrate on the key power centers in the unions.

[illegible] TO BASIS AND PERSPECTIVES/MOTION FOR NAC

-- Mike P.
East Bay I.S. 8/10/73

(This motion was passed at the SF-Bay Area Preconvention meeting 15-1-7)

CONVENTIONS AND NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETINGS

Our conception of developing a cohesive national leadership and a political clarity throughout the organization requires us to change our conception of National Conventions and National Committee meetings. Our past conceptions reflected the organization as a group of regional or factional tendencies and the conventions were seen as the place which decided which grouping was to be victorious and would be given the organizational control for one year.

Conventions will continue to serve the function of deciding between alternate points of view where these exist. But they must also serve a more important function: the development of a serious political analysis which is thoroughly understood and internalized by the membership.

Conventions must be organized so that they provide for intensive political discussion of specific questions so that when the convention is over the entire primary and secondary leadership of the organization have internalized a political position. Even where Comrades disagree with the position adopted, they will at least understand it sufficiently so that it can be implemented.

We should organize all conventions and NC meetings so that they contribute to the process of political development and cohesion over a period ot time. Rather than trying to deal with all questions at every meeting and doing nothing satisfactorily, each convention and NC meeting should focus on only one or two questions intensively. This would also mean that the pre and post meeting discussions throughout the organization would also be focused for intensive discussion on these selected questions.

Specific recommendations for this Convention: Following from this, we propose that the 1973 Convention be as follows:

Sat: Economics and Politics sections of Tasks and Perspectives
Sun: Labor perspectives
Mon: Organizational resolutions and elections

These questions were chosen because documents were available earlier so that there is a chance that we can have a serious discussion on them. All other questions would be disposed of as follows according to recommendation of the NAC.

1) Referred to NC
2) Voted with no debate
3) Voted with only brief presentations

There would be the understanding that the NC would consider some of these topics throughout the year again by having serious and intensive discussions aimed at producing a useful document or piece of literature.

MOTIVATION

It is critical that this convention mark a change in the I.S. If the organization approaches the Convention with its traditional attitude that Conventions are places for hot debates then we will all be very demoralized. Either the debate will not be hot because of the changes that have taken place in the I.S. over the year or else second rate issues will be put front stage center in order to artificially create the heated debate atmosphere.

The only way we will develop convention resolutions respectdd by the membership and which are related to our work throughout the year is by complete and detailed discussions of the documents: the assumptions behind them, theoretically, and in terms of our empirical experience, the implications for our work and how these differ from other approaches. All of this must be with the aim that everybody understands the meaning and implications of our national positions.

We cannot do this by trying to deal with every issue at every convention -- we never get passed the superficial discussion. We can decide starting now that we will methodically and seriously examine and develop our politics step by step by taking one question at a time for intensive work. Doing this we can hopefully produce something which will last longer than a few weeks and will not have to be completely rewritten (with some new and vague generalities) every year. Hopefully our positions can begin to be developed so that they are sufficiently firm that they need only regular amendment and only occaisional total revamping.

BUILDING THE IS J. Crees

(A convention discussion document which may be submitted as a motion at a later time. All comments welcome.)

It is clearly a necessity for the IS to grow as rapidly as possible in order to carry out essential tasks. As the IS grows, it will also be necessary and desirable to build or create new branches and thereby to expand our national presence. All of these difficult processes will be facilitated by an organization-wide discussions of our problems and priorities. Such a discussion has been taking place in terms of the large branches and in terms of geographical priorities (resulting in our emphasis on the industrial midwest). In the future, however, it will be increasingly necessary to stimulate discussion among smaller branches and organizing committees. We obviously must make full use of our limited resources, and such full use assumes the necessity of a clear perspective concerning the needs and priorities of different situations

Branch Growth through Recruitment

In the past the IS (and discussion within the IS) has consisted primarily of small branches and campus branches. Most organizational discussion has concerned the needs of a small branch which is attempting to become a large industrial branches. Much of value has been learned and we need to consciouly preserve such knowledge since (hopefully) the precess will be repeated again and again. We also need to clearly recognize that our very success in transforming small branches into large industrial branches should force us to distinguish more clearly b among branch needs as differentiated by the size of the branch and encourage us to initiate an ongoing discussion on the needs of branches of all sizes and types. The present discussion is an attempt to initiate such discussions.

Large Industrial Branches. These branches are clearly the heart of the IS. They constitute the model for smaller branches. They confront emerging agitational problems first. They (along with campus branches) contain the greatest potential for growth through recruitment. They provide the largest centers for discussion of policies and priorities. For all of the above reasons, the large industrial branches constitute the most important areas in which discussion will take place (increasingly through the fractions) It would be a mistake, however, to assume that these discussions suffice. The more successful the large industrial branches are, the less directly applicable their experiences can be for other parts of the organization.

Small Branches (roughly: 6-15). These transitional branches face a different set of problems from the large industrial branches and this will be increasingly true. Basically, they have a (minimal) critical mass but are only in the initial phase of establishing a genuine industrial presence. We have a fair amount of experience which relates to this size branch, its problems and priorities, and

this organizational resource should be analyzed and preserved. The more completely we understand this process the easier it will be for future branches which are at this stage of development. As one example, Cleveland comrades might make it a special point to share their experiences with the rest of the organization.

Embryonic Branches and Twigs (roughly: 2-5). In the case of very small branches, it is quite clear that their problems and perspectives must and do diverge from those of the larger branches. The members in such a setting must attempt to lay the basis for a larger branch (whether by colonization or by recruitment) and begin the process of building that larger branch. The process is difficult and often discouraging but success in these activities would have an incalculable effect on the larger organization (present examples include St. Louis, Atlanta, Louisville, perhaps Indianapolis and Boston, undoubtedly others--if only three of four of these would grow to the size of small branches it would be a major gain for the organization!). Members in such situations must begin systematic communication. Members who have built branches from scratch should share their insights with the organization as a whole.

Campus Branches. Campus branches and especially branches located in smaller cities in which the university is a major influence (Bloomington, Champaign, Madison) need to take advantage of their unique circumstances. It may seem more difficult for such branches to participate in the industrialization of the organization (since they are more likely to have a campus base, less likely to have major industry in the area, etc). Such appearances may be somewhat superficial. Campus branches can be integrated into the industrialization of the organization if they take themselves seriously and initiate discussions of how it can best be done. There are many handles (strike support, UFW work, AFT work, contact with campus workers, etc) but not all of them are equally viable. Serious analysis of prior lessons will allow maximum employment of campus resources and maximum campus recruiting, all of which can only strengthen the organization.

Colonization

The earlier decisions about colonization have greatly shaped the structure of the organization and provide the basis for future growth. Future colonization will prevent new and different challenges. The relative priorities of future cities may be less clear than were Detroit, Chicago and Cleveland. In addition, the colonization of these three drained the west coast, especially Berkeley. Such a course was imperative and the organization has gained because of it; nevertheless, in the future we need to systematize our colonization program, both in terms of where people are drwn from and in terms of where they go

In terms of the latter, some of our criteria are already clear; we will focus on midwestern, industrial cities. We should prefer cities with industries in which we are active and cities which are in reasonable proximity to established branches, and thus increasingly form a network of cooperative branches. What needs to be added to these general priorities is that we favor cities in which organizing committees have laid the groundwork for the larger branch. Such a perspective integrates MAL's and organizing committees into the larger priorities of the organization. It takes advantage of the groundwork they have laid. It allows the branch to function more quickly and effectively. Among the possible targets of colonization where there are active members, those members should be major conduits of information about their city so the organization can make an intelligent decision about the relative priorities.

One last area in which significant progress can be made is in the systematization of colonization. Campuses should provide a regular (if sporadic) flow of members to organizational priorities. Such a flow will greatly supplement the colonization program. Primary responsibility for providing experienced cadre will, however, fall increasingly on the heart of the organization--the large industrial branches. Every year (as the major branches grow we might look forward to shortening the time; at present a year seems reasonable), each large industrial branch should encourage one comrade to move to the new colonization priority. Such a policy will not cripple or greatly damage the functioning of the established branch. It will however provide the nucleus of relatively experienced cadre drawn from different settings (and therefore collectively drawing on the experience of the organization as a whole). When the (present) six or seven are coupled with members who are already in the city and members from campus branches, it can be seen that the new colony would be close to having the personnel to establish a large, industrial branch (and thus soon to participate in the colonization process from the other side).

In summary, the growth of the IS must necessarily involve the building of new branches whether through recruitment of colonizat[illegible] A systematic attitude must be developed toward each, involving an organization-wide discussion of the needs of branches of various sizes and types, how organizational (and branch)resources can best be used, which cities should be colonization targets and how we can best systematize and coordinate the colonization process.

[illegible] insert at end of page 47

Program and the current period

The program of the IS is far broader than its annual take and perspective document or any list of demands and slogans. In fact, our program includes our basic principles, our analysis, our strategy and tactics, as well as the various demands and slogans, and conceptions we put forth in our agitation and propaganda. To date, this program does not exist in codified form. Rather it is spread out in various documents, pamphlets, articles. That we need a codification of our basic Marxist program for today is incimtenstable. Just as our perspectives documents provide the context and guidance for our specific activity or propaganda, so oyr program, taken as a whole, must become the commonly held and understood context for our annual perspectives. Lacking a commonly held program, the IS must initiate and arrive at basic agreement on its program.

A Marxist program for the second half of the twentieth century must reflect the lessons of the century; not only what the Bolsheviks learned from the collapse of the social-democracy and what the Trotskyists learned from the decay of the Comintern into Stalinism, but what we have learned from the degeneration of the Trotskyist movement in the post-war era. To a large degree, each struggle to revive Marxism and the revolutionary movement from its previous degeneration involves the resurrection of the "old" fundamentals. Yet, where this process has had a living reality, resurrection has, in fact, produced a genuine step forward for the revolutionary movement, its method and program. The formation of the Third International and its early years represented both the reassertion of the traditional ideas of revolutionary marxism against the reformists, centrists, and ultra-left sectarians. In formulating the method we now call the method of transitional program, the early Comintern proclaimed what Marx had always fought for; that the socialists, even in fighting for the daily needs of the workers, never accept the limits of the capitalist system. The old "minimal-maximal" program fo the social-democracy was not the "old marxism," but a degeneration of that method. At the same time, the early Comintern's reassertion of marxist method represented a step forward in that it expanded the application of that method, in a conscious fashion, in the light of the experience of the movement.

Similarly, the Trotskyist movement sought only to revive the principles and method of the early Comintern in the face of Stalinist degeneration. In doing so, however, it not only reasserted the transitional method and refined it, but rescued the very idea of proletarian democracy from the blows it had received at the hands of Stalinism. For us, the method of the Third Camp represented primarily the reassertion of everything fundamental to Trotskyism. But once again, an attempt to preserve the fundamental principles of the past also embodied a step forward for marxist method. Today, we are faced with the task of reasserting the principles of the Third Camp, i.e., or revolutionary marxism, in the face of the degeneration of that movement in the 1950's and 60's.

Thus, we of the IS trace our history back to the origins of the prolet-

arian socialist movement in the 19th century through the unbroken chain of revolutionaries who have preserved and, even more importantly, pushed forward that movement down to today, even though at times these revolutionaries were no more than a hand full. Thus, our program stands on the Communist Manifesto, the First International, the early Second International and its revolutionary current, the first four Congresses of the comintern; the program of the Left Opposition, the 1938 Draft program of the Fourth International; and the world view we call the Third Camp. But, we do not stand on these in the sense of uncritically accepting the words, specifics, proposals, or formulations associated with the major documents representing each of these developments. We stand on the principals and method. We approach our own past critically.

For the period we are in and those we face in the future, we look particularly to the method of transitional program and of the Third Camp world view -- in particular its emphasis on the self-activity, its analysis of Stalinism as a new class society, and the three cornered world struggle between the two major ruling classes and the international working class.

The program of the IS, that is, its entire program, is much braader than any of the specific programs it is organizing around in the various movements. While it has never been written down in one document, it exists in various different pieces of literature. It basically consists of our perspective of how we go from where we are today to the conquest of power and beyond.

Our program is a transitional program because it is based upon the two major methodological propositions of the transitional method: that we base our program on the objective needs of the international working class and not on the limits of capitalism or the momentary consciousness of the class; and that an important section of any marxist program is a system of transitional demands which can lead the workers to a struggle for power.

There is no set of transitional demands which are valid for all time. While some demands, such as nationalization of allindustry under workers control, or all power to the soviets, maintain their transitional significance in almost all situations, in general the specific system of demands making up our transitional program must be based on a concrete analysis of the situation, on our perspectives. Thus some demands which have been transitional in the past, won't be today, and vice versa.

Our program is therefore based upon our perspectives. To the extent that those perspectives are abstract or vague, the program will be correspondingly vague or abstract. This is, of course, the case today with regard to the more advanced, or long range, sections of our program, including the system of transitional demands.

In a reformist period like the fifties, vagueness in our more long range tasks is inevitable. Today, however, the international crisis of capitalism, and the resultant tasks confronting the working class are becoming clearer. It is therefore possible now to discuss and begin to make more specific the transitional

demands which will be important in the coming period.

Given the fact that any transitional program (or any program at all for that matter) is inseparable from the perspective upon which it is based, it is obvious that the program of 1938 cannot be our program for today. Indeed, the entire world situation and the tasks facing the working class are different today. It is not a matter of amending the '38 program, but of developing our own program to meet todays needs.

In discussing program it is important to keep in mind the distinction between our full program and our immediate program of action for the working class. Failure to make this distinction has confused the discussion of our program in the past. Our immediate programs are derived from our full program, but are not synonomous with it. Our various tasks and perspectives documents are aimed at developing these immediate programs of action upon which the activities of the organization will be based during the next year or so. Thus no one today would argue that the formation of a revolutionary party was part of our immediate program, yet the need to build a revolutionary party guides all our work that we do today.

Given our analysis of the period we are now in, and the tasks facing the working class, it is obvious that our immediate program is not a transitional program. The task is not yet the seizure of power. Hence the programs that follow in this document will not be an elaboration of the system of transitional demands, but rather our immediate program for this period.

Our immediate program of action for this period attempts to locate the immediate tasks confronting the working class, and to point a direction for the working class struggle to take in order to defend itself. While by no means the totality of our program or the limits of the ideas we will present in our press and publications, the following demands and slogans are short hand for the political ideas we focus on in the coming year. Given the actual level of struggle, the state of the various movements, and our own size, most of our use of these demands and slogans will be propagandistic in form.

# # # # # #

THE STRUGGLE GROUP QUESTION: THE REPLY TO "REORIENT"

-- Mike P.
East Bay I.S. 8/73

The following discussion is the bulk of a document written in October 1970 entitled "In Reply to 'Reorient'". The document was circulated here but was never fully circulated nationally nor was it ever printed in a discussion bulletin. I am submitting it now because of the current rediscussion of the "struggle group" concept in convention documents and in other political statements.

Partly, I want to clear the historical record. The statement by the group of 12 NY Comrades (6/16/73) makes reference to "how we could have been so wrong in the debate with the Re-Orient tendency". As I believe the document indicates, the actual debate with Reorient was not over the original, crude and incorrect ideas surrounding "struggle groups" (which I also opposed) when it first came up in 1969. Instead, the debate rose after the 1970 convention when the "struggle group" concept was stripped of most of its incorrect notions (eg. "by-passing the regular unions") and was more of an analysis and a method for intervening in the trade unions.

The discussion was, to be sure, abstract. More importantly, I believe the discussion was of value. Although, as mentioned in the last part of the document, there were immediate political questions which did exist and which indicated a different political orientation toward the trade union bureaucracy. (For example, two members of the present ISCO in the SF AFT do not put themselves in opposition to the pro Shanker leadership of that union.) The debate was abortive, in large part because the Reorient group refused to debate the political questions within the organization. (There should be copies of the original Reorient Paper around. If anyone wishes I will send Xerox copies of this and a couple of other relevant pieces for $2.50 each set)

The attitude currently expressed within the I.S. towards the whold struggle group discussion is unfortunate. I believe there was much of value in the struggle group concept and in the debates which surrounded it. Yes, the debate was necessarily abstract reflecting our level of involvement in working class struggles. Obviously we attempt a fusion of abstract theory and real work, which fusion makes both more real and viable. But to succeed in making that fusion, both the abstract thought plus the daily experience have to go on simultaneously for the development of socialist politics. The name "struggle groups" was awful but the debate turned out to be not over name but over politics.

In fact, I believe that the current tone of outright repudiation of the struggle group idea in any of its forms represents a case of throwing out the baby with the bath water. The struggle group conception made three important contributions to our politics:

1) It pointed us towards attempting an analysis of the social base and role of the trade union bureaucracy and the changes in this over a 30 year historical period. Our analysis of the role of the trade unions had not basically changed since the 1920's as though trade unions were unique social institutions which would not be influenced by the events of the last 50 years.

2) It pointed towards an understanding of how to fight within the trade unions which differred from the <u>then</u> common conception of the "trade unions reform caucus".

3) It pointed towards an understanding of the development of rank and file leadership inside the working class, and the role of the trade union buraaucracy in the development of rank and file consciousness.

Following, then is the political discussion of Struggle Groups which I wrote in Oct. 1970. (After the first paragraph, from page 4 the document continues on the original stencils)

THE POLITICAL ISSUES

That there is a great deal of confusion in the I.S. on questions of trade unions and shop organizing is indisputable. There are certainly a number of different and often contradictory notions about what these things called 'struggle groups' are -- although I might point out that there also seems to be a wide range of views on just what a trade union is among the "reorient" comrades. The views expressed here are my own. Just as I do not expect others to take responsibility for everything that I put forward here, I have no intention of accepting responsibility for every statement made by anyone who uses the term "struggle groups". Let me begin then first with three issues raised by the "reorient" comrades which only muddle the basic issues involved:

Parker: REPLY TO REORIENT. 5

1. New Left Sectarianism.

A major thesis of the "Reorient Papers" is that the struggle group approach is the result of new left sectarianism creeping into the ranks of the IS. This sectarian approach is manifested in an abstentionist attitude in order to avoid our possible contamination by non-revolutionaries. There may be some truth to this statement: the struggle group conception may be for some an excuse for abstention. But there is no necessary reason why this follows and, in fact, for many of us, the struggle group orientation flows from the politics that Big Red put forward at the convention on intervention.

One of the important points that we made at the convention was the role of the IS in crystallizing mass sentiment into organizational form where none presently existed which properly reflected that disorganized consciousness. In such a situation, we argued, it was abstentionism to see our role solely in terms of going to existing organizations and propagandizing or agitating them. Often those organizations, as in the antiwar movement, were nothing more than bureaucratic shells controlled by some political or orgnizational clique with little relationship to the mass disorganized anit-war sentiment. Of course, the question of whether we orient towards existing organizations or towards crystallizing new ones depends on the specific circumstances. There is no rule here except to insist on possibilities.

As ISers enter the shops and as the IS as a whole relates more immediately to wroking class struggles we find a common situation: in organized shops of most established unions, the official union activities are divorced from the most militant shop activities. Between contract negotiations attendance at union meetings is practically nil, and the outbursts of the class struggle that do occur, including wildcats, sabotage, slowdowns, etc, take place outside the official union structure and *against* the union leadership. In this context, the question of struggle groups arises not out of a desire to abstain from the struggles of the working class, but out of the political orientation to intervene in struggles. As we shall discuss below, this question of organization is not some trivial question, but basic to our understanding of the dynamics of class struggle.

2. Trade Unions versus trade unions.

There is a definitional sleight of hand that takes place throughout the "Reorient Papers" which if accepted successfully reduces all opposition to anti-Marxism. We can distinguish between two things. There are today organizations which call themselves and are called by others "trade unions". There is also the *idea* of Trade Unions, organizations of workers formed for the purpose of waging working class struggles at the most elementary level. The two are not necessarily the same. We know, for example, that trade unions in Stalinist countries or company unions do not have the purpose *at all* of waging the working class struggle at the most elementary level. Yet they call themselves trade unions. Instead, their function is to discipline the working class and crush struggle.

The question then in analyzing the class struggle today is not whether we are for or against Trade Unions (the idea) but to what extent the organizations which call themselves trade unions can and do lead that struggle and why.

It is no help to confuse this distinction between Trade Unions (the idea) and trade unions (the specific organizations). When the membership of a trade union engage in a struggle (wildcat, slowdown) and the official union leadership in the name of the union opposes the action and prevents the ranks from using the institutions of the

organization (e.g., strike fund, meeting halls) is this a trade union struggle? The answer is yes if we are referring to Trade Union (the idea), but the answer is no if we mean trade union (the organizations). Communication, especially outside the IS, depends on using terms with the intended meaning as they will be commonly understood. Today, "trade unions" generally refers to the specific organizations in the shops which call themselves trade unions. For the purpose of this paper, it is in this way that we are using the terms. Other organizations and manifestations of the class struggle at the point of production will be described in different terms.

(Making this distinction for analytical purposes in this paper does not mean that in our political work we allow the present trade union bureaucracy to hold claim, unchallenged, to being the heirs of the militant union struggles of yesterday merely because they control the organizations today. On the contrary, we want to point out that it is the bureaucracy which has distorted the idea of independent Trade Unionims to an often corrupt form of business unionism partially integrated into the state.)

But if we are using the term trade unions in this paper to refer to specific organizations then we must make further distrintions since the trade unions on the American scene are widely varied. The concept of struggle groups was developed in response to the state of the mainstream of the trade union movement. These have something in common which make certain generalities possible. They were primarily organized in the thirties and early forties and developed as institutions through World War II, the post war period, the McCarthy period and in times of relative stability and other features of the arms economy which have characterized the American economy since World War II. We are not talking about unions which are presently organizing today and are on the periphery of the mainstream of the trade union movement. It is precisely because we make the distinction between the concept of an organization of workers at the shop level to engage in lementary class struggles and the mainstream organizations of thje trade union movement that we can have a differenct attitude towards the organization of new unions than we do toward specific established unions. It is no argument then at all against the struggle group position to point to AFSCME 1695 or other unions in similar positions. Or, are the "Reorient" comrades arguing that there is no basic difference between 1695 and (say) the Steelworkers Union? If there is no difference then we should reevaluate our attitude toward AFSCME. And if there is a difference what is the meaning of bringing AFSCME or the organization of other new unions into this debate?

The confusion between the concept of class struggle at the elementary level amd the specific organizations called trade unions is more serious than just a definitional problem which muddles the debate. There is also a political problem. One of the key aspects to our politics is our understanding of consciousness and how it is raised. Organizations are not the sum total of the individual members. Organizations have leadership and institutional arrangements so that the organization has a dynamic of its own. This is critical. No long term political struggle can be sustained if it depends on the consistent spontaneous struggle of atomized workers. Not only does organization allow activity to be carried out more effectively but it also allows for continued building between bursts of mass activity. Most important, the dynamic of organization itself and consistent leadership can play a role not just in reflecting consciousness but in building consciousness of the ranks. This is ABC stuff and this is why we support the idea of trade unions and why in all the arenas in which we work we place high priority on finding organi ational forms for mass consciousness.

This is why we understand that wildcat strikes on the part of union members but not organized by the union are defiecient. They are deficient not because they should not have taken place but because there is no organization that relates to and helps build from the consciousness which has produced these wildcats. It is in precisely these situations that we find the militants who engage in spontaneous activity outside or against the official trade unions to whom we must relate most immediately. And in relating to these militants our orientation must be twoard seeing that their consciousness is not dissipated by relying on spontaneity but rather that they develop organizatiaons capable of carrying on a long terms struggle both against the company and against the trade union bureaucracy. In these situations, to confuse elementary class struggle with the official organizations of trade unions is to miss the critical political question on which we must intervene.

But a number of Haberkern's arguments depend on making just this confusion. At one point (p.21) Haberkern lists what he considers are three "serious flaws" in the argument that "...the bureaucracy of the American trade union movement *now* is so great that they effectively prevent the union from plyaing their previous role as defenders of the workers' most elementary rights against the captialists."

The first two "flaws" are:

> *"1) The wildcat strikes and the inability of the bureaucracy to control them, which indicates that bureaucracy is still dependent on the workers' struggle and a distorted reflection of their power.*
>
> *"2) The continued necessity for workers in unorganized sectors of industry and government to fight the state and the capitalists for the right to organize."*

In the case of the example cited in the first "flaw", one would think that wildcat strikes indicated that the union bureaucracy was not being responsive to the rank and file. This argument can only stand by making identical (confusing) trade unions (the organizations) with elementary class struggle. The idea of partial integration of trade unions (the organizations) into the state does not imply the end of the class struggle. On the contrary, we do not even believe that the class struggle ends under totalitarianism. What the analysis of trade unions as partially integrated into the state *does* imply is that to the degree that this is true, elementary class struggle will tend to find other organizational forms outside of the official trade unions. The existence of wildcat strikes is one manifestation of this tendency.

The second "flaw" also indicates a serious misreading of reality. Yes, unorganized workers must fight for *their* right to organize *their* unions. But it is not uncommon today for specific unions to make deals with politicians to organize public employees by fiat. For the union (organization) it merely means a way to increase its dues collection base. For the politicians, it means a way of ingratiating themselves with labor bureaucrats, and hopefully forestalling a real organizing effort on the part of the workers. In the post office, some unions had to fight and are still fighting to organize. Other unions were largely organized by being "recognized" by the administration. There are similar examples in private industry. For example, what we know leads us to believe that the Steel Workers Union did not have to fight organize Kaiser Can, but got the full cooperation of the company. The Teamsters did not have to fight to organize valley growers. None of this can we understand unless we can analytically make the distinction between unions as specific organizations and the organization of class struggle at the point of production.

~~Parker: Reply to Reorient.~~

3. Crossing the Class Line.

In his contribution to this debate, Hal Draper insists that the critical question is: on which side of the class line are the trade unions? If they are on our side of the line, then we must be for supporting them. If they are on the other side of the line then we must be for smashing them. These seem simple enough questions and conclusions but in fact only further succeed in confusing the real issues.

Take the non sequiter first. Our attitude toward particular institutions within capitalist society does not depend solely on the simple question about which side of the class line they are on. For example, in the 1930's in many cases the CIO swept away AFL unions in its drive to organize industrial unions. We did not have to argue (and indeed it would have been wrong to do so) that the AFL unions had crossed the class line and were agents or tools for the capitalist class. No, there were *other* considerations: even though the AFL was on this side of the class line there was a different issue: there was a superior form of class organization possible. The only thing accomplished by formulating the problem as Draper does about "which side of the class line" is the prevention of considering the possibilities for different forms of organization for the class struggle--a problem which we suggested earlier is critical.

(We might note parenthetically here that it does not even follow that if an institution is on the other side of the class line that we raise the slogan "smash", or withdraw from those institutions. The school system for example is statified and run in the interests of the ruling class. Yet we don't raise the slogan of "smash the schools" or urge people to withdraw from them and form counter-institutions. Why? Because despite their class functions schools provide certain benefits to the working class and because we believe schools are needed. Instead of raising the slogan "smash" we see the schools as an arena for struggle and transitionally raise slogans which attack the capitalist control of these instituions and the capitalist functions they serve.

(One final example here. In *"Trade Unions in the Epoch of Capitalist Decay"*, Trotsky argued that it was the tendency of the unions to become statified. Even where this process was the most complete--in fascist compulsory labor fronts--Trotsky argues for revolutionaries to struggle within such institutions. Trotsky may have been wrong or right in his evaluation of of trade unions and in his conclusion; but at least *his* position has to be discussed since he cannot be dismissed as a disoriented new left sectarian.)

Further, there is another way in which Draper's formulation confuses the issue. He dichotomizes something that should be treated as a political process or analyzed in terms of tendencies. Under capitalism, the trade union as an organization is an agent in conducting the class struggle. But it is also an arena within which the class struggle is waged. When we talk later about the trade unions (specific institutions) being partially integrated into the state we are talking about a process or tendency that is taking place: greater in some cases, to a lesser extent in others.

To avoid any straw men, we will say explicitly that most of the trade union organizations today are on this side of the class line. Later, we shall discuss why this process of integration can never be fully completed under bourgeois democracy, just as workers cannot fully succeed in making the trade unions solely their own institutions shorn of capitalist influence without establishing the dictatorship of the

proletariat. The important point here is to understand that there is a struggle going on and that we must examine the nature and direction of the struggle in order to best intervene in it. It is only by understanding that this struggle is taking place that we can understand how the official trade unions today can seem to have a dual function. They are the institutions of the workers in fighting certain elementary class battles (e.g., over wages). Simultaneously, the offical unions serve the bosses or state in disciplining the work force and in attempting to crush militancy and other actions which lead to expanded consciousness. This just can't be understood by trying to figure out which of Draper's two slots to file trade unions in. The point about discussing the tendency towards the integration of the trade unions into the state, then, is not to cover withdrawal from the struggle, but precisely to better understand how to engage in that struggle.

The Partial Integration of the Trade Unions into the State

As a social system of minority rule, capitalism has as its last line of defense the armed power of the state and fascist rule. But this is extremely inefficient and not normally necessary because capitalism can maintain itself so long as the masses have false consciousness: the belief by masses of people that the social system is relatively just, that the system provides rewards for those with ability and who work hard and most importantly that people are powerless to change things even if they so desired.

In part, these attitudes are the result of conscious indoctrination. But more importantly, they result from a network of instituions within the society which make them seem true. Organizations or institutions which challenge this false consciousness can only exist insofar as they struggle to exist. But there are a number of approaches to be used in destroying these organizations. One approach is the frontal assault--the current drive to wipe out the Black Panther party or the vicious battles fought during the early part of the century against union organization. Simultaneously, there is also the drive to coopt or integrate these organizations into the established order. But cooptation and integration versus independence is not a choice between two dichotomous situations. It is, rather, a question of degree or process, the extent of which is a measure of the intensity of the class struggle and the corresponding consciousness of the working class.

The struggles of the working class in the 1930's, in response to the greatest economic crisis that capitalism had yet faced, achieved great victories. The Wagner Act (National Labor Relations Act) marked the fact that the working class had achieved sufficient consciousness that working class institutions were simply going to exist at the point of production. The Wagner Act was a concession to the political power of the working class; but also given the recognition of that power it was a means of stabilizing at a new level the relations between labor and capital. Once labor unions became an accepted fact of economic life, capitalism, through its most advanced elements in the state and through the individual capitalists themselves began to try to make this new arrangement as liveable as possible. Increasingly, in the years to follow, capitalism found that by dropping a policy of unremitting hostility to trade unions and instead seeking to intervene within the trade unions and integrating them into the established order, that relations with them could be made more liveable.

This intervention we shall discuss was possible initially only to the degree that it was permitted by a low level of consciousness of the rank and file. In part, this low level of consciousness can be traced to the politics of the Communist Party and

social democrats within the trade union movement. But in large measure this consciousness was produced by general economic & social conditions.

World War II had a powerful effect on the trade unions. Not only did it dampen class consciousness generally, but also the militant cadres who had experienced the organizing drives in the thirties and were the basis of shop floor organization were atomized and dispersed to the armed forces and war industries. The war provided the political basis for isolating or driving out even those who were nothing more than trade union militants. Many of the militant cadres which did manage to survive the war were dispersed in the post-war reconversion period. There were some very important struggles during the post-war period, but this redevelopment of militant working class consciousness was limited. On the one hand, the permanent arms economy and the Marshall plan provided a certain immediate stability to the economy. Tied to this was the development of the red-scare in the late forties which reached its extreme as McCarthyism. The ranks of radicals who often provided the leadership for the opposition in the shops were decimated and in large numbers either driven out of the trade union movement or forced to accomodate to the prevailing consciousness. Organized struggle within the shops reached new lows. Sabotage (the most elemental and individualistic form of struggle) was often the only form that the class struggle took.

It was particularly in these two periods that the trade unions as organizations were partially integrated into the state. The ranks simply did not have the consciousness to prevent this. Further, it was this very lack of consciousness which provided an impetus for the trade union leadership to seek some base of support within the state apparatus and in the companies. Faced with a low level of consciousness among the ranks, even the best leaders were more vulnerable to company and state pressures. Lacking political confidence in the membership's ability to engage in independent political action, the union leadership increasingly developed its ties to the Democratic party in the hopes that the Democrats would deliver a few concessions (which they did do--along with anti-labor legislation, imperialism and economic stagnation). But the quid pro quo was that these leaders played the role of suppressing any moves to break with the Demo party. Similarly, numerous leaders were led to make sweetheart contracts and mutual support arrangements with employers. One of the forces which led toward the consolidation of bureaucracy in the ILWU and the sweetheart agreements with the Pacific Maritime Association was the isolation of the ILWU as a result of its expulsion from the CIO.

Employers saw that they could make the best of a bad situation. If they could not get rid of unions entirely, at least they could make arrangements with certain unions. By extracting certain concessions, companies could facilitate the organization of one union as opposed to a more militant one. Rather than unremitting hostility toward trade unions, employers often found that it was advantageous to work with conservative union leadership in crushing opposition.

Some sections of the capitalist class even began to see unions as desirable. Long contracts enabled the bosses to stabilize labor costs and increased their long range economic planning ability. It turned out to be beneficial to have grievance systems of certain kinds because this helped prevent minor issues from blowing up into major ones and further the union would in return help discipline the work force and keep it in line. In the late 40's, for example, the auto companies regularly protested the amount of time off shop stewards took in processing grievances. But the protests were mainlyof a pro-forma nature and the companies never pressed the issue because they felt the function of grievance handling helped stabilize the work force. But

there was another form of grievance handling; in the most outrageous cases the stewards simply organized the men to slow down or walk off the job. On this issue the compnay was unrelenting and it demanded and finally got from the UAW a security clause which allowed the company to fire anyone who led an unauthorized strike. (This was an extemeley damaging blow to militant shop floor organization in the UAW.)

We can see this still today. It is not that most employers want unions. Nor do most employers want labor trouble. But given that they are going to have such trouble, often certain unions are a way to make the best of the situation. Thus California growers are willing to make sweetheart contracts with the Teamsters rather than face the Farm Workers Union. Similarly, Kennedy simply decided to recognize the postal workers' unions; but in so doing he was able to pick and choose, and recognized a series of conservative unions organized around meaningless "craft" distinctions within the post office.

During periods of low consciousness, the bureaucracy has increasingly taken the power of the union out of the hands of the rank and file. There were large numbers of structural changes especially during the period 1950 to 1955. The time period between International conventions was lengthened, more and more officials became appointive. The policy of putting dissident locals in receivership and leaving them there became more widespread. And increasingly the top leaders of the union controlled its finances. Contract periods with the employers were lengthened thus cutting down on the opportunities for the ranks to mobilize or reject the leadership.

The so-called democratic channels within many unions were increasingly restricted so that eligibility for key union offices was restricted to exclude the bulk of the union membership and allow as candidates only those who had ingratiated themselves with the previous leadership)for example, by holding an appointive position). Some unions merely outlaw opposition caucuses except during brief specified periods. In addition to the advantages of controlling the finances, benefits, and means of communication with the ranks which are denied to the opposition, the incumbent union bureaucrats are the only onese who are allowed to campaign full time. Some unions (e.g., Carpenters) make it quite clear that *any* opposition to the leadership is anti-union.

One of the most important features of the bureaucratization of the trade union movement has been the decline in local and shop floor organization. The shop stewards stystems have been successfully undermined. The ratio of shop stewards to workers has moved up rapidly so that 1 to 300 or 1 to 500 is not uncommon in mass production shops. Shop stewards are often appointed by the bureaucracy and in some cases the stewards are also compnay supervisors. The authority of the shop stewards is often undercut in cimple grievance handling by taking the grievance out of his hands after the first (informal) stage. Most importantly, the shop stewards are significantly undercut when the uncion bargains away the right to the company to fire anyone who leads an unatuthorized strike.

Similarly, a number of unions are organized with locals that have no relationship to the point of production--a local may cover workers in an entire city, state or region. All financial and most decision-making powers lie in the hands of the "local"'s central offices far removed from the class struggle.

There are of course big differences between unions and it would be a mistake to see unions like the Hotel Workers, NMU, ILGWU, NMW, SIU etc as the same as the Auto Workers or Steel Workers or Retail Clerks. In these latter cases the unions are

more democratic and the stifling of opposition more subtle. But in all of them one reason that the leadership can remain in power is because retired workers are permitted to vote in union elections. The position of retired workers is quite understandable. They are removed from the shop floor situation and the solidarity that this helps build. Working conditions and current wages are no longer of immediate concern to them. Their main concern is in keeping the union stable so that they can continue to receive their pensions, and the retired vote is more easily manipulated. It is no accident that at the recent UMW convention Boyle was able to maintain his power despite the murders and scandals of the last 6 months because he had the retired vote.

That it is one of the "more democratic unions" did not prevent the UAW from openly threatening the jobs of supporters of DRUM. Nor did it prevent the bureaucracy of the Retail Clerks International from using ballot box stuffing, union money for campaignings, intimidation of its opposition to ensure that its candidates were victorious.

Even without these "atrocity" stories, an evaluation of almost any union would indicate the extreme difficulty if notimpossiblity of rank and file militants with a social program successfully challenging the bureaucracy. The lack of effective shop floor organization, the retired vote and the tremendous organizational resources the bureaucracy has at its disposal contribute to the difficulties. Even where mass resentment exists within the ranks it is easily mobilized for successful challenge in union elections by those who also have the organizational power of the bureaucracy, i.e. ambitious sections of bureaucracy. Thus in a number of unions, notably electrical and steel, entrenched union bureaucrats were ousted by other bureaucrats were ousted by other bureaucrats able to capitalize on the discontent, but stable rank and file oppositions did not come into being.

What makes these bureaucratic operations possible is the role played by the state toward the unions. Once unions became a reality from which there was no backward step, the state has increasingly oriented towards protecting unions as organizations and the union leadership from challenge in exchange for stability. Much of the official organization of the CIO was the result of the political deal made between Roosevelt and Lewis in exchange for Lewis' political support of Roosevelt. Labor was given "recognition" and "power" by being given a seat on the War Labor Board. Although it took some time to stabilize this arrangement, the unions in exchange cooperated in the no-strike pledge and superexploitation of the working class while the bosses made super-profits.

The state serves to politically defend the bureaucratic practices of the unions. The Secretary of Labor, "after due investigation", announces that there was nothing fraudulent about the Retail Clerks election or the now infamous election within the UMW. The list of such examples is legion. The courts rule that it is legitimate for a union to have rules which prevent almost its entire rank and file from running for office. Not only does the state not use its power to intervene on the side of even basic democratic rights for the ranks, but through public pronouncements the state puts the stamp of legitimacy on the bureaucracy. To the extent that workers have illusions about the nature of the state, this simple intervention amounts to powerful political support for the bureaucracy.

Further, to some extent the resources of the state are available to union bureaucrats in crushing opposition. When the UAW was waging a vicious fight against DRUM it was able to use the cops in an effort to terrorize DRUM members at the union hall. The very notion of trusteeship in large measure depends on the state. How is it that

an international can place a dissident local under trusteeship merely by passing a resolution and designationg one or a few people to take complete control of the local thus denying the rank and file of the use of their local treasury strike fund, or union hall. That is because the state through its laws stands ready to enforce the decision on the treasury, meeting hall or other aspects of trusteeship.

During the S.F. almost-general strike of recent months the state indicated clearly its understanding of the differences between the leadership and the rank and file. After the union leadership had negotiated an unsatisfactory contract but before the ranks had a chance to reject it, the leadership, in order to break the strike and ensure contract acceptance, attempted to pull the lines off the public transit system. It was at this point that Alioto allowed the cops to go in to break up the lines.

In some cases the state actively initiates or encourages the further bureaucratization of the union, as in the recent moves within the construction trades to take even the question of final ratification of contracts out of the hands of the rank and file.

But what then keeps the bureaucracy of a union responsive to its rank and file when the union is undemocratically structured and the bureaucracy utilizes certain powers of the state or company to enforce its will? Even with an undemocratic structure, a union might be forced to heed the needs of its own rank and file if it feared that its membership might leave for some other union which promises more. This competition for union membership which might keep the trade unions responsive is partly denied by doctrine against "dual unionism." But this is not enough because a new union might be formed if the situation were sufficiently bad. Once again the state comes to the rescue. Under the NLRB, the trade union which is "recognized" by the employer or certified by the NLRB becomes the "exclusive bargaining agent" for all employees in the bargaining unit assigned to its jurisdiction. It is simply against the law to strike or even picket a company with the demand that it bargain with any other organization except the legally backed, "duly recognized" union.

Decertification of the union and the establishment of a new one is possible though very difficult. For one 30 day period which begins 90 days before the present contract expires, workers may file a petition of at least 30% of the workers in the defined bargaining unit in order to get a decertification election and chose a new union. Of course, over a period of years the size of the official bargaining unit has been considerably expanded. And of course, the specified period of time is probably the worst for a decertification campaign. Just before the contract expires, the leadership makes all kinds of militant statements and excellent demands and at the same time there is tremendous pressure for worker unity in preparation for the strike. It is after the new contract is made that the sellouts become obvious, and resentment is at its peak. In terms of the dynamics of consciousness, then, decertification, ore establishing new unions is even more difficult.

But nothing in capitalist society comes for free. For these protections, the state demands and gets a quid pro quo. Support for the capitalist political parties, cooperation in the disciplinc and stabilizing of the working class, and political support for capitalist foreign policy.

State support to the trade unions and particularly to the bureaucrats does not mean that the unions are completely integrzted into the state. It is true that for the unions to accomplish their job for the state they still have to contain the workers struggle within their fromework. Nor is struggle made impossible by the relationships between the trade unions and the state--just more difficult. For example, it is possible to form new organizations (new unions) to bargain with employers outside of the legally proscribed period. It just must be done in defiance of the law just as it was done in defiance of the law in the 1930's. (It may be somewhat harder now for a variety of reasons, but let's leave that for another discussion.) The point is that it

required a tremendous burst of consciousness in the 1930's as the result of a societal crisis which enabled workers to establsih their unions in defiance of the law. And even then, many were not successful until after the passage of the Wagner Act, which was in part a concession won by workers' struggle. In so far as union bureaucrats fear theri members jumping the union as a motivation for delivering the goods, at present they have little motivation because the barriers which consciousness must overcome are so high.

More importantly, in order to deliver to the company and the state the union must hold the membership in line--i.e. prevent or at least undercut the possibilities of wildcats. Partly it can do this by discouraging shop floor organization and rooting out militants. Partly it can do this by its role of leadership.

Here we come once more to the critical question of organization. Organizations and institutions are not merely reflections of rank and file sentiment. They help to form that sentiment. Especially on issues as complex as the real meaning of contracts, the ranks require leadership for understanding the implications of various provisions and in proposing programs in dealing with these provisions.

There is a simple issue which becomes immediately apparent to all, and that is the question of the amount on the pay check. Consciousness of the matter of wages is easily achieved. The other issues, supplemental benefits, working conditions, etc., and how and whether to struggle politicall, are not so easily understood. That is why a common pattern for negotiation si that the company concedes a wage increase and then takes a good part of it back in changes in supplemental benefit plans, or, more important, through changes in working conditions like speed-up.

Thus, the unions must be responsive to the consciousness of the ranks just as it uses the powers resulting from its partial integration into the state to limit and keep down that consciousness. That si why unions appear to be paradoxical instituitons. They will act in a limited way as defensive institutions and even strike on issues on which the bulk of the rank and file have a developed consciousness (which generally tend to be defensive issues--like wages and job security). At the same time these unions fight against all developments toward developing consciousness. This is not Machiavellian on the part of the union leadership but the result of their attempt to relieve the conflicting pressures on them from the ranks on the one side and from the state and company on the other. To the extent they have isloated themselves from the rank and file and rely on relationships with the company and the state is the extent to which they will attempt to limit these conflicting pressures by keeping consciousness down. And to this extent they must be dragged into struggle.

But workers like others need organizations for struggle. They need leaders who will point the way for more effective struggle and who can articulate programs to make the struggle a success. They also need organization which can prepare for a struggle and carry the struggle forward even during lower periods of consciousness. From a class point of view the working class, if it will advance in consciousness, needs a leadership, which because it is solely rooted in the needs of the working class will attempt to raise consciousness. An organization and its leadership which must be dragged kicking and screaming into the struggle and whcih attempts to hold back that struggle every step of the way is not an organization of struggle. To some extent this is true of all the mainstream union we have been discussing, although, of course the extent varies from union to union. But it is this conception which qualitatively differentiates a union like AFSCME 1695 from even the UAW of today.

This question of the role of institutions could be explained in another way. The basic argument made by Haberkern in the "Reorient" papers is that "the real base of the bureaucracy's power is the reformist politics and perspectives of the overwhelming mass of the working class itself." (p. 10) This argument is repeated several times in different form.

In the case of the official trade union movement today, the argument is either trivial or partly wrong.

Consider an analogy (which I insist is an analogy to establish one particular point). It would be true to say that the reason Capitalism exists as it does today' is because of the reformist consciousness of the working class. True, but not very helpful. It would be wrong however to conclude from this that workers control the society. There are people who make this argument, and, in fact, it is the favorite argument of bourgeois political scientists. The masses have the vote, they tell us. If they don't like something they can go to the polls and change it. When the masses have insisted, the society has responded. Remember the New Deal and Social Security. We must conclude therefore that the society essentially, more or less, with certain problems, is roughly what the masses want. (And we even have opinion polls to prove it.) Hence, the masses control the society. Q.E.D.

We have a number of answers to this nonsense. One is that we point to the role of the institutions in this society structured for and controlled by capitalism which tend to keep consciousness at its present level. And that is also why we are not ultimatistic and do not just go out and preach to workers about how groovy socialism would be. Our political focus is, instead, to raise transitional demands designed to strip away the illusions workers have about the nature of the institutions in the society and to strip away the false consciousness they have about their own powerlessness to change things.

Similarly, the fact that the bureaucracy of the union must respond in some way to rank and file consciousness is no argument against the idea that part of the power of the bureaucracy resides in its relationship to the company and the state. For the present, there is no shortcut method like Ernie suggests for learning whether and to what extent the power of the bureaucracy is derived from its relationships to the state apparatus. There is no alternative but to examine and analyze that relationship and the extent that the union plays the role of limiting consciousness rather than expanding it.

In the future, as the class struggle develops, the limits imposed by the relationship with the state will become more clear, and the question of "class line" will have meaning. Some unions will find themselves dragged along until that relationship with the state is broken. Others will simply be left behind. But even Ernie admits that this is "possible and even likely." (p. 13) But it doesn't follow from his analysis that any union should be left behind.

Struggle Groups or Workers' Power Groups or Shop Committees

We have attempted to explain the position of the unions in the structure of American capitalism today. Because they are partially integrated into the state, we cannot rely on the spontaneous, atomized consciousness of the rank and file to turn the union as an organization into an institution which will lead the class struggle rather than attempt to limit it. The level of consciousness required is great because the power of the union bureaucracy reinforced by the company and the state creates high barriers which in turn require other forms of organization to overcome.

Because the working class develops its political consciousness as a result of its relationship to the means of production which organizes it and impels the class into struggle, the raising of consciousness, even if only to fight the union bureaucrats, requires an organization which relates to the daily struggles on the shop floor. Our perspective then is toward shop floor organizations which seek to develop independent extra-union ties to the workers on the shop floor. Such organizations would have the conception of acting independently of the union (subject of course to the usual tactical consideration) on its program while at the same time fighting for its program withing the union.

It is thus not so much the program but the orientation toward action on its program which distinguishes a struggle group. What ever the level of consciousness of the struggle group as reflected in its program, it must have the self-conception of fighting for this program by pressing it withing the union structure and attempting to act independently and directly on its program. We, of course, will press our transitional program and urge these struggle groups to link up with groups in other shops and industries as well as other social protest movements on the basis of this program. But, most importantly, it will have to take its program seriously, because it conceives of program as the basis for initiating action in the short run--not someday when it successfully takes over the union.

For example, the struggle committee would see itself as the organization to defend workers on questions of speed-up by organizing slow-downs or "rule-enforcements" (where every single silly rule is carried out to the letter). Similarly the struggle committee would attempt extra-legally to protect workers with substantial and immediate grievances by actions up to and including the organization of wildcats rather than relying on a grievance system, which by its nature cannot protect the worker on a whole series of grievances.

In the same way, programs for linking up with other workers' struggles or with the anti-war movement or black movement must be won within the struggle group not as points to raise on a sheet of paper during union elections, but as part of its on-going activity. Thus, if the program includes linking up with the anti-war movement (say on demands relating to reconversion of the war economy), then the struggle committee, in its own name should be active in the anti-war movement. Similarly, the question of a labor/workers party should not be limited to a demand on the union, but these struggle committees should take the initiative in linking up with other worker' committe4ss to engage in independent poltiical action on a working class program even if not a single official union has yet been won over.

There are no formulas to specify the exact program these struggle committees should begin with, because progran must vary with the situation and level of worker consciousness. We do not conceive of these as small groups of radicals, although radicals may play a critical role in initiating or crystallizing struggle groups. We do see these groups as attempting to be mass instituitons of the working calss and as such will begin with a relatively minimal program. The question of just what is this minimal program, is extremely difficult. We are opposed to a program which attempts to be the lowest common denominator of the working class today with its present consciousness. Rather, a minimal program must be defined in terms of struggle. That is, what is the minimum program for consistnet struggle? We believe that if organization initially begins on this basis that the struggle itself will lay the basis for expanded consciousness and expanded program, providing radicals play a proper role. We make a distinction between our role in crystallizing organizations, and leadership within organization once established. Initially our political focus will be on the establishment of such organization. Once these come into being our focus must be on transitional program and activities designed to build consciousness, more advanced struggles, and link-ups with other similar groups.

(A note is in order here about this minimal program. There is a tendency for radicals to be schematic in their approach to working class consciousness and begin only with the most elementary shop issues. This is especially untrue today, when state intervention into the economy is now so open, and when the political crisis in American society is having a direct effect on younger workers through the anti-war movement, "youth culture" and student protests. Furthermore, there is a sort of "combined and uneven development process" whereby workers gain consciousness from the struggles of other workers and other movements. Broader political issues (beyond basic shop issues) should be a part of even a minimal program.)

To engage in struggles over these programs, ways will have to be found and a tactical sense used to get around various laws and the opposition of the

demand that the company and union renegotiate the contract to provide for - (fill in your favorite program here.) But in all cases the aim is to build a solid base at the shop floor level. This means setting up an informal shop steward system where a democratic one does not exist or trying to win the union steward positions and using these as the base for independent organization. And it means the regular publication of a shop newslettter for regular communication with the ranks, and for taking lead by proposing programs to deal with the immediate conditions on the shop floor and linking these with broader political questions.

Inside the union, we urge the same tactical sense and do not expect such struggle committees to frontally assault the power of the union bureaucrats (eg in elections) until they have developed some base and strength through their own programs of job and political actions so that it will be seen as a serious challenge. Ultimately, however, these organizations must take over the working class functions of the present official unions. In some cases this will be possible by successful challenges within union elections. In other cases, where bureaucratic procedures are extreme, it will require the total replacement of the old bureaucratic union. It should be clear, however, that in these latter cases, challenges within the union will probably be necessary in order to build the consciousness of the need to sweep the old structure aside.

In the beginning, struggle committees will take many different forms. Some will be organizations of the most oppressed sectors of the working class like blacks or women. Some will be the outgrowth of militant struggles, such as wild cats, crystalized into organizational form. And some will develop only with slow and patient work by radicals on the shop floor.

The reason that we call these organizations "struggle groups" rather than union caucuses is to distinguish between them. The traditional union reform caucus tended to see itself as the loyal opposition in the union. It would raise programs for the union as the basis for challenging the bureaucracy but would do little or nothing about these programs until or unless they took power. Thus most of the programs and most importantly, the militant job programs and the broader political programs would mean nothing more than rhetoric. Even when the reform caucuses would take power these programs tended to get dropped.

This not a matter of Machiavellianism, but the dynamic of struggle. Although a caucus might have raised all kinds of excellent demands in its challenge to the opposition bureaucrats, the mere raising of demands does not build mass consciousness about them or develop the cadres capable of implementing them. Thus, when such a reform group takes office, despite its best intentions and explicit statements, it is usually elected on an elementary single issue basis (eg the bureaucrats sold out on wages at the last contract). When it tries to implement the other parts of the program, the new leadership finds itslef isolated from the ranks and lacking any cadres capable of building support among the mass of workers. It is here that the process of accomodation begins. Faced with the difficult task of raising consciousness in the ranks, the new leadership tends to take the path of least resistance- dropping or relegating to obscurity the militant job program and the broader political program. This is the path of least resistance, however, only if there is no significant section of the rank and file with the consciousness, developed through struggle, of the necessity for such union program. That is why it is so crucial, even from the perspective of taking over the union from within, that struggle committees engage in their own independent programs of job and political action, and why they must develop their own independent shop floor organization.

Some of the "Reorient" comrades will perhaps agree with the perspective and say that the only difference is terminological: what we call struggle committees they calll good militant union caucuses. If so, that is fine. The purpose that we have for calling these groups or workers power groups is not to distinguish them from what ISers consider good rank and file caucuses (if these latter are what we describe above.) Our purpose is rather to distinguish the forms of organization to which we are orienting from the common conception and practice of rank and file caucuses as they generally exist in the shops today.

It should be pointed out, however, that if indeed the perspective that we have outlined here for struggle groups is really "what we have always meant by good union caucuses", this conception was not imparted to the membership until Moody-Landy initiated the discussion on struggle groups.

Theory and Practice

There are a number of real differences that we have with the "Reorient" comrades and we have tried to clarify and discuss them. If these differences seem to be rather abstract analytical ones that is because they are. But such abstract differences do not really seem to warrant the current hullabaloo, the resignation of "Reorient" comrades from the exec, or the factionally charged atmosphere.

The question is not whether these differences are important in the long run (they may be), but are there immediate implications of these differences for the work of the organization? Draper, Broadhead, and Wolpinsky have tried to link the struggle group question to the politics of abstentionism and sectarianism. We have tried to answer this early in the document. But even if analytically possible, there is simply no basis in fact for accusing Big Red comrades who hold the struggle group position of being abstentionist.

There may be, However, real and immediate political differences which underlie the present dispute but they have not surfaced. Over the past few years there have been a number of vague tendencies toward differences in relating to the official trade union movement. We think that these should be raised and discussed in full within the organization either to establish the basis for political differences or to put to rest the rumors and grumbling that go on in private.

In raising these issues here we want to make two points explicit. First, because these issues have not been discussed openly inside the organization we freely admit that we may be wrong on certain factual questions or in identifying the positions of comrades. Secondly, we are not suggesting that the lines of division on these issues necessarily corresponds to the lines in the present debate. But we do feel that a discussion of these issues and most importantly a discussion of program for labor work would better focus the discussion.

1) What is our attitude towards fights between labor bureaucrats? About a year ago, for example, one comrade proposed that the IS make a fight inside Labor Assembly for Peace for Paul Schrade (UAW regional director) to be a speaker rather than some ILWU bureaucrat.

2) What is our attitude toward ISers being union functionaries or elected union officials? We can, or course, agree on the notion that we should be willing to take responsibility on the basis of our program. Yet, there has been a tendency inside the IS not to specify just what that program is. What does it mean when our comrades are elected to the Central Labor Council on a basis such that they feel they can not fairly represent their union when the question becomes one of endorsement of candidates and the comrades feel forced to abstain? Further, there is a tendency to treat the possibility of ISers becoming labor bureaucrats in a cavalier way.

3) Why has the IS as an organization provided no long range direction for our work in AFSCME but has left it to AFSCME comrades to work out the problems as they arise day by day? This si not meant as any special criticism of the AFSCME comrades who understandably must respond immediately to events. It is, however a demonstration of the necessity for a revolutionary organization to back up and intervene with comrades functioning in mass arenas if we are to maintain our perspective. The fault lies with the Community Branch as a whole.

4) Why has the IS not provided any political direction for our work with the Farmworkers? The Community Branch, for example, regularly organized for caravans, boycott activities, etc. But with one minor exception we have yet, as an organization, to intervene politically? Are we for comrades being loyal boycott supporters who happen to be socialists privately, or do we have a political perspective?

5) What is our attitude toward the Central Labor Councils? We can all agree that there is nothing in principle wrong with comrades winning the positions as delegates to the CLC on the basis of our program. Despite the fact that there is nothing wrong about going to CLC meetings there is the question of priorities. When

there was objection to one comrade running for the CLC on the grounds that there were more fruitful uses of her time, several comrades replied that the CLC was an extremely important place to do political work and that we should have as many comrades as possible there.

There are other questions we are sure; these are only representative. But they represent the nitty-gritty questions we confront when we are engaged in working class work. It is important to focus discussion on these questions for it is only in the context of dealing with concrete reality that abstract theoretical discussions take on real meaning.

June 27, 1973

Since the issuing of this statement, a national report by Sy Landy has been circulated for the Revolutionary Tendency. His statement, more than anything to date, indicates the profound political degeneration of the R.T. - the rapidity of this process overwhelms one. For by this statement, Landy precludes a serious discussion of views, which we among others sought, in the coming pre-convention period and places the R.T., in reality, outside the framework of the I.S. This statement clearly shows that the R.T. conceives of the I.S. as an opponents organization, no longer in the arena of revolutionary politics.

Our organizational proposals for special convention sanction permitting leeway for the R.T., allowing them latitude to experiment and apply their line, are therefore no longer valid. Our proposals stemmed from a deep desire to prevent or delay a disastrous split, whose outcome may have the deepest ramifications for the I.S. and revolutionary socialism in America, perhaps for many years. But our proposals were valid only so long as the R.T. regarded the I.S. as their organization. This is no longer so.

We for our part will participate actively in the preconvention period and attempt to critically influence the line of the coming convention.

Statement by G.N.: I believe that this cover letter is inadequate. We all must recognize that the Landy document is only the excuse that the leadership has been waiting for to purge the R.T.

June 15, 197

WHERE WE STAND

(by a group of ~~10~~ 12 New York comrades of the former national majority)

The recent evolution of a large sector of the former majority bloc into the Revolutionary Tendency compels some of us who have until recently been their associates and co-thinkers to define ourselves within the I. S.

This requires a statement explaining our differences with the present RT, and with the two other major currents in the organization. We shall also briefly state (argumentation must be left to a later date) our concrete proposals for the direction I. S. must take in the coming period, and concrete proposals aimed at preventing a split.

WHERE IS THE RT GOING?

What is the internal logic of the policies they are in the process of developing?

That they are still in transition can hardly be doubted. It is equally clear that the materialization of their direction depends in part on events and on the response of the rest of the comrades in I. S.

We do not propose to deal directly with what, at present, is an abstract, rhetorical issue raised by the RT: "the need to build a revolutionary leadership in the unions", since in that form we are not aware that we differ from them. The question is how to do it.

Rather, we propose to deal with the RT's program as expressed in their actual proposals for work in the unions and their proposals for the use of the Transitional Program in that work. That, and one further issue: the role which the concept of economic crisis implicitly plays in their program and perspectives. The last shall be first.

During the '50s and '60s dangerous Keynesian views nearly swamped the socialist movement -- giving rise to a grossly exaggerated estimate of the stabilization of "neo-capitalism".

Today, there is an equally dangerous streak in the thinking of much of the revolutionary left which identifies capitalist crisis with economic depression, with collapse. In its most extreme but widespread form it appears as reliance upon a 1929 (it is so simple to understand revolution in such language) as the motor or at least trigger of revolution. The period of crisis the U. S. economy has entered upon since 1969 (which actually first reared its head in Kennedy's years, and was repressed by the Vietnam war) has encouraged subtle shock therapy conceptions even among us -- conceptions not limited to the RT.

The Marxist view of crisis of course is quite different. It is that the crisis has its roots not in the vagaries of the business or other cycle, but that the capitalist method of production has become a fetter upon production via the fall in the rate of profit, declining productivity, capital shortage, etc. These are the true motor forces and do not require economic collapse to produce their revolutionary consequences.

The role of the state (arms, credit, welfare, etc.) can and does have a damping effect on the business cycle, but that does not eliminate the source of the crisis. It merely changes its form. The crisis of capitalism, at the end of two decades of stabilization attenuated by the Keynesian economics which today reveal their sharp limits, now increasingly expresses itself as stagnation, and as unparalleled and uninteruptable secular inflation which, in turn, assume the form of the international monetary crisis.

Economic crisis thus merges more and more with social crisis. The effect of stag-flation is intensified by war, the black liberation movement, declining confidence in the credibility of the ruling class. All resulting in a situation in which very secondary economic distress, or other social crisis, contain the potential of revolutionary explosions (and even victories, given the presence of the subjective factors of class consciousness and organization).

The French events of 1968 are an excellent contemporary example of this phenomenon -- a phenomenon which is far closer to the historic norm than many revolutionists realize.

If this is so, then two things follow:

(1) It must be clear that the identification of the crisis of the '30s with that of the '70s can only result in a mechanical application of the Transitional Program. Instead, we must expect not just considerable changes in the relative importance of our different Transitional Demands, but more important the need for new ones. We are not partisans of the "finished program". The Communist Manifesto, the Bolsheviks' changing program are classic cases of the method of the Transitional Program, part of which is the constant need to overhaul it. (Lenin and Trotsky were nothing if not concrete. Their perspectives and programmatic proposals deal with particular periods and circumstances. They would be the first to be horrified at the thought of their programs for, say, 1903 or 1938 being used as dogma for 1973).

No revolutionary organization is master of its own turf, is capable of fully, intimately understanding and relating to its specific historic circumstances until it has come to terms with and integrated this fact. In one sense the concrete grasp of American history and the uniqueness of the American scene is the central theoretical task of I.S. And it is this lack of concreteness which is so basically missing from much of our analyses, including those of the RT.

In the history of the American Trotskyist movement this degree of indigenous, programmatic mastery of the scene and creative application of Marxism has really occurred only once -- in the seminal, original analysis of the role of the black movement in the American revolution, written by C. L. R. James for the SWP in 1948.

The necessary dependence of our movement to this day upon the programmatic content of the 1938 Transitional Program (among us there can be no question of its method) is one of the sharpest reminders of the immaturity and sect-nature of our organization as of every other radical group in the U. S.

(2) The conception of crisis we defend also leads us to be prepared for a tempo of events which may well be much slower than some expect: that the changed consciousness and self-organization of the class (and its socialist expression) may be slower; that the gap between crisis and revolutionary situations can be quite extended. All of this, of course, is centrally compounded by the decades-long absence of any radical movement in the class.

Not to understand this, not to base one's politics upon it, is to open the door to profound demoralization either in the form of abandoning the movement overtly, or to, the same thing, hysterical, feverish attempts to by-pass the working class and reality -- attempts manifested so brilliantly, so demonically by the Labor Committee.

And when such a misconception of the crisis, its immediacy, etc. is combined with the fact of the slow pace of growth of rank & file caucuses, with the seeming lack of readiness of the class to break with the union bureaucracy (whom they detest), then the potential for demoralization threatens to become irresistable.

THE POLICY OF INDUSTRIALIZATION which lies at the tactical root of I. S. policy is a source of strength -- but also a great danger. First, industrialization -- by serving as the focus for the energies of our best cadres, invested in a long-run perspective -- condemns the organization to a relatively slow growth (especially at a time of working class defeat, as in the past year). This painful fact, too, must be faced head-on if we are to avoid defeat by demoralization. This danger is further compounded by our observation of the significant, if in the long run unimportant, growth of almost every other tendency from the opportunist SWP to the adventurist Labor Committee. Most important of all -- the workerist Maoist groups, whose special significance is that the U. S. is the only industrial country where Maoism is a force on the Left -- are a force easily capable of attaining hegemonic status here, however briefly.

This slow growth can not but create a constant tension within the I.S., via pressures from both the right and the left. Is it possible that the RT is a casualty of this tension -- and, secondarily, an overreaction to the TC?

If. I.S.' slow growth is a function of the painfully slow development of the rank & file movement, then it is this issue which has to be faced openly -- something we sense some dare not do for fear it would shake our revolutionary optimism.

Perhaps the rank & file caucus road is an illusion. Perhaps it is in contradiction with building the revolutionary party. Perhaps nothing but a full qualitative leap forward to a caucus based on the Transitional Program has any chance of "success". Perhaps we should be a propaganda group, period. Perhaps an interventionist perspective is utopian today.

It seems to us that the RT hesitates, and fears a drift in these directions at the same time that such simplistic "solutions" tempt them -- deny it as they may.

As a result, instead of a head-on confrontation with such propositions, the RT, despite its "clarity and hardness", (they will forgive us) "mush" them. Instead of meeting these issues head on, the RT retreats into abstractions: "build the revolutionary leadership in the unions".

THE TRANSITIONAL POLITICS of the RT are characterized by an extraordinarily abstract character. As a result, when it comes to applying their politics concretely (in the MFD, and, alas, even in the UAW, our debates are still almost entirely abstract), one discovers that, in practice, differences fail to materialize. This is clearly the case in the AFT and CWA.

CWA: Despite the fact that the CWA documents were available to the leaders of the RT for months, the latter failed to differentiate itself significantly from the CWA comrades. What, at the NC meeting, should have been an explosion, emerged as a dud, with the differences boiling down to the "failure", admitted, of CWA comrades to raise the Labor Party issue at the right time.

However, secondary leaders of the RT, the true carriers of the new line, clearly indicated that the real error was in excessive pre-occupation with the tactical problems of the "opposition", the elections, etc. Equally interesting was the failure of the RT to criticize, as they once had, the work of our west coast comrades in the CWA.

AFT: A parallel situation emerged in a recent discussion in N. Y. on AFT work. Here, comrades of all viewpoints have worked together, closely, harmoniously, with minor differences (again, mainly about how and when to raise the Labor Party slogan). Here, RT members suddenly found themselves desperately seeking to differentiate themselves from AFT comrades

with whom they had never had political, or even tactical, differences of any importance whatsoever. All they have been able to come up with is the question of the Labor Party -- as a subject of propaganda. Since there are no differences on this score (I. S. propaganda for a Labor Party based on a transitional program), they have been forced to confuse the question of propaganda and agitation -- and they are confused. For example, issues raised within a 10 day local union election campaign between an I. S. -backed and a Shanker-backed candidate are the subject of agitation, not propaganda.

The situation is especially significant since in this case, what was involved were the difficulties of day-to-day leadership in a local, a local within a union in general retreat, and one in which, all agreed, it was improper to insist upon adoption of the Labor Party as a pre-condition for continued leadership. Even here, no real differences emerged.

One wonders if the comrades of the RT are so insecure as to confuse "making the record", i.e. proving to themselves that they are revolutionists, with (a) serious efforts to explain and convince workers of our politics, and (b) with the problem of propaganda, of raising the consciousness of the class.

And, here, too, as in the case of the west coast CWA comrades, the RT comrades on the scene in N. Y. clearly reject and rejected the abstract "ultra-left" formulations posed so forcefully, by, ironically, members of the TC last year. (All this is now conveniently forgotten by the RT, and as conveniently ignored by the TC).

How account for this bizarre situation in which the RT is in practical agreement with comrades whom only tact and courtesy prevent being called "centrists"? It would be a mistake to conclude that all this is much ado about nothing. The absence of substantive differentiation is another manifestation of the as yet undigested transitional character of the RT's emergent politics.

As a result the old struggles with the new. In these two cases, the embryonic "new" is muted in the RT by the fact that it is not clear to the RT itself, and by the further fact that the policies in these unions were developed (a) as a result of genuine, if modest, real struggles in which we played a real role, and (b) these policies were developed together by comrades (now in different tendencies) who voted for common documents at the last convention.

When it came, however, to the MFD, where our involvement and experience are absolutely nil, abstract phrasemongering easily carried the day, and magnified differences which in comradely practice might have been dissipated, at least between the RT and Mackenzie.

In the UAW, the situation is not qualitatively different. We have some forces, true. But we have as yet little significant experience. As a result, again, abstraction still reigns, unchecked by the test of practice. (Even so, the differences on what to do about the contract, and about the UNC, are secondary). Unfortunately in this case we have the further complication of the difficulties of co-existence between the two extreme poles of the I. S.

THE ABSTRACT QUALITY of the RT documents stems in part from the fact that they are transitional in character, and are consequently hard to come to grips with. The real line therefore has to be judged to be that which is new, not the reiteration, however well done (as in Ron's document on the Transitional Program) of that which we share. (We recall that Shachtman's first document on Bureaucratic Collectivism was clearly transitional in that it came out for "defense of the USSR". But only the blind could fail to see where he was going.)

Thus, in the RT documents every formulation -- "build the revolutionary leadership", "tell it as it is", etc. is constantly given a dual concrete expression so that the documents can easily mean different things to different people. But the RT restatement of these two traditional and correct formulations carries implicitly a new line -- essentially propagandistic, and abstentionist -- which is in constant struggle with an interventionist tradition and the subjective intentions of many of the RT comrades.

(1) Thus on page 13 of Ron's UAW document we are told that we must not take the lead in or organize caucuses on less than a minimum program that includes a Labor Party. (We leave aside for the moment that, as Ron admits on pages 5 and 6, this means today that we do not in fact initiate any caucuses at all.)

But on page 8 we are advised that it is proper for us to advise "advanced workers" to form caucuses on a lesser program of partial demands. "A rose by any other name..." If we "advise" and encourage them to do so, aren't we really doing the initiating, the "forming"? And what if these advanced workers actually have the good sense to ask us, who have given them such good advice (i.e. who are the real leaders) to take open leadership with them, then what? Is it modesty which forbids it? or principle? or is it just the inevitable ambivalence of their transitional policies which forces the RT to advocate one line in the abstract and another in the concrete?

(2) On page 13 Ron calls upon us to "advocate" (presumably this means being willing to lead) in the UAW, "Committees for a Decent Contract", and even to advocate a federation of these local committees. In the absence of a well functioning and widely accepted UNC, this is a meritorious suggestion.

But in all honesty, how much does this differ from calling for caucuses on a very limited platform. Is there that clear a difference between a committee and a caucus? How does this differ from the position of the old majority?

(3) Or consider, (page 6), after a stirring statement of reminder of our duty to "expose...the reformists...to their ranks", the acts and policies of secondary leaders (not just leaders with crystalized pro-capitalist politics such as Schrade, but all "secondary" leaders -- undefined and implicitly including local leaders), Ron rewards us in an important footnote on the same page (and on page 17 as well) with a not-bad declaration of how to act toward the many genuine rank & file "reformist" leaders who will arise. But this cogent formulation has nothing in common with the abstract polemics in the main body of this and other RT texts. In fact, it reduces Ron's tirades to a truism that all local leaders who do not choose revolution must inevitably end up as supporters of capitalism.

Indeed, no one can read the two views (texts and footnotes) and fail to see that the use of "expose" in the footnote is totally at variance with the use of "expose" in the text. In the text it clearly means the cleanest, surgical distinction between us and the rank & file leaders, even local presidents. In the footnotes it clearly means openly extending support, in a fraternal way, without playing down our politics, in a manner the very opposite of "hanging". (One begins to wonder if the misplacement of the footnote, which by error appeared at the end of the document with an explanation, wasn't really a Freudian slip!)

(4) Sometimes the ambivalence actually creates a concrete danger, not just an abstract one, i.e. actually serves to discourage mobilization of the class. Thus (page 15) we are warned that the reformist leaders dare not lead to win (which is correct), and therefore that only revolutionary leadership can do so.

This is an abstract and therefore dangerous incorrect formulation. It contains the possibility of actually discouraging struggle since, in fact, the revolutionary leadership does not yet exist, and therefore workers will conclude, and wisely, too (as they have, intuitively, without our advice) that victory is impossible and struggle pointless. It is in fact precisely this state of consciousness which is often our biggest obstacle. We have to take the line that it is possible to win, in one sense, i.e. that the capitalist can be forced to retreat. The victory of the British miners in 1972 comes to mind, despite the leaders "refusal" to fight, and despite the "inability" of British capitalism to offer "reforms".

Not surprisingly, on another page (3), once again, Ron abstractly approves the importance of a "win", and implicitly the propriety of our fighting for such victories. He even, may we suggest, approves our organizing and leading such fights without posing ultimata to the class on the Labor Party, etc.

THE OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE FACTORS

The RT appears to us to be in transition on still another area of politics, the relation between the subjective and objective forces in politics.

The RT is correct to insist that program and even tactics must be rooted first in an analysis of the objective situation. The RT attributes to the TC the view that concrete policy starts from the subjective, the the state of mind of the class, etc. But the RT for its part can be equally charged with ignoring the subjective dimension of politics, the state of consciousness of the working class. (Individuals in their ranks have explicitly stated as much.)

The RT mechanically counterposes its central formulae ("tell it as it is", and "build the revolutionary leadership in the unions") to their favorite "subjective" and "empiricist" bêtes noirs, the notion that the key to politics is "starting with the next step", and "how to get the workers into motion". (It is unfortunate that this counterposition is given some credence by Duncan Hallas' article in I. S. #56). But surely there is no need to apologize for holding the view that the subjective factor in class struggle demands that revolutionists constantly address themselves to ways and means of getting the workers into motion, PROVIDED that we, as non-empiricists, understand that the means, the slogans, the transitional demands we use to do so can only stem from our analysis of the objective situation, and will differ with different analyses of the period. In fact, any analysis of a period which does not lead to instruments through which we can intervene to set the class into motion is abstentionist and sterile to the core. Equally fatal is any counterposition between "the next step" politics and the politics of HOW, effectively, to "tell it as it is".

It is this unfortunate, undialectical formulation of the problem (is the RT only bending the stick too far?) which leads them to the simplistic definition of centrism as politics which refuses to "tell it as it is".

There is still another sense in which the RT's abstract calls to build the revolutionary leadership reflect the fact that the RT really only tips its hat to the role of the subjective in politics. Faced with what are to some comrades the demoralizing implications of the subjective condition of the American working class today, the RT in effect seeks to by-pass the problems this poses by finding substitute forces upon which to focus.

This is the significance of the RT's sudden discovery of the "revolutionary layer" within the working class (it does exist), a layer whose consciousness is much less of a problem, and can thus be reached by revolutionary propaganda, not through the slow, sweaty work of building

rank & file caucuses which will fight for partial demands. Unfortunately, the RT vastly and mechanically oversimplifies the method by which even this layer can be reached, not to speak of the more backward ones.

At root is a misconception of the problem of the dialectic of leadership. If being "leaders in action" requires, as it does, being leaders in thought, the other side is equally true in life -- that to be actual leaders (in thought) of the class requires that we also be leaders in action.

The history of the Trotskyist movement is that of a movement condemned to be right, but irrelevant, due to its lack of roots in the working class. Ideas are not enough. Ideas can result in individual recruitment, but will not,alone, move the class. For WHAT is said is often inseparable from WHO says it (an unfortunate reality, not only in the class, but, also, even within the revolutionary organization.)

That is why it was correct for American Trotskyists to urge industrialization even during the period of stabilization (though the nature of the work might well have been different) -- to meet the few revolutionists around in the class, but most of all to establish credentials as class leaders. (In unorganized plants, or in the unemployed movement, this consideration is naturally less compelling.)

This process may involve leading mere reform struggles around a thousand issues which have and will arise, and which will often, but not always, be related to our Transitional Program (tho inevitably even these struggles will be infused with our politics -- our attitude to the police, the state, the labor bureaucracy, etc.) Consequently, we do not give the class ultimata -- "our line or else". We accept the responsibility of leadership within working class organizations if thereby we can mobilize the class, teach class solidarity, teach self-confidence, and, not unimportant, confidence in us. We do this in the belief that even if no direct line to our party program could be established, today a rare situation indeed, the struggle, if led by us, opens workers to our socialist views, which we do not hide (security permitting), and to recruiting the cadres of the revolutionary party. (If we make no ritual obeisances to the imperative need for a transitional program, it is because we feel we have the right to say that several of us have, however imperfectly, in fact pursued a policy and program within AFT which has met the general approval of even the staunchest advocates of the Transitional Program.)

Even today our ability to introduce and organize effectively around any part of our program may often rest upon our having demonstrated leadership in less advanced struggles -- unless we believe that we can or should attain leadership in unions only in those moments in which the class makes a qualitative leap in consciousness -- and more, that in such moments we are guaranteed the transition from rank and file to positions of leadership. Certainly France of 1968 is proof enough to the contrary.

We recognize clearly that any intervention in action, any leadership not based on our full program inevitably opens the door to the danger of opportunism. That is why we remind ourselves of Trotsky's warning against ultra-leftism which was, to him, so often an expression by revolutionists of lack of self-confidence and dread of their own potential opportunism.

But that tightrope between opportunism and abstentionist ultra-leftism is the unavoidable fate of all revolutionists who understand that the consciousness of workers is changed in action, not in the lecture hall -- is changed through action around programs which, especially today, have their origin in the transitional method and program.

This conception of the dialectic of leadership -- of the role of the subjective in the objective -- is why our industrialization policy does not depend for its rationale upon an imminent crisis; why we reject the "do it from the outside" line. That is why the RT's increasing dependence on the "revolutionary layer" as the focus of our activities carries the germ of justification for an "outside line" at a later time, and why this dependence tends to become a substitute for work inside the class, and is an evasion of our tasks and perspectives -- a capitulation to the easy way out. That is why we fear that the RT's impatience opens the door to a Spartacist tendency inside the I.S.

It is only within this context of the dialectic of leadership that a concrete examination of the application of the Transitional Program can be made.

LABOR PARTY AS SCREEN FOR NON-INTERVENTIONISM

Ron's UAW documents reveal the transitional character, the non-interventionist content of the RT's thought very clearly. They express the view that we ought not to lead or initiate any caucus unless it is upon a program which includes the Labor Party (which, in near-practice, means never initiate a caucus).

How far is this really from the Spartacist League? (Even the new Class Struggle League has moved away from this position). It is a formula guaranteed to produce non-interventionism. By this rule it would have been impermissible to take the lead in a case such as the AFT local discussed above. There it can fairly be asked: if we were not in the lead, would we have been more effective? would the class struggle there and in the AFT be more advanced or less so -- however modestly?

But we are not Sparts, the RT will reply. We believe in working in caucuses on a lesser program. It is clear, however, that RT work in such caucuses has a distinguishing feature -- namely, in all cases, "Leninist" support, like "a rope that supports a hanging man". In fact it is a support so permeated with the spirit of the "opponents' work", or "entryism", practiced on the Left that it makes it difficult for the RT to distinguish between rank & file reformists and labor bureaucrat reformists like Schrade/Miller.

With respect to the latter such a spirit is indispensable in governing our relationship to them. For, unlike rank & file leaders, these "left" bureaucrats are dynamically to the right of the membership even when, as is often the case, their formal program and ideology appears to the "left" of the ranks, and even of the militants).

Between us and the Schrades a blood line exists. No one can question that among us. THAT is a split issue. But even here a warning is in order. Even when an open opponent's stance is necessary, if it is taken prematurely, we can easily find ourselves isolated and expelled from such caucuses, reduced to the role of commentators, of irrelevance.

Infinitely more dangerous to us than such possible technical errors is the existence of a posture of "opponents'" work toward rank & file reformists. For, as the class begins to move, thousands of such cases will arise, in view of the Left's weakness. They will not be socialists, but they will have the capacity for becoming so, unlike the Schrades -- if Marxism is correct. Our line toward them must therefore be, not the RT's critical support, but genuine support with criticism. WE reject the line "join with us or you are a capitulator". There is a vast difference between charging capitulation and pointing to a danger of it (as we must to rank & file leaders).

Once again, the RT's relationship to these layers is firm, rock-like... ambivalence, ranging from correct formulations (quoted earlier) to that proposed by James M. (I.S. Bulletin #31, p. 9):

"It is a mistake to build caucuses simply on whatever basis can unite the ranks into an organization. The ranks are not ready at this point for formal organization. They can be won to it only by the pressure of events. They will respond to objective events, and as such are the objective factor. But those who understand now the need for formal organization are in large part reformist. In a time of upsurge, these elements will be to the right of the ranks, and will be tailing after them. Only those caucuses that have a program which expresses the 'best interests' of the mass upsurge to come will be able to play a vanguard role in that crisis."

In other words, workers who today involve themselves militantly in the class struggle will be our bitterest enemies in the future. The policy of critical support "like a rope..." applies particularly to them.

The retreat of the RT toward ultra-left politics has its roots primarily in student impatience with the pace of events. But it certainly is also a response in part to the failure of the other sectors of L.S. as well.

The other two major groups can be dealt with more briefly since our differences with them, of longer duration, have been stated in past discussions on the Transitional Program, black liberation, women, etc.

The TC, to its immense credit, has pursued the industrialization of its cadres with more determination than any other segment of L.S. But the long-run survival of these comrades as revolutionaries in the plants is gravely threatened by the fact that the TC remains strongly impregnated with a powerful streak of empiricist methodology. This empiricism hides behind the charge that the rest of us are obsessed by "programmitis". The TC shows no interest in developing a program. Its record on this is long and unambiguous. Theirs is the "politics of amendment". As a result, in the TC's hands "next step politics" threatens to degenerate into pragmatism.

The TC pursues a workerist vision of our industrial work. "Doubtless" it is "bending the stick backwards". Thus its politics come home to roost when it experiences difficulties with its cadres in the plants whose vision tends to narrow to the shop floor, both in the plant, and in the political life of the organization as a whole.

Thus it is hardly surprising that the leaders of the TC have repeatedly had to restrain their ranks from bolting the UNC, at best to curb their indifference to it. Though this rejection of politics appeared at times to be coming from the "left", its real source was the TC workerist perspectives (which are especially dangerous in a country such as the U. S. with no working class socialist tradition). This is just one manifestation of the TC's generally agnostic or spontaneist attitude toward the question of conscious effort to build a revolutionary party.

Nor is it surprising that the TC, when it led the organization, and even to date, finds it impossible to find any issue, campaign or organization-wide activity which would in practice break down the residual quasi-sectionalism in the I. S. as well as give I. S. a national presence in the Left. Whenever such campaigns have been proposed, they have been rejected and no alternatives ever offered. In our view, this occurred because they falsely counterposed such proposals for politics to caucus work -- i. e. an empirical 180 degree turn from the unfortunate "struggle group" theories they once so ardently urged, and have now, so conveniently, and without examination, rejected. Perhaps that is why Geier's last year's document repeatedly counterposes abstract revolutionary propaganda to a program of transitional demands for use in political work as well as in the unions.

The TC's position on the way to implement self-organization of women is erroneous, and, fortunately (?), but at the same time disgracefully, not implemented where the TC has the forces to do so. Not only do they make no attempt to organize women's caucuses in line with their own -- and the Mackenzie group's -- theory, but their lack of seriousness was well illustrated in their failure during the 1972 election campaign to bring the struggle for repeal of the Michigan anti-abortion law to women inside the plants where they were. The TC's extension of "self-organization of women" to, not just upholding the right, but encouraging a woman's caucus within the I. S. itself, expresses its residual attachment to the middle-class New Left. Not surprisingly, no political program for a woman's caucus within I. S. has been propos

This policy is but one example of the frequent tendency of TC members to seek organizational solutions to political problems, e. g. the "circle" plan in Detroit, the Bradley amendments at the last convention, the position on women's and black caucuses as a principal rather than a tactic.

Lastly, the TC is determined to force a split in the I. S. (though it is not alone in this endeavor). This course is totally irresponsible because it does not correspond to any necessity stemming from any action or movement within the class. It is a split which is totally preemptive in character.

Nor can this course be justified by alleged interference with the non-existent policies or actions which the TC advocates -- it advocates and takes the lead in nothing (and hardly because of any bloc against writing) -- except for what passes for politics today, bombast about Bonapartism in the U. S.

Finally, in the absence of a program, the TC (together with the Mackenzie grouping) has taken upon itself the defense of the "Third Camp"

in the name of war against the alleged embryonic Stalinism of the RT.

If by Third Camp we mean the politics of socialism from below -- workers democracy -- then the charge that there are differences among any in the I.S. are nothing short of slander. (Certainly "slander" is not too severe or imprecise a term for this charge). Whether these classical Marxist and Trotskyist positions on workers democracy, etc. should be re-named "Third Camp", and why they were so re-named, is another matter. As for the original and, to our mind, more accurate identification of Third Camp with the questions of the nature of the USSR and defensism, any focussing upon this version of Third Campism as the heart-of-the-matter in dispute can only be called by its rightful name: demagogy.

In not one significant political situation of consequence has the nature of the USSR been responsible for differences in our ranks: not on Allende, nor on Peronism, nor the "peace" in Vietnam, nor the Polish or Czech events. If, as some TC members state, the Third Camp approach has new specific implications for the nature of the period or for the analysis of Stalinist parties, etc., then these conclusions have been strangely absent from our press and the debate until the recent factional maneuvers began.

Nor should it be necessary to remind comrades that the central issue of the 1940 split was not the nature of the USSR. After the split Max Shachtman continued to support the defense of the USSR. The real issue -- it is time to face it -- was the alleged "bureaucratic conservatism" of the SWP leadership, the impatience, confidence that "we know better how to build the party". So much for the principled nature of the founders of so-called third campism.

As for the comrades associated with Mackenzie, that tendency is today in an unprincipled bloc with the TC. That bloc could be justified on organizational grounds if the current NAC were seen as a caretaker organization. Instead, only moments after its nomination, the new NAC consolidated itself politically around defense of "I.S. tradition" and participated in a disgraceful Stalinist-baiting of the RT.

To this end it was forced to join the TC in making the central issue the definition of the I.S. as a movement whose differentia specifica is the "Third Camp" -- instead of revolutionary workers democracy -- a position which has played no role in I.S. politics for years and has, in fact, lain dormant among us, and for very good reason.

In fact the defining feature of the I.S. has been, and increasingly and properly so, our position on industrialization (in addition to our identification with revolutionary workers democracy). Our position on industrialization for us transcends the tactical since (a) it is linked to a conception of using our program to build rank & file caucuses, and (b) because of the

specific role which such left-wing caucuses can play in the construction of a revolutionary party.

This conception -- which differentiates us from the rest of the revolutionary left -- together with our implacable opposition to Stalinism explains why there have been no real differences among us despite our range of views on the nature of the USSR. In fact, if one leaves aside "the Russian question", it seems obvious that I.S. has for some time been moving toward traditional Marxist (Trotskyist) positions (and away from petty bourgeois New Leftism and Shachtmanite "Third Campism".)

This phenomenon was evidenced in the evolution of the I.S. line on women, on the war in Vietnam, on struggle groups, on industrialization and rank & file caucus building, and even on the black question.

Mackenzie repeatedly interprets this drift, which he recognizes, as a drift toward a method which has been tried and which has failed in the '30s and ever since. But all that we have in the way of explanation is his view that the Transitional Program and all that went with it was in error. (For example, "The purpose of the transitional program was, of course, to bring the more backward masses under the leadership of the revolutionaries in struggle with the ruling class. In reality, the 1938 Transitional Program was largely beyond the backward masses and more at the level of the advanced, though not revolutionary, militants." -- Miners for Democracy document, page 7).

Certainly this casts some question even upon his present announced, and even demonstrated, adherence to the transitional program for today.

No. All this will not wash.

The attempt to make the Third Camp the cement for the new bloc is nothing less than the substitution of tradition for politics -- a blind, a rear guard action to resist the movement of I.S. to fully Marxist positions.

Further, the Mackenzie group's capitulation to Geier's split imperative is repeatedly expressed on the NAC in its providing, through Dave F., the spearhead of the intemperate split-encouraging responses to the admittedly provocative behavior of the RT.

The Mackenzie group also comes close to sharing with the TC a workerist view, which encourages a marked tendency to a policy of non-intervention in all arenas other than the unions. This view, like that of the TC, has thus come close to reducing I.S., potentially, to a narrow federation of rank & file caucus builders.

In line with this, at least in the N. Y. branch, the practice of the Mackenzie group has been one of routinism and conservatism. This tendency, under conditions of the bloc with the TC, opens the door, we believe, to an accomodation to the TC's spontaneist views on party building.

We believe that, in spite of the severe practical limitations we face, the questions of party and program have to be taken up -- concretely and modestly, to be sure, but consciously and aggressively.

Further, the Mackenzie group shares fully with the TC the New Left conception of a women's caucus within the I.S. On work aimed at reaching women outside the I.S., the group has been characterized by a total inability to find any way of implementing the policy resolution they wrote, and worse. For, in practice, their women's work was turned inward upon the I.S., and has been little more than a factional instrument.

At the same time, however, it would be impermissible to disregard the fact that on central questions such as: the role of program, the need for transitional program in our work, the relation of propaganda to agitation, the defense of our main thrust as an interventionist and programmatic approach to rank & file caucuses -- in all these there is considerable, though far from total, agreement among Mackenzie, ourselves, and even with one face of the RT.

The current crisis in the I.S. has many roots:

(1) The contradiction which exists between our imprecisely formulated concept of the economic crisis in the U.S., and the slow pace of rank and file response to that crisis, reflected in part by the slow rate of growth of caucuses.

(2) The numerical stagnation and relative sterility and inability of the I.S., under all regimes, in recent years, to express in action any interventionist line in the public arena. This tendency is fed by a workerist orientation -- one which correctly focuses on building our industrial roots, but which, over-reacting, rejects in practice our responsibility for propaganda and agitation within the class as a whole and in the political arena at large.

(3) An empiricist mode of thought by which policies are made, and changed, without evaluation -- witness the history of our commitment and abandonment (?) of struggle groups; our failure to analyze the Re-orient split; failure to evaluate the Peace & Freedom experience, and today, the RT's tendency to move away from our rank & file caucus building without any express analysis of them (except for James M.'s theory -- which should be taken seriously.)

In general, also, much of the organization has manifested a considerable contempt for theory and for ideas. In many cases, a personal and political turn away from the university has been accompanied by a turn away from intellectual life in general. The inability of a highly educated organization to produce a magazine or a serious pamphlet series is symptomatic, and stems at least partly from the "workerism" and empiricism already referred to.

As a result, the I.S. has experienced a tide of self-doubt, lack of party patriotism

lack of membership confidence in an organization which appears to have no line, i.e. no concrete way of relating to the various aspects of the crisis of capitalism. It can surprise no one, then, that we are not even able to educate our own ranks -- a fact they bitterly resent.

It is this desperation which drives so many comrades toward a split -- under the motto: any haven in a storm. No matter that the RT also has no line (except "build the revolutionary leadership") --at least they talk of the need for a line".

WHERE WE STAND

FIRST, we reject the widely spread tendency (at best a natural reaction to our absolute need for industrialization) for a routinist, abstentionist attitude toward I.S. involvement as an organization in work in industry and in the general political arena. We have made numerous suggestions for reversing this tendency. Thus:

(1) In the UAW: Many months ago proposals were made for an all-out intervention by the I.S. to build the UNC. All of us recognize that the UNC's difficulties are both political and organizational. What should have been done (we, too, are guilty for not having reduced our proposals to writing) was a mobilization of the entire I.S. around this task.

WE have the capacity to make a regular monthly UNC paper, even if only four pages, a reality. WE have the capacity to make it a genuinely national paper, by distributing it and arranging meetings for it, etc. in a dozen areas and in dozens of plants. WE have the resources to have placed a full-time organizer in the field for the UNC. The problems in the way of this work were not insuperable, but we permitted them to become so. Similarly, an excellent proposal by Comrade Weber for a national campaign around restoring the job of Jordan Sims was dropped without any real assessment.

(2) INFLATION: This, too, poses an opportunity for the I.S. for at least a serious propaganda intervention in the working class. It is possible to have a national campaign, not just Workers Power articles, aimed at the ranks of labor, exposing the leadership's impotence and unwillingness to act, AND calling upon workers, from within and from outside the plants, to make certain demands upon their leaderships for action against inflation. It may even be possible to engage in limited actions. Concrete proposals for a campaign along these lines were submitted by one of us to the NAC. The New York exec, in May, asked the NAC to plan a campaign on the MEAT crisis. No response.

(3) STRIKE SUPPORT: The Farm Workers' situation poses a great challenge to us. Will we meet it? One sign of the increased degeneration of the Labor Committee was its abandonment of strike support work. If, to them, this concept was essentially substitutionist (substituting for their refusal to enter and do work within the plants), and if it was based on

their anticipation of Soviets tomorrow, that is no reason for throwing out the baby with the bath. Our work in the Fedders strike, and in support committees in Berkeley, was never analyzed (except in a N. Y. branch document), no lessons drawn, no discussion launched. And yet, if with rising inflation, the working class does, as it must sooner or later, resume its battles, we shall be faced with countless opportunities for such work. (At one time Comrade Geier evidenced interest in this subject, but he and the NAC have been silent.)

(4) VETERANS: The significant layer of vets in the plants, and vets trying to get in, last year, opened to us an opportunity we were able to recognize, but unable to seize. In the midst of a national awareness of the joblessness among vets in 1972, some of us urged an approach to the VVAW. We proposed that they and the I. S., and others (a true united front was possible here) organize inside locals and demonstrate around plant gates for jobs for vets, linked to the end of overtime. An organization of vets inside the plants was even possible around this line. The NAC "agreed". Like the N. Y. I. S. leadership it sent a letter -- and there the issue died.

(5) ELECTORAL ACTION: For both ultra-left and workerist reasons the question of political action is taboo in the I. S. For some, the Peace & Freedom experience definitively killed all interest. For others, plant work (only 1/3 of our ranks are really involved in such work) provided the rationale for an anti-electoral stance. This policy must be reversed.

(6) REGROUPMENT: The document by Landy on this subject constitutes a major step toward a correct self-definition of the I. S., one on the basis of which regroupment can be a politically principled strategy for us, not just a maneuver.

Clearly such regroupment is not on the immediate agenda. But we should be identified with such a policy as one aspect of building the revolutionary party. Such a policy should be widely known in the left.

SECOND: We reaffirm our confidence in the continued need for an orientation toward the working class which is both interventionist and programmatic. We see no reason to change the thrust toward rank & file caucus building, aiming at the creation of a real left-wing in the union movement.

But re-affirmation is not enough.

(1) The question of program, of agitation versus propaganda in our union work requires that analysis of the precise political-economic conjuncture in the U.S. has to be sharpened. This may well be impossible for us, given our resources. But the even greater danger is not to recognize that our present analysis is still exceedingly general, algebraic, lacking in concreteness -- and often incomprehensible to many of our members. As a result, debates among us about "what line" and short term perspectives all too often rest upon quicksand.

(2) But we do have the resources for other theoretical, historical work which is equally indispensable to the implementation of rank & file caucus perspectives.

Only last year, Stan W. produced a document on Labor Perspectives, which, whether one agrees with it in whole or in part, is characterized by an attempt to get down to concrete analysis of the problems and history of the U.S. labor movement and its Left -- the most important task facing the I.S. We need much more of this.

Thus, we have never had a real discussion of the Labor Party in the I.S. (The Re-orient discussion was abortive). The I.S. stumbled empirically into a position by some unspoken consensus without ever thoroughly debating the question. A leadership which takes theory seriously will place top priority on careful study of such organizations as the Michigan Commonwealth Federation, Labor's Non-Partisan League, the TUEL, the Progressive Miners Union, and many others, and, not least, the lessons we never drew from the Peace & Freedom Party.

And while we face this bit of our past, it would be useful to explain to ourselves, now, why we reject the struggle group theory (does the RT reject it?), or, how we could have been so wrong in the debate with the Re-orient tendency (its overt line -- on Labor Party and the relationship of the unions to the state -- not Re-orient's rejection of the need for a party, which it posed at the last moment, and which was the real reason for its departure).

Theory and Practice

It is only out of a propaganda-interventionist mode of work in the plants and in the working class at large that we can begin to tackle still another problem universally acknowledged in the I.S. -- the absence of any serious educational efforts in the organization, and the low level of political sophistication among our comrades. (Talk about I.S. traditions -- here's a good one we've abandoned.)

This is in no small part due to the fact that we are educating in a vacuum, unrelated to our activity. There is an organic link between theory and practice. The real education of the cadre occurs only as it flows organically from the concrete work and needs of the organization -- only then is meaningful, motivated education possible. The old Trotskyists were the intellectuals of the Left. Certainly it was in part because of their heavy propagandist function (prior to World War II as opponents and recruiters from the CP and SP). The Sparts today, too, have a "superior" educational structure, because they give themselves similar functions.

But that is also the reason why Spartacist (or Labor Committee) education can never, for all their theory, produce the transitional program-to-be. The organic link between theory and practice will make their practice sterile.

And so we return from education to program and the rank & file caucuses. All advocates of the transitional program, including ourselves, recognize that experience in the class is necessary for revolutionaries consciously to develop the transitional program-to-be in a form organic to the situation of the American working class, and to contribute effectively to developing an international program.

IS A SPLIT INEVITABLE?

It is unfortunate that a mechanistic conception of "inevitability" has insiduously come to prominence in the minds of many comrades. ("Inevitability", like patriotism, can be the last refuge of political scoundrels.) The Marxist conception of inevitability has an enormous role for the subjective, for consciousness, even of the individual. Trotsky often reminded us that without Lenin there would probably have been no October revolution.

Thus, the isolated logic of the RT's course, and that of the TC as well, is such that <u>if these policies were carried out to their full conclusions</u>, co-existence within one organization <u>would</u> probably be impossible.

BUT, between the logic of a political position, the direction it <u>implies</u>, and the current immediate manifestations of the position, there can be, and often is, a great gulf. In these, very common situations, leadership can play a crucial role in re-directing the logic of events (which are uni-directional only in the abstract.) Leadership has a dual responsibility -- to warn, to point to the logic, potential, but at the same time not to confuse that logic with the actual at any moment. The impact of events in the class and wise leadership

open doors for re-evaluation, for retreats, even for reversals by those subject to the pressure of revolutionary forces. To be governed by impatience in hastening a split, when life has the capacity of preventing it, is a sign of a leadership which is immature, lacking in self-confidence, even in seriousness.

Serious workers, in particular, will wonder about the leadership capacity and seriousness of a tendency which is unable to maintain cohesion in its own ranks. Petty factionalism and unprincipled splits will alienate serious workers who know the importance of unity.

On grounds such as these, Landy correctly believes that the 1940 split was politically unprincipled. It was also not inevitable despite the logic of the two groups. Shachtman's mis-leadership was an inseparable part of the logic which led to the 1940 split.

The split then, if it should come, is not inevitable on political grounds but rests as much on the abilities, the subjective wishes and fears of "leaders" in the organization.

Geier's itch to split is based on his fears that the RT will cramp our interventionist mode. But he cannot point to a single case when this has happened in action, nor even a single proposal frustrated by them. There is a bitter irony to this fear. For, in fact, the entire organization has been characterized by a unique sterility as well as reluctance to intervene -- a sterility which is made bearable only by the fact that the "solutions" of the other sects have been so bizarre.

We conclude that the split can, and must, be fought.

To this end, we insist that:

(1) The current NAC majority declare that if it is confirmed by the coming convention, it will guarantee the RT the right to present its views in Workers Power (as signed discussion articles). Both our theory and precedent justify such a course in the exceptional circumstances in which we find ourselves today.

(2) On trade union problems, the RT be given the right to experiment with its line (again with the aid of WP, or factory bulletins. In fact, the RT is already doing so in the Detroit AFT by publishing a socialist teacher "factory bulletin".)

(3) The RT, for its part, must announce its readiness to abide by all democratically arrived at decisions and to carry out loyally the building of the organization. In addition, the RT should keep the organization fully

informed of its progress as it experiments with its line in trade union work.

Unquestionably, points 1 and 2 are extraordinary actions. But we are not organizational fetishists. A temporary retreat, while the I. S. passes through an educational and political experience, is preferable to the immensely demoralizing defeat which an unnecessary split would constitute, today. Unnecessary, because the objective situation does not require a split in order to permit our intervention in the class struggle.

In the meantime, if all tendencies are serious about building the I. S. as a nucleus of a future revolutionary party, we will put the importance of the ongoing work of the organization above that of building the tendencies. We can all gain from joint classes, from a sharing of viewpoints and the combat of ideas, e.g. on the history of the revolutionary movement and its lessons for today. Our united forces are too small for the objective needs of today -- the further implantation of the I. S. in industry, the development and testing of concrete program and perspectives -- not to work together to this end.

Initial Signers: DB
CF
WF
TMa
TM
HM
DM
ERo
ERu
BZ
GJ
CL

Comrades interested in this statement can write:
Carl Feingold
213-1/2 West 21 Street
New York, N. Y. 10011

SEE ATTACHED PROPOSAL

FOR A CAMPAIGN AROUND INFLATION

The crisis of inflation in the U. S. today provides the I. S. with an opportunity for intervention, both of a propagandist and agitational character, and not limited to the pages of W. P., or to our and other caucuses.

The campaign should aim at involving the entire organization, not just its trade unionists.

It must be seen as one step in the direction of forming a genuinely national, not sectional, organization bound by common actions as well as theory.

For a start, the campaign should focus on two demands:

(1) a national escalator clause, quarterly adjusted, linking all wages, pensions, social security payments, to a COL index which includes rents and taxes.

(2) a rollback of all prices including taxes, linked to the decline in real wages.

LABOR ACTION ON INFLATION: Because Congress and the politicians have not and will not fight inflation -- around the above two demands, would be the main theme of our organizing and propaganda efforts.

CLASS-WIDE DEFENSE: labor action on a class-wide basis, as representative and defender of the interests of all who work, the unorganized, the unemployed, the elderly -- in order to apply the COL to these groups as well. This would be our second theme.

To implement such a campaign, every branch and trade union fraction must be directed to raise a campaign for action on these themes. The methods and emphasis will clearly vary from place to place, and will vary with whether it is done from the inside or the outside, etc. Thus in Westchester County, N. Y., we went directly to the labor council and in cooperation with a large CWA local got the council to call for a metropolitan conference of Labor on inflation -- a resolution we are pursuing.

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTION: (I have no doubt that comrades in the field and on the NAC can structure a better campaign than the one barely hinted here, and I urge them to do so.)

1. Call on local unions to adopt this platform and urge it upon other locals and union bodies, aiming, at the proper time, at a Congress of Labor to consider action against inflation.
2. In-plant petitions by caucuses, ad hoc committees, etc. on these demands, calling for local union meetings for purpose of endorsing them, etc.
3. Plant gate meetings by outside groups, committees, etc.
4. Out-of-plant distributions where there is no link to the inside, in the name of I. S., or of an ad hoc committee of labor against inflation, etc.
5. Demand unions and others organize mass rallies -- say, at City Hall, demanding not only our proposals above, but that city government roll back prices under its control, such as transportation, rents (in some cases), taxes, etc.
6. Street corner meetings in heavy working class areas (see #4.)
7. Propaganda needed for committees of consumers and unions to supervise the compilation of COL indices -- even compile their own -- with union resources opened to such committees.

As such a campaign develops, independent class political action becomes increasingly implied, and raises the possibility of, in some local situations at least, passing from propaganda to agitation and action.

On the Necessity to Pause for Self Examination S. Jacoby

The most destructive effect of sectarian factionalism is the self doubt that it breeds in all the individuals involved. Each develops a mistrust of his or her own judgement. The day before the sickness breaks into the open, the individuals on both sides feel that they are surrounded by friends who are idealistic, of sound mind and the highest capabilities, but a day later a portion of them enter upon a course of conduct which appears to be in total contradiction with that of the previous night. Worse still, it is discovered that we could not have yesterday predicted which ones among our relatively united gourp who were about to become our opponents. The forces that split us in a way appear to be inexplicable and without logic. We foounder for a time in dismay, hurt and unbelieving. But soon, the inexplicable must be accepted as the reality of life. We can no longer allow them to wound us in submission. We must fight back. They have chosen to be our enemy and we must resist in kind. Working together is no longer possible and we must somehow part company with them, tabulating their every misdeed for publication in order to prove to the undecided that the self elected opponents are the villians, and then we find that the undecided who have not been exposed to the hothouse climate of the factional centers see negative aspects to our conduct as well as that of our opponents. Incredible. If they had seen what we have witnessed first hand of the other sides antics they would not hesitate to side fully with us. We do not claim perfection, but add it all up and it is clear that more than any other, our approach to the problems of the struggle is the proper one. Albeit a tragic loss, we are now free of those who have been obstacles in the path of progress. So let's reassemble forces and get directly to the work of building a movement.

To argue about who fired the first shot in a factional struggle is futile, destructive, and worse.....it is boring. Who fired the very first shot is something that no one will ever know. To analize the first <u>volleys</u> from <u>both</u> sides has some value, but only if it is part of an attempt to learn the fundamental causes of the fight. The problem of course is that arguments over "who started it" are with only the rarest exceptions attempts to ascribe blame to personalities. This only mislays the blame. A needless affliction of more wounds. Even if villianous leaders were present thay could do no harm if conditions did not allow for or encourage it.

Put aside those who left individually, starting with the loss of the Reorient people the IS has suffered four splitaways in less than three years. Reorient started with the idea that they needed to band together to effectively put their politics before the rest of the organization. Then one night, seemingly impulsively, they decided to give up the effort and leave. After the fact they mailed in a document that was only the most partial explanation of the act. Unheard of conduct. The good and experienced people of Reorient came out of a tradition that provided no precedent for such an act. After the fact it was possible to see that they couldn't wait to get out. They were unhappy in the IS. They were aware that they did not have the ideological tools to clean up the theoretical shambles the entire left is in and they felt that staying in the IS could only hinder their efforts to make a contribution to the solution of the problem. Their loss gave us pause, but did not make us embark on even a brief systematic effort to learn the causes for their leaving.

Not many months later the Third Camp Tendency emerged as an organized group. Following the Reorient precedent they ignored the best traditions of the past. Instead of having one or two among them put out a comprehensive introductory statement of the politics they felt the organization should have, they first of all formed the tendency. They were, for a number of reasons that remain unprobed, impatient. They were unwilling to allow everyone to analyze what they had to say and let the entire organization participate in a process that might have allowed it to take up their positions as its own. They issued their documents after forming a tendency. By forming the tendency first they communicated their feeling that the people in the organization were for the most part beyond accepting their ideas. They thereby made their contribution to the elimination of objectivity. Form a tendency under such conditions andyou have raised the idea in the minds of others that you will leave. That may not be the conscious intention, but things have a way of happening. Plant in the minds of others any semblance of the idea that you are in part rejecting them and their ability to show good judgement and you create the conditions under which minor irritations easily escalate.

Finally it became clear that the TCT wanted out. For some series of reasons they found the IS an oppressive experience and couldn't function. As the crisis peaked they felt they had been put in the position of opponents and their close associates of the day before saw them as such. Which came first, their opposition or the opposition to them? It doesn't matter. What has to be studied at length are the underlying causes. Was it incompatible politics? Was it that IS's conception of democratic centralism is incorrect? Is it the nature of the period? Is it a combination of all three and more? No one knows. The answers lie in a collective effort to obtain the answers, tapping everyones experience, and that effort has not been made.

The serious loss of the TCT was hardly an accomplished fact when the Transformation Caucus was formed. Delegates arrived at the 1972 Convention to find that the caucus was a fact and that their friends who were now its members were treat them in a "disciplined" fashion. They too had formed on a basis that had precedent only in the most wounded elements of the New Left. They had but one independent position paper that had any degree of development. It appeared no more than days before the opening of the convention. No one had time to give it zeal consideration. It could not stand in any way as zationalization for the formation of a faction. They did have a serious difference in attitude toward industrialization. That view was represented by a one page amendment. They had a serious and related difference on the question of the type of organization they felt the IS should be. That was represented by a cursory and short document that had been admittedly written to make it more palatable even though they still believed in the original document. Neither the original or the substitute contained any analysis of what it is in the condition of present American society calls up the need for the particular type of organization they want to build. The leader of the faction who also held the nop leadership position in the IS had made no national factional tour to explain the purpose or need for the faction within the organization at the time. Neither did anyone else in the faction. With that skimpy preparation they came out. Given they specific subject and nature of the ideas they wanted to bring to the organization and that they had communicated those ideas

to the rest of the organization only in shorthand, it was very easy for the "outsiders" to get the idea they were being looked upon as do nothing lumps in the path of progress or "political cowards". The TC hurt its ideas badly. It is my perception that the TC had embarked on a course that could well have led it to splitaway if it were not for the formation of the Revolutionary Tendency.

Like the TC, the RT was born in Detroit of some of out most skilled and experienced people who in addition to working serious long hard hours each day had to fight the social isolation that comes with being an emigre. People who are members of the same organization can supply only part of the roots one needs to make it in his or her community. The method and manner of the RT's emergence was shocking, but it does not differ in type from the emergence of the Reorient, Third Camp, or Transformation factions. They organized in what to most of themembership was a secret manner. They came out and then after the fact they attempted to explain the need separate existence. In a matter of weeks it was clear even to those in the provinces that they would leave.

On both sides of the strewn factional battlefield horror stories abound. Among themselves, the participants on both sides can match tale for tale, can show unfairly inflicted wound received for rabbit punch delivered and vice versa. The split is accomplished. Dozens of good people have gone. The full effects of the tragedy will be felt for years. And, it will be some time and will take some doing before any of us, no matter the side, understand what the hell really happened.

The loss of the RT was punctuated by the loss of the Leninist Tendency. They surfaced an organizational instant before announcing their departure. Sounds ridiculous. They were three and it is possible to brush the matter aside with ridicule. But it is precisely the brushing aside of crises just lived through that is so symptomatic of a problem that lays somewhere below and undiscussed. LThe conduct of the LT people had a logic to them. If one of them was doing opponents work from the start, we still failed. We did not win him and keep him from winning two more. The "bad-guy, good-guy" approach that is so deep in the entire culture has to be overcome so that the problem can be defined. For the IS to now continue on as if it has gotten rid of the bad or confused elements and is free to move ahead less hampered is what is ridiculous. Those who are no longer present were good people and we are just as much a part of the confusion as they are. Something is radically wrong with the IS approach to building a movement. Unless that is examined there will be more splits. It might be argued that those who did not participate in the formation of any of the above mentioned factions ahve not come out with any developed documents either. That is part of the point. There is a collective responsibility here that has yet to be recognized.

What then are the fundamental problems that are not being attacked? I have earlier here indicated that I do not believe any one person can come up with the definitive answers. I believe it can only come from a collective effort using the life experience of each and every one. Below I attempt to begin to formulate briefly, my contribution to the beginning of the task that has now for decades been ignored.

1. These are bad times for the socialist, labor and liberation movements as a whole. In fact, there are no real mass movements. The only set of groupings that at this moment appear to have the possible viability to create a mass movement are the women's liberation organizations. From Rennie Davis with his Maharaj Ji to the clockwork orange crowds attracted by Alice Cooper to the hooliganism of the Labor Committee, there is an insanity about. Because of the perceived failure of the student rebellions of the 1960's which ended in the ugly breakup of the SDS, there has emerged a set of suicidal attitudes and activities. Davis advertises that he no longer has to do any thinking. He feels he is now able to leave the process of finding social solutions to a rich juvenile surrounded by medicine men. The process was too tortuous for him to continue to face. The crises in what was the New Left and the "Old Left", which contain the youth of the same generation and basic experience, are inseparable. The Revolutionary Tendency of the IS developed a cure all document pointing out that the objective crises of capitalism are so deep that the subjective must soon equal it. People of good judgement grasp it with a sense of relief. But why? Is it that it saves them from having to think? Or, did they find in it a relief from the schematic approach that says solutions will come when we all "get clase" to the workers? Or is it that in the absence of a general effort to come up with a substantive body of theory, that package orthodoxies become attractive? Or, could it be that all these factors and more have been in operation?

One approach to the crisis in the 1960's generation of middle class radicals is to try to lead them all into the working class and away from the unhealthy atmosphere created by white middle class radicals. In part it is a good step, but by itself it is like trying to cure a prostitute of syphilis in the chauvinistic way, by simply driving her from the brothel, or just by the prescription of miracle drugs. The problem is deeper and societal and the "cure" is multi-faceted. Young middle class radicals can go among the working class. Good, that is a must. But they will never be able to get a job unless they have analized in depth the most pressing crises of society and have developed some sound hypothetical solutions to test. If this is done, small but viable political groupings can and have been built even in the worst of times, because for the few who are reached and involved, the experience is a learning one.

2. For some time a number of people in the IS, I among them, have been saying that the first order of tasks is to create a body of theory. Yet, no headway has been made. Why? What is it that makes it impossible for capable people to make some real progress in that direction? I have come to the conclusion that the answer lies in the failure of any section or grouping of generation of radicals of the 1960's to assimilate or develop consciousness of its own experience. Never before has there been a generation subject to more tensions, unhappiness, lack of gratification, or so lacking in humor. Never before has there been a generation with such an undeserved bad self image. A guilt lays about their minds because they couldn't play a major rôle in providing the civil rights movement with some avenue to success. They feel a sense of failure because the Free Speech movements could not bring reactionary university administrations down. They blame themselves for being unable to stop the war on their own timetable. Some rant at themselves because they couldn't make a revolution in the streets or at least create a May, 1968. But they shouldn't have expected that they could. To expect otherwise with-

out having had the aid of organized workers and other major section of society is unrealistic. But the self torture continues because the illusions have never been expelled. They have never looked back. They have dropped one single issue oriented movement to immediately take up another. Only handfuls of activists remain but the process continues. Among the people who are left behind in demoralization and who now represent the overwhelming majority of the generation there is for the first time appearing a mass middle class base for totalitarianism. Combinations of mysticism, religious fundamentalism, dope, health foods, seedy communes and increasing propensities to violence are only the outward evidences. It is the sense of self impotency in the political and well as the individual sense that is the loudest call for, and finds greatest comfort in, a superhuman on a horse.

To fail to understand ones own past is to have the inability to make sense of the present or catch glimpses of the future. For a group of student rebels of the Sixties to take on the job of assimilating the experience of its generation appears incredibly ambitious. There is no precedent. The generations of the Fifties, Forties and Thirties have never succeeded in that accomplishment. World War II and the changes it brought so disoriented those generations that they have yet to recover. The last generation to do the job and to create a body of culture to aid them in the task was the generation of the Twenties. The youth of the 1940's, unlike that of the previous decade did not even get the opportunity to make its contribution to society as radical youth. The war took them off to other countries, other towns and jobs. When it was over they were no longer youth and they returned to a different country. (To my knowledge, the recent movie, "Save the Tiger", is the first mass media stimulus opportunity provided to the generation of the Forties that could aid it in assessing its generational experience.) The children of the Forties who became the "Silent Generation" of the next decade are probably the most deprived of all. They did not rebel like the generation that followed and were not allowed even the illusion of participating in a total war "against fascism" as was the previous generation. The generation of the Sixties was the first to rebel in thirty years. They had no direct ties to or memories of the 1930's. Any wonder that their rebellion at times took unusual forms? Any wonder that the establishment came down so hard on them?

But the youth of the 1060's did have mass movements. Cut off from precious generations of radicals they understandably did little to solve the problems left to them by those generations. They developed no new body of political theory and as their mass movement disappears the sects that remain are as yet unable to stabilize themselves in the crisis. Smaller and smaller and ever more fragmented, they push on, the IS among them, not looking back, blaming failure on the "weak" in their midst and so devouring themselves, mainly, out of a lack of self assessment and knowledge of where they <u>have been</u>. Forgotten is the wisdom that the IS was orginally able to establish itself because after the year of the Free Speech Movement on the Berkeley campus, it provided a forum for the activists in that movement to assess their experience.

3. The doomsday fears understandably created by the events of the last thirty years have caused what appears to be an impatience in the youth of the Sixties that are the leadership of the "old Left" organizations. Time presses heavily. How is it possible to start to build from the ground up, from almost the very beginning?

The depth of the crisis does not allow for attitudes which make it easy to begin building a movement by in-depth examination of the failings of the previous generations of radicals. The IS like so many other groups has taken an old model, that of the WP-ISL, and has sought to improve upon it. But the model, the small mass party, had already failed the Workers Party by 1946. Agreeing with Trotsky's hypothesis that the end of World War II would bring the disintegration of Stalinism and the releasing of European revolutionary crises with positive and direct reflections in America, the Shachtmanites developed a small mass party with a small mass party newspaper. There was logic to the course. If, as they believed a considerable and sudden expansion of the class struggle was about to occur, preparedness had to be demonstrated and the WP chose a model created by the early Third International. But Stalinism mushroomed at the end of the war and the displacement of radical forces caused by the war created a condition that the theory of the WP was totally unprepared for. It floundered in demoralization. To start over again seemed a hopeless job. The name of the organization was changed so as not to mislead anyone that it was a party. It was now to be a "propaganda group", but the small mass party model was maintained. There was no theoretical armament for any other course. The ISL died without ever facing up to the new situation.

The personnel of the IS has been and isattempting to meet the crisis of its generation by re-enacting the crisis of the WP-ISL. Using some of the teory of the WP-ISL which was outmoded or needed modification when that organization died and which facilitated its death, the Transformation Caucus has taken on the hard industrialization line that characterized the SWP of the Forties. The RT mirrors some of the impressionistic optimism of the early Johnson-Forrest Tendency and has added a touch of Cannon orthodoxy. In mutated form the IS has just done a remake of the 1940 Cannonite-Shachtmanite split.

With dogged insistence now the IS is to attempt to continue to put out an ambitious bi-weekly paper that it has never had the division of labor to produce even technically. Unwilling to admit that it is a youth organization that is just starting out, it continues to want to cover and analyze all the news in a way possible only for a considerably larger and more experienced organization. Life takes on the form of role playing. Posturing as if it had a considerable number of the answers, it has but few good hypotheses and as yet there is no concerted effort at self examination being made.

4. The IS is further handicapped by an organizational form and conception of democtatic centralism that allows it no freedom to search and experiment. Scientific method at its best cannot be encouraged. The membership is free to discuss and then go th the convention to vote. Then the majority rules and the minorities are free to conform. That is no freedom, but is an open invitation to split in times like these. The model used is out of touch eith the needs and temper of the time. Even in the WP- ISL, which is the model, minorities got more encouragement and representation, more space in the press for public discussion of their minority views. But that model at its best doesn't fit the need for experimentation and involvement of periphery. If we do not provide forum for open search more will leave us and prove the point by joining small independent radical publications or by themselves starting them. That is better than forming another sect, but it

is a very difficult if not haphazard effort at solution to the problem. For too many it will lead nowhere and out. There isno reason why a group of several score cannot conduct the search without falling into the trap of the publication center, the social democratic or Trotskyist sect. There is not reason why a collection of young intellectuals can't industrialize and at the same time maintain its contacts with the intellectual community and liberation groups while at the same time admitting its actual condition and character, while at the same time sustanining free inquiry. It requires a new organizational form and the refusal to take a line on any question until it naturally emerges and is tested with an operative machinery for changing that particular hypothesis as it fails or needs modification.

The forces who are capable of accomplishing the needed turn in approach continue to be mainly among the radical youth that emerged in the last decade. They are not going to go onward to the adaptation and extension of Marxism to American society on a British or French model or any of the European-American models of the 1930's. They can be involved if the IS provides leadership in assessing an understanding of what their generation has accomplished in the last decade. With the realization that they did more than any other generation to legitimize outworn institutions they will be free to develop the good self image they deserve and cast off illusions of failure, the antidote for demoralization. A n actthat would symbolize and announce a positive turn of this sort would be for the coming convention to drop the publication of Workers Power and begin the publication of a monthly magazine with a format like the Canadian This Magazine (new format) or in a way like the New York Review. One that at the same time could function as part theoretical journal, part feature article magazine and when possible and needed could contain "line" and "news" stories. That would mean that instead of a "business as usual despite our wounds" type of convention, the convention would have to devote itself to sessions on how to conduct a total and systematic reevaluation. It can be done. There is certainly the talent. To at this time decide to quietly focus ones efforts elsewhere is a rejection of the existence of this talent that was assembled at great effort and that will not easily be reassembled.

With such a magazine backed by regularly appearing discussion bulletins, the IS could then use the two main ideas that legitimize its existence -- Third Camp and socialism from below -- to study the problems that are wracking all the forces of social progress. Industrial workers, professional workers, intellectuals, students, Blacks, Latins, women, gays, etc., have all to this point failed to find the ideas that will allow the building of mass movements. To provide specific examples, rank and file industrial worker revolts have been unable to break out of isolation and so there is today amood of "laying back", watching and waiting for some grouping in some industry to come up with new ideas and strategy. A Black poet has recently said, "the revolution ain't dead baby, its just resting". To attempt to continue to approach the class and liberation struggles as if the mood of 1964-1969 still existed is futile. In the left itself the forces dwindle because the idealism which pushed white middle class youth into the struggle in the first place has not yet had the opportunity fo be affirmed in broader societal struggles. The idealism gets pushed aside. The daily activities and internal fights of the left have no relation to the idealism that made possible their deci-

sion "to join". In the resulting atmosphere the class struggle is viewed in the narrowest of terms. The destruction of the biosphere which so deeply and quietly wounds all is rejected as "middle class", no matter that the worst pollution originates in industrial places of work or that industrial workers most of all seek solace near our streams, in our forests and on our beaches. Rejected too is the significance of the fact that employers must now experiment with controlled "workers control" schemes in attempts to rejuvenate the "work ethic" and end the mass apostacy to work expressed via all time highs of absenteeism, alcoholism, use of dope, sabotage and resistance to mandatory overtime, which appeared as the rank and file revolts (1966 style) proved unviable.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

A DRAFT PROGRAM FOR THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

by Kevin Bradley

After much debate on program we still have no program. This draft was motivated by the draft program of the International Socialists Great Britain, and about one-third of the text is composed of their program, with small o word changes for Americanization and minor political differences. This is a draft program and so contains many weaknesses, some of which are the taking over of sections that apply more to Britain than to here. The author is well aware of the deficiencies, but wishes to put out what has been done rather than spend the considerable amount of time necessary to improve each section. Comrades throughout the organization can do this better than any one individual. It is proposed that this draft be adopted as a basis for amendment and for a year long discussion, and that a program be adopted at our convention in one year.

This draft program is not a transitional program, nor the summation of how we work in various arenas, our methodology. It is a statement of what we stand for politically. We have had since 1969 a Program in Brief. This is a proposed full program of where we stand. It is not simply a transitional program because it also includes a maximal program. Section II Communism, Socialism and the Workers State outlines the task of a workers state, what we stand for in the fullest sense. A communist society, abolition of the wage system, abolition of the difference between physical and mental work, the countryside and the city, etc. These tasks can only be accomplished after a workers state has been consolidated, after the triumph of the world revolution.

The program of the International Socialists includes what our ultimate goals are, the maximal program of communism, an analysis of the world, and a strategy for reaching our goal. Our program then includes the fundamentals of revolutionary Marxism on the origins of capitalis, the class truggle, the state, violence, activity in the unions and Congress, etc. Our program also includes an analysis of the successes and failures of the socialist movement of the past. The historical lessons of past struggles are essential to prevent the socialist movement from recapitulating the errors of the past. Our program includes the nature of the world today, the origins of the emerging social crisis and a strategy for advancing the working class and oppressed peoples strugg

Most of the following program is analysis, not simply demands. The methodology on the use of those demands that are included is not given in the program. The example of unemployment (pp. 37-38) illustrate the nature of the program. It is our analysis that with the developing crisis of capitalism full employment will be impossible, and only a workers state with full democratic planning of the economy will be able to provide jobs for all. However, we cannot mobilize people to struggle over a planned socialist economy. The program also calls for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay. We have raised this slogan propagandistically for some time, but so far have not engaged in a struggle for it. The demands go all the way down to "If necessary share work rather than accept layoffs. In the event of shutdowns of one plant, full right to transfer to the same job classification at another location o the company, moving expenses paid for by the company." This demand indicates that we must realize that the at the existing level of class consciousness and relation of class forces we must at times advance demands that accept to a considerable extent the power of the capitalists, but which still, if fought for, would advance the level of struggle.

In general we strive to gain united support for demands which are determined by the most advanced possibilities on the basis of the existing consciousness of workers and not simply on the basis of the subjective wishes of socialists." (p. 40) But while we seek to get united struggle on the basis of the highest possibilities of existing consciousness, this does not mean we do not raise propagandistically higher level demands, including a planned socialist economy.

Some demands which in a period of deep crisis will prove to be transitional, i.e. impossible within the framework of capitalist or bureaucratic collectivist social relatio will prove winnable in a non-crisis period. In general a transitional program is a progr

for the systematic mobilization of millions to fight from the existing level of consciousness up to the taking of power. It requires not only an organized and fighting mass labor movement, but a period when the taking of power is on the agenda. This does not mean the taking of power is not on the agenda any given year or two, but that in the period in general equilibrium cannot be restored and that the question of taking power will inevitably arise in short order. We are not now in such a pre-revolutionary period. The task of our period is the inplantation of socialists in the working class and the laying the basis for the creation of revolutionary parties internationally, not the preparation for taking state power. We raise and attempt to initiate struggles around partial and transitional demands, but do not expect that systematic struggle around a system of transitional demands will lead to taking power in this period.

As has been said above, this draft contains numerous imperfections, and is submitted as a draft for further amendments. Whole new sections could well be added, including sections on the fraft and the military, the Mid East, student struggles, etc. In a years time the draft can be sufficiently amended to adopt a full statement of our program at next years convention.

DRAFT PROGRAM OUTLINE

IA The situation facing mankind
IIB Communism, Socialism and the Workers State
IIIC Marxism
- D The Capitalist System
- E The working class and class struggle
- F Workers Control
- G Women
- H Black and Latin Liberation
- I Gay Liberation
- J The State and Violence

IV Lessons of the Socialist Movement
- K Social Democracy
- L Imperialism
- M The Russian Revolution and the Third International
- N Bureaucratic Collectivism
- O The Communist Parties

V The Post War World
- P Capitalist Decay and bureaucratic collectivization
- Q Social Democracy
- R Neo-Colonialism
- S Roots of the US crisis

VI T The Unions
VII The Revolutionary Party and a New International
- V. The Revolutionary Party
- W. Towards a New International

Draft Program of the International Socialists

I. THE SITUATION FACING MANKIND

A. 1. The world today is marked by the struggle of three camps for world domination: the capitalist class, the bureaucratic collectivist class "Communists" and the Third Camp of the working class and oppressed peoples. The world today possesses tremendous resources and a productive apparatus which could provide a decent life for all. Instead working people are exploited, with the ruling classes expropriating a huge portion of the wealth that the working class alone produces. Workers are alienated from the means of production, the product of labor and the work process itself. Black and Latin people in the US and oppressed nationalities throughout the world face vicious racism and national oppression. The vast majority of the world population who live in the semi-colonial countries dominated by capitalist and Stalinist imperialism live a half starved and brutalized existence. Women throughout the world and in all walks of life face oppression in the family and throughout social, economic and political life. Anarchic capitalist production and bureaucratic planning in the bureaucratic collectivist camp are ruining the environment and threatening to despoil the entire world between them.

2. Today the threat of World War III hangs like an unthinkable cloud over mankind. It would destroy civilization and mankind itself therefore people think it must be impossible, no one will let it happen. But in fact after the tremendous destruction produced by the first World war everyone thought World War II was unthinkable. The tremendous economic and social forces that lead to imperialist war could not and cannot be contained. The crisis that is imminent in capitalist and bureaucratic collectivism will produce the desperation and the rulers who will in fact unleash nuclear war unless we stop them. Today the two leading imperialist powers, the US and the USSR, jockey for position in the Mid East, Asia, Africa and Latin America, laying the basis for the next world war. The ruling classes of the world will never really disarm themselves. Only if the working class and oppressed peoples of the world overthrow and disarm their ruling classes and destroy the systems of capitalism and bureaucratic collectivism which breed war will World War III be prevented.

3. The Third Camp of the working class and oppressed peoples is only today beginning to show its independent power. The mass strikes in France and Italy in 1968 and 1969, the workers rebellions in Poland, the strikes of black workers in South Africa, the ghetto uprisings in the US, these are but a few of the emerging struggles of the Third Camp. The working class of the world is a class in itself, not yet for itself, to use Marx's terminology. The consciously organized Third Camp is the working class and oppressed peoples organized independently of capitalism and bureaucratic collectivism, in opposition to both, for revolutionary socialism. Not since the early 1920's with the Communist International has the working class been organized as a class for itself in mass revolutionary socialist parties. Today the basis for such parties is being established in England, France and Japan, and the first developments of small Third Camp revolutionary socialist groups are being made in Ireland, Australia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Spain, Germany and elsewhere in the world. We represent Third Camp revolutionary socialism in the United States and join in the world wide struggle for the victory of our camp throughout the world.

II. COMMUNISM, SOCIALISM AND THE WORKERS STATE: WHAT WE STAND FOR

1. The "free world" is not free and the "Communist world" is not communist. We stand for communism as meant by Marx and Engels and all those revolutionary democratic socialists who fought and died for it before the word was bloodied by the Stalinists. Communism means the abolition of class, the end of every form of State (the rule of people over people), the end of the division between countryside and city, between mental and physical work. It means the abolition of the wage system, the end of money. People will take part in collective work freely and of their own accord, each will give according to their abilities, each will receive whatever they need. Communism is impossible without thorough going abundance, without the end of all coercion.

2. The so-called "Communist" countries, also known as the "socialist bloc" have nothing in common with socialism or communism. They are brutal totalitarian societies, where all property is nationalized, but controlled by a bureaucracy, which since it controls the State and the means of production, is a new bureaucratic ruling class. The working class is brutally exploited and has absolutely no control over political and economic life. Neither are the welfare states such as England or the Scandanavian countries socialist. There the capitalist class still controls the bulk of the means of production. Even when some industries are nationalized, workers have no say over how things are run and remains exploited. There are no socialist societies in the world today. In the words of the Communist Manifesto, "We have a world to win!"

3. Socialism and communism cannot be introduced over night, a transitional form of society is needed, a workers state. The old exploitative class societies, capitalism and bureaucratic collectivism and the State power (police, army, jails, laws, courts etc.) that support them must be thoroughly smashed. But a stateless society cannot be created at once, so a workers state must be established, both to meet the armed resistance and counter-revolution of the old ruling classes and to reorganize the society in the direction of socialism. The dictatorship of the capitalist class, a tiny minority, will be replaced with the dictatorship of the proletariat, the vast majority, to rule over the remnants of the old ruling class in as much as they threaten the existence of the workers state. The dictatorship of the proletariat has nothing in common with the dictatorship over the proletariat such as exists in the bureaucratic collectivist countries, where the working class has absolutely no decision making power whatsoever, but lives under the dictatorship of the bureaucratic class. In the words of the Communist Manifesto "The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy."

4. A workers state is based upon workers democratic institutions, in particular workers councils and also a workers militia, workers parties, a womens movement, Black and Latin organizations, trade unions, and factory committees. All officials are elected and immediately recallable and are paid the same salaries as workers. Workers have the right to strike and have independent trade unions. Democracy is made real, not merely formal as under capitalism, and is increasingly deepened as the masses are involved more and more in the political process.

5. Every modern workers revolution has produced institutions of workers self rule, the Paris Commune of 1871, the Russian Revolutions of 1905 and 1917, the German Revolutions of 1918 and 1923, the Hungarian Revolutions of 1919, and 1956, the Spanish Revolution of 1936 etc. In the Russian Revolution of 1917 the soviets or workers, peasants and soldiers councils took state power. In workers councils, workers in each factory elect delegates to run the factory and as representatives to various bodies which centralize their power in a central workers council. In parliamentary democracy the citizenry elects representatives every few years, who supposedly govern the political life of the country. In industry the capitalists rule without the pretense of democracy, and rule in political life also both directly as in their intervention into foreign countries, and also through the political parties they control, their vast financial and power resources, etc. In political life the executive, even when elected by universal suffrage, is dominant, backed by a huge bureaucracy and army, all of which are uncontrollable by the populace.

Workers councils, the form of workers democracy, is the rule of the vast majority, in fact the only real democracy. Political and economic power is fused and controlled democratically by the working class through the workers councils. The working class can only rule democratically and collectively. The workers council replace the separate legislature, executive and judiciary, which is a method used by the capitalists to keep the working class from getting power. Workers delegates are elected in the factory on a proportionate basis, are known to their fellow workers, are accountable and immediately recallable.

6. A workers state makes real democracy possible, capitalist democracy consists of democratic forms that are acceptable to capitalism. Capitalist democracy was developed by the capitalist class in its struggle against the aristocracy and is the preferable form of capitalist rule from the viewpoint of the capitalists because it is based on voluntary consent rather than naked coercion. Many of the democratic rights that exist today under capitalist democracies were won by the working class against the resistance of the capitalist class. The working class needs democracy for its self organization and to prepare to be the ruling class. Increasingly the working class movement is the main champion of democracy in the world today. When the working class and oppressed masses threaten to use capitalist democracy to expropriate the bourgeoisie or in other ways threaten the system, the capitalists do not hesitate to jettison democracy and resort to naked class rule. Besides a parliament or Congress, capitalist democracy includes free speech, the right of assembly, a free press, etc. But all these freedoms are subjected to the limitations of a class society. A free press is available if you own a press, free speech if you own a TV station or can afford time (the rest of us can speak to a few thousand in a hall), access to bill boards (giant corporations can afford hundreds) etc. Capitalist democracy is restricted by wealth and capitalist property relations. In a workers state any group of people who want to organize a political party to contend for power are given the vehicles through which to do so. A workers state makes available its presses, its TV and radio stations to all points of view. It puts the instruments of democracy at the availability of the vast majority, for free not for sale for a profit. Working people who do not own the means of production can only rule society democratically and collectively. It is in the self interest of the working class to move in a socialist direction.

7. Black and Latin peoples will exercise political and economic power over their lives. The workers state will actively combat racism, racist actions will be a crime. Black and Latin peoples will play a full role in the workers state, perhaps through special governmental organs, parallel to the workers councils. There will be Black and Latin control of their communities. Black and Latin people will determine their own fate, up to secession and a separate political power if they so choose. The more guarantees given by the workers state to Black and Latin peoples including the right of separation, the more likelihood there is of a voluntary union of all workers based on free association. Since Blacks and Latins work side by side with white workers for the same capitalists, and the economic machinery of the US and Canada are an integrated whole, we urge Black and Latin people to join as full participants in a united workers state. That decision, however, will be up to the Black and Latin masses. If they choose separate political and economic power, all facilities will be made available and the fullest cooperation given. The workers state through expanded employment will make jobs available for all Blacks and Latins, throughout all levels of the economy. The ghettos and barrios, a product of capitalist decay, profit gouging landlords and a racist system will be rebuilt with decent housing. Black and Latin people will be free to live wherever they want, either in their own communities or scattered throughout the population. The material and conscious basis will be laid for real liberation. A workers revolution is impossible in the United States without the full participation of Blacks and Latins, especially workers in the revolutionary movement and its leadership. Also real liberation for the Black and Latin masses cannot come without the overthrow of US capitalism without the establishment of a workers state.

9. "The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i.e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible." (Manifesto) The history of workers revolutions, the Paris Commune 1871, the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Spanish Revolution of 1936, etc. show that the working class must both seize the means of production, and smash the old state, setting up a new state based on workers councils; neither is sufficient without the other. All the means of production, distribution and finance are made the property of the nation, which is run by the democratic workers state. Instead of each factory being run by the workers in it and competing against all other factories, economic life is coordinated and planned by the workers state. There is workers control over production. The workers state as a whole decides what is to be produced, but within those guidelines, the workers in each plant organize work, elect their crew leaders, arrange jobs and working time, etc. The nature of work will change. Boring repetitive and inhuman jobs will be eliminated through automation, even if it is more expensive. The guiding principle will be the needs of the workers not production.

10. The workers state abolished production for profit, and substitutes production for human use. The work week is reduced, pay raised, everyone given a job. Production is changed from planned obsolescence to well made goods that last. A workers state abolishes the arms economy which is a necessity for capitalism. It will protect itself, but will not need an arms economy to shore up sagging production. Instead democratic planning will be used to eliminate crisis, rebuild the cities,

build adequate public transportation, clean up and protect the environment and provide full medical care and education for all. There will be user as well as worker control of hospitals, schools, public facilities, etc. With capitalist and bureaucratic fetters removed from the forces of production, the economy will show much greater gains in productivity than anything known under minority class rule as workers get control over production and their destinies. Instead of higher productivity meaning speedup and being thrown out of a job, it will mean more goods with less labor for all. With the elimination of competition, the anarchy of production and profit as the regulator of society, it will be possible for workers states to eliminate depressions and wars. A planned economy under the democratic control of the working class will allow for the large scale harmonious growth of the economy and the radical improvement of humanity's condition.

11. Socialism can only be established on a world scale. Workers revolution will undoubtedly break out first in one or a few countries, but until it has conquered all the industrialized countries it will not be safe and at that point all the countries subordinated to capitalist and bureaucratic collectivist imperialism will fall into the camp of world revolution. World socialism means a planned world economy and must recognize the world division of labor. But it cannot be based on the now advanced industrial countries being the providers of manufactured goods and the semi-colonial countries providing raw materials. The basis would only be laid for war and revolution. The advanced industrial countries which for generations, have benefited from the fruits of imperialism at the expense of the oppressed masses in the semi-colonial countries must aid in their rapid industrialization. Only in this way can the countries impoverished by imperialism avoid the brutalities of the capitalist Industrial Revolution, enforced stagnation or Stalinist forced collectivization. Thus for the masses in the countries oppressed by imperialism world revolution is as much a necessity as it is for the working class in the advanced industrial countries.

12. The workers state, unlike any other form of class rule, begins immediately to prepare its own dissolution. Once it is secure and has triumphed on a world scale it has to only rule over a dwindling number of the old ruling classes. It does away with the nation state which is a fetter on the production forces and which leads to economic and then military wars. Soon all share the same relation to the means of production, there are no antagonistic classes, in fact no classes. It is no longer necessary to have a State for the rule of people over other people. The workers state has laid the basis purely for the rule of people over things and the transition to socialism, when the state withers away. Under the workers state it will be necessary to continue to pay workers according to the quantity (time) and quality (skill) of their work. This is necessary to prevent sabotage by highly skilled and scarce workers like doctors (who will be employees of the state), technicians, etc. But gradually as all workers get access to training for skilled jobs and the entire system of job classification and work differentials are broken down the workers state will obtain equality. But equality still hides inequalities: some work harder than others, have greater abilities, others have greater needs, etc. Under socialism each will be paid for the time worked (quantity) but not for quality.

13. Our goal, the eventual world communist society, means the abolition of the wage system, of work as we know it. In the words of Marx, people will hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon and practice criticism (intellectual activity) at night. In other words men and women will engage in a variety of socially necessary tasks to perpetuate and expand abundance for all. Work will become a create thing, Humanity, the product of a social environment, will be radically different after years of a workers state and a socialist society than anything we see today. In the words of Trotsky, "Man will become immeasurable stronger, wiser, and subtler; his body will become more harmonized his movements more rhythmic, his voice more musical. The forms of life will become dynamically dramatic. The average human type will rise to the heights of an Aristotle, a Goethe, or a Marx. And above this ridge new peaks will rise."

14. The communist future is not a utopian dream. The material basis has been laid by the development of modern industry. The obstacles of course are based in the reactionary social systems. The motor force that will create the communist future is the working class, developed by the old society and impelled forward in the class struggle. Allied with the oppressed peoples and organized in the Third Camp, it will destroy the two reactionary ruling classes, and by its conscious actions build the communist society to liberate humanity.

III. MARXISM

C. 1. Marx's thought was the product of German philosophy, the French Revolution and English economics. Marx was the first to fuse revolutionary democracy and the working class to collectivist thought. Deep social struggles in the past have produced utopian socialists who, identifying with the oppressed masses, dreamed and even fought for a society of equality, where private property was abolished and men could be free. There was no material basis in production to make such dreams possible before the Industrial Revolution. At the end of the French Revolution Babeuf and his conspiracy of the equals tried to create an educational distatorship to run the economy collectively for the benefit of the plebian masses. One strain of "socialist" thought has been collectivism run by an elite. Marx established the idea of socialism from below, based on workers taking power democratically and abolishing class society. Marx and Engels laid a scientific basis for socialism in their analysis of capitalism and their strategy for the struggles for power.

D. The Capitalist System

1. All societies to date, except the most primitive, have been based upon exploitation. For thousands of years the rich and powerful have lived off the labour of the people who actually do the work.

Capitalism differs from older forms of class society in depending on free labour, free in the double sense of being untied legally to a particular master or workplace, on the one hand, and 'free' from legal rights over the means of production on the other. [Capital therefore presupposes wage labour, wage labour presupposes capital (Marx). Capital means that the means of production (plant and equipment) are controlled by a separate class from the workers and are commodities with exchange value.

The source of the income of the capitalist, and therefore also of the resources for capital accumulation, is surplus value. Surplus value arises from the difference between that part of the working day necessary to produce the equivalent of wages and the whole working day. The greater the productivity of labour, the greater the proportion of production accruing to the capitalist as surplus value.

2. Capitalism also differs from older forms of class society because the driving force of production is the maximising of surplus value in order to expand capital-production for profit. Investment is regulated by the rate of profit. When the rate of profit falls; the rate of investment also falls. Capitalism was the first system in history which compelled its rulers to accumulate resources and convert them into capital as the basis for their existence. Competition forces the controllers of the various enterprises to accumulate capital on an ever-growing scale, to reduce costs relative to their competitors' costs, and to increase the surplus extracted from the actual producers-the workers. Competition is modified by the growth of monopoly and state monopoly; it is not abolished. The giant firms which dominate production today are engaged in a constant struggle with one another to amass more and more surplus value to extend their capital.

3. This compulsive need to accumulate capital made the system immensely progressive in its earlier years compared to anything that had gone before. The drive to accumulate capital is the motor of technological change. Inventions are taken up and developed in order to reduce the costs of production and to increase the productivity of labour in order to increase the surplus accruing to the capitalist. Competition ensures the general adoption of new techniques, and research for still newer ones. The result has been to create for the first time in history the material base for a world society based on free co-operation. In the last resort, all pre-capitalist civilizations were necessarily based on exploitation because the techniques of production were too primitive, the productivity of labour too low to prevent the abolition of poverty. The historic achievement of the capitalist system has been to transform the techniques of production; though this was achieved at the cost of the most brutal exploitation of working people, it was nevertheless achieved. If the present productive equipment, without allowing for future increases, were rationally organized to produce for need for not for profit, it would be possible to abolish poverty and oppression everywhere in the world.

The material prerequisites for a socialist society on a world scale have existed at least since World War 1. No least of these prerequisites is a working class organized by capitalism itself. All minority class rule since that time, capitalist or bureaucratic collectivist, has been reactionary. Only the development of the working class to be the ruling class is progressive today.

4. The accumulation of capital is an unstable process. From the earliest period of industrial capitalism there has been a cycle of boom followed by slump followed by boom. Slumps are periods of relative overproduction associated with short term falls in the rate of profit. Over and above such short run fluctuation in profit rates, two long term characteristics are built into the system a long run tendency for the rate of exploitation to rise and a long run tendency for the average rate of profit to decline. In the absence of compensating factors these

tendencies must produce ever more severe economic crises. Compensating factors exist. Two of the most important have been the export of capital - this phenomenon was at the heart of 'classical' imperialism - and the military-economic role of the state.

E. THE WORKING CLASS & CLASS STRUGGLE

1. Capitalism not only created the material basis for an advanced classless society, it also created its human basis; the modern working class. Socialism cannot be imposed on the working class by other social groups. Nor can it be achieved by piecemeal reforms, it involves the transfer of power from the capitalist class to the working class and that is a revolutionary change in society.

"The emancipation of the working class is the task of the working class itself". (Marx) The motor force of history is class struggle. The working class can only improve its share of what it produces at the expense of the capitalists; the capitalists solve their problems at the expense of the working class. The working class strives to get control over the means of production. With capitalist crisis, the working class is forced to carry the class struggle through to completion to abolish class society.

F. Workers Control

1. It is one of the most prevalent myths of our time that those who most intimately experience and live within a situation are least able to understand and control that situation. At one time or another, and still today, whole classes, populations and races have been denied their fundamental rights as human beings. Nowhere is this myth more perniciously prevalent than in the discussion about industrial society and how it can be controlled.

2. In the day-to-day process of industry, workers prove their capacity to carry through the job despite the efforts of management. One small example is in the struggle around piecework, time study and work study: with all their expensive training, stop watches and high speed photography, the work study experts are continually frustrated in their efforts to reduce the actual pay for the job. Without bogus science, the worker is able (in a very limited and restricted sense) to impose his control over a small part of the productive process. The capitalist notion of control in industry, with a hierarchy of greater and lesser dictators: foremen, managers, owner, etc- is intrinsically incapable of getting the best out of the machines and the people who work them: The individual decision of the dictator within production, based on individual, and inevitably limited experience, is no substitute for the collective experience of the workers freely given. Capitalism, by its in built class divisions and differences in class aims, cannot ever harness the massive potential of the working class.

3. In a very real sense, the whole capitalist operation is a confidence trick. The individual worker, looking at modern society, feels dwarfed by its complexity and incapable of controlling it. The individual capitalist is equally dwarfed, but continues to control. To understand how the capitalist exercises this control is to go a long way towards understanding how a victorious working class will be able both to exercise and maintain its power.

4. By definition, the capitalists constitute a very small minority of the population. Their power is obviously not deployed directly, in most cases, the men who own industry do not even manage their own enterprises. The modern capitalist, with his multiple directorships and majority shareholdings, can no more direct the destiny of the individual enterprise than he can control the weather. His time is fully occupied with extracting maximum surplus value from the mass of, for him, faceless workers who work his machinery. To carry through the process of maximum exploitation and accumulation, he hires and fires managers and technicians. His ultimate control, then, resides not in his physical strength-as against the workers' combined strength he has none; nor does it drive from his knowledge of industry-against the knowledge and experience of the workers he has (and needs) none. Ultimately, his control is ensured by the class nature of the state itself.

5. No state in recorded history has been neutral, Indeed, only capitalism has pretended to neutrality at all. The whole charade of legal impartiality, of two-sided Congressional democracy with tame opposition, the 'friendly' cop on the beat, and an army subject to representative control, is another set of myths that masks the very real and repressive nature of the capitalist state. This repressive state is designed specifically, and hallowed by custom, to ensure that existing class relationships remain fixed. The police, the judiciary and the standing army are not neutral, and proof is to be seen daily in the ghettoes, in strikes, and in Vietnam. The Taft-Hartley Act outlaws secondary boycotts and enables the Government to break strikes in the interest of the capitalists.

6. Today's state is their state. To ensure our control, tomorrow's state must be ours. The 'dictatorship of the proletariat' (workers' control) is merely this: the professional army must be replaced by popular militias; the courts staffed by workers' nominees; the factories run by elected councils; the parliamentary sham replaced by a union of workers councils, with rights of recall throughout the process. For the first time, the state will operate in the interests of the majority because the majority will actually be the state. Control of the individual factory will ultimately be impossible without working class control of the state.

7. In the first instance, it will be impossible to replace the technical management and research direction. The working class may intimately know the actual processes of production, but they will not acquire overnight the collective wisdom to replace the technical and research effort. As with capitalism, such men and women will have to be hired. The obvious danger of such an intellectual elite operating politically in their own special social interests, will only be overcome by the working class nature and composition of the state. In Russia in the 1920's the virtual disappearance of the working class, never very large in terms of numbers, laid the base on which the Stalinist bureaucracy were enabled to secure their power and start the degeneration into bureaucratic collectivism.

8. In an industrialized metropolitan country, the very fact of the changed nature of the state and the changed organisation within industry will enable large, parasitic sections to be freed for

productive labour. The whole paraphernalia of management, the nonsense of advertising, and large sections of the standing bureaucracy and Civil Service, not to mention the police, judiciary and army will become superfluous, to be employed in the production of wealth instead of spending of it. For the first time, we will be able to live to the full extent of our humanity. To date we have merely scratched the surface of the infinite possibilities of the human intelligence. The restraints on these possibilities have been forged in capitalism and its state. Both must be smashed if we are to ever enter the realm of human freedom.

9. Every so often, usually at a time of rising rank and file militancy, 'respectable' leaders of the trade unions begin to play around the fringes of workers' control. Usually this takes the form of some muttering about 'industrial democracy'. The more 'radical' even manage to get their tongues around the actual words 'workers' control'. In practice they are not announcing a belated conversion to revolutionary socialism; quite the contrary. They are in fact discussing a method of involving the workers' so-called 'representatives' in the responsibility for capitalist production. Trade union nominees on a board of directors is not workers' control. It is the acceptance of responsibility without the power to affect the course of events.

10. It is interesting to note that the first experiment of this kind occured in Kaiser Wilhelm's Germany during World War I, not because the German Imperial Government had any ideological attachment to socialism, but to ensure the more enthusiastic participation of the German workers in war production.

11. Workers' control is not given by a friendly legislature in a capitalist Congress. It is not won by trade union negotiation in smoke-filled rooms. It has to be taken by a working class armed with marxist theory, conscious of the limitations of reformism and led by a revolutionary party.

12. To recognise the impossibility of achieving workers' control by stealth on the road of reform is not at all to relegate the struggle to a distant future. The battle for the idea in the existing organisations of the labour movement, particularly the trade unions, is not only worthwhile: it is essential. The programme for workers' control of the unions appears elsewhere in this document. In the process of fighting for such a programme in real life, not only can we win victories and invaluable experience be gained, but also the revolutionary workers party, able to lead the final long-overdue assault on capitalism, will be constructed.

1. Workers' control is the vital condition for the maintenance of working class power and the eventual victory of socialism.

2. There is no reformist road to workers' control within capitalism. The capitalist state must be smashed and be replaced by a state under the control of the working class and its organisations.

3. In the process of that struggle and alongside it, we expect to build the revolutionary party that will both speed the clarification of ideas and lead the struggle for ultimate workers' power.

4. At times of crisis the opportunity sometimes arises to fight for workers control of production, to enroach on the power of the capitalists. Any gains in this direction will be short lived. Only when workers take state power is workers control really possible.

G. Women

1. Women's oppression is and always has been, deeply rooted in class society. The monogamous family, ruled by the man, evolved only with the development of private property and classes in primitive society.

2. In the family the woman, whose primary concern is the bearing and rearing of children and the management of the home, is economically dependent on the man who works outside the home to acquire the means of subsistence. This is the material foundation of the family. Women's labour in the home is performed in isolation, apart from the technological progress and collective action associated with other labour in society. Thus historically women have tended to play a subordinate role in all fields of economic, political and social life.

3. On this basis arise the ideological myths of the 'natural' inferiority of women. Women are passive; men are aggressive. Women are emotional; men rational. Women are less intelligent than men, unsuited to leadership, capable of dealing only with the details of everyday life, and so on. These ideas, which have passed as commonsense for centuries, serve to re-inforce and maintain the inequality and oppression which they reflect.

4. Industrial capitalism, by driving working class women into the factory and by developing the wealth in the world at an unprecedented rate, has created the possibility of the emancipation of women just as it has laid the basis for the emancipation of the working class as a whole. But capitalism has also intensified the exploitation of women.

5. Most women do two jobs. One unpaid in the home: rearing the workers of the future and caring for the ones of today. And another as a wage labourer in the factory or the office. Capitalism uses the traditionally inferior status of women and their allegiance to their families to exploit women with the maximum ferocity, paying them on average only half the wages of men and making them accept the worst possible working conditions. Capitalism, by concentrating production in factories, has created a more definitive division between women's labour in the home and the other work in society than in any previous epoch. It therefore intensifies the housewife's social isolation. The individual nature of her work means that not only are the boredom, the drudgery and the unendingness of household chores unmitigated, but also it is difficult for her to organise collectively with other women to fight to change her situation.

6. Capitalism fosters the division between men and women (as it does all division in the working class). The education system and the mass media continually condition both sexes not to step outside their prescribed roles. The man who is bossed around at work is encouraged to keep his wife in 'her place' at home. Yet at the same time attempts are made to mobilize the price conscious housewife against her 'trouble-making' striker husband. The trade unions, rather than breaking down

this division, tend to reinforce it. By treating women as second class members they confirm them in their traditional role. Because they fail to act on questions of special concern to women - e.g. equal pay, nurseries, rents and prices-they cannot offer an effective counter attack to the divide and rule tactics of the employing class.

7. Women's Liberation requires the abolition of the division of labour between men and women. It requires that 'woman's place' ceases to be in the home: that the economic dependence of women on men be ended and that housework and the rearing of children be socialised. Only in a socialist society can the wealth created by the working class be used to this end. And equally, socialist revolution is impossible without the full participation of working class women. Such participation is only possible if women, like other sections of the class, first organise around their own interests. The International Socialists therefore oppose every form of oppression of women and support all struggles by working women and housewives to improve their lives.

8. While all women are oppressed, women bear a different relation to exploitation according to their class position. Bourgeois women benefit from exploitation and may take part in the super-exploitation and oppression of other women,* regardless of class, but particularly take part in the building of a working womens movement, as the force which allied with the working class movement as a whole, can liberate women through socialist revolution.

9. We seek to build a mass working class womens movement in this country. This will only be possible once the struggle of the working class as a whole and working women in particular heats up considerably. Our work today is to lay the basis for that organization of the future. We seek to build womens' caucuses at work when that is necessary because of sexist male workers and union practices. We seek to build organizations of women worker activists and organizers, to coordinate their work on the job and in unions, to publicize their ideas and train new activists and spread the ideas of womens liberation and working class struggle. In general we are for organizations made up only of women so that they can overcome the intimidation they feel from men, develop their self-awareness and train their own leadership. We favor close alliances between such working womens groups and other organizations of men and women.

10. Some of the key demands we raise to advance the womens struggle are:
   a. Equal pay for Equal Work; Access of women to all jobs, Preferential hiring for women, upgrading; End discriminatory seniority systems, Fire sexist foremen.
   b. Free 24 hr. child care, paid for by the corporations and the government through corporate taxation, controlled by parents and workers.
   c. Maternity and paternity leave; men should share in child rearing. Abortions paid for by corporations and government.
   d. For women to represent women in the unions. Organize the unorganized. Put all women and men under a minimum wage equal to union pay.

* insert: e.g. domestics. we champion the battle against the oppression of all women, regardless.....

e. Equal benefits for women workers, extend all benefits to part-time workers, end discriminatory pensions and health benefits.
f. End tracking in schools and all discrimination in education. Full social, political and economic equality for women in society.
g. Extend protective legislation to all workers, no forced overtime and night work, for a working womens Equal Rights Amendment. Jobs for all, 30 hrs. work for 40 hrs. pay, end forced work and the current welfare system.
h. For a Labor & Oppressed Peoples Party, with full participation of women in the ranks and leadership, which will fight for womens interests.

H. BLACK AND LATIN LIBERATION

1. All Black and Latin people in the United States are victims of racist oppression. Forced into the worst jobs or no jobs at all, put into segregated or tracked schools, driven into an imperialist army to die abroad in racist wars, forced to live in ghettoes and barrios, this is life in racist America. Black and Latin people are overwhelmingly workers, who are paid less than white workers by the capitalists, and thus, are super-exploited. But not all Blacks and Latins are workers. There is a small middle class, and large numbers of people kept permanently unemployed, forced onto welfare or into crime, the worst victims of this rotten society. Racism is not simply the idea that Blacks and Latins are inferior, but is part and parcel of the capitalist system, i.e. institutionalized racism. The real estate system and the super-profits to be made off block busting and residential segregation, the caste system in the military, the dual labor market which forces Blacks and Latins to seek different jobs in different ways, the white run and capitalist controlled political system, social segregation in churches, family life, recreation etc. all are aspects of institutionalized capitalist racism that pervades every facet of American life.

2. Racism was consciously developed by the US ruling class, both the Northern capitalists and the Southern slave owners, as a way of keeping both the Black slaves and the white workers divided and down. With the abolition of slavery and the defeat of the radical Reconstructionists both the Republican and Democratic Party worked to keep Blacks in a semi-slave sharecropper existence and as oppressed workers in industry. Racism was a potent tool to divide the working class as Blacks could be brought into the same work places either as scabs or in the dirtiest, hardest jobs which were paid the least. Poor peasants from Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, the West Indies and the Philippines, Japan and China were imported into the US to work as agricultural laborers, builders of railroads and providers of certain services. The US labor movement had an ambiguous attitude towards these immigrants, but most often treated them as enemies who would drive down wages and sought to exclude and intimidate them.

3. At those times when the US labor movement has been particularly strong and on the offensive against the capitalist white workers have seen the urgency of working class unity and have cooperated with Blacks. The Knights of Labor and the Populists had a temporary alliance between workers and poor Black and white farmers to fight the newly emerging monopolies, their common enemy. The IWW and the CIO sought to build mass industrial unions of all workers. The CIO in particular raised

the slogan "Black & White Unite and Fight" and put Blacks in the lead of some unions. But the overall behavior of modern US unions, particularly the AFL was one of Black and Latin exclusion and collaboration with the racist practices of the capitalists. Anti-union sentiment found a base in the Black and Latin communities as a consequence. White workers reap some short term benefits from racism, such as when they help the boss break a strike of Black workers against racist practices, and are rewarded with higher pay and a monopoly of skilled jobs. The overall consequence is a divided working class where all workers suffer, as in the South, where racism is strongest and unions weakest, and the entire working class suffers under very low wages. It is in the self interest of white workers as well as Blacks and Latins to combat all forms of racism and to get a united working class to take on the capitalists.

4. Blacks and Latins are overwhelmingly workers and are concentrated in key industries. It is here that the power lies for a real liberation struggle. In auto, steel, meat packing, longshore, electrical and other industries Blacks and Latins today are a disproportionate percentage of production workers, of the industrial proletariat. Racist practices on the part of the companies lead to super-exploitation. The combined racist oppression and exploitation lead Blacks and Latins to be the most conscious militants and the most willing to fight the system, and so can play a leading role in the working class struggle.

5. The oppression of Blacks and Latins extends to all facets of life, on and off the job. Police brutality, a racist educational system, higher prices for lower quality goods, discrimination against Spanish speakers, immigration harrassment, all these are problems of the oppressed communities. As a result there spring up campaigns against police brutality, store boycotts, rent strikes and other forms of resistance. But in the ghetto and barrio all people are atomised, pitted one against another. There is not one enemy but many: the landlord, the police, the merchant, the gangster, etc. The community struggles linked to the workers movement in basic industries that has the power to shut the economy down can provide a potent force for liberation.

6. Where Blacks and Latins are victims of racial oppression in the unions and on the job we favor the organization of Black and Brown caucuses to fight for liberation against the company and the racist practices of fellow workers, and also to spearhead the fight around all issues workers face. By appealing to white workers to join the general fight against the company and demanding an immediate end to racist practices, the basis can be laid for united working class activity. Where Blacks and Latins are predominant in the work force special caucuses probably are not necessary, as any caucus formed would make these demands prominent. We are for Blacks representing Blacks and Latins representing Latins in the union leadership.

7. Blacks and Latin Liberation is impossible without the overthrow of capitalism in this country, without social revolution. No reforms that leave the capitalists in control of industry and the state will

eliminate racist practices throughout the economy and in political life. Only in this way will there be good jobs for all, the rebuilding of the cities, the provision of decent medical care, education and every other need of Black and Latin people. The capitalist state is not about to grant Blacks and Latins the economic wherewithall to make liberation a reality. Black and Latin control of the communities will offer no real power unless there is control over industry. Further US capitalism is so gigantic and so powerful, that the combined power of Blacks and Latins alone, although it could severely shake the system could not overthrow it. For that the entire working class must be mobilized. For Blacks and Latins liberation is impossible without a working class revolution. For the working class as a whole a revolution is impossible without the active participation and leadership of Blacks and Latins in the revolutionary movement.

8. Key to the success of the socialist revolution in this country is that Black, Brown and White unity be forged in struggle. This cannot be done by Blacks and Latins toning down the fight against racism on the grounds it "divides the class". The working class is already divided by the practice of the capitalists and the acquiescence and at times active support of many white workers. The working class movement must champion every demand of Blacks and Latins, both because they are just in their own right and because they are essential to a united working class movement. Blacks and Latins cannot and must not hold back the liberation struggle because of the conservative consciousness of white workers. At the same time, Blacks and Latins, by advancing the class struggle as a whole, by leading the fight against speedup on the job, for a shorter work week, for jobs for all, etc. can show all workers, Black, Brown and White, that a united class struggle is the way forward. The program of the working class movement itself must include demands to advance Black and Latin liberation.

9. Black and Latin people must be organized in independent organizations. Part of the process of breaking the shackles of oppression is to develop a leadership and organization not controlled by outside forces. White be urged to work in close association with Black and Latin organizations, but not to be members of these groups. The Black and Latin movements have to be rebuilt on a working class basis, to fight the dual nature of oppression, the racist-capitalist system. We seek to build national Black and Latin workers organizations. Our work today with caucuses in industry, in welfare rights organizations, with tenants, in opposition to police brutality, and in other community struggles, is to lay the basis for such mass organizations in the future. We seek to link the separate struggles together and to give them a working class and political focus. We seek to bring the tremendous power of Black and Latin workers concentrated in basic industry to bear in fighting for jobs, to end racist practices, to end unemployment by shortening the work week, & to win demands in the community such as rent reductions, change in police practices, etc. We seek to build a cadre of Black and Latin professional revolutionaries, trained in the working class struggle, who will be the organizers and leaders of class conscious Black and Latin movements.

10. The fight on the job and in the communities is not enough. It must be directed against the state, in the streets and in the ballot box. The Democratic Party is the party of the growers as well as the farm workers, the party which defends US imperialism in Puerto Rico and the party of the Puerto Rican masses. It is the party of the slum lords, the politicians who maintain the ghetto and the racist corporations and it is the party of the Black masses. Black and Latin liberation cannot be achieved without a united working class onslaught against capitalism. For that reason, we aim to build a Working Class & Oppressed Peoples Party in this country which will mount a two barreled attack on the racist capitalist system. But Blacks and Latins today are much more fed up with the two capitalist parties. That is why La Raza Unida (United Peoples) Party is already in existence. We urge Black and Latin workers to take the initiative and set up a political party to contest for power in this society, around the liberation demands and a working class program. It is necessary to campaign for a Working Class & Oppressed Peoples Party, urge white workers to affiliate and lay the basis for a future mass party. Besides La Raza Unida Party, this would mean a Black Party if it was clear at the time it came into existence that no significant numbers of white workers were ready to join a working class party in alliance with Blacks.

11. We join in the fight around the following key demands:
a. JOBS-Immediate jobs for all Black and Latin workers. Reconvert the arms economy and tax the corporations to put everyone to work. Hire Blacks and Latins preferentially (in a higher proportion than their strength in the population) for all new openings. End probation periods that are used in a racist manner. Preferential upgrades into the skilled trades. Make racist acts in hiring and promotion a crime. Fire racist foremen. End racist assignments to the worst jobs. For the right to strike over racial grievances. 30 hr. week for 40 hrs. pay to make jobs available for all.
b. HOUSING-Rebuild the ghettoes and barrios; decent low cost housing for all. Get rid of the military economy and put the Black and Latin unemployed to work doing the job. Strengthen tenants organizations by linking them up to industrial struggles, using strikes in industry to force the government to act. Expropriate without compensation all slum lords.
c. SCHOOLS - Build quality schools, train Black and Latin teachers. For the right of Blacks and Latins to attend school anywhere. End racist practices. For the right of parents and older students to transfer racist teachers. For parent control over curriculum and textbooks. For community-older student-teacher control of the schools.
d. IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO. For the right for the Puerto Ricans to expropriate without compensation all US investment on the island.
e. IMMIGRATION-For the right of free immigration. Oppose the Kennedy-Rodino Bill. End immigration harrassment.
f. OPPRESSION OF SPANISH-All government publications to be in Spanish and English. Enforce the treaty of Guadeloupe-Hildago. Bi-lingual instruction in the schools.

g. POLICE-Against police repression of the Black and Latin communities. For armed self-defense. For community control of the police, with the Black and Latin people electing police commissioners, police having to live in the neighborhoods. Fire racist police.
h.UNIONS-For Black and Latin self representation in the unions. End all racist practices, including seniority systems, discriminations in hiring, assignments, upgrades, etc. For the unions to champion the demands of Blacks and Latins, for a Workers & Oppressed Peoples Party

I. GAY LIBERATION

The family and social relations as they have evolved in class society shape peoples' minds and condition them to accept authoritarian class rule. When people have sexual relations outside socially acepted norms, many people become violently hostile because such behavior seems to threaten the very existence of society. People's personal affairs and sexual behavior is their own affair. We are against making anything a crime that has no victims. But the oppression of Gay People, men and women, goes beyond legal repression and economic discrimination. Gays are labelled "sick" by a society that is fearful of sexuality and forces many people to deny their sexual preferences and creates neuroses as a consequence. Bias against Gay people must be combatted by the workers movement in a vigilant fashion. Only a socialist society and the break down of the pressures of class society will enable people to lead the sexual lives of their choosing without being stigmatized, but every effort must be made in the meantime to strengthen the self-organization of gay people and combat their oppression.

J. THE STATE AND VIOLENCE

In any class society the ruling class controls, in the last resort, the state machine. At the core of any state are the means of organised violence-armed forces, police, 'bodies of armed men at the service of the ruling class'(Engels)-maintained for employment against the internal and external enemies of the rulers. For all class societies, without any exception, rely in the end on the threat of violence and when necessary the use of violence. In general violence is not used arbitrarily against internal opposition. It is used according to established rules, according to law. But any system of law is essentially concerned with the protection and regulation of a particular type of property relationship. Capitalist legal systems have evolved in defence of capitalist property, of the very wage-labour/capital relationship that socialists seek to abolish.

2. In the US there is a supposed "separation of powers" of Congress, the Executive and the Judiciary. In reality Congress has relatively little say on what is done (the Pentagon plans its budgets on a five yr. basis; what it loses with Congress one year it makes up the next. The impoundment and executive privilege crises of 1973 show the Executive may refuse to spend what Congress had allocated for what it deems important. Further millions of economic and political (power) decisions are made daily by giant corporations over which Congress has no say. An ITT may threaten the very existence of a foreign state. The President is elected by universal suffrage, but the Executive as a whole is a vast bureaucracy, which, including the military, doesn't change fundamentally from one Administration to another. The

Judiciary is appointed by the Executive, often as rewards in the patronage /spoils system. Those liberals who rely upon the Supreme Court for progressive decisions soon find that with new appointments everything is undermined, as there has been no change in the consciousness of the people and no organization to enforce progressive measures. The federalism of the US with the State and local governments having extensive powers over transportation, social welfare legislation, education, etc. simply means that local capitalists can have more influence while attention is focused on the national political arena. Political power is divided so as better to conquer the working class.

3. Some would be socialists, like the Socialist Labor Party, argue that workers could win a majority in Congress and the Presidency, amend the Constitution and abolish private ownership of the means of production. The worker run Congress would then disband the standing army, replacing it with a workers militia and setting up workers councils to replace Congress itself. In reality all this is impossible. No ruling class ever abdicates without a struggle. Legal forms are only the outward manifestation of class rule and are invariably violated by the ruling class itself--if they are used to threaten the very existence of that class. The loyalty of the top officers of the armed forces, the police, the judges and the state bureaucracy is to the ruling class of which they are a part. All historical and contemporary evidence proves that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes".(Engels) Further consciousness does not develop in a gradual manner. The working class will come to see the necessity of its obtaining power in a revolutionary crisis and must seize state power and take over industry through revolution.

4. It does not follow that Congress and other representative bodies cannot be used by socialists. They can and must be used, in certain circumstances, as a platform for agitation and propaganda. But the decisive step in the revolutionary transformation of society, the destruction of the capitalist state machine with its bureaucracy hierarchy, standing army, police and prisons and the creation of a workers' state, cannot be achieved through Constitutional means. There is no Constitutional means to socialism. Just as the political pre-conditions for the development of capitalism were achieved in the US through the American Revolution and the Civil War, so the political pre-conditions for socialism will be achieved by the destruction of the existing Constitution.

IV. LESSONS OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT:

K. Social Democracy

1. Socialism can only be established on a world scale. Therefore Revolutionary Socialists have always worked to create a Revolutionary Socialist International. Today we must draw the lessons of the past in order to rebuild a new International to lead the world Revolution.

2. Ever since 1832, when the workers of Lyons addressed a manifesto to their English brothers, the struggle for internationalism has been at the very heart of the working class movement, and socialists have endeavoured to build organisations to embody this principle.

3. The First International, founded in 1864, grew from the contacts that had developed between workers in Western Europe. Its base was small and its influence scarcely extended outside Western Europe. Despite the important role played by Marx, the International was not Marxist; in fact it contained within it a number of widely diverging tendencies. Facedwith the historical experience of the Paris Commune of 1871, with all its lessons for an understanding of the nature of the state, the International faced serious splits, and shortly afterwards dissolved.

4. The Second International, founded in 1889, marked an advance over the First. Not only was its theoretical position clearer and more coherent, but it had real support in mass working class parties; its affiliates mustered three million members, 12 million votes and two hundred daily papers. Yet for most of its leaders internationalism was a luxury, an afterthought to the main job of pursuing reformist policies within the national state. The social democratic parties that were the national sections grew rapidly in the years after 1880 in a number of European countries.

5. The Erfurt Program of the German Social Democracy (1891) was divided into two parts: a general statement of capitalist society and the socialist future on the one hand, and the immediate goals of the socialists on the other. The German socialists limited themselves purely to what could be won in the system, that is, they did not raise demands which could only be realized by going beyond the limits of the system. In 1912 when thousands of workers were demonstrating in the streets for an end to the undemocratic electoral system, the Revolutionary Rosa Luxembourg raised the demand for a Republic. Karl Kautsky, the "Pope of Marxism" shuddered in horror. A struggle over such a demand would threaten the Kaiser, who would quickly respond by crushing the Social Democratic Party and its affiliated trade unions. Kautsky and the right wing, the so-called "revisionists" of Marxim, expressed the needs of the new labor bureaucracy to survive under capitalism. They purposely limited their demands to what the system could meet so as not to threaten it. Since capitalism was progressive, they reasoned, so too was imperialism. Rosa Luxembourg in Germany and more clearly the Bolsheviks in Russia fought for every reform that would better the conditions of the masses and strengthen its self awareness and organization, but they also raised transitional demands that went beyond the limits of capitalism but which the masses could be mobilized around and which would raise the question of their taking power.

German Social Democracy came more and more to adapt themselves to a purely national, that is, reformist practice. The revolution which, it was stressed, was inevitable, came to be put off into the indefinite future. The real work of the parties came to be seen as increasing the socialist vote, selling more newspapers, getting more deputies elected to national legislatures and influencing legislation. Though the International condemned participation in bourgeois governments and though the German Party, the real backbone of social democracy, had unanimously voted (at its first illegal Congress, during the period of the Anti-Socialist Law) to delete the reference in its programme to attaining its ends 'by all legal means'; nevertheless the parties, with some exceptions (Russia, Bulgaria, Serbia, etc) became completely adapted to bourgeois legality.

4. Imperialism

1. Imperialism did not begin with the creation of industrial capitalism. For 200 yrs. before, commercial capitalism had set out to spread its control over large parts of the world. The Americas and parts of Asia were seized and subordinated to the tasks of building commercial capital. The slave trade, the appalling traffic in human beings from West Africa transported to America and the Caribbean was only the most savage aspect of the spreading commercial domination.

2. The proceeds of commercial capitalist exploitation flowed back to Europe. They provided an important element in building the springboard which launched the industrial revolution and the explosion of industrial capitalism.

3. Under industrial capitalism, for the first time the world became one powerfully integrated market. Thousands of peoples, nations and different civilisations were swept into the new system, despite all they did to resist it. All-whatever their very different points of origin-were subordinated to serving the sytem above all to supplying raw materials for the insatiable hunger of the European manufacturing machine.

4. To extract raw materials demanded capital. Capital for the ships that carried the raw materials, for docks, cities, railways, plantations, mines.

5. The importation of cheap food and materials, as well as the continuous expansion of production in the metropolitan countries to meet the needs of the markets abroad, laid the basis for the working class in the imperialist countries becoming an aristocracy of labor and having a privileged position in relation to the colonial slaves. This simultaneously hurt the working class in the metropolitan countries by tying them to their bourgeoisie, just as their lack of proletarian solidarity with the colonial masses contributed to their enslavement and postponed the outbreak of revolution in the colonies which in turn could spread to Europe.

6. In the 19th century, the virtually complete division of the world into competing imperial powers, with the latecomers finding little to comfort them in their economic difficulties, gave rise to even greater problems. The conflicts between the great imperial powers became military as well as economic. This was the root cause of the two world wars of the first half of the 20th century. These were basically imperialist wars, wars for 'markets and for freedom to loot foreign countries'(Lenin). The partial stabilization of capitalism by imperialism was paid for in wholesale slaughter and destruction.

7. The rise of social democracy coincided exactly with the rise of 'modern imperialism' which combined a limited 'welfare state'(Germany, Britain)or at least the promise of one, with unlimited chauvinism.

In 1914, the parties of the Second International, still dedicated in theory to Marxism and mandated at the Basel Conference in 1912 to an international resistance to war, paid off their debt to their national capitalist masters by joining the patriotic fervour for war. In Germany the Social Democratic deputies voted the Kaiser's war credits in France and Britain, Socialist and Labour representatives joined bourgeois

governments and held the betrayal a victory for the working class. The real socialist movement was once again reduced to small circles. Persecuted and hounded by imperialist government agencies, the socialists set about the extremely difficult task of rebuilding the movement. They opposed the war; they fought against the notion that the workers had any identity of interest with capitalist war aims. At conferences at Zimmerwald and Kienthal the internationalists re-established contact. However, these conferences included a pacifist 'centrist' majority alongside the revolutionary minority.

8. The crisis of 1914 produced a lasting split in the working class movement. Those who supported 'their own' governments during the war were to become, in reality, supporters of the capitalist class in the revolutionary crisis after the war and, subsequently, were to abandon their socialism altogether, in deeds if not in words. The degenerate social democratic parties of today are their descendants. These parties have a working class base, which requires a 'united front' approach to them as organisations by revolutionaries but completely class-collaborationist, treacherous and pro-capitalist leaderships.* The working class that made this breakthrough had one incomparable advantage: it was led at the crucial period by the Bolshevik Party. In the illegal conditions of tsarist society and in the hothouse of exile politics, Lenin and his co-thinkers had been able to build an organisation that was disciplined but at the same time flexible enough to withstand the attacks of the autocracy and build a mass base within the Russian working class. Combining combat hardness and effectiveness with thoroughgoing internal democracy, Bolshevism added a new dimension to the struggle for socialism.

M. The Russian Revolution and the Third International

1. The catalyst that brought together the forces that made the new international a reality in 1919 came in 1917: capitalism broke at its weakest point, in Russia.

2. Why the Revolution broke out in Russia can be explained by what Trotsky called the law of combined and uneven development. Russia industrialized later than Western Europe. Using the most modern industrial techniques its working class also started out with the fully developed socialism of the West. Trotsky's Theory of Permanent Revolution explains how the bourgeoisie was incapable of completing the bourgeois democratic revolution out of fear of the proletariat. The proletariat leading the peasantry carried the revolution over in permanence to a socialist revolution. However, it would only be successful in backward Russia if it spread to the advanced industrial countries in Europe. In a few short months Russia emerged from tsarist autocracy, through bourgeoise democracy, into soviet power.

3. The Russian Revolution revived the enthusiasm of a whole generation of revolutionary socialists throughout the world. Years of analysis and theorising based on the hopes of a better world were given concrete form in the Soviet power. Communist Parties were formed in most countries. The best elements of the disparate, often warring strands of the workers' movement (syndicalists, anarchists, socialists) found the solution of their disputes in the example of the Russian Revolution and the formation of sections of the Communist (third) International.

*insert between paragraph 2 and 3 [illegible] of M.

4. From the outbreak of the war Lenin recognised the need for a new International: he fought for revolutionary internationalism at Zimmerwald and Kienthal. But it was only after the Bolsheviks had taken state power in Russia that it was possible to declare the Third International in March 1919, and to win massive sections of the European labour movement to a new international. For the period of its first four congresses, from 1919 to 1922, the Third International functioned as a genuine democratic centralist organization. Centralist, in that it acted as a coordinated party of world revolution, recognising that the fate of the revolution in each country depended on the developments of its neighbors. Democratic, in that real issues of strategy were debated and fought over in a sharp but principled manner. The Third International of these years offers the best model yet of a functioning International. Even today its First Four Congresses remain an invaluable guide to revolutionary politics The debates and revolutions of these Congresses constitute a major enrichment of marxism and an essential guide to revolutionary strategy and tactics.

5. The anarchists who joined the Third International had before rejected the need for a workers state. With the reality of bourgeois counter-revolution in Russia and the intervention of the imperialist powers, the best of the anarchists recognized the need for a workers state. The syndicalists like the IWW were against political action for labor. The Bolsheviks insisted that to ignore the political struggle is to leave it to the reactionaries and reformists to monopolize the political arena. Similarly to set up small "dual" revolutionary unions is to leave the bulk of workers in the hands of the bureaucrats and to lay the basis for their counter-revolutionary role at the time of decisive action.

6. The collapse of capitalism was seen as imminent, and with good reason. The massive carnage and destruction of the war was followed by mutinies, strikes and insurrections. The salvation of the Russian Revolution and the triumph of socialism was to be consummated in Western European revolution. In the event the revolution was smashed in Germany, the lynchpin of revolutionary strategy. The workers' movement was unable to break through, the decisive counter-revolutionary role being played by the degenerated social democratic organisations.

7. The Russians were alone, and fighting a war against internal counter-revolution and intervention by 21 hostile capitalist armies. In the struggle to win the war against the counter-revolutionary armies the Bolsheviks performed miracles of improvisation and organisation. The civil war was won but at a terrible cost: the country was economically ruined, the working class decimated. The Party found itself in control of a devastated country with its social base (the working class) destroyed.

8. Thus the USSR derived from a genuine workers' revolution which, however, occurred in an overwhelmingly peasant country. Civil war and the military intervention of the imperialist powers ruined the country's already weak industrial base, and the working class disintegrated. The failure of the international revolutionary movement in the 1920's to establish workers' states in some advanced industrial countries isolated the 'deformed workers' state' (Lenin) and led to its destruction by the Stalinist counter-revolution.

N. Bureaucratic Collectivism.

1. Stalinism's road to power was not smooth. In spite of a weary and decimated working class, oppositions appeared within the bureaucratised Party. Most significant of these was the Left Opposition led by Trotsky. Unable to base themselves on a numerous healthy working class, the Left had to fight within the Party organisation. But the party machine was in the hands of Stalin and his henchmen. The oppositions were defeated. Defeat was followed by physical liquidation. In the great purges of the 1930's the great majority of the cadres of the Bolshevik Party, including most of Stalin's original supporters, were murdered. A totalitarian despotism, claiming to be socialist but in fact the extreme opposite of socialism, was established. The bureaucratic collectivist ruling class consolidated itself.

2. Under Stalin's dictatorship a range of modern industry was created by a brutal exploitation of workers and peasants comparable to that of the early phases of capitalist development.

3. The new bureaucratic class had its origins in diverse classes: the old Czarist technicians, functionaries of the Bolshevik and other Russian workers parties, peasants, and some workers. Under Stalin's terror, over 90% of the old Bolshevik Party was killed by the end of the Moscow Trials. All the means of production were nationalized, and the Stalinist "Communist" party controlled the State: political and economic power was fused. The system was totalitarian: the party ruled all social life. The unions were (and are) simply company unions for speed up, all women's groups, youth groups, cultural organizations and the media are controlled by the sole party. Any democracy would mean control over both the State and the economy which would threaten the class power of the bureaucracy, which controls the State, the armed bodies of men, and the means of production. The bureaucratic collectivist system is anti-capitalist as well as anti-socialist. Its origins come when capitalism is weak or in collapse, and the working class is passive and demoralized. The bureaucratic revolution is a social revolution with either the workers state (as in Russia) or the capitalist state being overthrown and the former ruling class deprived of all political and economic power. Instead of commodity production for profit, with the means of production themselves exchanging at their labor time values, as under capitalism, under the bureaucratic economy, the state regulates investment and set prices, and the bureaucratic plan guides the economy.

4. The bureaucratic collectivist system, like a workers' state, poses a grave threat to capitalism. Especially when Stalin marched his armies into Eastern Europe at the end of World War II, and with the victory of Stalinist led movements in Yugoslavia, Albania, and China, it was apparent that bureaucratic collectivism could replace capitalism when the working class did not take power. Russia established its domination over the Eastern European states and China. Stationing troops, sending in technicians, looting factories, setting adverse terms of trade, Stalinist imperialism has a different dynamic then capitalist imperialism, but is imperialism never the less.

5. The fundamental contradiction of the bureaucratic collectivism is between the bureaucratic ruling class and the working class. The working class can only better its condition at the expense of the

surplus product expropriated by the bureaucracy for its consumption and investment. The bureaucracy sees in the super-exploitation of the working class and peasantry a way out of its economic difficulties. The bureaucratic collectivist countries are in fundamental conflict with the capitalist countries as to which social system will triumph in the world. Further, the bureaucratic collectivist system is imperialist, with Russia in particular and China and other countries to the extent of their means dominating weaker bureaucratic collectivist countries politically, economically, militarily and culturally. The result is the drive on the part of the oppressed countries to national Stalinism, to be free of imperialist domination in order to develop their own industries and thus strengthen the hand of the native bureaucratic ruling class

6. In the bureaucratic collectivist countries production is regulated by the state plan, not by prices, profits or the market, although these mechanisms may be introduced to some degree as long as the bureaucracy retains overall political and economic control. The productive goals of the bureaucracy are to rapidly industrialize the country to strengthen its own class power at the expense of the consumption of the workers and peasantry. With the expansion of production workers receive new wages, but there is not a corresponding output of consumer goods, thus permanent inflation, rationing and a black market. Without a market for feedback and in the absence of all democratic control the plan invariably runs into conflict with the totalitarian nature of the state. The sections of the bureaucracy in heavy industry and the military want to maintain production centered around those sectors in opposition to the "liberalizers" who seek to develop productivity by providing a better standard of living for the workers through the output of more consumer goods, and to introduce market mechanisms and trade with the West to rationalize the system. The bureaucracy seeks to drain as much economic surplus as possible from agriculture to aid in industrial development and consequently the peasant must pay much more for manufactured goods as opposed to what they get for their farm products; a price scissors develops. The result is the impoverishment and low productivity of the farming population.

7. The program of the revolutionary socialists in the bureaucratic collectivist countries is for a social revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy as a ruling class and to put the working class and peasantry in power, based on a system of democratic workers councils. There must be self-government of the working class at work, with the election of managers, linked to democratic workers control of the central power. There must be a system of nation-wide workers councils, with a central workers council which workers can elect and recall and which will decide the production goals and how the product will be divided. A multi-party system is a necessity, with both workers and peasants parties having the right to contest for power. Trade unions must be independent of the state with the right to strike. The political police must be abolished and workers militias formed. Oppressed nations have the right to secede and the basis created for voluntary federation. Agricultural prices must be raised as well as the consumption of the peasantry. Peasant political representation at the national level in economic and political life insure that no repressive apparatus is built up to use against the peasantry which can be turned against the working class. The revolution that first

breaks out in one bureaucratic collectivist country must be spread throughout the bureaucratic collectivist and capitalist world for the world triumph of socialism. The Polish and Hungarian Revolutions of 1956, the rise of workers councils and the demands raised show the nature of the coming revolution in the bureaucratic collectivist countries.

C. The Communist Parties

1. Stalin turned the Communist International into a subservient tool of Russian foreign policy. If Stalin required a military alliance with France and England against Nazi Germany, that meant the necessity to crush a socialist revolution in Spain. The Communist Party of Germany, acting under Stalin's instructions, paved the way for Hitler's take over in Germany. Seeing the Social Democratic Party as social fascist, Stalin argued for a "united front from below" while attacking the Social Democratic Party so violently that working class unity was prevented against the fascist threat.

2. Next was the policy of the Popular Front, coalition governments with the bourgeousie and the social democracy to reform capitalism and push for an alliance with Russia. During World War II, after the German attack on Russia, the Communist Party USA was super patriotic, opposed all strikes and the fight for Black liberation, and practiced outright class collaboration. At the end of the war the French Communist Party called on the workers to disarm and prevented a possible revolution. Later policies of the Communist Parties included the pro-Peking Indonesian Communist Party collaborating with Sukharno only to have hundreds of thousands of its members massacred by him, the dismantling of the mass general strike in France in May-June 1968, and continued support for the fascist capitalist Democratic Party by the Communist Party USA.

3. Communist Parties in Eastern Europe and Asia became the nucleus of new ruling classes. Sometimes the Communist Parties attempt a peaceful road to bureaucratic collectivism through reforming capitalism. The bureaucratic revolution, unlike the workers; revolution, may be made from above, or through penetrating the old state machinery instead of smashing it. The Communist Parties are not for sale to their local bourgeoisies, only for hire. When they have a mass working class base, as in France and Italy, they are torn between two poles, that of their roots in their country and that of the bureaucratic collectivist ruling class in power to which they orient (Russia or China). A Communist Party can exist without being attached to either, "Stalinists without a Country." As they get deep roots in sections of the working class and peasantry and attempt to win reforms within the confines of capitalism; they tend to become national reformist parties. Basically these parties have anti-working class policies (despite their working class base). They are also anti-capitalist despite their collaboration with the capitalists and strive to establish a bureaucratic collectivist society with themselves as the new rulers. Their ability to do so depends on the weakness of capitalism and the opposing Third Camp working class forces. Like the social-democratic parties, the bureaucratic Communist parties must be stripped of their influence in the working class if the revolutionary Third Camp is to triumph. Failure to do so leaves the workers under the leadership of these anti-working class bureaucrats, each of whom represents alien class interests.

V. THE POST WAR WORLD

P. CAPITALIST DECAY AND BUREAUCRATIC COLLECTIVIZATION

1. Capitalism, a system of production for profit, has innate contradictions that tear it apart. With state power organized on a national scale, but production on a world wide scale, conflict is inevitable. Forced to imperialism to solve internal contradictions, once the world was initially carved up by England and France, Germany and Austria-Hungary as well as Russia had to try to re-partition the world through war. World War I caused a massive drop in world production, and the outbreak of socialist revolution. By 1929 European capitalism had hardly reached its 1913 pre-war level when world Depression hit and plunged the system backward.

2. The mass impoverishment of the middle classes, the extreme severity of the crisis and the threat of working class revolution gave rise to mass fascist movements based on the declassed middle class. Fascist political revolution, supported by sections of the bourgeoisie, sets up an extreme Bonpartist dictatorship of the fascist party over the contending classes while it preserves capitalist property relations intact. Fascism is totalitarian monopoly capitalism, the mirror image of bureaucratic collectivist totalitarianism, which is based on nationalized property.

3. The uneven development of capitalism within and between the nations means that entire industries and countries can no longer operate on a capitalist basis. Railroads built in the second half of the 19th century can no longer compete with trucking lines for non bulk cargo, since the latter have lower costs per ton-mile. Massive investments in railroads are devalued, and the capitalist state steps in to pay off the investors, operate them as a necessary service to the economy, but subsidizes the loss through taxation. Nazi Germany nationalized Jewish property and that of the conquered nations. It also set up Nazi party enterprises like Volkswagen. After World War II there was extensive nationalizations in Europe. In England coal, steel, rails, telephone and aircraft are nationalized. Similar conditions prevail in other European countries.

4. The development of the means of production, of the forces of production, require the increasing collectivization of capital. From the sole proprietor, to the partnership, to the corporation pulling in other stock holders, to the monopoly, the trust, and today the multi-national corporation, capital is increasingly organized on a larger scale, controlled both by bureaucracies and the leading financial and managerial elements in the capitalist class. With the statification of numerous industries we see an increasing bureaucratic collectivization of capitalism as capitalism is forced to solve its problems through non-capitalist means. (In a similar way the bureaucratic collectivist countries use market mechanisms and the calculation of "profit" to solve their problems. In neither case does the basic nature of the social system change through such partial negations). In the US, Britain and France this state intervention is particularly in the form of military buildup and the preparation for war, the bureaucratic militarization of capitalism.

5. Capitalism is becoming increasingly collectivized, increasingly statified. This, along with imperialism, crisis, and war, is part of its decay. Capitalism is a dying system: the future economy of the world will be collective; the forces of production demand the collective social organization of production. The lessons of Stalinism shows that collectivism itself is not socialism, that Bureaucratic collectivism is a distinct and reactionary alternative to socialism. The choice before the world will be increasingly fascism, Stalinism or Revolutionary Democratic Socialism; Socialism or Barbarism. Democracy will be increasingly impossible without Socialism; Socialism is impossible without the most thorough going democracy. Only the victory of the Third Camp, the consciously organized working class and oppressed peoples which fights both capitalism and bureaucratic collectivism can offer a decent future for humanity.

Q. SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

1. The German Social Democracy organized the counter-revolution in Germany in 1918. This only expressed in an extreme form the nature of social democracy. These parties are based on privileged layers in the working class, the aristocracy of labor and the labor bureaucracy in the imperialist countries. At times of crisis they have come to power, such as in the Popular Fronts of the 1930's, and have been able to effectuate some reforms at the same time they sought to control the working class. They claim to defend parliamentary democracy against its enemies, especially fascism and Stalinism, but since they accept capitalist society and refuse to overthrow it, they wind up defenseless in the face of fascism, as was shown by the German Social Democracy's abject capitulation to Hitler.

2. Since World War II the social democracies have championed the welfare state which was based on the prosperity of imperialism and its permanent arms economies. The social democracies attempt to work within the confines of the nation state and fight for reforms within the limits allowed by capitalism, which are narrowing. As a consequence they defend their capitalist state against its enemies and are pro-West in the Cold War. The social democrats have served in more than one government which conducted a bloody colonial war; Guy Mollet headed a "socialist" government in France that attempted to suppress Algeria by semi-fascist means. One fourth of the French Socialist Party's members are state functionaries in the nationalized industries, government bureaus, municipal officers, etc. By the late 1950's most of the social democratic parties had dropped the "socialist" content of their programs to become more like the US Democratic Party and to attract the middle class which was frightened by socialist verbiage. In the US the Social Democrats USA became the liberal and even right wing of the Democratic Party and solidified a close relationship to the right wing labor bureaucracy. More and more the social democrats have consciously articulated the case for a new social order based on control of the economy and the government by the trade union bureaucracy, a call for the bureaucratic collectivization of society. Not surprisingly many social democrats in Eastern Europe were easily incorporated into the new Stalinist order after World War II. The social democratic union bureaucracy seeks state protection for themselves and attempts to tie the unions to the state

They aim to restrict the participation of the rank and file in the affairs of the union and themselves take part in the running of the capitalist state, the nationalized industries and participate with capitalist managers in running enterprises.

3. Today most of the active constituency organizations of the social democratic parties have dried up. The parties remain mere shells, controlled by the labor bureaucracy and politicians, with an explicitly pro-capitalist program and a passive working class electoral base. It is impossible for such parties to be transformed into revolutionary parties. Revolutionary socialist parties must be built in all the countries with traditional social democratic parties, indeed throughout the world. Until revolutionary socialists can offer effective opposition to the social democratic parties in those countries where they are the major parties of the working class (England, Canada, Germany etc.) then revolutionaries must give them critical electoral support. Revolutionary socialists build support to put them in power with a mandate to take pro-working class actions. It is necessary to press through the unions for them to adopt definite proposals to combat inflation, unemployment, attacks on the trade unions, and to expand welfare programs and education, tax corporations, nationalize industry under workers control, etc. Revolutionaries must express that they do not have the slightest confidence in the social democratic parties carrying out such proposals. They will not fight for reforms today, but instead will carry out such proposals. They will not fight for reforms today, but instead will carry out the further dismantlement of the welfare state, inaugurate anti-working class income policies and will attempt to shackle the unions to the state. Revolutionaries will work alongside those workers who believe otherwise to test the matter in practice. By building the campaign in advance on a pro-working class mandate, when the social democratic parties abandon that program in power, workers will be more ready to fight it and the basis will be laid for winning these workers from the union bureaucracy and their allegiance to these reformist parties, to revolutionary socialism. As soon as revolutionary socialists have sufficient support in the working class they seek to run in their own name, even if at the expense of the traditional working class parties. If the social democratic parties pick up active supporters in their constituency organizations which may happen, the revolutionaries may have to enter such parties to organize a left wing within them, while still keeping their independent revolutionary presence, to better win the workers from these parties over the new revolutionary socialist party.

R. NEO-COLONIALISM

1. Imperialism's role as an economic stabilizer of capitalism depended on the possibility of finding profitable fields for investment in the colonial world, and thus offsetting the tendency for the profit rate to decline by removing capital from the home market. This declined after 1918 and still more so after 1945. Both investment and trade are increasingly directed between advanced capitalist countries themselves rather than "outwards" to the third world countries. Nonetheless imperialism did not cease to exist. But paradoxically, a semi-colonial country, e.g. Nicaragua, may be totally dependent on one country, i.e. the U.S. and specifically the United Fruit Co., while the metropolitan country can do without the product of the particular semi-colony and may

This page is missing in the original.

R. NEO-COLONIALISM

1. Imperialism's role as an economic stabilizer of capitalism depended on the possibility of finding profitable fields for investment in the colonial world, and thus offsetting the tendency for the profit rate to decline by removing capital from the home market. This declined after 1918 and still more so after 1945. Both investment and trade are increasingly directed between advanced capitalist countries themselves rather than "outwards" to the third world countries. Nonetheless imperialism did not cease to exist. But paradoxically, a semi-colonial country, e.g. Nicaragua, may be totally dependent on one country, i.e. the US and specifically the United Fruit Co., while the metropolitan country can do without the product of the particular semi-colony and may have alternate sources of supply. Nevertheless revolution in some of the key semi-colonial countries could deliver severe blows to imperialism. Further since the second World Imperialist War, Stalinist imperialism has given a new dimension to imperialism and the struggle to dominate the world.

3. Despite the predictions of the Theory of Permanent Revolution the bourgeoisie was able to lead national liberation movements to victory in many cases, as in the former British colonies. Elsewhere bureaucratic Communist Parties defeated capitalist imperialism to establish new totalitarian bureaucratic collectivist societies as in Cuba and North Vietnam. Nevertheless the Theory of Permanent Revolution is still a valid guide to world revolution.

3. Most of the former colonies today have independence. This is not entirely nominal, since the native fuling classes can make national political and economic decisions that effect the affairs of their countries, such as establishing tariffs, nationalizing some industries, opening up the country to other than the former imperialist power, etc. The result however, is either economic autarchy (self-sufficiency, cut off from the outside world) or economic domination from the metropolitan countries, neo-colonialism. In either case their is economic stagnation and newly independent countries fall behind the imperialist countries. The native bourgeoisie is incapable of breaking out of this dilema. Bureaucratic collectivist revolution can free the countries from capitalist imperialism, but they will not release the productive forces of the imperialist Stalinist countries, forcing the underdeveloped bureaucratic collectivist country to industrialize if at all at the expense of its own working class and peasantry. Only Permanent Revolution, in the semi-colonial countries and in the advanced industrial countries, both capitalist and bureaucratic collectivist, can free the productive forces to carry out their non-exploitive industrialization. If workers and peasants revolution breaks out first there, they must attempt a well balanced industrialization to improve the standard of living of the masses while maintaining full workers democracy as a holding action, while giving every bit of aid possible to spread the Revolution.

4. We support unconditionally the right of national self-determination against imperialism, we support all genuine movements of national liberation; we support the defence of states against imperialist aggression. We do this as consistent opponents of national oppression, and also becuase removing the national oppression makes more clear

the class struggle. We give all such struggles moral support, and, when it is within our means, material support. We raise the demand for solidarity, not merely as a moral issue among sympathetic sections of the petty-bourgeoisie, but as an issue to be fought for in the organized working class movement. Firstly, because, as Marx said, 'A people oppressing another cannot itself be free'; workers who believe they have a shared interest with imperialism cannot effectively fight their own ruling class. Secondly, because organized workers are the most effective allies of the oppressed peoples.

5. Our support for anti-imperialist movements is unconditional, but it is not uncritical. Individual terrorism is understandable in response to imperialist repression. But we do not advocate such acts because they can be counter-productive to the growth of a mass revolutionary movement. We support every effort of the peasantry and oppressed petty-bourgeousie to emancipate themselves, but we do not believe that they alone can be the agency of establishing socialism. We believe that the experience of the last fifty years has confirmed the basic premise of Trotsky's theory of 'Permanent Revolution' -- that the bourgeois revolution in the backward countries spills over into the socialist revolution, but that this revolution can only be carried through by proletarian leadership and by the spreading of the revolution on an international scale. Thus we reject any notion that movements within a peasant or petty-bourgeois base and a nationalist ideology, or even the most radical wing of such movements, can be substituted for the building of independent revolutionary socialist parties based on the working class in the economically backward countries.

S. Roots of the US Crisis

1. Following World War II and with the origins of the Cold War, the US established rather complete hegemony over the capitalist world. This was based in large part upon the destruction of the German and Japanese economies, and the threat bureaucratic collectivism posed The US gave them massive aid through the Marshall Plan and based its troops around the world. The defeated economies quickly recovered and grew rapidly, finally becoming a competitive threat to the US is the late '60's. Meanwhile with the dollar the reserve currency of the capitalist world and the persistent balance of payments deficit of the US due to its military expenditures abroad, foreign investments and outflow of funds, the US has arrived at a position that there are considerably more dollars abroad than gold in the US to cover them. Goods from other countries are increasingly competitive and countries and foreign capitalists holding dollards would prefer to buy from outside the US The emergence of trade deficits after seventy years of surplus only aggravates the situation. The international monetary crisis threatens at any point to interrupt world trade, plunging the capitalist world into depression. This is a real possibility, but not a certainty as the capitalists have several ways out.

2. World War II brought arms economies to all the belligerents. Only in this way did the US pull out of the Great Depression. The rise of the Cold War and the threat of Stalinist imperialism brought a permanent war economy. Though not an all out war economy, it does provide an essential cushion for capital goods production, which are

especially vulnerable to short term declines in the rate of profit and thus investment. Through a massive tax burden which falls increasingly on the working class the government pays for arms. In the US one-forth of all wages in the society are created by government caused demand, a large amount of which is for arms. Military hardware is not capital in the means of production nor is it variable capital to be consumed by productive workers. It is economic waste which does not re-enter the cycle of production. Government stimulated research for military purposes has had a large impact on the private sector, which stimulated productivity, though this effect is now declining as military production goes off in its own highly technological direction.

3. The arms economy has its build in contradictions. These include an increasing burden of taxation, permanent inflation, the production of economic and social waste, and the dragging down of those economies most dependent on its. US expenditures on arms stimulate Russian expenditures and vice versa. The two countries are mutually antagonistic and mutually dependent. Both divert resources that would otherwise go into civilian consumption into arms. Meanwhile Japan and Germany rapidly surge ahead, catching up and becoming a competitive threat. The US responds by spending less on arms proportionate to its economy, thus removing the floor to the economy, while trying to push the arms burden off onto Japan.

4. The increasing capitalist competition, new political alignments, continuing inflation and creeping unemployment mark the re-emergence of crisis into the system. The crisis will most likely develop slowly, not in a cataclysmic fashion. World economic depression can not be excluded, however, especially one triggered by the international monetary crisis.

5. The giant multi-national corporations of the capitalist world are forcing themselves into protected markets, tying dependent economies together, by concluding exclusive trade arrangements between themselves, or by trying to force their lesser partners to shoulder heavier military burdens. They force smaller capitals to combine in protecting themselves and ultimately create new centers of overwhelming military might. Those industries threatened by imports force the state to pass protectionist measurers. This could lead to a round of protectionism, since trade must be multi-lateral, thus leading to shrinking world trade and depression of world industrial production.

6. We are for the unconditional right of foreign countries to expropriate US investments without compensation. We do not demand that US capital not be invested abroad, since it is not our job to plan the investments of capitalism, but ot expropriate them. We are, however, for "double taxation" of US profits made abroad and the end of tax deferrals and other loopholes whereby the US based multinationals avoid both foreign and US taxation. We are for US laws requiring any company that operates in the US to pay the US union wage abroad. We are against all immigration restriction and for the free migration of peoples. We are for real trade union solidarity across national boundaries to fight multi-nationals. The fight for a new workers' International is more than a question of propaganda and education;

it requires concrete demands and proposals for international organization and action. Above all it requires the development of real links between groups of workers in different countries. The programme of internationalism must be implanted in the actual working class.

7. The capitalists have many possible outs from the crisis, though a thoroughly planned capitalism is impossible. Capitalism remains anarchic, irrational, and the breeder of its own crises. But the capitalists always have a way out until the working class moves decisively to put an end to it. In the US the capitalists will move to subsidize exports, at the same time they increase the tax burden to pay for it. They will remove anti-trust laws enabling and encouraging mergers and monopolization at the expense of the consumers and the power of workers. They will nationalize failing industries most likely removing the right to strike. We demand nationalization under workers control of declining industries. Nationalization of failing industries preserves jobs, weakens the power of a section of the capitalist class, but as long as the nationalized industry is controlled by the capitalist state the worker is still exploited and must fight the state employer. Until workers take full control of industry and establish a workers state nationalization will be only one more form of exploitation.

8. The capitalists will get the Government to institute protective tariffs and restrictive quotas, raising the price of consumer goods at home while provoking retaliation abroad, with the threat of restricted trade and consequent world depression. Unemployment is sure to grow, falling unevenly from industry to industry. The capitalists will be increasingly hard pressed to meet wage demands that they could afford in the past. Working conditions will deteriorate and speedup intensity. The capitalists will use their political leverage with the Government to further restrict unions, pit those on welfare against the employed and generally divide and repress the working class. The New Economic Policy, supported by both capitalist parties, will become a permanent way of life, with prices and profits increasing and only wages being controlled. The Government will be an ever present third party in all negotiations on the side of the capitalists. It is increasingly necessary for the working class to mount a political as well as economic response to the capitalist state attacks.

VI THE UNIONS

T.1. The trade unions were created by the working class as a response to the power of the employers and as a means of taking collective action to restrict the power. Today the outstanding fact about the unions is the enormous gulf between the rank and file and the labor bureaucracy. The bureaucracy is a privileged stratum that does not have to share conditions of work on the job. It is in a position to force things on the ranks, i.e. has a dominant power position in relation to them. The bureaucracy as a group strives to strengthen its own power independent of both the ranks and the company at the same timethat its power still rests on the ranks and in its collaboration with capitalists or even the State. The bureaucracy as a rule strives

for labor peace to protect the strength of the union from capitalist onslaught, and it also fears that the real mobilazation of the rank and file which is required to fight the companies will be turned against itself.

2. The unions must be understood as the totality of the ranks and the bureaucracy and the inter-relationship between them, and their relationship to the company. The contractexpresses the relationship of forces between the two. In its most common form the union swaps three years of labor peace for certain wages, union security and working conditions. The capitalist knows his costs and working conditions as much as possible, and seeks to make his variable capital (wages of productive workers) as fixed as possible, while attempting to use the labor bureaucrat to discipline the ranks.

3. The class collaboration between the labor bureaucracy and the capitalists goes in both directions. The labor bureaucrat will discipline the ranks in order to receive the support of the capitalists. Accepting capitalist ideology and their place in the capitalist system as the head of unions and would be brokers of labor power, they function as the labor lieutenants of capital in the workers institutions. The capitalists and the State for their part have long recognized the value of a close relationship with the labor bureaucracy as a way of controlling the ranks. Paradoxically the labor bureaucracy only has a value to the bureaucracy if it still has enough influence in the ranks to get them to knuckle under.

4. The capitalists through the State seek to regulate and interfere in the unions. They seek to regulate their internal affairs, prevent them from striking, make them fiscally "responsible", to divide the officials from the rank and file, etc. As it is usually impossible to jail every striker, the State and the capitalists seek to jail the officialdom as a means of putting pressure on the rank and file. Regulation means that the State tells the unions what to do or face jail, fines, etc. It is up to the rank and file and the leadership whether or not they want to accept or violate this State action.

5. The Landrum-Griffin Act is used to maintain the bureaucracy in control despite the pressures of the rank and file. It becomes necessary to fight the State as well as the bureaucracy and the companies to regain control of the unions. The exclusive recognition of unions and the designation of bargaining units under the National Labor Relations Act, and the extreme difficulty of decertification all strengthen the hand of the bureaucracy. The Democratic Party is a key instrument of collaboration between the labor bureaucracy and the State. During World War II the labor bureaucracy participated as best it could with the bourgeoisis in running the State and disciplining the labor force. In the European countries it is common for Labor and Social Democratic Parties, controlled by the labor bureaucracies, to run the State for the bourgeoisie in the interests of capitalism.

6. We seek to strengthen the unions against the employers, for which the dismantling of the trade union bureaucracy is a key step. Workers have to be actively involved in the life of the unions. Most

workers today simply hope for good union representation; the tradition of active participation of the ranks has almost died out completely. We seek to build class struggle rather than class collaborationist unions, which can only be done when the rank and file is actively involved and running things. A class struggle union signs contracts, but simply to preserve gains since continued fighting is too exhausting, prepares to take up the fight again tomorrow. A class struggle union is prepared to defy company rules and the laws of the State in order to carry out the struggle. It refuses to stop striking, slowing down, banning overtime, or whatevermanifestation of its collective power is necessary unless the company and the State make concessions. It leaders and ranks will be prepared to defy injunctions and go to jail if necessary in order to continue the fight. Such a union will not limit itss struggle simple to economic matters, but will fight the capitalist State when necessary to gain its objectives.

7. In some unions the leadership has gone far along the road to collaboration with the employers and they have become almost completely organisations for controlling the workers. Yet we reject the idea that the unions should be by-passed or ignored or that breakaway unions should be formed. Experience has shown that these views only lead to a dangerous isolation of the militants. In practice if workers are strong enough to take on the combined power of the employers and union bureaucracy in order to establish a breakaway union, then they have the strength to overturn the bureaucracy within the union. The struggle against the bureaucracy demands both unofficial organisation and co-ordinated work within the union structure. In the longer term the struggle requires the development of a national rank and file organisation that can surmount the barriers of industry and union and unite trade unionists around a programme that combines immediate and long term demands. Central to this programme is the question of democratic control by the rank and file at all levels of factory and union organisation. The demands for democratic rights and the defence of existing rights must be put forward as concrete proposals for each industry and union.

8. The process of building the revolutionary party in the US requires a fully developed and consistent drive to recruit from the rank and file militants in industry. To channel the rank and file revolt into a consistent revolutionary position is not just a question of bringing generalised politics to shop stewards and militants but a process of learning as well as teaching. The revolutionary organisation must emphasise and propagandise the need for links between rank and file committees, for rank and file movements that transcend the limitations of trade unions and industry amd emphasise the independence of the class from both the state and its organs and the narrow state union interest. The revolutionary organisation must strive to recruit and integrate significant numbers of these militants. In a real sense it must be the banguard of the vanguard.

9. It is by concrete and correct leadership that the party's militants establish their influence and authority and, hence, that of the party itself. General socialist propanganda is an essential

function of the party at all times but such propanganda can have significant effects only if it is coupled with a constant struggle for leadership on day to day issues. Therefore the programma of the party cannot be confined to general theoretical statements but must also include a series of concrete partial and transitional demands on the main questions confronting the workers' movement.

10. We seek to build rank and file caucuses that will pull in union activists around the fight to change the unions and take on the companies. The caucuses we seek to build get their roots on the shop floor. Their members are militants who organize collective resistance to the company and always seek to strengthen the power of the workers, through coordinated job actions.

11. Where there are numerous stewards who work on the job, members of the caucuses we seek to build play a left wing role in the stewards councils. Where there are insufficient stewards we fight to get caucus members elected and made responsible to those who elect them. The stewards as the organized representatives of the workers are critical to the success or failure of the caucus. We seek for the stewards council to have real power over the employers and in the union. That means we want toe contracts to include provisions so that no changes in owrking conditions, for example, can be made without the stewards approval. We seek to change the union by-laws so that the stewards council can over-ride the union executive board between union meetings. The local bureaucracy invariably seeks a base of support for itself among the stewards and other union activists.

12. The aim of the caucuses we build is to mount a successful political challenge to the bureaucracy, to contest for power in the locals, and to turn the unions into fighting instruments for the rank and file. That means drawing into union affairs as many workers as possible, who today are cynical and apathetic about the union. We seek to restore the unions to a condition where they are sustained by the active and concerned involvement of the rank and file.

13. The caucuses we see to build will lay the basis for a national opposition movement in the unions. Once there is a solid base in various industries there can be real nationam link ups between oppoin different unions. The Trade Union Education League of the early 1920's before it was stalinized by the CommunistsParty was the type of opposition we seek to build. This type of opposition movement would 1) serve as a left wing throughout the unions fighting for its ideas in locals, in city councils, state federations and the internationals, 2) stilulate the organizing of the unorganized, and 3) initiate independent political action for a Workers and Oppressed Peoples Party. The development of such an oppositinn movement requires a significantly higher level of class struggle than exists at this time, but our work today lays the basis for such a development in the future.

14. Revolutionary socialists can only take leadership in unions once the rank and file understands our socialist politics and is prepared to back up the leadership on the decisive questions facing

the union. This means the program to advance that particular union, opposition to US domination and interference in other countries' affairs and the wars that result from that, fighting opposition to racism and sexism, and the need for a working class and oppressed peoples party in the US. When therank and file does not support these views, revolutionary socialists give critical support to a leadership that will significantly advance the union's struggle. Suchclaimants to our support must show that they are strengthening the union and that they put the interests of the rank and file first. Only a consistent revolutionary always puts the interests of the rank and file above all else. We make our assessment of the non-socialist leadership we support known clearly, so that other workers will be prepared to fight and follow our lead when in fact they falter. In the caucuses we seek to build as in the unions in general we are loyal builders of these organisations of our class. Our uncompromising dedication to the cause of the working class and its emancipation through socialist revolution means that we can best build and strengthen the institutions of the working class, today and to the point of final victory.

15. We fight for both strong and democratic unions. That means:
a. Union shop where the closed show is illegal. Opposition to the agency shop. Repeal the Taft Hartley Act which makes the closed shop illegal. For the full right of the union rank and file to use the disciplinary procedure of the union to discipline fellow workers who flout democratic decisions. For time on the job for stewards to make union reports and the rank and file to make decisions. For the amalgamation of craft unions in industries where there are no industrial unions, provided rank and file rights and controls are preserved and extended.
b. For all policy making bodies in the unions to be composed of working members. For an annual national delegates meetings of dele gates who work on thejjob. For working delegates to take part and approve any recommended contracts before they are sent to hte memberships. No secret negotiations, and the entire package to be submitted to a membership vote at union meetings. Seperate voting on each contract section. For all union officials and staff being elected annually by those they represent. Facilities for recall or re-election at any time. For all officials and staff to get the average earnings in the industry. Rank and file control and access to union papers which must print dissenting views. Right to have an opposition press and parties in the union.
c. For all members to have equal democratic rights in the union. Repeal all political bans on holding office or being a member-- defy the Taft-Hartley anti-Communist affidavit clause. For the circulation of all minutes and votes of all policy making bodies. Right of members to write to other locals, with addresses made available. No member or officer is to take another member or the local to court. All affairs are to be settled within the union. All wildcat strikes for legitimate ends to be immediately sanctioned and backed fully by the officials. For the right to strike during the contract.
d. For the principle that Blacks should represent Blacks, women to represent women. End all racist practices in the union. For the elimination of racial and sexual discrimination in hiring, probation, assignments, promotion, seniorty, etc. Fire racist and sexist foremen

Company paid day care, and maternity leave. For the unions taking up the fight of Blacks, Latins, and women both against the employer and generally in the society, using both their political and econo mic muscle, including strikes. End the Southern low wage differentials.

16. We seek to strengthen the power of workers on the job and against the company, which means:
a. Union control over work speeds, assignments, manning etc. Right to bargain and reach binding agreements on these issues before the company can change conditions or sules.
b. Right to strike over health, safety and work standards during the life of the contract.
c. For a grievance procedure where the worker is innicent until proven guilty. End arbitration as the last step.
d. No compulsory overtime. For 30 hours of work for 40 hours pay.
e. No linking of wages to the annual productivity increase. No swapping of union won working conditions for larger wage increase.
f. For company recognition in the contract of the right to honor picket lines and use secondary boycotts.

17. Inflation, the constant rising of prices, has become a permanent feature of capitalism since World War II. The government and the capitalists see this as a way of cutting down the consumption of workers that is easier to accomplish than cutting wages. Trhough government control of the money supply and deficit financing af the budget the capitalists seek to maintain a moderate inflation. Wars, such as occurred in Korea and Vietnam, give a big stimulus to inflation. The giant monopolies prevent prices from falling even when costs to the companies go down. Capitalist production, which is geared for profit and not for use, inevitagly leads to period shortages of certain goods as well as periodic oversupply at other times. The tremendous inflation of meat and other food prices is produced by the capitalist nature of agriculture and government policy of subsidizing farmers not to grow in order to prevent overproduction. Every union contract needs a full cost of living escalator caluse to keep real wages up with the rising cost of living. Unions must fight for wage increases lbeing written into the contract. Further there should be a freeze and roll back on all prices monitored by the unions and consumer groups with criminal penal--ties and jail sentences for corporate violators. Wages must be free to rise; the corporations aan pay for the burden of inflation out of their profits. Those industries that say they can't afford it must be made to open their books to union inspection. If they really can't afford it, theri business and jobs must continue, so they must be nationalized under workers control.

18. The New Economic Policy in all its phases must be opposed. It was set up to curb inflation, rasie productivity and profits all at the expense of working people. It is administered by the capi--talist state with the cooperation of the giant corporations and the labor bureaucracy, which is powerless before its The enabling legislation was passed by both political parties. The government must be kicked out of all negotiations; strikes continued under the employers and the Cost of Living Council give in. All union officials must get off the Cost of Living Council, Construction, Food

and Health Boards, and the National Productivity and Industrial Peace Commissions as well. The controls, despite the low wage exemptions particularly freeze low wage Black, Latin, and women workers since the unions cannot better the companies' offers and organizing drise up. The unorganized must be organized in the face of the growing concentration and expansion of the capitalists. The controls must be smashed if organizing is to continue.

19. Unemployment is a permanent feature of US capitalism. While the arms economy has lowered the rate of unemployment since World War II it is still 5% for whites, 10% for Blacks and stillhigher for youth. As entire new industries make old ones obsolete there arises structural enemployment. Neither the capitalists nor their government do anything to retrain displaced workers and give them new jobs, for example, on the railroads, Foreign competition has caused the loss of jobs in textiles, garment, electronics, ship building, steel and other industries. The capitalist cycle of booms followed with recessions gives rise to large scale layoffs every few years. The future for US capitalism is worsening unemployment throughout industry which the capitalists will use to intimidate workers from militancy. A policy to fight unemployment must include;
a. 30 hours work at 40 hours pay. Force the employers to hire more workers while providing more leisure time for all. This can be fought for against each company and through a national movement to force Congress to make it the law.
b. No linking of wage increaese to increases in productivity, or trade offs of working conditions or empllyment levels for higher pay, which only works people out of jobs.
c. Ban on overtime on companies while there is unemployment or threats of layoffs. If necessary share work rather than accept layoffs. In the event of shutdowns of one plant, full right to transfer to the same job classification at another location of the company, moving expenses paid for by the company. Company wide seniority in the event of plant shut downs. An all out fight against automation, speedup, and work rules changes.
d. For 100% Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) to bring unemployment benefits up to regular wages. Work or Full Pay. Let those responsible for unemployment carry the burden. Either provid jobs or pay people full union rates of pay.
e. Company severance pay, pensions, and SUB funds to be paid first in the advant of bankruptcies. Nationalize bankrupt industries under workers control with the full right ot strike.
f. Organize the unemployed, Regular meetings of unemployed members at union halls. Fight the budget cust and attacks on welfare. Support the welfare rights organizations.
g. $500 a month pension at 50 years of age (500 at 50). 30 years labor is enough a contribution to society. People should retire at an age when they can really enjoy retirement. Enable younger workers to move up in industry.
h. Reconvert the arms economy, 100% tax on war profits, and a surtax on all corporate profits to privide jobs for all. Rebuild the cities, provide decent medical care, education, mass transit, etc.
i. All multinational corporations operating in the US have to pay US minimum wages abroad. International labor solidarity to raise the lowest wages and conditions to the highest standards. For international cooperation between workers of all countries, not

competition. Oppose all tariffs and restrictive quotas which will only-lead to mutual trade wars and growing enemployment.

20. The Tax System is a major way the capitalists and their state use to exploit the working class. Increasingly the burden of taxation has shifted from the corporations onto the backs of working people. The sales tax, gas tax and special exise tax on tobacco and liquor are all regressive instead of prograssive. A smaller ans smaller share of taxation is paid on corporate profits and other forms of capitalist wealth. The class struggle is increasingly fought over taxation; the taxpayers revolt, if not taken up by the working class movement becomes the property of the right wing. We are for a 100% tax on all war and military profits, abolish sales, gasoline and excise taxes that fall on working people, oppose any V lue Added Tax (VAT-a national sales tax). Abolish the tax on property for those who own one home. For a steep income tax on incomes ofer $20,000 a year. No tax on incomes below $15,000. For taxing corporate profits as the main meass of taxation liked to figid price control to make sure the monppolies do not pass higher taxes along in prices.

21. The political program of the caucuses we build includes the following demands in addition to those raised above:
a. Immediate withdrawal of US troops from Indochina and all 86 countries around the world. For the US no longer backing up dictatorships in Spain and Greece and racist regimes in Sough Africa, and Rhodiesia. For the right oof foreign countries to expropriate US investments. Abolish NATO, CENTO, and SEATO. For a democratic, anti-imperialist foreign policy throughout the world inddependent of the capitalist and Communist war camps, for the strengthening of the workers and peasants democratic movements throughout the world.
b. Repeal the Taft-Hartley Act, the Railway Labor Act, the Hatch Act, the Landrum-Griffin Act and all other anti-union laws. For the full right of public employees to strike and bargain collectively. Put farm workers and other excluded workers under the Wagner Act (Not Taft Hartley). For local and national anti-scab laws -- no one has a right to steal another person's job. For full welfare enemployment and food stamp benefits to strikers. For ending the use of state, local and national injunctions against unions. These and all other political issues affecting the unions require a break from the Democratic and Republican Parties and the building of a Working Class and Oppressed Peoples Party in the US.

U. FOR A WORKING CLASS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES

1. The major problem facing the Socialist movement in the US is that there has never been a working class political party. Most organized workers support the Democratic Party, which like the Republican Party, is a capitalist party. Not only is its program one of defesne of capitalism and imperialism, most importantly it is controlled by the capitalist class. Based on the working class and Black people, it is also the party of the Southern racists and the liberal capitalists. The control of the capitalist politicians, the various thoroughly undemocratic laws and rules that regulate, it the role of capitalist money in its campaigns, its entire nature preclude the possibility of reforming it, of kicking out the capitalists.

2. The working class has to organize itself in a thoroughly independent fashion on the economic front through trade unions and politically through the building of a working class political party, to be controlled by the working class through its institutions, the unions, and by mass organizations of Black and Latin people. Such a Working Class and Oppressed Peoples Party would fight against the racist-capitalist system. Such a party is impossible on the basis of the subordination of Blacks and Latins, while Blacks and Latins cannot obtain real power in this society without an alliance as equals with a fighting labor movement.

3. A Working Class and Oppressed Peoples Party will most likely be built as part of the process of rebuilding the trade union movement, in this country on a class struggle basis. We do not wait, however, until we have transformed the unions, to run educational campaigns independent of the Democrats and Republicans, on the need for such a party and what the Labor, Black and Latin movements should be fighting for in this country.

4. The political program we will fight for in such a party is the program outlined here for the Labor Movement, the Womens' movement and the Black and Latin movements.

VII THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY AND A NEW INTERNATIONAL

V. The Revolutionary Party

1. For the conquest of power and the struggles leading up to it, the working class requires a democratic centralist political party. The conditions of life under capitalism produce great uneveness amongst working people in consciousness, confidence, experience and activity. The party is the essentialmeans for combatting this unevenness. It is the instrument which which assists the most advanced o workers to establish their influence over the more backward, which promotes the fusion of the class struggle, experience of manual an white collar workers with the idess of scientific socialism, which provides conccrete leadership in the day-to-day struggles of the working class and which relates these struggles to a strategy for the conquest of power. Capitalism is moving into crisis. But tis crisis is as yet far from being the sort of sudden and catastrophic crisis which occurred between the world ward. Product of the contradictions of the "stability" of the permanent arms economy it is a slowly and unevenly deepending crisis. In a changed capitalism the crisis of capitalism takes a different form while retaining the same basic content. As capitalism has changed so has the working class movement. Workers real wages rose year by year in the 50's and the 60's up to 1965, the beginning of the Vietnam War inflation. The increasing social crisis and geneeral malaise in the society have led to increased political scepticism and cynicism. This does not mean that the mass of workers have rejected reformism. On the one hand workers still see no policital alternative to viting Democratic on the other hand reformism took a new form in the 1950's. Workers won reforms through their own struggels. The working class struggle became fragmented. The deepening crisis of capitalism has begun to break down the coundaries between the fargments. Because the cirsis is still developing unevenly it is still possible to wi some reforms, in the gragments and more by the mere threat of more

genrealised struggle. The winning of such regorms in a situation of increasing attack from the ruling class can importantly strengthen the self-confidence and capacity for struggle of the working class. But increasingly such struggles can only be won by breaking down the boundaries between the fragmenrs and the limits set by the reformists. They require a challenge to the whole apparatus of capitalism and its state. Thus the leader ship of revolutionary socialists workers becomes not merely necessary to raise issues wiich can lead workers to the socialist programme of the revolution but also to lead an effective struggle for reforms.

2. A revolutionary party is the acturl leadership of sections of the working class. It necwssarily includes in its rans a vanguard of more advanced and conscious workers who have established positions of influence and leadership amongst their follow workers. The party has as its centrao task the fight to unite the whole working class in struggle behind its programme, by agitation on specific issues by propaganda and by political interventions and leadership. The Internaional Socialist organization is today a propaganda group. All its activities are directed to the growth of that party, a process which involves above all, the intergration of a broad layer of worker militants into the organisation as well as the training and development of the existing members. It may also involve, at various stages, unification with other groups of various origins. The rest of the value of such unification is whether or not they facilitate themain task of gaining deep roots in the working class movement.

3. The fundamental basis of the party is revolutionary theory, the revolutionary programme, the living tradiaion of the communist movement. However, it is not enough to have correct idess. The conditions must be created for the fusion of these ideas with the mass movement. These consitions cannot emerge at once. They are created only by prolonged effor t and hard won experience. Their creation is facilitated by a correct revolutionary theory, which in its turn is ntt dogma but assumes final shape only in close connection with the practical activity of a truly mass and truly revolutionary movement. (Lenin)

4. The party can in no case ignore any workers' struggle, no matter how limited or narrow its aims. It invariably supports all demands and movements that tend to lmprove the position and welfconfidence of workers and of other oppressed or exploited sections fo the population. Nor can it turn its back on the existing institutions of the workers movement, no matter how beaureaucratised and conservative some of them may be. It established, as a condition of membership recognition of the necessity of systmatic communist work in the proletarian mass organisations, particularly in the reformist trade unions (Trotsky) In this work its members strive to gain united support for demands which are determined by the mos advanced possibilities on the basis of the ixisting consciousness of the workers and not simply on the basis of the subjective whishes of socialists. The members of the revolutionary party are committed to becoming the best, the most capable and self-sacrificing of the militants in trade unoins and other mass organizations. Whilst their first loyalty must always be to the party, thet

have always also to behave at all times with a serious sense of respnnsibility to their fellow workers, avoiding both opportunism and adventurism and seeking to give that leadership that gains the best result possible for the workers in any given situation.

5. The party responds to the spontaneous action of workers and at the same time tries to provide leadership. There is a two-way relationahip and essential to that relationship is an atomosphere is the aprty in which differences are freely and openly argued. Without such an atmosphere the self education of militants, the development of self-reliance and confidence in one's ideas is impossible. That is shy internal democracy is not an optional ex ttra but an essential conditon for the growth of a genuine revolutionary party. Nor is the discussion of disputed questions necessarily limited to members. In many cases differences of opinionn within the coranization should be made clear to workers outside the organisation thrugh the publications of the party, which solicit the opinions of non-party lworkers on disputed questions, thus drawing them into the descussion of the way forward for the working calss.

6. However, the party discusses in order to decide. Members and units (branches, frac tions, leading committees, etc) have the right and duty to initiate discussion of the line of the organi-- sation in all ist aspects , in the light of the exper ience of the class struggle. Equally the organisation has the right and the dut to terminate a discussion with a decision embodying the view of the majoriyty, until such time as new factors, new situation, arise. And the decision once taken, it binding upon all until the discussion is re-opened. 'Withoug inner democracy-no revolutionary education. Without discipline-no revolutionary action' (Trotsky(

7. The party is the expression of the working class and its fusion with the revolutionary theory of marxism. It is in the application of experience and theory to the live moment of the workers that all these elements-theory, experience, the party and the workers' movement are enriched.

8. The tradition of Marx in his struggle for a fighting theory, of Lenin in the struggle for the Bolshevik party, for a revolutionary International. of Trotsky and the long battle against Stalinist degeneration; this tradition, the communist tradition, is the one that the International Socialsis are proud to hold to and fight for. The takk we set ourselves is no less than the socialist emancipation of mankind, We have a world to win.

W. Toward a New International

1. Partial struggles, for international trdde union action and in defence of anti-imperialist movements, are the responsiblity of every revolutionary. But in themselves they are not enough. In fact thers tasks can only be carried out seccessfully if they are seen as an integral part of the wider job of building a worle revolutionary socialist internationa.

2. Socialist internationalism has benver lacked authentic representatives. Despite all preversions and betraysls which have disorientatied the movement from time to time, new forces have always come

have always come forward to put it back on course. We are rooted in this hostorical developm nt. We are among the heirs of the Communist League, the First Internationa, the Second Intarnational before its capitulation and of those like Lenin and Luxemburg who fought for internationalism within it, of Zimmerwald and Kienthal, of the Third International before its degeneration, of the Left Opposition and the movement for a Fourth International in its fight for an internationalist alternative to Stalinism and reformism.

3. From the time of Hitler's victory in 1933 Trotsky and the Left Opposition were convinced of the impossibility of reforming the Third International, and of the necwssity of fighting for a new international. But their isolation from the mass movement meant that the foundation of the fourth International in 1938, a desperate gesture in the face of war and fascism, led to a stillborn International. The various splinters that survive are parodies of an internationsl.

4. But as Mrrx and Lenin knew well, it is not possible to have an International under all circumstances. The international must be built, not proclaimed; those who proclaim the international on the basis of small sects isolated from the real working class movement actually divert from the real job that is to be done.

5. A genuine democratic centralist international can be build only on thesbasis of real parties with a working class basis in several countries, and an international leadership that has proved itself in struggles. The major contribution we can make is the building of a revolutionary combat party here in the US. At the same time, not only do we have a daty to assist revolutionaires elsewhere, but we must test our own theory and strategy in debate within the internaional movement. Therefore we seek to develop opportunities for both political discussion and pracical co-operation with revolutionary groupings throughout the world, provided they share our basic premise that the working class is the agency of socialist revolution.

MOTION: (submitted by MS)

That the IS produce only one internal bulletin; and that all documents submitted to the bulletin for publication be limited to 2000 words for groups and 1000 words for individuals.

MOTIVATION: The IS now publishes 4 internal bulletins of one sort or another, and only one external publication (Workers Power). Occasionally, a pamphlet is thrown in for good measure, too often consisting only of reprints of WP articles. The proliferation of internal publications has gone hand in hand with our stagnation in external work. Unfortunately I do not believe that this is solely due to the faction fight. I would rather see no internal bulletin and the publication of a theoretical journal, than see the present situation continue. Indeed, we seem to be the only organization in the world which can produce hundreds of pages for internal consumption, and almost nothing for external publication. Furthermore, the only reason for four bulletins today is the fact that they do not make a stapler big enough to put all the material together in one bulletin.

The reason for limitation to 2000 words is that the current length of articles makes it impossible to give serious consideration to any of them. I suspect that a good many members do not even read the entire bulletins, and I know that no branches discuss the bulletins. Shorter articles would ease production, assure the membership would make the bulletins relevant to the internal life of the organization, instead of merely archival material.

Amendments to Trautman black liberation document --

page 34, under section (on) police:
delete "abolish the independence of the police...brutality."
add: "For community control of the police--all police to live in the black community.

page 33, under section on education, third line, first paragraph-
add: "to assure an equal education"

Joel – Nat Sec. Report – growth from student visits to workers cadre organization –
reverse to person region/local focus –
20 people – leading committee of Cadre organization –
at present – center is training & branches – need is for centers to
build branches –
central importance of WP –
– need for cohesive national leadership –
Lynn J – need to end one-city specialties – with natural fractions
"second wave" of industrialization –

Jack-Anto – "everything subordinated to building WAM" – at
present, WAM discredited at Mack – issue – reinstated, health
and safety – UAW tries to "save the union against outside agitators" –
UAW breaks the strike – UAW – you gotta work –
Sit between right + left – union dissolved – Fraser/Woodcock
End-UNC – originally to be base for Black Production Workers –
need to push Welly's terms to even support Mack – then shift to new
Coalition w/ Carter-Shorter from Mack + really that we need stay opposition in UAW
from Mack + really that we need stay opposition in UAW
Mike P – farmworkers –
Bill P – political class independence – only one form, and not
the best

Kit – Workers Power Lay failed to become a workers
newspaper – articles, comments, aggressive distribution
– concrete conception must be worked from – paper as an
organizer for I.S – a propaganda organ, not mass
paper – a propaganda newspaper –